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SATELLITE CITY DILEMMA IN POST-COLONIAL MOROCCO: A STUDY OF TAMESNA TOWN, A BIG EMPTY RESIDENCE OR A FAILED URBAN SETTLEMENT?

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ABSTRACT

Launched in 2004, Tamesna is part of 'New Cities / Cities Without Slums Program'. The first satellite city was established to provide affordable housing to low-income residents, and a site for the resettlement of slum residents from urban Rabat, the capital of Morocco. Currently, Tamesna City is far away from meeting the criteria of a satellite city. As a result, the social housing settlement / satellite city of Tamesna as a 'hope city – space of exceptions and expectations' in the beginning has become a dormitory – ghost town, a city with no signs of life. This article's objective is describing the satellite town of Tamesna case in terms of contemporary satellite city and social housing concepts as governmental 'reterritorialization' implementations in post-colonial Morocco. Contextually, this article aims to contribute equally to the understanding of the governmental policy implications including international (incomplete) investments (as post-colonial imperialism) to discuss the reasons behind the 'New Cities' social housing & satellite city policies including removing the poor from the city to a designed – designated 'nowhere' by creating 'useful / useless' Morocco once again after colonial time period in the country. The methodology of the paper is based on literature reviews, research on documents obtained from the governmental archive, observations, and interviews with stakeholders, designers, planners and inhabitants.

KEY WORDS satellite city, splintering urbanism, urban failure, housing shortage, cities without slum program

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1. INTRODUCTION

Satellite city concepts as outcomes of post-colonial global penetrations today represent splintering urban in developing countries. They might be able to turn into a generic urban trap, delusion or disappointment for the poor. In this case the aim of this article is to investigate the governmental post-colonial, neo-capitalist reterritorialization policies in collaboration with global land lords (national and international stakeholders, government, local administrations) and make a discussion on satellite city operations as the implementations of mega-scaled, fake (speculative) urban interventions on behalf of the "Cities Without Slums" Moroccan governmental program. In this case, what were the urban and social factors that forced the ministry to start the new satellite cities program in Morocco? What is the governmental policy implication behind all these interventions? Who are the actors of the corrupted urban game?

Contextually, this article aims to contribute equally to the understanding of the governmental policy implications to discuss the reasons behind the 'New Cities' program including removing the poor from the city to a designed – designated 'nowhere', creating 'useful / useless' Morocco once again after colonial time period in the country, the motivation and the problems that have emerged and also to the decision of preparing the ground for a clearer vision for the creation of Tamesna satellite city supposed to be, according to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning implementations, a pilot model for the other new cities in the country as a key to minimize the urban imbalance in the capital's region. What are the reasons that caused the failure of Tamesna satellite city and transforming it from 'hope city' to a ghost town? What is the current situation of Tamesna city? What are the measures approached by the ministry to catch-up and make Tamesna city a real urban center to reach its first ambitions? Further more than this, what is the current position and mission of 'satellite city urban concepts'

today particularly in the post-colonial developing countries? Thus, and by way of conclusion, it is necessary to propose ways to succeed in a possible reflection on the construction of a new city and present the vital instruments to recover. Accordingly, this article aims to open a discussion from a multi-dimensional, multi-scalar, and multi-actor perspective on satellite city concept, its current situation, context and mission in Morocco regarding its cultural, economic, social, physical, urban aspects. Contextually, this article investigates the governmental post-colonial, neo-capitalist reterritorialization policies in collaboration with global land lords (national and international stakeholders, government, local administrations) and make a discussion on satellite city operations as the implementations of mega-scaled, fake (speculative) urbanism interventions on behalf of the "Cities Without Slums" Program. Satellite city concepts as outcomes of post-colonial global penetrations represent splintering urban policies and implementations in developing countries. They might be able to turn into a generic urban trap, delusion or disappointment for the poor.

Accordingly, this article firstly describes the satellite city terminology and implementation, its current situation and impact on cities particularly in developing countries in Africa in the second chapter. In this context, the third chapter is dedicated to the governmental urbanization and housing policies behind satellite city concepts in post-colonial Morocco since the beginning of 2000s. In the fourth chapter the Tamesna satellite city project as governmental failed urban and housing investment is discussed according to post-colonial social, economic, political, physical, cultural aspects emerged after French occupation. Moreover, the Tamesna project is analyzed in case of site, access, transportation possibilities, project management process, urban program, housing policies and implementations. The fifth chapter evaluates the initial discourses and practices regarding the current situation of Tamesna satellite

city project. The reasons for urban collapse and urban revitalization of the Tamesna project is underlined in the sixth chapter. The conclusion part is dedicated to the discussion of the future of satellite cities in developing countries and recommendations for successful urban improvement. Thus, and by way of conclusion, it is necessary to propose ways to succeed in a possible reflection on the construction of a new city and present the vital instruments to recover.

The methodology of the paper is based on literature reviews, research on documents obtained from the governmental archive, observations, and interviews with stakeholders, designers, planners and inhabitants.

2. SATELLITE CITY CONCEPT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The term 'satellite city¹' was initially and mainly meant to provide an attractive residential alternative for working class and middle class people who wanted to escape from the crowded city, later generations of new towns were also developed as an answer to urban sprawl or as new regional economic centers in polycentric regional or national city networks (Hall and Ward, 1998).

Recent satellite city and new town projects in emerging economies may be seen as hope city projects as 'spaces of exception and expectation' (Ong, 2007) in terms of their location, design, and development philosophy. Governments or public-private growth coalitions in developing countries justify this exceptional status by labelling such projects as 'special economic zones', 'smart cities' or 'eco-cities' to be connected to competitive networks of cities (Sassen, 2011) and highlighting them as essential elements of city-

¹ Satellite city: "Town, self-contained and limited in size, built in the vicinity of a large town or city to house and employ those who would otherwise create a demand for expansion of the existing settlement, but dependent on the parent-city to a certain extent for population and major services" (Haseeb, 2017)

regional or national competitiveness strategies.

In this case especially the grand scale of state-led satellite cities development in emerging economies, in particular in post-colonial African settings and in the Global South countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Rwanda are linked to global (satellite) city-making phenomena (Bontje, 2019).

On the other hand, these hegemonic governmental urban implementations providing valuable typologies of satellite cities transform the planning regime itself into an 'informal entity', one unable to carry out this speculative, territorialized urban renewal and regeneration process (Bhan, 2013).

These 'world-class city' strategies particularly in Asia, South America and Africa are often rather presented as urban imaginary, urban policy rhetoric. Roy and Ong (2011) call it a 'phantasmagoria'. Ghertner (2011) connects the term 'world-class' with an 'aesthetic mode of governing' of 'planned-ness' or producing and managing the planned-ness in which informal settlements such as slums are seen as the main obstacle to become a 'world-class city'.

Since their 'becoming', these new towns and satellite cities can thus be seen to represent 'Janus-faced' experiments as promulgation of urban inequalities, at once optimistically looking to future economic growth whilst also seeking to break with the existent city and all that is related to the problematic past failures of urban planning (Murray, 2015). These cities, settlements of isolated complexes as marginalized urban phantasies, extensions of governmental generic policies especially in Africa are promoted as future engines of growth in national policies (Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2018)

In order to resolve urban problems and achieve urban growth, post – colonial Morocco - like in most developing countries - has specifically adopted the satellite cities policy as a miracle

solution, and this has been accomplished by means of implementing those cities in the fringe of large agglomerations as an attractive urban pole with economic activities, affordable housing, and sufficient job opportunities, while ensuring a harmonious and attractive living environment that promotes social diversity (Haseeb, 2017).

Contrary to all these favorable mega-scaled urban implementations and investments with a lack of an appropriate legal framework in Morocco, these new satellite city concepts have created a new chain of serious dilemmas constituted by social (cultural, economic, psychological) and physical (law profiled, incompatible urbanization and architecture, insufficient transformation, sustainability) problems.

Because of by the government shortsightedly planned multi-faced, national/international management, project and application process, problematic issues in general organization, lack of sufficient budget and inadequate supporting, handicapped public and private partnership organizations and implementations in terms of the capitalist behavior of the French, Portuguese and Malaysian Construction and Project Management Companies, the "satellite city program" in Morocco is considered only as a "large housing settlements" in a kind of 'new colonialist' investment; and this has unfortunately not been sustainable for the inhabitants.

2.1. Contemporary urbanization and housing policies in Morocco

"We must stop developing and expanding our cities in an uncontrolled way. Instead, we should provide towns that can be self-sufficient and operate in a healthy economic and climatic environment."

Hassan II (Lahdidi, 2015)

Since the independence day in 1956, due to urbanization and urban migration, Morocco - as one of the developing countries- faces a rapid population

growth in large metropolitan areas particularly concentrated on the Atlantic Kenitra - Casablanca. The proportion of urban dwellers in the Moroccan population has doubled in fifty years, from 26 percent in 1950 to nearly 55 percent in 2004 (UN HABITAT, 2016).

This ongoing migration mentioned above and the uncontrolled expansion of the urban perimeter provoke many physical and social problems such as high congestion-density, accessibility difficulties to public spaces, pollution, infrastructural inadequacy, security frailty, inadequate urban services, housing speculations and shortage in Moroccan cities. Demographic pressure and the diversification of the population's needs are affecting the systems, modes of production and consumption of public space in Moroccan cities in accordance with capitalistic changes which recreate a new relationship between the population and its territory. The urban fabric is expanding and the urban economy alone is unable to provide employment and resources for the entire citizens. Thus, several problems emerge regarding the control of urban space, its management, and equipment.

Hence, from the middle of last century to the present the situation became profoundly critical and gradually complex and raised a red flag in the country (UN Habitat, 2016). The congestion of large cities and the urbanization of poverty in the country required an in-depth review of public housing policies, the opening of new reform projects that are effective in responding, more appropriately, to the needs for social housing in terms of the anticipated urban development in the country (UN Habitat, 2016).

In this context, since the beginning of the 2000s, Morocco has started a new phase in terms of governmental urban policies with the aim of establishing effective tools for financing and implementing integrated spatial development in terms of the essential needs of urban and population growth.

According to the brief delivered in the conference organized by the Moroccan Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning on the theme of 'new cities and satellite cities' the causes and the consequences of this rural exodus and growth based on migrations of vast numbers of the population to big agglomerations in the last century (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018). In the beginning of 2000s, Moroccan government has started to construct an ambitious program of creation of new towns (satellite cities) about the horizon of 2020. Introduced by the Ministry of the Housing Environment and the Town Planning in 2004, in the face of growing needs, problems around urbanization, and the disability of providing the sufficient housing units, the government has launched this program with the ambition of creating fifteen cities. These new cities have been planned with the aim of organizing the growth of the big agglomerations of the country and aim at:

- responding to a significant share of population growth;
- intensifying housing supply, especially social housing;
- encouraging private real estate development and developing partnership between the public and private sectors;
- generating activities and creating jobs;
- providing a living environment that meets the aspirations of citizens.

The new satellite towns program was actually an element to support many operations of 'Cities Without Slums' program, which is the main program that concerns the urban development in Morocco, that consists majorly of removing slums from all cities across the country and improving the housing conditions of low-income households (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018).

The main strategic objectives of the new policy on new cities without slums were to:

- ensure balanced urbanization for the coming years that can put an end to the unlimited expansion of large urban areas;
- organize and anticipate planned urban development (major facilities, housing supply at appropriate costs, employment, infrastructure, services, etc.);
- support and enhance infrastructure programs.

In 2004, an agreement was signed with the European Union for a grant of €90 million that included international policies aiming at improving the living conditions of people living in low-quality and substandard housing. In order to implement its policy, the Moroccan State has assigned the Al Omrane Group the construction of New Cities - New Generation of 'New Satellite Cities' as a component of 'Cities Without Slums' program (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018). The Al Omrane Group is the result of a major reform project assigned by the government to function as a medium to perform government policy operations on housing and urban development.

Born from the union in the first phase in 2004, ANHI (National Agency for the Fight against Insalubrious Housing), ATTACHAROUK (Society for Development, Construction and Real Estate Development) and SNEC (National Society for Equipment and Construction), gave birth to the Al Omrane Development Holding and the transformation of ERAC (Regional Development and Construction Establishments) into regional subsidiaries in the second phase (Al Omrane, 2019).

The Al Omrane Group's missions include the development and subdivision of land intended for the promotion of social housing, the reduction of slums and unhealthy housing and the development

of urban and social project management, as well as the creation of new cities, new urbanization zones and the promotion of various housing products (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018).

As a result of the State's policy of building new cities, Al Omrane began with the construction of four new cities: Tamansourt in the region of Marrakech (321 km south of Rabat), Tamesna (in the fringe of Rabat City - close to Rabat), Cherafate in Tangier (278 km from Rabat), and Lakhayta in Casablanca (91 km from Rabat), which will eventually house over one million residents (Al Omrane, 2019). Located 20km southwest of the capital, the city of Tamesna is in fact in line with the orientations of the National Spatial Planning Scheme (SNAT) and contributes to the controlled development of the Rabat conurbation.

In this context, the genesis of the new city of Tamesna was a response to face the urban demand in these problematic cities located in Rabat – Casablanca regions by promoting the balance of the regulating real estate market and treating the insalubrious housing that was developing at an accelerated pace in this region. In order to clarify the issue, it is important to know the factors that urged the need for the new towns program in post-colonial Morocco including fifteen new satellite cities and to highlight the major dysfunctions in the realization of the settlement of Tamesna.

3. TAMESNA CITY: A BIG RESIDENCE OR AN URBAN SETTLEMENT

On 20 June 2005 King Mohammed VI decided to announce the first new satellite city, going to be built on the outskirts of the Kingdom's capital Tamesna. The objectives of the new city Tamesna were mainly presented by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning as following:

- preparing the facilities to contribute to the economic development of the area while giving it a specific vocation in

the Rabat metropolitan area (Information City, business area, regional fair for agricultural products, etc.);

- resorbing slums of Temara and Sidi Yahia des Zaers, by meeting the demand for housing under the National Program of 100,000 social housing units per year and providing the supply of various housing products to ensure social diversity;
- providing the area with adequate and up-to-date social and community facilities and initiating major research, higher education, and technical training centers;
- creating the conditions for sustainable development concerning the environment and the natural environment involving the population and local stakeholders.

In this context Tamesna, which is the first city constructed under the new towns program launched by the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning in 2004, will aim not only to respond to the housing shortage but also to make it possible for low- and middle-

income families to acquire a home, and importantly participate in the eradication of insalubrious housing in the region and provide for its inhabitants a decent living (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018).

Built on 840 hectares, Tamesna will be able to accommodate 250,000 inhabitants and will alone cover 38 percent of housing needs in the Rabat. The city program is based on a balanced urban planning spirit. It is variable in terms of its functions; its purpose is to create an autonomous city, with all its needs in terms of housing, necessary equipment, leisure activities, etc. (Kadiri, 2018).

The city will firstly offer a land 30 percent cheaper than Rabat and 20 percent cheaper than Temara. Secondly, it will provide a dynamic economic sector in the long term, and consequently, provide the population with employment, infrastructures and diversified services (transport, education, cultural, social, health, etc.) by implementing around 145 public facilities. Finally, the architecture of Tamesna should combine modernity and tradition, and will be built with new concepts developed by strategies based

on expertise in urbanization zones, mobilization of partnerships in the areas of spatial planning and development and will be sustainable to respond to satellite cities criteria.

3.1. The site, access and transportation possibilities

The land was largely located in the commune of Sidi Yahya des Zaers, adjacent to its center, where the city of Tamesna enjoys a geographically strategic position owing in particular to its convenient access to major infrastructures such as road, rail and urban networks between Rabat and Casablanca, owned by the Agricultural Development Society (SODEA). The project area is connected to the center of Sidi Yahya Zaers in the east, to Oued Yqem in the south and to agricultural lands in the west as well as the Mkhinza forest and the bypass road in the north (Al Omrane, 2019). A connection to Casablanca-Rabat Highway through Ain Atiq is planned as a future project to make a strong connection between the city and its surroundings (Al Omrane, 2019).

Figure 1. Plan of the New Cities, location, site, views and model of Tamesna Satellite City, Source: Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018.



3.2. Tamesna Project Management Process

"We do not have any of the basic instruments necessary to master such a form of urbanization."

Souafi, Director of Spatial Planning from 1998 to 2006 (Harroud, 2017)

For the development of the new town of Tamesna and linking Tamesna to the municipality "Sidi Yahya des Zaer", a framework agreement was signed between the Ministry of Housing (Al Omrane, 2019) and five ministerial departments in 2007. Based on these authorizations the governmental Holding Al Omrane has created a dedicated subsidiary company. The subsidiary created under the name of "Al Omrane Tamesna Development Company" will have the following missions:

- the realization of the new city;
- supervision, coordination of infrastructure and development work;
- the promotion of the new city;
- the marketing of semi-equipped blocks.

The company may also carry out the development, subdivision, construction of land intended for housing and activities, the clearance of slums and unhealthy housing, and the development of social project management either in partnership with the private and public sector or on its own behalf, as part of the construction of the new city of Tamesna. Considering that the city's property base which has been acquired by the Al Omrane Holding, all agreements with institutions and lenders have been signed by the latter to allow the newly created company to take charge of the continuation of road and network works, the execution of property development operations and city management.

Al Omrane used a group of six urban planners who draw up the subdivision and the specifications for each of the plots. Due to the absence of critical comprehension and lack of transparent

sharing of information no debate or reflection is conducted on the project's orientations (Al Omrane, 2019). In 2008, a general development plan was signed, revised by the prefecture, the Commune, the Urban Agency and Al Omrane - Tamesna. According to the signed development program / plan of the city, Al Omrane has completed the entire network and infrastructure projects. These projects have been developed in coordination with all the departments such as Islamic Affairs, Economy and Finance, Higher Education and Scientific Research of Culture, Transport and Equipment, Health, Solidarity, High Commission for Water and Forests, and finally Al Omrane and national / international real estate developers (General Contractors Morocco, Malaysian company Hidayah) (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018).

Unfortunately, the city's overall financing and the development plans approved by the supervisory authorities are not present. Consequently, although all the land has been purchased, not all have been paid for. Al Omrane uses its own advances obtained from the European Investment Bank; for Al Omrane, the aim is to make the costs of development profitable. Al Omrane obtains from these sales the financing for the development of the land.

Al Omrane, the responsible group of the project, has delegated the construction to several national / international private companies. But some of them are unable to meet their commitments and have even stopped the construction work. Therefore, Al Omrane is in conflict with General Contractors Morocco (GCM), the Malaysian company Hidayah and with French and Portuguese contractors. Since 2009, the communal development plan has been drawn up and only approved in 2014 (Al Omrane, 2019). The expenditure on the city (implementation of the plan) was 2,3 billion dollars; additionally, an amount of 570 million dollars was added in 2013 to catch-up and develop the city more rapidly.

3.3. Overview of the urban program of Tamesna

According to Al Omrane brief (2019), the Tamesna Satellite City, where there are places to live and work, will be equipped with a maximum of infrastructure and community social facilities, including schools, dispensaries, a mosque, a sports complex, and administrative facilities.

The program of the city will include 50,000 housing units on 460 ha which represent 55 percent of the total surface of the city; 100 ha will be dedicated to public facilities such as transport and education (elementary schools, university campus, commercial, cultural, social, health, entertainment, sports, etc.) with a total of 145 facilities with 12 percent of the city's surface, and finally green spaces with 103 ha with 12 percent (Al Omrane, 2019). In addition, 70 hectares will be used for income-generating activities. The objective is to ensure stable employment for the population of the new city. In addition to the surrounding forest, 120 hectares will be reserved for the creation of parks and green spaces (Al Omrane, 2019).

3.4. Housing Policies and Implementations

Tamesna satellite city areas occupy more than half of housing lots (131 blocks). The new housing units would be inhabited by 250,000 people, including 10,000 households from slums to be relocated. Included in these 10,000 households were to be 4,000 households in the Sidi Yahya des Zaers region (SYZ) slums, 4,000 households in the Temara slums and 2,000 households in the Rabat slums (Al Omrane, 2019). All social housing provided would be apartments. The dwellings aim diversification for the purpose to lodge several social classes and create a social diversity in the city. This distribution is due to the objectives of the city to create housings in the region with affordable prices.

In the end, the city would be contextually composed of social housing, low-cost housing, and market-priced housing. This type of housing must not exceed 140,000 MAD (\$14.000), of which the State covers one-third of the cost. Economic housing is limited to 250,000 MAD (\$25.000) and is accessible to households that do not own other properties (Keep, 2017). The total housing investment is MAD22.3 Billion equivalents to \$2.35 Billion. The situation of the 50.000 housing units in 2019 is as follows:

- 17,407 units completed, including 11,760 social housing units (including 3,273 FVITs (Low Total Real Estate Value):
- 2,345 FVIT completed by AL OMRANE
- 928 FVIT completed by the international partners.
- 12,869 under construction, including 3,526 social housing units, including (2,060 FVIT).

Contextually, by 2020 50,000 housing units for 250,000 inhabitants with 145 facilities were predicted yet again; the situation did not proceed as expected.

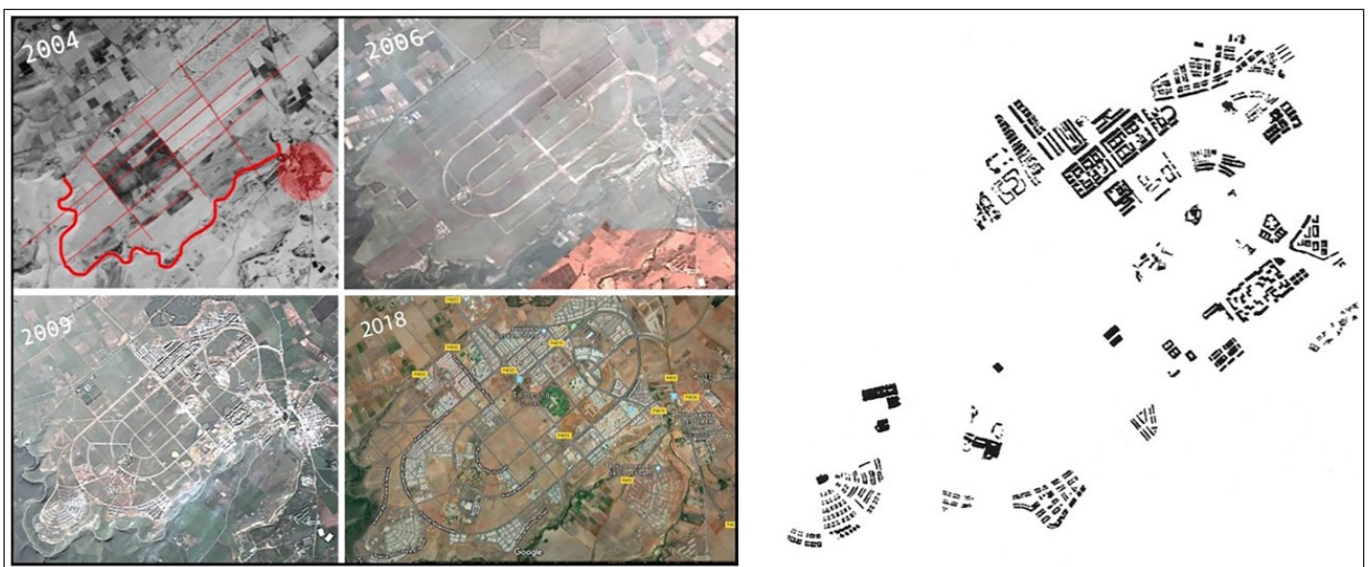
4. TAMESNA CITY BETWEEN INITIAL DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES

Eighteen years after its launch, the Tamesna project is still the subject of debate. It seems that the achievements are well below expectations, and the city is still far from offering a decent living environment in which its inhabitants believed to settle. Less than 45,000 people live there and they feel trapped due to the lack of all sorts of standards of living in the city. Public spaces and public facilities are non-existent; there are abandoned wastelands, no hospitals, there is a lack of local jobs only with the exception of few shops; transport infrastructure and transportations systems are almost absent, and the city is a sort of bulk of 'disconnected big concrete blocks'. Tamesna currently includes 41 public completed facilities, 25 of them are educational ones, regarding 133 planned and not implemented, yet including 10 in progress (Al Omrane, 2019). According to the president of the Tamesna Association for Development and Solidarity estimates, 750 families have still not been delivered and throughout the city, 3,000 households

are reported to be affected by the same problem (Al Omrane, 2019).

In addition, many people are worried by the fact that the apartments are too small to accommodate large families, have no money to pay the cost of social housing and are also dissatisfied by the quality of life offered in Tamesna. The initial program of the city is based on building housing units with a minimum of free spaces, to mention the city of Tamesna is 85 percent solid and only 15 percent with the majority of housing units with a social character. Today, nearly 22,600 housing units have been built and the city already has 45,000 inhabitants. Currently, the public transportation is almost non-existent and the inhabitants are struggling with daily transportation and commuting issues within the city and out of the city. Therefore, Tamesna is only a patchwork of unconnected, fragmented housing lots, and at present, the situation has not changed significantly; several wastelands do still exist and the city's parts are by no means interconnected (Lahlou, 2016).

Figure 2. Development of Tamesna since 2004, current (incomplete) situation of the “satellite” city project in 2018, Source: “Local Responses to Slum Resettlement: The Case of Tamesna, Morocco” Archive of Al Omrane, 2019.



As a result, the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants in Tamesna city leads to outcomes that generally take an individual form. Accordingly, the majority of the inhabitants is financially incapable of leaving the city and affording a house elsewhere. Currently, the city of Tamesna is more or less an unfinished dormitory town for neighbor Rabat, between strategic errors and catch-up attempts, fighting to get out of the anonymity. Indeed, many intellectuals in the country denounce the failure of the new cities in Morocco and consider the case of Tamesna as a failed experience, a large-scale urban massacre. Tamesna city would be an urban and social solution but it is currently a governmental excuse to throw the poor from big cities in cooperation with international new colonial investment companies.

5. REASONS FOR URBAN COLLAPSE AND URBAN REVITALIZATION

“We focused only on housing, without finding a vocation to the city,”

Nabil Benabdellah, Ex-Minister of Housing and Urban Planning, (Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2018)

After almost twenty years, the ghost town Tamesna as an urban failure still shows many dysfunctions such as inaccessibility, real estate vacancy, stoppage of works, non-existent facilities, and questionable governance. For many inhabitants, Tamesna is today far away from having the necessary elements to be a city, for the following reasons:

- absence of appropriate legal regulations;
- absence of global financing and real estate framework;
- mediocre contractions quality, unethical attitudes, many violations of law;
- lack of centrality, ignorance and the presence of an incapable and disabled governance of organizational process in terms of General Contractor

Morocco and Al Omrane Construction Company, conflict between ministries, public and public, public and private partnerships caused several delays in infrastructure, facilities, habitation, and connections to the nearby cities, as well as in transportation;

- greedy, capitalist, neo-colonial approach to the project by the private international contractors, developers, conflict between General Contractor Morocco and the Malaysian group Hidaya and other companies (private developers benefit without a free grant from off-site equipment built mainly for the new city; they gain off-site regular income; they divert part of the demand for social housing in the new city and increase urban sprawl; they left many projects on hold, constructed and continued to sell houses without establishing public services of first necessity such as health, schooling, transport, administration, security, etc.; contextually, as part of the real estate project, more than 850 families still waiting for the delivery of their apartments since 2009);
- the lack of urban vision, consultation, and coherence;
- absence of a city development plan duly approved by the appropriate authorities;
- absence of sustainable satellite city concepts;
- programming the city with a residential spirit; insufficient social, urban facilities; random constructions of blocks; disrespected chronology of constructing facilities side by side with housing;
- constructing housing entirely with no consideration of public facilities;

- absence of economic dynamics, insufficiency in creating jobs, which have decreased the attractiveness of the city;
- absence of phasing or programming of construction, lack of advanced project management opening the entire site to urbanization in a single step (projects are emerging from everywhere with significant discontinuities);
- lack of resources from the start to finance both (off-site) infrastructure (sanitation, road access, etc.) and public facilities, which, nevertheless, require very large amounts of investment, far exceeding the capacities of any operator even if it is as powerful as Al Omrane;
- absence of access to the site through appropriate roads, isolated 45.000 inhabitants
- lack of innovative, social, convenient, attractive, functional architecture; a low profile of repetitive concrete design;
- absence of social housing concepts and respond to the regional life rituals and dwelling culture;
- lack of transport, pedestrian integration and green spaces in the city; contrarily the presence of large wastelands that separate different parts of the city;
- in the end: Tamesna as a mega residence designed to serve as a dormitory town for its nearby cities comprising of big housing blocks unconnected to each other that does not create in its whole a city.

To that end, for the revitalization of the city and its improvement in order to offer integrated living space, a set of actions and prerequisites are necessary on political, institutional, financial, social, physical, and environmental levels presented as follow:

- consensus on a coherent, sustainable, democratic, equalitarian, social, convenient, powerful and adaptable development policy all around the country as a governmental matter constituted by all the ministries, municipalities, non-governmental organizations and inhabitants, implementation of a strong interdepartmental impetus;
- consultation, coordination and the adoption of an effective inter-ministerial action plan;
- creation of appropriate legal global financing framework, regulation of conflicts of competence and financial resources;
- a well-articulated, powerful governmental real estate policy, a realization of (social) housing programs;
- efficient governance of organizational process between ministries, public and public and public and private partnerships, management of (inter)national private contractors and developers;
- the foundation of commissions to determine the general orientations of urban policies and to evaluate public policies and contracted projects; commissions will take the lead of the new cities program and be the legislator between the stakeholders of the projects;
- control of the commitments of the signatories to the contracts, signing contracts with different (national and international) stakeholders to force them to respect their commitments in terms of constructing a rich and fruitful relationship between project owners and property developers, defending the residents' rights;
- considering national equities and cultural values, combating the neo-colonialist capitalism;
- creating a complete city including its own provisional budget, a 'body in charge of the new city', which is assimilated in practice to an urban municipality so that specific taxes can be applied;
- programming a consistent and balanced city development in terms of sustainable urban vision, consultation and coherence accompanied by economic growth, harmonizing the actions of all the stakeholders in order to mobilize the energies and human and financial resources available;
- questioning, managing or dealing with the bigness, or greater emphasis on the sustainable convenient scale of space;
- a new concept of dynamism and a revitalization of the development of the contemporary urbanism;
- designing for the strong attractiveness of the city to investors and citizens;
- support of the dynamics that its development can generate;
- realization of major structuring projects connecting and indirectly rebalancing regions, cities and all the settlements to each other;
- considering public and private space harmony, structuring public facilities in a comprehensive and inter-sectoral approach;
- creating a random social diversity in different districts and areas in the city avoiding the social segregation;
- providing the accessibility to the site, also a functional and coherent link with the surrounding areas; the integration of pedestrians through walkways and sidewalks in the city; a fruitful, strongly connected transportation network, and implementation of an integrated functional infrastructure program supported by recycling technologies;
- offering a new environmentally friendly green city with minimum wastelands by integrating the sustainable development dimension;
- encouraging sustainable construction by making use of thermal insulation, optimal management of water resources, local materials and labor including socio-collective equipment;
- an innovative, social, convenient attractive, and functional architectural design;
- advanced project management and phasing construction.

6. CONCLUSION

Currently, Tamesna is still far from offering the idyllic living environment in which its inhabitants believed they would settle. It has been demonstrated through the various stages of the analysis that if the city of Tamesna maintains the current patterns and if no action program is planned in its favor, it will be condemned to failure, undeniably generating a detachment and disaffection on the part of the population.

Tamesna today suffers from an image - building problem linked to a series of institutional dysfunctions and an urgent working climate focused on the re-housing of urban slum dwellers and the social housing projects. And even with the emergence of new proactive government policy and a restructuring of the institutional system, the project has led to real strategic failure. From its start on, the project for a new city is based on uncertain foundations that make its management and monitoring problematic. Those problems reduced the attractiveness of the city and created a poor image to the Moroccan civil society.

To save the image of the city, in addition to the proposed solutions, it is important to give it a new vocation, to redefine it in accordance with the current situation. Tamesna, now considered as an archipelago city, is at a turning point

and must then seize the potential of its emptiness in order to reinvent itself. How to move from collage form mass housing settlement(s) to a city with a strong identity, driven by specificity? The 'reinvention' should aim at supporting existing uses of space, considering filling the grid and establishing a driving force for the city which will have to meet several requirements.

Before starting any project, it is important to identify all the issues and analyze the feasibility of the program in the short-, medium- and long-term. A large-scale investment such as the 'New Cities' program (within which the contemporary situation of satellite city case should additionally be considered and discussed), particularly in the developing countries, requires a preliminary study to be undertaken by all the ministries concerned, in addition to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning. Therefore, a revitalization action for Tamesna city as a guide for Moroccan urbanization should finally be accompanied contextually by a reinforcement of the institutional framework, through the implementation of an upstream approach based on the Urban Policy, the "Cities Without Slums" Program, and the Advanced Regions Projects being articulated in the country Morocco since the beginning of 21th century.

As the cases of Ghana and Kenya represent one extreme of the 'unfinished' scale, the case of Morocco shows clearly that governments in emerging economies typically have to include a measure of inclusive development and should aim to construct the multi-functionality of these cities as also extending to provision of affordable housing (Bontje, 2019). A weak governmental commitment to inclusiveness, the absence of state regulation and investments for mixed housing, may thus create new real estate frontiers where speculative urbanism is likely to emerge as the housing project descended into a 'ghost town' (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019).

According to most of these urban 'mainlandization' implementations satellite cities transform into unsustainable settlements (Bontje, 2019), moreover ghost towns as representatives of urban failures. Therefore, governments particularly in developing countries should consider a dialectic fruitful urban development for the whole geography.

Otherwise, various manifestations of satellite city and new town implementations such as in Morocco and in other post-colonial developing countries in Africa will be shaped through endless processes of reterritorializations, which cannot be attached to a sustainable urban system. Accordingly, they are transforming into discrete spaces as playgrounds of restless global capitalism.

Under this occupation of this mentioned urban phantasmagoria, satellite cities and new towns are producing their own conditions of uncertainty. They are expanding into vacant regions and lands, largely disconnected archipelago from their local and regional context as outcomes of post-colonial global penetrations, where rules still have to be made (Bhan, 2013). Moreover they are often problematized as 'generic cities' as a part of the concept of splintering urbanism² (Graham and Marvin, 2001) in the twenty-first-century urban development where there might include new interstitial spaces³ as nightmares instead of hope.

Particularly the governmental implementations in developing countries should mainly and firstly focus on how to realize spatial justice (Soja, 2010) in other word just-cities (Fainstein, 2010) and re-define the term satellite city according to equity, diversity and democracy. Otherwise these new (un) finished giant settlements as a part of governmental 'mainlandization' policies will probably be transformed into sponge cities (satellite settlements as half dead organisms and black holes in social and physical morphology, development and economy) within the parameters of speculative urbanism (Goldman, 2011), which will absorb and annihilate its creator and the whole country as a kind of 'Frankenstein' situation.

² Splintering urbanism: massive archipelagoes loosely laced together by huge new infrastructure networks. In such places position and centrality are configured less by geographical location with respect to "downtown" than by the conditions of buildings and places with respect to global-local networked infrastructures (Graham and Marvin, 2001)

³ Interstitial space: marginalized spaces largely ignored by the sub-centers and disconnected from the networked infrastructures (Graham and Marvin, 2001)

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