TRANSFORMATION OF INHERITED CULTURE
türkner naci şaylan
rebekah tien

ADHOCISM
matthijs engele
marloes knoester
meng yang

CONSTRUCTION OF DESIRE
saskia asselbergs
rensei kerkvliet
joris klein

PROBING INTO PRECEDENTS
The following work has been developed as part of the graduation studio, offered by the Chair of Methods & Analysis, at the Department of Architecture at the TU Delft. The education of the chair engages with a series of pressing issues in developing territories, as well as with the increasing cross-cultural character of contemporary architectural practice. The work presented here tries to find appropriate instruments and methods of analysis and design in complex, foreign cultural contexts, in which European architects are challenged to develop innovative approaches and techniques, as a response to particular cultural, social, religious, environmental, political and economic conditions.

Finding a balance between local cultures and techniques on the one hand, and global developments on the other, seems to be an important challenge for the young architects who present their work here. Against this cross-cultural background, their explorations investigate a set of pressing issues in the rapidly developing urban territory of Casablanca, Morocco. Historically used as a port of replenishment and regional control by different occupants, today Casablanca is one of the major urban centres of North Africa. People from the countryside have moved to Casablanca in different waves, to work in the large port and its related commerce, but also in the growing service industry – one of the most important in Morocco. Meanwhile Casablanca remains a rich resource of small entrepreneurship, of strong craftsmanship and of an emerging creative industry. As a result, the city is rapidly expanding and several issues are at stake. Among them, how to house in a qualitative way the newcomers to the city? What sort of infrastructure is necessary to cater for the growing population and tourism? How can the permanent (inhabitants) and temporary (tourists) residents of the city share collective and public spaces? What roles and spaces can we assign to small-scale craft in the city? In the following pages, these and other questions are productively addressed.
FOREWORD

INTRODUCTION

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TOWARDS INTERVENTION
This book is the result of the research conducted in the P1 phase of the graduation studio ‘Positions in Practice’ of the chair Methods and Analysis in the department for architecture and the built environment, TU Delft.

METHODS, RATHER THAN PROGRAMME
“Departing from the acknowledgement that the profession of architecture is responsible for shaping the built environment, the studio will provide a series of tools meant to experience, think, map, communicate, assess and act in that realm.”

Contrary to the other graduation studio’s within the Faculty of Architecture and explicitly stated as one of the Chair, this graduation studio tries to find appropriate methods to analysis and design in a different cultural context than the European society. The students are encouraged to aim for the “more encompassing figure of the architectural intervention,” transcending the limits of a single, formally and/or functionally defined project. The studio assumes intervention as the primary entity around which studio activity occurs. The intervention can be understood as the generation of heuristic processes, processes that aim to gain knowledge and are thus examining and inquisitive towards the existing environment as well as at a certain point projective taking the form of an architectural intervention which reacts to earlier gained knowledge be it entirely theoretical, situational or both at the same time. As such this research book reflects the initial part of the intervention loop, namely the acquiring of knowledge of Casablanca in different facets through fieldwork and further analysis.

APPROACH
“This graduation studio of the Chair of Methods & Analysis aims to engage with pressing issues in developing territories, as well as with the increasing cross-cultural character of contemporary architectural practice.”

This studio puts these ambitions to work and examine the particular conditions of the Moroccan city of Casablanca, a rapidly developing, productive port city with global metropolitan characteristics. Today Casablanca is one of the most important economic centres of North Africa. The prospect of work and business attracts many people from the countryside on the one hand and big international companies on the other hand to the city. As a result, the city is rapidly expanding in size and rapidly diversifying in character as well. In this research, we intended to show the progress that the country and city have been making in recent years, from small and dense old Medina to the massive bidonvilles, from European towns built under the French protectorate to the recent development of an international financial district as well as a new city theatre, etc.

The chair has chosen the city of Casablanca because several issues are at stake in Casablanca which is reflective of the other rapidly developing cities in the Global South: “How can the permanent (inhabitants) and temporary (tourist) residents of the city share collective and public spaces? What roles and spaces can we assign to small-scale craft in the city? Engaging with these issues, not by policies or abstract plans, but clear-cut architectural strategies will be the aim of this studio.”

The group has converted this general approach into three more distinct research paths which each in their way, engage with these conditions. The themes for the research paths are respectively: landscapes of production, infrastructure and culture. These themes act more as a starting position to give the different groups a direction in which to consider their output. For example, the theme landscapes of production was only loosely interpreted and was used to first look at the coast as a whole and later turned into (the complementary to production) landscapes of leisure. The themes of culture and infrastructure though, provided more stable ground where the theme of culture became the theme of inherited culture, revolving around the question of continuity in the adaptation and modification of the original plans proposed by Michel Ecochard. In the case of the infrastructure theme, this was narrowed down to the notion of Adhocism, the idea that the existing space and architecture are subject to change under shifting circumstances depending on the different needs of its users, the research focuses on making insightful how precisely these changes take place.

Chapter 2, 3 and 4 will respectively treat the topics of Transformation of Inherited Culture, Adhocism and Construction of Desire. Followed up by the results of the complementary course of Probing into Precedents in which Moroccan precedents will be analysed. The book will be concluded by personal reflections of the individual students. Here, we will continue with a global investigation into Casablanca and a short elaboration of the methods employed in the fieldwork phase of the project.

DEVELOPMENT OF CASABLANCA
Casablanca, the demographically largest city of Morocco, was a small fortress-like coastal town bordering the Atlantic Ocean. In more than one century, the city expanded from its original settlement, the Ancient Medina, to a modern metropolis characterised by the city’s physical fragmentation. This fragmentation comes from its urban development history, dating back to the compulsory geographical separation of different ethnic groups as well as dispersed urban expansions during the French Protectorate and followed by an uneven development at the east and west parts after independence. Nowadays, with the rapid urban growth and resettlement at the outskirts of the city, the Grand Casablanca area, this feature is reinforced and becomes even more recognisable in the cityscape. A step by step retrospect of the city’s development would help on a clearer vision of the fragmented Casablanca.

PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD
The area which is today Casablanca was settled since antiquity by Berbers, Phoenicians, Romans and Portuguese. After being abandoned by Portuguese, Arab tribes reconstructed the town with the help of Spanish. Until then, the village received its name still in use today, Casablanca, meaning white house in Spanish. In 1770AD, Sultan Mohammed ben Abdullah founded the Ancient Medina, and this coastal village started to grow steadily.

Historically, Casablanca was hardly a place of homogeneity. Until the beginning of 20th century, the Medina constituted of three parts, the Arab medina, the Jewish quarter and the Tnaker, leftover space for more impoverished residents. Between the Muslim and Jewish community, there was not only a clear geographically division but also distinctions regarding planning, buildings’ height and material in use. In the Arab part, the structure of town resembles those in other Arab settlements, narrow alleys with various impromptu buildings leading to multi-levelled private dwellings as well as courtyard houses with small patios. While in the Mellah, the Jewish part, buildings were of one storey and constructed densely in stone. So far, Casablanca was still a small town in northwestern Africa. The arrival of French colonizers changed this character drastically.

COLONIAL PERIOD
Development through Colonial Period draws two lines of separation. First it creates the enclave of the Old Medina and the second is the exclusion of New Medinas. As a small coastal town, Casablanca first received greater attention when Lyautey ordered a harbour, which would come to be Africa’s largest port and the country’s principal commercial distribution centre for exports of primary economic products, built there. The construction of French colonial city paralleled with this infrastructural investment. Different from other colonial cities, however, the colonial town did not locate in the very centre of the city. Instead, General Lyautey who was the managerial authority of the city, chose a non-conflicting approach by keeping Ancient Medina as it is and build the French Town around it. This reconciliation strategy draws the first discontinuity in the city, by separating the newly constructed French Town from the Ancient Medina.

However, along with the influx of new rural migrants who were attracted by the economic condition due to colonial investments, the limits of the existing Medina were pushed. Thus in 1917, Henri Prost proposed a “new medina” to provide space for the incoming Moroccan population to expand. While the first of those was designed by Albert Laprade, a Beaux-Arts architect who meticulously studied the architectural language of the traditional medina to create a space that was distinct and deliberate. The aim was to create a Moroccan quarter, in accordance with Lyautey’s urban policy, while simultaneously providing the locals with sanitary and managerial technologies.

However, due to continuous increasing migration and the political pressure it brought, the estates for ‘Muslims’ were designated to locate farther away from the European colonial city, on the edge of an empty intermediate zone known as the ‘Zone Sanitaire’. This zone had been created by the protectorate and was bounded by circular roads and the motorway to both separate and control increasing population. This racial-spatial segregation led to the accumulation of Moroccans beyond Zone Sanitaire and gave rise to irregular self-built bidonvilles.
It is important to recognise that sanitation was used as a biopolitical tool to control and govern these populations. The strategies of the Service de L’Urbanisme varied from the re-ordering of the bidonville to temporary rehousing and finally to the creation of new housing estates, based on the standard 8x8 sanitary grid proposed by Michel Ecochard. This type of housing projects often followed mimetic strategies, reproducing the typological and tectonic features of existing courtyard houses in order to mediate between traditional aspects of bidonvilles and need for regularity to make the managerial order easier. This culture-specific approach did not only separate the populations as Muslims, Jews, and European but also divided the physical structure of the city into different habitats with distinct characteristics.

Around the same time especially the French felt the need to create more spaces to escape the increasingly busy city and started work on the then biggest swimming pool in the world, the sea water pool ‘piscine Orthlieb.’ Initially very popular by the French and later by the local inhabitants as well, the French moved on to build more enclosed swimming pools in la Corniche. What used to be a rough and open coastline started slowly to become a regulated, less accessible zone of leisure for only a privileged group of people.

### POST-COLONIAL PERIOD

After liberation period, colonial urban structures continued to expand. Horizontal propagation and vertical densification keep homogeneity of these districts the same. The residents took possession of the settlements made available to them and adapted them to their needs and lifestyle by constantly changing the structure. Living, working, trade and commerce form the basis of the daily life of the population. These Arab settlements “emerged” as new “medinas: the former housing quarters without social infrastructures were transformed into autonomous urban spaces”.

Following the example of many other eminent metropolises such as Paris, Tokyo and London, in the year of 1997, Casablanca implemented a new urban vision on creating the Grand Casablanca district. Following this planning, the city started a rapid urban development at the outskirt and gradually expanded beyond its administrative division. Correspondingly, in 2004, the authority launched a national program on clearing bidonvilles inside cities and relocating residents to new built social housing apartments. Most of the subsidised lots scattered along the peripheries of Casablanca, many even at the heart of the rural area. Numerous satellite settlements emerged from former farmland, the physical structure of the city’s outskirt became even more detached.

Casablanca is a fragmented city, in which different strata of different ideologies are still clearly visible. The old medina, the European French town, the new medina, the modernist housing experiments by the French, the bidonvilles, the villa neighbourhoods, the clubs of la Corniche. How to understand this city in its complexity and moreover how to react to this complexity. In the studio, the groups employed different methods in order to arrive at coherent analyses of particular topics within Casablanca.

### METHODS

**The Construction of Desire in La Corniche**

Departing from a historical analysis of the growth of Casablanca, very quickly we came to conclude that complementary to the growth of Casablanca’s port and industry in the 19th century, the leisure industry, especially in La Corniche grew just as fast. In fact, seaside pools, hotels and beach clubs occupy a significant strip of land just in between the boulevard and the ocean. After a first site visit, initial questions came to rise such as: “How do the beach clubs mediate between boulevard and the common natural resource, the ocean?” As it was clear that this in-between position is very powerful and exploitable, the aim of the inventarisation was to find out how exactly the clubs are using and cementing this position through visual and architectural means. The tactics employed by the clubs closely resemble the tactics employed by casinos in Las Vegas, what has been noted by Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour in ‘Learning from Las Vegas’ the ‘We decided to closely adhere to the methods employed by them to conduct our research and put a large part of our investigation in carefully and systematically collecting data about 12 clubs around La Corniche. Via elevation, plan and section and a photographic survey the formal elements of the clubs were registered. Next to this every route through the club from boulevard to see was carefully drawn in a style resembling Gordon Cullen’s
**Townscape albeit with a different intention, namely do discern different layers and obstacles in the route towards the ocean.**

**Tackling the City through Adhocism**

The research concentrated on the negotiations between different entities and the built environment through Adhocism, a method of creation relying on the resources that are ready at hand. Specifically, we studied what deficiencies in the built environment are conveyed by those ad hoc interventions conducted by users? How does the built environment facilitates or prevents ad hoc interventions? How are different actors' interests mediated through those interventions?

We chose grand taxi stations as subjects, which are joint points of many different entities, taxi drivers, residents, travelers, market owners, etc. The research started from a systematical on field observation and documentation on activities happening around the two taxi stations they picked. Every one-hour, we counted the number of different actors as well as drew schemes, following the way Bruno Taut illustrated meal preparation in a kitchen, to record their distributions and movements. At the same time, we pictured various activities within the contexts. However, our method was soon proved to be efficient as the human actions are highly sensitive to the circumstances and therefore less reliable. From which, we refined work adheres to a qualitative approach by cutting into the topic through the viewpoint of Adhocism, which was defined as a policy or method characterised by actions or decisions chosen to suit or fulfil immediate needs or goals. An Adhocism approach believed that the ad hoc interventions in the built environment are reflecting a broader context within which it was produced, as well as some hidden issues to be decoded. From that new perspective, we succeeded in filtering out all the ad hoc interventions on site and then tackled the reflected deficieny in the environment. Furthermore, a careful scrutinisation was conducted on the base layer of those ad hoc interventions, the built environment, through the angles of technique, communication, and form. By which, deeper understandings on how the built environment facilitates ad hoc interventions were generated.

**Transformations of Inherited Culture in Ecochard Grid**

Throughout our historical analysis of the city we find out that inherited colonial structures propagate beyond their initially estimated limits subject to migration increased after liberation period. This socio-spatial phenomenon, so called medinasation, did not only result in densification of the existing habitats but also alteration of their fundamental characteristics. Departing from this phenomenon, we moved our interest towards the transformation of colonial urban structures especially in Carriere Centrale. After our initial site visit; it was impossible not to notice the drastic shift between then and now. Once inward looking low-rise courtyard houses became outward-looking, mid-rise apartment blocks through alterations made by inhabitants while the layout of the structures did not change.

This division made us question the agency of the original structure in these transformations in relation to changing social activities. With this focus, our research took on plan analysis in attempting to understand the underlying mechanisms of this shift in typology, from courtyard to pavilion, and the rationale that drives these alterations. Following morpho-typological research methods, we compare original and existing situations to understand the relation between what did change and what didn't change in architectural form. However, in order to understand the transformations comprehensively we decided to enlarge this method by superimposing other layers of the architectural space mainly materiality, light and texture. Adherent to this study we draw movement based sections similar to techniques used by Bernard Tschumi in Manhattan Transcripts so that we could analyze the alterations in their relation to spatial rituals of occupants.

Therefore, this book is never an encyclopedia-like handbook of Casablanca, but a collection of research which tried to conduct in-depth scrutinisation of the city under certain perspectives. Much basic information we initially gathered from our desktop researches is deliberately excluded from the book. We believe through those sharpened fragments, La Corniche, Taxi stands and Ecochard Grid, the image of the city would be even more alive and lucid.
The Ecochard housing grid was Michel Ecochard’s interpretation of the traditional Islamic courtyard housing. The design was his response to the context of rural exodus, poor living condition of the bidonvilles, and the Moroccan culture. This collective dwelling development now sees drastic transformation from its original state. The research mainly focuses on the transformation of one single Ecochard unit in a collective housing neighbourhood of Hay Mohammedi. Through elaborate, comparative plan analysis, and the support of theoretical literature review, the transformation of Ecochard grid unfolded from the smaller scale up, revealing layers of logistics behind the added or eliminated architectural mechanism, spatial strategy, quality of the initial structure, and culture. The aim of this morpho-typological research is to understand the underlying logics of the transformation, with the main objective of reaching an operative conclusion for further exploration in future architectural design projects.
INTRODUCTION

about the target site

Appropriation and adaptation is visible everywhere in Casablanca. From this, we started looking at Casablanca through the lens of “inherited culture”, and attempting to understand the act of “mediation” and “adaptation”. We later argue that everything in architecture is in a way product of inheritance, and the act of inheritance is a never-ending phenomenon. Even when designing a new building, we inherit the local culture, and the environmental properties even during the process of construction.

We started off investigating 3 different sites: a street in the old medina, a passage in the European town, and a neighbourhood in the New Medina, and later targeted the housing unit by Ecochard in the New Medina (Hay Mohammedi) for in depth investigation.

8X8 ECOCHARD GRID

The area of Carrières Centrales attracted thousands of workers before Second World War when French Protectorate was at high of its power. As a result of this high influx and the lack of necessary means, the rural migrants settled in the immediate vicinity, and thus the self-built settlements so called bidonvilles emerged. As the 1947 census revealed that 19 per cent of the 400,000 Muslims of Casablanca live in slum areas. In the 1950s, the government decided to intervene and replace the bidonvilles due to both the need of governance and sanitary improvements.

At this point, Michel Ecochard, a new planning director of Casablanca, has developed a wide range of housing projects in terms of sizes, creating an ideal urban plan with modern industrial methods, yet he refused to challenge the traditional ways of living of the Moroccan people. Therefore, he conducted a full-fledged research on the spatial enunciations of everyday practices of Moroccan people in both bidonvilles and Moroccan courtyard houses together with representative of the Muslim representatives of the housing committee. In search for culture specific models, Michel Ecochard reversed an experiment called the 8x8 grid, in which the maxims of light, air and hygiene were combined with the traditional Moroccan element of the courtyard and applied serially on Carriere Centrale. This serial application of 8x8 model created a dense one-story fabric with narrow alleyways.

Apart from the invention of the 8 x 8-metre grid, which was mainly based on the former housing schemes and current situation at that time; the greater innovation of Ecochard’s team was to design these structures according to their prediction for future growth, which suggested that the densification would eventually lead to verticalization of the initially proposed housing structures after one or two generations. This hypothesis was proven to be correct. After liberation period, additional levels were informally added to and densified these urban structures. The buildings did not conform to the changing ways of living, yet they were able to be adapted to the new lifestyle of the residents.

Today, the existing structures do not resemble the original ones. The rough heterogeneous facades show traces of numerous changes and acts like a patina. On the ground floor, new layers superimposed to the existing rooms together with their spatial configuration. Collective courtyard surrounded by blind walls transformed into a lively one due to added openings. The most characteristic element of the original grid, the open family courtyard, is covered due to newly added floors in order to accommodate the extending family members.

However, despite this high level of appropriation, the underlying structure can still be identified, and in fact plays an important role in the transformation process. The way of these adaptations occurred indeed has a close relation to the initially implanted structures. In our research, we tried to understand the underlying logics behind the transformation, discussing the role of the initial structure, the driving force of the change, and the mechanisms utilised in realising the appropriation through the study of a single Ecochard housing unit.
8X8 ECOCHARD GRID
a typological shift: morphotypological study

THEN AND NOW: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION

Ecochard introduced the 8x8 grid and constructed neighbourhoods, as the one we are focusing on, that was based on his interpretation of a courtyard house. The project was mainly designed to host the Bidonville population. Each unit consists of a courtyard, 2-3 rooms and shed for toilet and kitchen. In terms of function, there is a degree of indeterminacy. Most life happened inside each unit and not on the streets or the collective courtyard.

The difference between then and now is significant. Instead of working in factories, local economy bloomed- small businesses within the neighbourhood prosper, resulting in more and more residents working in the neighbourhood or even from home. Each units were originally designed for a single family use, yet with the growth of the families, multiple stories were added to the original structure. Some families rent out their upper floor to non-relatives for extra income, and in order to protect privacy, extra entrances were opened up on the originally blind façade. Each space in the buildings now has determined function as opposed to the traditional character of indeterminacy in function of Islamic dwellings. The original collective courtyard that was treated only as circulation space became extremely lively. Many more architectural mechanisms along with change in character and atmosphere can be observed on the site.

As we can see, the social and economic changes through time worked together to suggest a change in life style, and eventually change in architecture. Amongst all the changes we have observed, what triggered our greatest interest was the drastic change in character- which was later understood as a typological shift- of the collective courtyard. With this, we began with investigating the details of the collective courtyard by drawing the façade and boarders of each building adjacent to it, in attempting to understand the underlying pattern/ reason/ mechanism of this shift in character/ typology.

ON TYPOLOGY

Upon accepting Quatremère de Quincy’s definition of ‘type’ in his historical dictionary where he identifies its vagueness or generality, Aragon explained that type is produced through the process of comparing and superimposing individual forms and eliminating particular characteristics, reducing them to a common root form. He stated that we must understand type as “the interior structure of a form or as a principle, which contains the possibility of indefinite formal variation and further structural modification of type itself”. Type is, according to Quatremère de Quincy, a schema or outline of a form, which embodies moments of inertia. Rafael Moneo also supported this definition in his essay “On Typology”, where he interpreted type as a framework in which changes are encouraged to occur.

In his book Towards Universality: Le Corbusier, Mies and De Stijl, Padovan claimed that all architecture could fundamentally be categorised into two typologies: courtyard and pavilion. He spoke of possibilities and examples of typological shift and hybrids. Padovan’s proposal on typology further confirmed the notion of typology as a flexible framework.

STARTING POINT: THE COLLECTIVE COURTYARD TO INTERNAL LOGIC

We identified the drastic change in character of the collective courtyard an indication of the neighbourhood’s transformation from Padovan’s “courtyard” to “pavilion”. In our initial study, we attempted to understand the rationale behind this transformation through documenting the changes occurred in the collective courtyard (mainly the periphery). As a result, we found that all the changes that we have observed were directed by the internal transformation of each housing unit, which lead us to further discussing and analysing the architectural transformation of the housing unit itself in understanding the typological shift.
As we face the seemingly overwhelming amount of change of the site, we decided to investigate the site from a smaller scale up instead of trying to figure everything out from the big picture. We focused on one block within the neighbourhood, and later zoomed in to one specific unit for deeper investigation.

UNCHANGED
We started our analysis of this housing block by asking ourselves what exactly has or has not changed. As the first step, we marked out all the changed and unchanged parts of the whole block in plan without a system as the base for our research, from which further analysis and notions would derive.

By overlapping and comparing 4 different units (see diagram below), which can be seen in the diagram below, we identified a common pattern of the elements that remained unchanged from the original Ecochard design:

1. the party walls that defines ownership;
2. the essential structural elements sustaining the main proportions of the inherited courtyard; and
3. the character of the primary architectural space: most pronounced being the courtyard (now living room) as the main space where ritual of gathering (the core of family life) take place.

From this study, we arrived at an understanding that the main layer that remained unchanged (or the most stable) is the proportion. Proportion is not just in terms of ratio between the sizes of spaces but their relation with each other in different layers. Through preserving the proportion, the important rituals embedded and the movements it suggests were able to be sustained. We later defined this notion as “Shell”.

Diagram on the right shows the elements of the unchaged/ most stable elements of architecture:

1. Party Wall (Ownership)
2. Proportion (and structure that sustains it)
3. Essential Ritual Space (courtyard as gathering space)
TRANSFORMATION OF INHERITED CULTURE

CHANGED

The difference between the building in present and in past is significant. We decided focused on one unit in investigating the change, and attempt to understand the bigger context from the small mechanisms. The axonometric diagrams on the next spread show the complexity of the changes around the inherited courtyard. By breaking down the changes in simple categories, we started to see the pattern behind the changes, and further understood the purpose of each mechanism utilised for change through a series of studies of plan, sections, and axonometric drawings.

We recognize that each of the diverse alterations follows a certain rationality or purpose, which is to sustain the proportion of the courtyard and the rituals. From this study, we defined the notion of “Scenery” as the necessary alterations imposed on the shell in satisfying particular needs.
TRANSFORMATION OF INHERITED CULTURE

axonometric diagrams of changes

index right
Through our study of the transformation in architectural mechanism and the rationality behind it, we realized that in this housing unit, the changing layer worked together in sustaining the unchanging layer: sustaining the original proportion, especially of the collective spaces, and the base rituals it implies. For this stage of our research, we tried to understand the relationship between architectural transformation and rituals.

ARCHITECTURE AND RITUAL
As we found from this very unit that certain rituals were sustained despite the change in form, we asked ourselves again what kind of impact or effects these spatial and formal changes have on rituals. Through comparing the articulation of the spaces, we recognized two main reoccurring rituals despite the drastic change of architectural space: The ritual of gathering and the ritual of recessing. The ritual of gathering continues to exist by sustaining the centrality of the old family courtyard that generates encounters between individuals, which is essential for sustaining a family life and structure. The ritual of recessing is that of the experience of gradual decrease of the spatial scale from the exterior to interior.

UNROLLED SECTIONAL ANALYSIS
In the unrolled sectional analysis in the next few pages, we carried out in depth comparative analysis of the unit. By taking the two “base rituals” that we have identified, we studied how architectural transformation of the unit affect the nature of these rituals. In this study, we aimed to understand and interpret the complex relationship of each architectural mechanism (light, level changes, texture, etc.) and social life (movement, interaction, etc.).

When studying the ritual of recessing, we discovered that even though this proportional order existed from the beginning, it is enhanced through alterations such as canopies and elevated thresholds. When studying the ritual of gathering, we can see that all the alterations worked together to make the old courtyard (now living room) more distinct and more attractive comparing to the rest of the spaces in its elaborated borders which allow people in the living room to see without being seen; different in natural lighting quality and the differentiation of its floor material.

From our study of this specific unit, we found that the base rituals suggested by inherited structure sustained and even enhanced itself through the sophisticating of the existing divisions and territories. The overall experience of the ritual is therefore amplified and became more dramatic and distinct.
ritual of gathering then
ritual of gathering now

TRANSFORMATION OF INHERITED CULTURE

Room like
Containment Framed
Inertia - Womb Like
Containment Framed Room like
Containment Being in Trap Momentarily Frame
Half Containment
Half Being Open
Being in
Open Field
Moment of Frame
Being in Tunnel - Passage
Being in Trap
Being at the Threshold (Half Open Half Closed)
Womb Like Containment demarFdemarF Room like
Containment Passage like Containment
Body
Status Passing
Movement
Relation with others
Seeing without Being Seen
Encounter
To Be Exposed
Seeing Before Being Seen
Being Seen without Seeing
To Be Hidden
Being Seen without Seeing
Limited Relation
Seeing Before Being Seen
Encounter Being Together
Observing Together
Surveillance as one of the many
Turn Left
A Step Up
A Step Down
Standing and Looking Outside
Bowing Head
Bending Body
Turn Right
A Step Up
A Step Down
Sitting Small Step Up
Inertia Small Step Down A Step Down A Step Up A Step Down

Approaching Pausing Entering Entering gniretnEgniretnE gniretnEgniretnE
ReorientinggnissaPgnitneiroeR
Passing Destination: Gathering gnivaeLgnitixEgnitixE

Space
Material
Light
Movement
Notation
**SHELL, SCRIPT, SCENERY**  
reading architecture as a play

**READING ARCHITECTURE AS A PLAY**  
Through (and parallel with) our investigation, we developed the notion of reading architecture as a theatre production- a play, and the play consists of “script” (which is the users, time, economy, etc.), “shell” (which is the notion we extracted from our investigation of the unchanged), and “scenery” (which is the outcome of the negotiation between the shell and the script).  

Through the lens of shell, script and scenery, we discussed what role each of them play in the transformation of architecture, as well as their relationship with each other. Out of the three notions, we focused on shell and scenery as we identified them as formal entities that could be controlled and extracted as operative tools. This reading of a play was our attempt to validate our findings of the “changed” and “unchanged” layers of the Ecochard housing grid. The use of objects such as shell, scenery and script as metaphor allowed us to distill our findings as early steps into our final abstraction of the research, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

**CONCEPT AND NARRATIVE DIAGRAMS: TRANSFORMATION OF INHERITED CULTURE**  
In the concept and narrative diagram we can see that negotiation occurs due to the conflict or misfit between the “shell” and the “script”. In mediating this situation, scenery is constructed as the response. This simple diagram shows the relationship between shell, script and scenery, as well as reflects the idea of “inheritance”. The inherited culture (in this case, the original Ecochard housing unit) mediates with and adapts to certain scenario (that is different from which the inherited culture originally derived) by means of transformation.  

Ecochard interpreted the traditional Islamic courtyard housing and Moroccan culture and living (shell) in his 8x8 housing grid (scenery) as his response to mediate with the larger social and economic condition (script); and as the society and economy change through time (script), layers and layers of alterations/appropriation (scenery) appeared on the Ecochard housing grid (shell), showing yet another act of negotiation. From this we can see that the act of inheritance is indeed a never-ending phenomenon, sceneries are constructed as product of negotiation between shell and script, and serve as shells for the next act of inheritance.
SHELL

Deriving from our research on the unchanged, the notion of shell is the architectural space that determines the territories - both in social and formal terms - by defining how the territories are divided and how those territories relate to each other. By doing so it suggests a certain way of living; forms the basis of the rituals that would take place in that architectural space. Shell can be “strong” or “weak” in relation to its tendency to change. In any case it continue to exist through the passage of time as an underlying material structure. Its strength/ stability depends on following parameters:

1. The spatial definition of form. This means how defined or ambiguous the planning is, depending on the composition of wall, column and gap.

2. The social/ spatial order generated by pre-established proportion. When the proportion comes in high contrast, it suggest a spatial hierarchy which leads to social power imbalance. For example, a bigger space with higher capacity suggests a collective body to inhabit, and smaller ones individual bodies. It is easier to change the relatively smaller space for it comes with less energy to spend.

3. The thickness of boundaries between spaces. A thick boundary is less prone to change than a thin one.

EXERCISE: HYPOTHETICAL SHELLS

Throughout our research, we carried out various autonomous exercises in supporting and testing the notions we developed. In this exercise, we tried to construct different shells and investigate the relationship between proportions, wall thickness, spatial hierarchy and social structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Space of orphans</th>
<th>Space of brothers and sisters</th>
<th>Space of patriarchy</th>
<th>Space of school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Direction</td>
<td>Binary Division of Land</td>
<td>Centralized Direction</td>
<td>Peripheral Direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homogeneous Distribution of Spaces</td>
<td>Homogeneous Distribution of Spaces</td>
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<th>Space of individuals</th>
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<tr>
<td>No Direction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heterogeneous Division of Land</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homogeneous Distribution of Spaces</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
SCENERY

Scenery is the architectural space aroused from the particularity of a given time. There is always a certain level of mediation due to the conflict between the capacity of shell and the particular needs. When the shell mediates with the inheriting party (which we call the “script”: user, time, economy, etc.), the outcome of negotiation is what we call the “scenery”. The sceneries differ due to the strength of the shell and the energy capacity of the bodies that inhabit the shell.

Through the transformation from shell to scenery, we can recognise two acts: the act of hardening (enhancing) and the act of softening (weakening) of the shell through various mechanisms.

MECHANISMS: VISUAL AND PHYSICAL OBSTACLES

We studied the mechanisms utilised in hardening and softening the shell through a series of drawings as shown in the catalogue of our initial research on tools for change below. We later established that these tools or mechanisms can be categorised as visual or physical obstacles.

Visual obstacle is the composition of solid walls and openings as well as visual indication of boundaries (material change).

Physical obstacle includes accessibility (level changes, distance between spaces, and the amount of direct entrances) overhead structure, and change in texture.

THE COMPLEXITY OF NEGOTIATION: A CIRCULAR PROCESS

Taking section 3 of our target unit for example: the facade facing the collective courtyard has become the main entrance of the block as opposed to the original blind wall. Besides the new openings, new steps, tiles, and barred off windows among many other new elements can be found.

Here, we can identify that both softening and hardening mechanism are applied in negotiating with the change of scenario. The main entrance is moved to facing the collective courtyard, increasing the accessibility of that side of the shell (softening), and in protecting privacy, various hardening obstacles such as level changes, lengthened path, low door, etc., are applied.

Through the manipulation of these visual and physical obstacles, the scenery is constructed and the shell is transformed. The scenery of one stage serves as the shell for the next act of inheritance.
TIME, TERRITORY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Taking a step back from the notion of shell and scenery, we understood that we are actually looking at the relation between territories, memories and time.

Through our previous investigation, we understood that there are certain unchanging (stable) and changing (unstable) layers of architecture. In the New Medina, we see that the changing layer operates in order to sustain the unchanging layer. Collective spaces are more stable when you compare with other spaces however in order to stay the same they have to mediate with their environment. In this sense we recognise that the form is inseparable from the social life, as a dynamic entity which behaves in a certain rational that can be read in the following three layers:

LAYER 1: TERRITORY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The territories are defined by ownership, and within each territories, there is something that acts as the core value/the heart/the most stable and withstands the test of time. This core of the territory is the collective memory, the commons.

Referring back to the theme of “Transformation of Inherited Culture”, the inherited culture is indeed the collective memory. Transformation is driven by time and the attitude and outcome differs depending on the nature of different memories, and the people’s relationship to the memory. For every memory, there should be a minimal architectural, physical component that allows it to be fulfilled and contained. In other words, one can strip the structure down until the space where the specific memory take place can no longer be identified.

To further elaborate, the architectural container of the collective memory is the collective (sacred) space, which marks its importance within the territory with both its scale and materiality. It provides a ritualistic space in which a social group forms and strengthens through the ritual of gathering. By practicing the base rituals suggested by this collective space, the collective memory can be sustained in spite of the ephemerality of individual bodies. Overall, this layer provides the essentials of an architectural space in order to form the territory of a collective, an underlying layer that is the most stable, space that is common in different sections of time.

LAYER 2: TERRITORY VS. MEMORY (INTERNAL MEDIATION)

Within each territories, spaces and architectural mechanism differ or change as their response to its heart- the collective memory. We can also see the collective memory as “treasure”, and all the changing layers within the territory as mechanism utilised in protecting it. Depending on the size of the social group that shares the memory, the need of intimacy and sense of ownership differs, which requires different attitude and response between it and the territory. In spatial terms this could be seen as the negotiation between collective and individual (profane) spaces within the territory.

The individual spaces change according to particular needs of the individuals within the territory. However, for each individual space, architectural mechanisms differ depending on...
their relation with the common/sacred space (layer 1). What we witnessed in Ecochard Grid was that all the changing elements follow the rationale of conserving the collective space.

Depending on the size of the social group that shares the memory, the need of intimacy and sense of ownership differs, which requires different attitude and response between it and the territory.

**LAYER 2: MEMORY VS. MEMORY/TERRITORY VS. TERRITORY (EXTERNAL MEDIATION)**

Zooming out from a single territory, we then have the relation between two different territories. Even though the distance between two territories is fixed, the relation can be manipulated by the means of architectural components (which can be seen in the diagram on the previous page) depending on established or desired attitude between the different social groups and the collective memories.

This leads to a tangible architectural built form that conveys the relationship between two different memories and/or territories, which physically controls the movement of the body when moving from one territory to another. This route/obstacles one has to go through from one to the other could be understood as a passage/ in between space/ buffer zone.

Different from the common and individual spaces, the buffer space or in between space is not specifically inhabited by anyone, and it changes based on the relationship between two different territories and memories at a certain moment. For example, if the territories are more familiar then the relations are softer and more permeable, if territories are more unfamiliar with each other, then the relations are harder and less permeable.

**POSITIONING: TIMELINE**

In the case of this Ecochard 8x8 housing unit, the collective memory is preserved, and through the process, it has been further enhanced, become more defined and distinct, and even exclusive. However, in other scenario, for instance, when someone from complete different culture that does not share the same collective memory inherit the place, there could be a complete destruction, which we understood as “memory loss”.

From our final abstraction, we developed two different points where the agency of architects comes to play as two different positions we could adopt:

1. Positioning him/herself in the beginning of the timeline and create a frame work that could accommodate many different memories, in avoiding complete destruction and achieving long lifespan of a building.
2. Dealing with the relation between two specific rituals/settings and territories of a specific moment in the timeline.
CONCLUSION
summary and reflection

Ornelas, in her essay ‘Type, Memory, and Meaningful Form’, proposed the notion of ‘memory’ as another layer to Quatremère de Quincy and Moneo’s definition of typology: “Memory is the mental capacity of faculty of retaining and reviving facts, events, impressions, etc., or of recalling or recognizing previous experiences... remembrance; recollection.” Type in architecture is a mechanism for recollection and classification. Type, therefore, can be seen as the faculty for retaining and recalling architectural experience.1

In the context of morpho-typological study, our understanding based on our research of the 8x8 Ecochard housing grid is in line with Quatremère de Quincy and Moneo’s interpretation, reinforced by Padovan’s proposal of courtyard and pavilion, and finally solidified by Ornelas’s notion of “memory”.

We began our investigation with studying the history of the 8x8 Ecochard housing grid, understanding the project in its political, social and economic context. We found that Ecochard’s 8x8 housing grid is a product of negotiation between the blooming urbanisation and the Moroccan culture. Having foreseen the rapid densification, the structure proposed was not only his interpretation of Islamic courtyard housing, but also a base for future vertical development of the neighbourhood. In comparison with the original development, we recognise the drastic change in built form, character and atmosphere, and understood that we are witnessing a neighbourhood undergoing the transformation from Padovan’s “courtyard” to “pavilion”.

The complexity of this transformation motivated us to look into the rationality behind the change. We carried out in depth plan analysis of a chosen block and unit on our site in the New Medina, in closely studying the architectural mechanism. During our research we have carried out various exercises, some more autonomous than the others, but they still all work together in helping us read the unit and its transformation in different angles. We have surveyed the changed and unchanged elements of the building, from which we developed the notion of reading architecture as a play, with further study in defining the notion of “shell” and “scenery”, in hope of extracting architectural tools for further exploration.

Finally, as our final abstraction, we concluded that the transformation is actually directly affected by the attitude towards the collective memory, which can also be seen as “the common” in response to the year theme of the Methods and Analysis chair. Through architectural mechanism and treatment to the collective, individual, and buffer spaces, we could manipulate and control the relationship between different territories and collective memories. Specifically in the case of our chosen site, we identified the preservation and enhancement of the collective memory through the transformation. However, in other scenarios where attitude towards the memory was changed, the inherited structure could also face complete destruction, resulting in “memory loss”.

Deriving from our abstraction, we have developed two different positions for further research and exploration for our own graduation projects.

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IMAGE CREDITS


TÜRKER NACI SAYLAN
During his Bachelor degree in Istanbul Technical University in Turkey, Türker has interned in various architectural offices such as Superpool and Pab Architecture. Before studying in TU Delft, he worked as a junior architect in Ozer-Urger Architects for a year.

REBEKAH TIENT
Rebekah obtained her Bachelor degree from the University of Kent in the UK, after which she worked in 3XN Copenhagen HQ as an architectural assistant for a year. During her time in the TU Delft, she has done one exchange semester in ETSAB, Barcelona.
abstract

This study examines the relationship between the built environment and its actors or users through the specific angle of adhocism. The research group targeted the grand taxi stations, joints points of many different entities, taxi drivers, residents, travelers, market owners, etc., as the stages of investigating actions. Different from other perspectives, this approach believes that the ad hoc interventions in the built environment reflects a broader context within which it was produced, as well as some hidden deficiencies. Through filtering and categorizing the ad hoc interventions on sites, the research group decoded four issues which builders failed to solve and are later mediated by users. For each problem, a toolbox for different ad hoc paraphernalia has been developed. Further, the group carefully scrutinized the base layer of those interventions from the angles of technique, communication, and form. By which, we generated understandings on how the built environment facilitates ad hoc interventions and how use negotiates interests of different entities. The research group closed the study by developing a chart concerning how an architect could position themselves towards potential ad hoc interventions.
INTRODUCTION
first impressions of the chosen sites

At the start of the course we focused on public transport, we selected four taxi stands within the city of Casablanca that caught our interest. They all form an important node in the system of public transport but have a very different connection to the city. After the first site visits, two locations got elected out of these four. The two chosen locations are very different in the way the residential area is connected with the main intersection and taxi stand.

LOCATION MAÂRIF
The neighborhood Maârif is located in the middle of Casablanca close to the city center. It is a diverse neighborhood in terms of income levels and function. On first sight, the Maârif location is a dense and highly used transport node. The daily activity of the intersection evolves all around the public transport. Around the intersection, a lot of café’s, gas stations and garages can be found. Further from the intersection, the signs of domestic life show up. As soon as you walk 20 meters into a perpendicular street, you’ll find yourself disconnected from the intersection. This is because of the difference in noise level and use. On the intersection as well as in the domestic areas, the site has a regulated character.

LOCATION SIDI MOUMEN
The location in Sidi Moumen seems less regulated compared to the one in Maârif. Sidi Moumen is a residential neighborhood on the outer edge of Casablanca and is mainly populated by inhabitants with a lower income level. There is a large permanent market next to the housing blocks. At the other side of the road there is an industrial area with multiple factories located where a lot of the inhabitant’s work. This causes a big stream of people going from home to work every day. The intersection is a lively public transport center for people visiting the market or the factories. There are a lot of public activities at this location. As these activities are not accommodated or regulated by the public space, all kinds of adaptations and temporary structures arise.

TRACES OF BEHAVIOR
While visiting the locations we started to map the behavior of the people at the location. We were looking for ‘traces of behavior’, this was before we identified them as ad hoc interventions. We noticed that there were a lot of small changes made to the original architecture by the users and building owners. These ranged from blockades to prevent cars from parking at certain places. Or completely new store facades placed over the original facade finish.

On site in Sidi Moumen we noticed that there were many more interventions made by the users than in Maârif. Our first hypothesis was that this is due to the low income level and the private ownership. The people can’t afford to move to a bigger house or get a contractor to build an extension if they are in need for more space. We often saw they encountered the same issues as the other location but responded differently because of the different resources that were at hand. They would use paint to personalize their shop front instead of a new facade. Or an old sheet or used billboard poster to provide shade for their products/customers.
**DEFINITION AD HOC**

What these two sites have in common is the fact that there are quite a lot of additional structures and interventions initiated by the user or building owner. These additional, temporary and informal changes, we defined as ad hoc interventions. As architects, we are interested in the use of the place. In these two locations, we found a diverse set of usages, resulting in a diverse set of ad hoc interventions. These interventions could be key in understanding the use and character of the place.

Ad hoc derives from Latin, meaning ‘for this’. It is done for a specific purpose or use. Charles Jencks and Nathan Silver wrote a book called Adhocism in 1972, where they were the first to introduce this notion. Jencks defines it as ‘a purpose immediately fulfilled by the resources that are at hand’. This is currently the most common accepted definition. Important here is the part of the sentence ‘by resources that are at hand’.

Different ad hoc interventions occur in different circumstances, they result in a different outcome. And because of this, we can analyze the city through adhocism.

**ADHOCISM AS AN ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH METHOD**

Architectural analysis focuses generally on the direct effect of the built environment on the actors (the users) and the influence of the actors on the built environment. We took a different path, through the means of adhocism. The ad hoc interventions that we found are showing the way the different interests (such as the taxi driver, the market owner, the passersby) are negotiated in the built environment. They give insight in the ‘misfit’ between the original architecture and the needs of the users. It is showing the issues of the built environment. At the same time, ad hoc interventions are quite well able to indicate the use and activity of the place.

So, through ad hoc interventions we are able to analyze and understand the city, the chosen sites and the people’s behavior and culture. Within ad hoc interventions we look at different notions such as form, technique, capacity, time and resources.
AD HOC ON SITE
recordings of ad hoc interventions

After coming to the conclusion that adhocism is a great tool to research the relation between the built environment and the different involved actors, we made an inventory of the ad hoc interventions we observed on site. We recognized recurring patterns in these interventions and we were able to put the underlying issues into four categories.

RECORDING OF AD HOC INTERVENTIONS
The ad hoc interventions tell the story of the place. They show the underlying issues of the location, the deficiencies of built environment regarding the actual needs of users. In the two researched locations, four issues can be identified. These are general architectural problems, that are in these locations not yet taken into account by the architectural base-layer and later mediated by bottom-up interventions with resources at hand.

THE ISSUE OF PROTECTION
- Need for shading
- Clamatising
- Need for covering
- Need for preservation
- Need for safety
- Need for security

THE ISSUE OF IDENTITY
- Need for showing use
- Need for distinguishing
- Need for differentiation
- Representation
- Need for branding
- Need for attention
- Need for attention
- Need for branding

THE ISSUE OF CAPACITY
- Need for more space
- Need for shop
- Need for indicating space
- Need for terrace seating

THE ISSUE OF MOVEMENT
- Need for redirecting
- Leveling
- Need for access
- Need for regulating
- Separating flows
- Need for obstruction

AD HOCISM
TOOLBOX

The ad hoc interventions can be organized in eighteen tools. It’s important to note that within these tools a large range of examples can be found and that combinations are possible. This has mainly to do with resources that are at hand and the permanency of the solution.

Protection: climate

The tool used is mainly depended on the support that the original architecture provides. When the location is providing two points of support such as two walls, a sheet can be strung from one way to the other. The system of strung sheets is probable the most informal option. In the case of restaurants protection is used together with capacity, to claim some more space.

Protection: safety

The issue of safety can be solved in different ways. The wall can be extended, for example by adding barbed wire on top. Or by filling the window with shutters or building a cage around the window. In the last case, the cage, that is to prevent from burglars, is still allowing the window to open, and gives inhabitants the possibility to use that extra space.

Capacity

In the case of capacity, the general tools of architecture can be used. Sometimes, only the change of the slab, for example change of the pavement, can get the message of use across. The same way, an awning already makes people feel they are in a privatized area, even though it is still part of the sidewalk. These tools can obviously merge together in a more solid example of claiming space. The problem of capacity is seen a lot in the researched locations. The tools of other chapters of the toolbox often result too in the claiming of the space.

Representation

Every ad hoc solution is unconsciously representing the character of the user/owner. There are nevertheless ad hoc solutions that are in the first place put in place for the sake of representation. The painting of a facade can already tell a story about the usage/function of the building behind that facade.

Movement: separating flows

The different tools form a gradient of strictness. Where the sign can still easily be ignored, a high wall cannot be negotiated. Sometimes the tools of movement are used for representation or capacity as well. For example, the blockades to prevent from parking can double as flower pots. They can be used to represent the building.

Movement: leveling

The ramp is the general solution to negotiate levels. This can be cut in or added to the original pavement. At the same time, the height difference in the pavement was there for a reason, to separating flows. The tools of leveling and the tools of separating flows are therefore more than once seen put together.
CONCLUSION: DUALITY OF TOOLS

A lot of the tools can work in different issues at the same time. The wall can be used to separate flows and at the same time, claim the space for the need of capacity. The awning of the upper left photo for instance, is in the first place a tool for the need of capacity. At the same time, it protects the customers and adds to the representation of the cafe. Similarly, the buckets with plants are in the first instance put in place to regulate flows of users. Next to that, it turned out to be a opportunity for the owner to represent himself. When revising all the tools, the next organization can be made. Together all these tools show the character of the place. The way the tools are put in place show the resources, materials, as well as skills, that were at hand.
In the following chapter, we scrutinised into the question how the built environment facilitates users adaptations, the ad hoc interventions. By a full examination of the base layer of those interventions, we prone to establish in-depth cognitions on how sensitive the human actions are towards spatial apparatus and their qualities. In which, we approached the issue from three different perspectives, form, technique and communication. After developing basic understandings on each perspective, we picked three scenarios to depict how actors’ actions and usage link all different fragments in the built environment together.

**SELECTION OF SITUATIONS**

From both locations, Maârif and Sidi Moumen, we selected six points each to dive into. All six points are of relatively high complexity regarding different actors involved and varieties of their built environments. As a result, each situation represents numerous underlying negotiations between separate distinctive entities. The research started from a comprehensive analysis on each point, and then we compared locations with each other from the three angles, form, technique and communication.

In the Form part, we studied how different dimension and scale of base layers would cast the influence on the actions of users and later the way they adapted the place. A simple change of the width of the pedestrian street might end up with a significant difference regarding the liveliness of street life. Similarly, various finishing material of the facade would bring quite diverse methods on personalisation. We discussed these sensitivities in the part of Technique. In the last part, Communication, we dived into the semiotic paraphernalia in the built environment and how it contributes to passing direct and indirect messages to viewers.
THE BASE-LAYER: FORM
the effect of form on ad hoc interventions

ALLEY MARKET

Original Situation

Current Situation

Change in form

Vendor is interested in this alley because of a large flow of passersby

Canopy provides shade for a larger stand

The position of the stands and canopies create a funnel effect and slows down the flow

Width

The width allows the market owner to cover the alley, there are two perfect points of attachment.

Height

The level difference indicates that the alley is of less importance to the main sidewalk. As the alley is highly used by pedestrians and street vendors with their cars, the height difference is negotiated by adding a ramp.

Height

The wall of the alley protects the property of the factory owner. As the use of the alley intensifies and structures get built, the wall height got increased.
Zoning and claiming
The sections of the street separates the pavement in a few zones. This allows the market owner to claim the space by putting down benches. The blocking of the walking route is no problem, because there is enough space.

Height
The level difference separates different flows of users. This is negotiated by local ramps to provide an entry for the market stalls. This way the separation of flows is not lost.

Height
The wall provides, together with the trees, shade on the ground. This does not cover the need and is extended by the canopy.
Points of attachment
The shape of the arcade makes it easy to enclose. For example by putting in sunshade or a railing.

Width
Broad sidewalk makes it able to claim space without affecting the interest of the pedestrian to much.

Zones
The form of the section is creating different zones to claim.

Change in form
1. Form makes it easy to enclose extra space
2. The shift of usage requires an intervention to provide shading
3. Broad sidewalk allows for additional extension
CONCLUSION

Through the analysis of different situations regarding the spatial features of the base layer, dimension, scale and proportion, a few conclusions could be conducted.

Negotiating between shop owner and passerby

In the analyzed locations, the issue of capacity is visible. The need for more space of the shop owner are driving his development. There are different stages of claiming space, from putting out some furniture to constructions made of concrete. The dimension of the pavement influences the evolution of the extension.

However, this is not a one to one relation between the width of the pavement and the stage of development which is reached. The balance that will be found on location is highly dependent on the negotiation between the interests of the shop owner and the passerby. Therefore, what matters most is the dimension of the pavement concerning the number of pedestrians. This is stopping the evolution at a particular stage.

Leveling, material and objects

In these locations, the extension of the buildings is not regulated. Nevertheless, it can be clearly seen, that the extensions of different buildings next to each other will have similar dimensions. By the use of difference in materiality, difference in levels and the presence of urban furniture, the public space is divided into zones. This is clear architectural communication to the users and results in the claiming of space per zone. Whether the next zone will also be claimed depends on the different interests working in that location. The owner of the building is able to claim an extra zone when the interest of the passersby is not affected too much.
THE BASE-LAYER: TECHNIQUE
the effect of technique on ad hoc interventions

**CAR RAMP UP**

Original Situation

**Current Situation**

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**Material property**
The cheap and compliant finishes encouraged owners’ personal applications. Users could easily add additional layers.

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**Material property**
The small sized pavement made it possible for users to build a cut-in ramp, as users could remove some tiles and pour concrete ramps.

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**Material property**
For more permanent usage, owners used concrete for its difficulty in moving.
**Material property:**
The small sized pavement made it possible for users to re-shaped the sidewalk and ramp without cutting or breaking the tile in use.

**Dimension**
Pedestrian adopted protection instruments for big height different between levels.

**Dimension**
Slopes with big inclination angles prevented drivers from parking their cars.
CONCLUSION

From the scrutinizing of the materiality and techniques of ad hoc interventions on site, two logics arise from the research. We noticed that the use of material can indicate the durability of the intervention.

Over time

For the same purpose, the ad hoc instruments could range from a piece of canvas to concrete-made arcade. The materials in use indicate for how long the instruments would exist in and influence the built environment. A light curtain for sun shading implies that users might retrieve the intervention over one day’s time, while a concrete-made extension would exist in the circumstances for years. Besides, the change of materials could be regarded as a series of evolution in time, from informal to formal. Else, time also cast the influence on the interventions through the durability of the apparatus’ material. For less durable materials, like plaster and tiles, their value and appearance decay fast in time, users prone to replace or renovate on original layers in a shorter span. For example, users tend to paint over a cheap looking surface sooner than over a facade made of marble slabs.

Material properties

The properties of materials applied on the base layers could significantly influence how users would implement their later interventions. Materials with high adaptability are those easy to apply additional finishing layers or of relative high plasticity, for instant, concrete, and plaster. Users could easily add tiles or screws to it without damaging the original finishing. While materials offered on a larger scale and of high brittleness, like stone panels and marbles panels, are inconvenient for adaptation. Additional supporting structures are needed in most of the cases.
THE BASE-LAYER: COMMUNICATION

The effect of communication on ad hoc interventions

All ad hoc interventions in the built environment are communicating with something. In this part, however, we deliberately focused our research on those representative instruments and semiotics communications.

SEMIOTIC INTERPRETATION

Through communicational ad hoc interventions, for instance, a sign, builders pass specific information to viewers. To study on how those messages are conveyed to the passerby, we first try to abstract semiotic information from original situations into interpretative drawings.

Before translating images, we went through all the communicative tools and filtered them into three categories, signs, users or decorative attributes and changing of materials. Later in these drawings, we highlight the devices in use and information they communicate. For instance, a flower pot at the entrance of residential building falls into the category of decorative attributes and indicates that the structure is well maintained and treated with care. At the same time, the scale and shape of these objects are also preserved. We think the scale and form of the objects offer a hint on how large the influential area would be. A billboard with fonts more than half meter high is designed for motor drivers at distances and passing at high speed. For those A4 posters on the wall of apartments lobbies, residents would stop and read them at a close distance.

Moreover, during translation, we offer those objects with different shades of grey according to how quickly users could obtain those messages. For a signboard, name and function are conveyed to the viewers at a glance. The information communicating most directly would be marked as black. While for the users or decorative attributes, pedestrians have to reflect what messages they indicate. Those representative instruments would be coloured as dark grey. For tools falling into the category of changing in material, we regard this type of communication is the most obscure ones and give them a colour of light grey.
DIRECT
Direct communication refers to those ad hoc instruments which reveal messages of locations straightforward to users, for instance, pedestrians could directly get to know the function and name of a shop through its sign without a second thought or any doubt.

INDIRECT
Indirect communication is relating to the cases that instruments indicate certain messages to users. For example, dining tables and chairs at the front of restaurants indicate functions. At the same time, materials and conditions of instruments indicate the character of places.
**CONCLUSION**

Through the research into communication instruments, we established two cognitions regarding how the physical features of semiotic apparatus cast influence on message delivering.

**Directness of instruments**

Building up a sign is a straightest forward way of delivering messages to users, while decorative or users' attributes could also reveal functions or features of places, but in a relative ambiguous way. Meanwhile, by examining the material in use, users could get a clue on the conditions or characteristics of a location. Although in most cases no direct message is passed to the users, this method of communication is still efficient concerning the underlying information would be complements of direct messages.

**Scale / distance**

The scale of the communication instruments varies significantly according to the users that the tools are targeting. The scale of the apparatus will influence on how much area in the built environment they could affect. A billboard with fonts more than half meter high is designed for motor drivers at distances and passing at high speed. For those signboards attaching to the fences of restaurants, only pedestrians at a close distance moving at low speed could read them.
After understanding the architectural base-layer in its form, technique and communication, we brought the three together in a single drawing what we call the use-drawing. We highlight three situations we encountered on the locations. We picked these three situations because of the multiple negotiations that took place between the different user groups.

In a cartoon like way we showed the observed negotiations through the notions of form, technique and communication. Which we highlighted in the different colors. It becomes clear that the act of one user results in an act of another through one of the three notions. This continues until an equilibrium is formed.

Car ramp up
This situation was found in the district of Maârif. Garage owners first start to build a ramp to negotiate the leveling issue to the garage entrance. However, the introduction of the ramp breaking the existing balance and interfering with other entities living around, actors start to apply ad hoc interventions in line with their own interests, based on the existing condition of the built environment. The ramp provides drivers potentials to park their cars on the sidewalk, which in turn blocking the garage entrance and pedestrian routes. As a result, garage owners put up a sign and concrete pots to stop parking. After bringing up all new ad hoc instruments, a new balance was achieved.

Alley market
In Sidi Moumen there is an alley used as a market. Because the original architecture is providing a certain zoning of the area. By leveling, the different users are separated. The alley is the main connection between the neighborhood and the factory. This route is used daily and attracts all kind of street vendors. The street vendors facilitate themselves by negotiating leveling, adding roof protection and providing places to sit. This is possible due to the concrete walls, and the large dimensions of the sidewalk. The owner of the building reacts to this by adding protective ad hoc tools on top of the wall.

Arcade
The arcade is not continuous throughout the whole street and additionally the sidewalk is extremely wide. Therefore, the pedestrians are not using the arcade. Resulting in the shop owners claiming the extra space by closing it off using curtains, fences and wooden panels. This also provides the desired shade which comes with the shift of function to 'outside'. The wide sidewalk gives the opportunity to extend even more with a tent structure. Resulting in a low used zone, allowing for even more shops to extend onto the street.
Don’t climb over my wall!

I’m hot!!
The sun is burning!

It’s easy to drill and no one seems to own it.

These stools look improvised, but I’m eating cheap!

More customers!!

I’m passing this alley on a daily basis!

I’m passing this alley on a daily basis!

I want to go up!
And use the wall for shade!

I’m hot too!!

You’re blocking our way!

My products need protection from rain and sun!

Hey, do you need some oranges?

The market is slowing us down!

The smooth and cheap material is perfect to paint on!

The shape of the arcade is perfect to close off!

I’m putting a railing here for safety!

Let’s move the furniture here since the arcade is not being used!

I would like some shade!

This sidewalk is so wide!

I don’t want to sit in front of that wall communicated cafe!

Apparantly we can drink tea here!

Result

Result
CONCLUSION: A NEW BALANCE

The use drawings show different interest active in a small situation. Every interest results in their own adaptations to the base-layer. One small change result in the next, followed by another. Until a new balance is found. That new balance is found depends on the time, the weight of the interests and the resources that are at hand.

Demonstrated in the drawing below, the development is showing the growing interest of the market owner. Starts of as a small stand in the shade of the wall. When his business grows he uses a table or a cart, but then he is in need for shade to protect his goods. Which then again results in extra protection from the building owner, since the wall is not high enough any longer. The development will not develop until the last stage because of the interest of the passer by, who won’t have enough space to walk any more (in blue hatch). The negotiation results in a new balanced situation that stops at step four.
In the previous chapters, we discussed ad hoc interventions on site and how the built environment enables users adaptations. However, in order to take positions for ourselves, we need to explore the effect of different positions on the negotiation in the environment. We picked one location we studied in depth earlier and tried to push it to some extreme scenarios. For example, satisfying all users’ interests through the architectural base-layer so there won’t be a need for any ad hoc interventions.

**Alley arcade**

In this scenario, we deliberately tried to fulfill all different users’ interests by means of architectural instruments. Resulting in no ad hoc interventions needed in this scenario. Each actor and their actions are highly regulated. In the alley, for instance, commercial functions are located inside sheds, no market stalls are allowed anymore. At the same time, however, the built environment offers little space for later adaptations.

**Boulevard**

In this plot, the site was designed with the intentions to prevent ad hoc adaptations. Unlike the previous scenario, all users’ interests we located on site were ignored. For instance, the trees and urban furniture were arranged in the way that only wide enough to pass by. Therefore, no space left for a street vendor to occupy. At the same time, the flows were also highly regulated. A series of architectural instruments were implemented to enforce regulations.

**Open market**

In the open market scenario, other than the original building blocks, all elements for any regulation were deleted from the current situation. Users got the freedom to adapt the site and reshape the built environment according to their interests. However, the outcome appeared to be chaotic. Comparing with the two examples above, users had to put a lot more effort to intervene on site, which required different entities embedding with strong willings to claim their needs.

**Ruled alley**

As for the open market scenario, the site was also intentionally left blank for later adaptations. However, different from the previous plot, lots of signs and guards were planned on site to regulate actions. Although all those instruments would be useful only if users’ willings to intervene were low enough. Comparing this plot with the open market one, we could conclude that in those ‘blank’ situations, usages of places are highly sensitive to surrounding circumstances.

**Lego world**

In the LEGO world, we tried to offer freedom for users’ adaptation in an intervened way. As architects, we provided highly adaptable building materials, ‘LEGO’ bricks, which actors could implement them according to their special needs and in the way they preferred. Meanwhile, certain rules would be introduced as handbooks to users. The LEGO world would be a never finished construction, ever adapting to the new needs and interests. We regard the LEGO scenario as the one of highest in adaptability and facilitating adhocism.

**Zoning**

In the zoning scenario, the interest of the passersby is taken into account. The trees and benches are providing a place to sit. At the same time, they create zones and therefore make sure there is enough space to pass by. The interests of the market and factory owners are not taken into account. They solve their interests in an ad hoc way.

**Flea market**

The flea market is an open design. Nevertheless, rules and lines on the ground are regulating the activities in this scenario. This ensures enough walking space to pass by and a separation from the property of the building owners. Ad hoc interventions are taking place in a regulated way.
No street vendors

This path is only wide enough to pass. No event is possible.

Steel panels! Come on, it's impossible to climb!

Never try to put market stall behind this fence. I have an eye on you.

I cannot push my car up to sidewalk anymore!

I don't like wet feet.

Stay close, watch out for the cars!

I'm not feeling safe to sit here.

Sorry, I've to find customers.

Watch out! I want to take the bus!

GET OUT OF THE WAY!

Don't sell here!

And don't park.

Sorry, I live to find customers.

No man on my terrain!

Changes for sale!

This post and rope will keep the market away.

No trash on my terrain!!

Oranges for sale!!

It's too narrow! No space for stalls.

It's too narrow! No space for stalls.

Stay close, watch out for the cars!

I'm not feeling safe to sit here.

Sorry, I've to find customers.

Watch out! I want to take the bus!

GET OUT OF THE WAY!

Don't sell here!

And don't park.

Sorry, I live to find customers.

No man on my terrain!

Changes for sale!

This post and rope will keep the market away.
Private Property... Don't enter!!

I won't enter even if there are no additional obstacles.

No market stall in front of private property

A fence would be nice here.

Finally some shading

Do you need a place to sit as well? Take some bricks from the wall!

No street vendors

This is just enough to keep the cars away.

Here are some more building blocks!
Ahhh, a place to sit
Don’t enter my property!
Lots of space for walking!
Buy your lemons here!
No street vendors outside
Set up my stall here, I need to obey the rules.
Free zone rules... All users need to obey and set up their stalls inside the zone.
Mum, thanks to the free zone regulation, we have enough space to walk.
I cannot put up my stall here. It’s not a free zone for vendors.
You’re free on designing your space.
Free zone... Free zone...
CONCLUSION

While trying out different extremes in the positioning of the architect, a few factors turned out to be key in position taking. The first one is until which stage the architect is willing to design.

Parameters

In the first stage, the land can still be adapted to every type of use, while in the last stage, only a limited amount of the kinds of usages can take place. Nevertheless, in the first stage, it is hard for the inhabitants to let the context suit their activity. The same goes for the last stage. With this interpretation of possibilities, stage 3 and 4 are most open to different interpretation of use. They provide essential comfort and some structure to build upon by the users. It will be in these stages that ad hoc interventions will flourish.

The second parameter which influencing adaptations, is the number of rules regulating activities. Rules and regulations, as complements to architectural tools, provide possibilities to adjust the situation. Besides, another important parameter is the attitude of the architect towards the users. In this parameter, we divided the main users from the secondary users. While main users can adapt the place to their interests, secondary users, like passersby, don’t have this possibility. The fifth and last parameter is the changeability of the construction. With the materials, techniques and forms chosen, the adaptable of the base-layer can be specified. To be able to combine all these factors in the analysis, of the extreme scenarios, the parameters are put in a circular diagram.
Positioning

With these parameters in mind, one can position himself relatively toward ad hoc interventions. The architect can choose to make space for adaptations or prevent other interpretation of the base-layer. In this way, the architect can choose to stimulate, allow or avoid adaptations of the built environment. Of course, there is not one way in doing that, and there is no hard line between two positions.

In the previous extreme scenarios, the position of the architect towards ad hoc interventions can be defined with the 5 parameters. Nevertheless, the scale of these parameters cannot be set. This depends on the scenarios that are compared.

The diagram of these parameters can only be used relatively. One architectural situation is satisfying the main users’ interests more than the other. As soon as a new scenario enters the comparison, the scale changes. The same goes for the architectural position arriving from this. One way of doing is more stimulating than the other.
MENG YANG
Meng received a bachelor of science on historic buildings conservation at Tongji University, Shanghai, China. After practising for a year, she came to TU Delft to continue her study. During which, she also did an internship at MVRDV, Rotterdam.

MATTHIJS ENGELE
During both his degrees at the TU Delft Matthijs did two exchange semesters, at the University of Melbourne and the KADK in Copenhagen. He gained some practical experience at the offices of Paul de Ruiter Architects and Bjarke Ingels Group in NYC.

MARLOES KNOESTER
Marloes did her bachelors at the TU Delft. Next to that, she gained some experience during her internship at ZVA in Ypenburg. During her masters, she did projects in the why factory and under the wings of heritage and architecture.
La Corniche is a highly privatized district in the city of Casablanca that operates as the city’s ‘other’. It is the place of holiday, wherein the ocean as natural common resource is becoming increasingly inaccessible and obstructed. This process is typified by the figure of the club. The research puts emphasis on understanding the underlying logics and motives of these club spaces, aiming to provide enough fertile ground for future architectural interventions. The investigation deals with the research topic at a diversity of scales; from the scale of the city, of the boulevard, of the club and its specific elements. While always aiming to approach the subject from a diversity of methods and tactics, in order to get a thorough understanding of this specific district in the city of Casablanca. Moreover, the structure of the research of la Corniche can be read as a trinity of readings. Wherein firstly, the boulevard is researched in its topographical situation, secondly the boulevard is read through its characteristic clubs to induce a theory and thirdly the boulevard is read through an interpretation of the theory in a few explorative models.
Casablanca is a city divided, not so much in its urban fabric, but most specifically along the coastline of the Atlantic Ocean. Ever since the French took Morocco under their protectorate, Casablanca’s harbour has been growing steadily. Indeed, without the harbour, Casablanca would never be the metropolis it is today.

**HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT**

When the French took over in 1912, the industrial revolution was well beyond its peak, but major improvements in technology allowed for the rapid expansion of the harbour during those days. Casablanca became the economic capital of the protectorate and one of the major port cities in North Africa. The increase in economic activity resulted in an increase in wealth and moreover in a rapid expansion of the city. Casablanca needed more places where the wealthy could escape the hustle and bustle of city life. Directly on the other side of the port, around the old medina, the world’s largest swimming pool was taken into use, further down the coast. In the area known as La Corniche the first private swimming clubs were conceived. These swimming pools were initially beyond the borders of the city, but as the city grew they were slowly surrounded by upper class neighbourhoods. Noticeable from the map is the fact that indeed the port and the spaces of leisure along the coast have been growing in perpendicular directions to each other. Obviously the omnipresence of the car (for those who could afford it) plays a fundamental role in this separated development. It has to be noted that the port and la Corniche are 8km apart, a distance which is not really coverable by anything other than a car in a comfortable way. Therefore, la Corniche historically has been a place that has developed more or less separately from Casablanca. For example there is a clear stagnation in growth during the ‘80s and ‘90s while Casablanca just kept growing. It is only recently that old clubs are being replaced by bigger developments such as the Anfa Mall and global companies having found an interest in the coastal area of Casablanca. The coastline right now is heavily contested and the beaches and rocks that allow free access to the coastline are getting more and more occupied by the clubs, restaurants, malls and hotels. Obviously this is a sign of the times and visible in coastal areas in demand by tourists around the world, the slight difference is only that in Casablanca it is mainly inhabitants of Casablanca that make use of these amenities. This in fact results in a disproportionately large section of the coastline that is being occupied by the clubs for only a small portion of the inhabitants of Casablanca; only the few per cent that can afford to be in these clubs will be able to use them. The majority is relegated to beaches further out of the city centre or the pointy rock formations of the El Hanks peninsula.

This kind of discriminative partitioning of Casablanca’s coastline is today even more at stake as the newly built tram line is giving access to the beach for a whole new group of people that previously was only moderately able to access the
beaches. As a tram ride is only 8 Dirham, which is 80 eurocent, families with lower incomes can actually make the trip to the beach now. However, the increased occupation of the coast by clubs leaves much to be desired for these citizens.

Today however, the developments have increased significantly, and as the space on la Corniche is limited, the clubs are quickly expanding onto the beaches, leaving less space for non-paying visitors. In fact, the spread of clubs around la Corniche has become so abundant that it is worth a closer look on how these clubs have shifted from mediating spaces to separating spaces on the boulevard.

Historically, the clubs served a mediating position between the public space of the boulevard and the Atlantic. By actively colonizing the pointy rock formations of la Corniche, the clubs built swimming pools, bars and restaurants on places that weren’t suitable for relaxation before. These clubs could make the very best spots available to the public as well as providing enormously luxurious services to those who could afford it. La Corniche was indeed a holiday space within Casablanca. At the same time, the beaches were left untouched as they didn’t provide the solid foundation on which swimming pools could be constructed, here some restaurants took up the position between beach and boulevard.
THE FOUR BOULEVARDS OF LA CORNICHE
a reading of the four characters of la corniche

The boulevard of la Corniche has become from a seaside panoramic road a heavily contested space. A space that is dominated by signs, walls, fences and gates. A space that has more and more received the qualities of a corridor than of a high quality panoramic road. In fact the ocean is only visible at a couple of places along the 8km long stretch. As noted earlier in the text, up until recently the car used to be dominant mode of transportation to get to la Corniche. Its relatively large distance to the city as well as the lack of public transportation make that only cars and taxis can get people into the area in a reasonable time. This can be considered an initial discriminating factor, as poorer people are less likely to visit these places.

READING THE BOULEVARD THROUGH VIDEO DOCUMENTATION
At the same time an appropriate way to study the boulevard is from the car: through filming the boulevard all the way from the Medina to la Corniche and actually showing the current state of the boulevard. This film is then converted into a space-motion diagram derived from ‘A View from the road’ by Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard. Lynch and Appleyard employed the method in order to understand the highway as a work of art. By analysing how space transforms along a section of highway, how landmarks, sightlines, the experience of speed etc. work. They could theorize the mechanisms of how moving over a highway can be an interesting experience from a phenomenological point of view. Lynch and Appleyard identified vision as the main way of experiencing the highway. The space-motion diagram proved instrumental for this research to create a comprehensive scheme over the whole of the boulevard. To this scheme the research added the placement of signs and advertisement panels. The result is a scheme that shows how clubs along the boulevard have been structurally closing off the boulevard from the sea as well as the saturation of the boulevard with signs to attract more attention than the other clubs.

AN EXCLUSIVE BOULEVARD
Where the clubs were initially the connecting factor between the boulevard and the natural common resource of the Atlantic Ocean in La Corniche, over time they have been more and more parasiting on the increasing demand for leisure space in the area of la Corniche and eventually have formed an almost impenetrable wall between the boulevard and the ocean. Only a paying customer can have access to the experience of the ocean at the moment, while with the connection of the tram line more and more inhabitants, including those with lower incomes have access to the coast. This results in the strange dichotomy where there is actually an increased demand in open leisure space on the coast while the opposite is happening; an increased enclosing and separation of leisure spaces along the coast.

The combination between the large distances and bordering off by the clubs makes that the ocean is indeed shifting from a common natural resource to a privately controlled natural resource. This leads to questioning how these clubs use architectural strategies and tactics to exploit the position in between the boulevard and the ocean.
During the field trip twelve clubs were studied as prospection sites for the whole boulevard. Whilst in Casablanca different methods were used to understand how these clubs work, how they are experienced and how they are constructed. These methods together provided the knowledge of the construction of the clubs and the way they operate on the boulevard.

ANALYZING THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS

The clubs chosen to study are spread along the almost 3.6 km long boulevard, starting at La Corniche where the new tram stop is located up till El Hank where the lighthouse is located. These prospection sites were taken as a representation for the entire boulevard, which is why it was important to select multiple sites on a variety of locations.

To investigate the chosen sites, different methods were used during the field trip. From photographing up to drawing techniques. Through photographs reoccurring elements such as signs, entrances and resources of each club were mapped, which resulted in a diagram showing a composition of these elements of all the clubs. This immediately provided an overview of the prospection sites and displays a first impression of the appearance and construction of the clubs.
CONSTRUCTION OF DESIRE
ANALYZING THROUGH HAND DRAWINGS

Another technique used to analyze the clubs was by drawing plans, sections and elevations by hand. The plans and sections gave a better understanding of the construction of the club itself and how it is organized. The elevation drawings explain how the club communicates with the public sphere. On these drawings some text was written to get a better grasp of what was happening there, giving it more of a narrative. The final set of drawings made during the field trip displays the way of movement through the club from entry towards the ocean, which led to spatial sequences of this experience. These different techniques gave us the information to understand how the clubs operate on the boulevard.

INSPIRATION

The methods that were applied during the research have been inspired by the great works of Gordon Cullen and Venturi, Scott Brown & Steven Izenour.

In the book Learning from Las Vegas the authors investigated the strip of Las Vegas. They have analyzed the strip and mapped all its components, mostly through depicting them as symbols and signs. Drawing the strip in this simplified, abstract way, gives a clear overview of the strip and the way it operates. A strip like this is comparable with the boulevard of Casablanca.

Gordon Cullen used drawing techniques to communicate spatial experiences. Important for him was to deliver the feeling, the atmosphere and the experience of a place for people to fully grasp the quality of a space. He did this by drawing sequences of how a person would walk through a place and how he would conceive it. An aspect which was important as well to understand what the goals of the boulevard and the clubs are.
After the field trip all these methods and drawings were combined into one drawing per club, obtaining all the appropriate information in order to understand how they work.

**COMBINING DIFFERENT TECHNIQUES AND METHODS INTO ONE DRAWING**

An axonometric section displays the lay-out of the resource. This is a product of the combination of plan, section and elevation drawings. Above this drawing, the different elements that were mapped through photographs are dissected to see what they consist of. At the bottom of the drawing the materiality and the spatial experience are shown. This last part is a result of the spatial sequence drawings. The arrow is a symbol for the way of proceeding through the club, which crosses different elements that represent architectural structures or materiality. The black oval dot represents a person and the lines around them symbolize the sense of enclosure or openness.

The drawings of four clubs are displayed in the next few pages and will be shortly elaborated.

**ELABORATING ON FOUR CLUBS**

The entrance of O’Palm is on the level of the boulevard, but the resource itself is a level below. Looking at the front you can see some hints of the resource, but mostly you can look at the ocean. Signs at the entrance attract your attention and try to lure you in. Once inside you are separated from the public sphere by surrounding walls. From this club you are able to see the ocean, but unable to reach it.

Hotel Bellerive communicates through textual signs. The building is blocking the view of what is behind it, but the signs give a hint of what could be there. Entering the resource means passing through the lobby, which works as a control point. After this you enter the garden that overlooks the ocean. With its height differences it has several leisure areas that are separated from each other and also from the surroundings.

Miami Plage communicates in a different way, it uses less actual signs, but mainly works with the swimming pools as points of attraction.

To get in this resource you need to pass a cash desk and quite a few stairs. The height difference separates you from the public sphere.

Cascade is a bit isolated from the rest of the clubs location wise, but with its sign on the wall and impressive bouncers with car park service it gives a luxurious look. The resource itself is not visible and needs to be entered by some stairs. Once inside you are completely isolated from the rest of the boulevard with only the view of the ocean to be admired.
REOCCURRING PATTERNS

By combining these drawings into one and by depicting the elements into abstract symbols we could fully explore the components of the clubs and compare them with each other. Concluding from these drawings a couple of reoccurring elements can be identified which can be located in each club which was analyzed.

A bordered area is separating the club from the boulevard. This area contains a resource that is only accessible through a zone of transition. This zone of transition can hold one or several control points, which could be either physical, architectural points such as gates to pass through or mental points, through human action, such as guards keeping an eye on you. The way the club is communicating with the public is via signs or the resources themselves.

SPACE OF SEPARATION, ATTRACTION AND TRANSITION

By identifying these reoccurring patterns, a new way of looking at these clubs arises. The patterns mentioned act as certain spaces which all the clubs consist of and make them operate in a similar way. The elements constructing these spaces can vary, but they all want to achieve the same goal: constructing a space of separation, a space of transaction and a space of attraction. Together establishing the logic of the escape.
As the research arrived at the point of inducing a preliminary theory about the logic of the escape, it became important to start elaborating on it and verifying it. The theory was conceived out of four site prospections, which were analyzed in a thorough manner. In the next phase, this selection is expanded by eight other clubs, for the simple reason to sharpen the research and its theory. In order to deal with the increased quantity of prospections, it became important to create a proper method. Through a period of trial and error, a toolbox emerged. This chapter will delve in how this toolbox, combined with the logic of the escape, works and how it created new insights.

THE TOOLBOX: RECONSTRUCTING THE ESCAPE

The toolbox consists out of an elaboration of the discovered principles, being: attraction, transaction and separation, in categorized notions. These notions are derived from the parts that were found in the club, which have been generalized into a code. The next section, will describe how this codification has been conducted and how its result can be incorporated in the research method.

In the principle of attraction, the codification should provide a tool that is able to demonstrate how the escape communicates and represents itself to the public space. In addressing this issue, the research borrows two notions from the work ‘Learning from Las Vegas’, the denotative sign and the connotative sign. The denotative sign encompasses all the ‘literal’ signs, that have direct references, without much interpretation. In contrast, the connotative signs are illustrated by a more ambiguous character. These signs are evoked through association, past experience and conventions. An example could be a gated colorful playground, which can evoke associations as ‘safe’, ‘exciting’ or ‘appealing’. These connotative signs function thus in a more indirect manner.

Furthermore, the research addresses how the resources, which are offered by the escape, operate in terms of communication. Whether they in fact are used as a connotative sign and become part of the communication or instead are hidden.

Within the principle of transaction, there are two mechanisms at work. It is firstly about how one moves from the exterior to the interior of the escape, facilitated by a sequence of spatial circulatory elements. And secondly, it deals with moments or points of control along this route, moments wherein the transaction occurs. The toolbox is thus comprised out of a generalized set of circulatory elements; the plaza, the gate, the portal, the stairs and the ramp. Which are then accompanied by the indication of a control point, wherein all the control points are generalized as a cross, however, the size and thus importance of the point can be varied.

Finally, the principle of separation is rather straightforward. It consists out of an accumulation of types which have a separating function. This can be done in the form of a distance, a height difference, a fence, a vertical wall, a ceiling but also in more rigorous manners through a garden or even a building.

These principles together, are analyzed in each of the twelve escapes, creating a series of diagrams. In that sense, it is reconstructing the escapes, through our own reading.
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Through the reconstruction of the escapes with the toolbox, it now becomes possible to conduct a comparative analysis. The sites can be read and compared, again through the lenses of the principles.

For example, if one compares Bellerive with Tahiti in regard to how they communicate and attract, clear differences can be read. Bellerive signs consist mainly out of denotative signs, since the hotel building creates a visual barrier between the public space and the resources offered by the escape. Thus, the resources, no matter how appealing, cannot be used in the attraction strategy. Bellerive compensates with extra large, denotative signs, which should attract and inspire one to enter. Tahiti instead, puts emphasis on its resources, putting them at great display, embellishing them with attractive connotations. The denotative signs, although still present, are downplayed since Tahiti effectively uses its resources as connotative signs. The escapes can be categorized through this comparison, characterizing the escapes that put emphasis on either denotative signs or connotative signs, and of course, the ones that find the middle ground.

In the case of transaction, one comparison as example might not be enough to offer enough insights, since the principle consists out of two cooperating elements, transition and control. A first comparison can be drawn between Cascade and Sun Beach. The two differ in how control along the transition is concentrated, whereas in Sun Beach the points of control are mainly focused on a single spot along the route, a bottleneck. Thus, after this checkpoint, the members of the club will not notice any control. In the case of Cascade, the control is exercised on the entire escape, even past the moment of entering. A second comparison could be between Anfa Place and Nzaha. A first difference that can be observed is the difference in complexity of the transition through circulatory elements. Nzaha’s complexity is relatively low, without many points of control, resulting in a rather transparent and neutral escape. In contrast, Anfa Place’s transition is highly complex, with many control points along the way. The route from the exterior to the interior is very elaborated. Through these two examples, it becomes a possibility to order the escapes again along a scale. A scale which starts from sparse control towards concentrated control.

Finally, when the escapes are compared in terms of the separation principle, the comparison between for example Crepuscule and V-Randa becomes illustrative. Both create a separation, however, they do this with different means. V-Randa does it in a very direct and absolute manner, through a level difference, the application of a ceiling and being surrounded by walls/buildings. The enclosure can thus be described as a boundary, whereas the enclosure of Crepuscule might be more characterized as a border. Wherein a border can be defined as a zone that separates, in the case of Crepuscule this is done through the introduction of a lush garden. On a side note, the border in the specific case of Crepuscule also functions as a connotative sign. Conclusively, the escapes can be organized again, as with attraction and transaction, along a scale from a strict boundary to a porous border.

STRATEGIES OF THE ESCAPE

After having conducted these comparisons, it became possible to structure the escapes along three different scales. Therewith the opportunity arrises to identify strategies of the escape. These are the strategies which the escape can utilize as a means to reach the same end, however, in different manners. Thus resulting in different approaches to reach the same goal.

These strategies are depicted in a matrix of three by three diagrams. For attraction, it becomes clear, that the separation between the exterior and the interior is very telling. In the case of a separation which is obstructing the visual relationship between the exterior and the resources of the interior, the resources in the interior cannot function as a sign. The possibility of using resources as connotative signs is thus made impossible and therefore, results in a strategy where often denotative signs aim to attract people inside. This strategy, needs to stir up the imagination, representing something one would desire to enter. These two options are the
most extreme. There are also strategies within the principle of attraction that find the middle ground. Where only hints of the resources are revealed and therefore made operative as connotative sign, stirring up the imagination. In these cases, the escapes still use denotative signs as compensation.

Within the principle of transaction, one can identify three strategies, wherein the points of control are dispersed in different ways. The first, is total control, in which the points of control are dense and spread out over the entire escape. Often resulting in obscure and very exclusive escapes. Secondly, there is the strategy of introducing a bottleneck of control. Wherein the control at the gate becomes a sign in itself, stirring up imagination and exclusivity through discrimination. However, once past the bottleneck, there is no awareness any longer about the control. Lastly, there is the strategy of a sparse amount of control, often leading to a more inclusive escape. Transparent and accessible in its operation.

In terms of separation, there too are three strategies to be found. Resulting in different degrees of exclusivity and as said in the case of attraction, in different degrees of communication. The most simple and absolute strategy is a very direct boundary, wherein the separation is constructed out of a thin and harsh line. From the exterior, one is clueless on what can be found inside, only aided by the communication from outside. At the other side of the spectrum, it is possible to create separation only through distance, still enabling visual relationships and often easier accessibility. Finally, there is the middle ground option, wherein less obstructive elements are bundled together, to create a zone or border.

At this point, the names of the clubs that had been analyzed, became very illustrative. O’Palm, Nzaha (a day out), Bellerive (beautiful shore), Crepuscule (sunset), V-Randa, Sun Beach, Miami Plage, Tahiti Beach, Paradise, Anfa Place (Anfa plage), Cascade (waterfall), Atlantique. Most seem to refer to an other world, in some cases very paradisiacal. They are places that refer to something out of the ordinary, outside of the everyday. They accomodate in fact, the holiday (holy day), and therefore must offer something extraordinary, something ‘other’. Being elevated experiences of reality.

This results in a relation, occurring in La Corniche, between the everyday and the holiday. A relationship, which is very much mediated by the logics of the escape, divided in the three principles: attraction, transaction and separation. It is where the logic of the escape constructs desire, a desire to the extraordinary ‘other’.

REFLECTING AND RESPONDING ON THE RESEARCH THEORY

When one reflects on how the clubs of la Corniche mediate the relation between the everyday and the holiday wherein desire takes a major role, one can see this relation is a very direct process. A process wherein one, granting he can perform the transaction, reaches a fast fulfilment of his desire. It could be interesting to test whether it is possible to develop other scenario’s on this process, where the fulfilment of desire can become more ambiguous, delayed or completely suspended. The next chapter will reveal some of these explorations on the fulfilment of desire.
THE OSTRICH

The Ostrich thanks its name to the fact that it shows you its bottom, but its hiding its brains. You can see part of it, but not the whole thing. It creates attention by transparent boxes that show the disco balls or hints of the club underneath. It makes you fascinated and excited about it and makes you wonder how you can get there. However, the entrance isn't that obvious to find, which makes it difficult to enter and thereby extra special to be inside.

THE PINEAPPLE EXPRESS

The pineapple express attracts your attention by the resource itself. Showing several levels on which different things occur. Once you get in, there is only one way to follow the program. You start at the top, from which the levels below are already visible and trigger other desires. When you decide to go down you can’t go back up, so it’s a choice to leave one desire for the other. Thereby you can never fulfil all your desires at the same time.
PLEASURE GARDEN: CONTINUOUS FULFILMENT OF DESIRE

This exploration aims to illustrate an architecture wherein its visitor can experience endless desire and its immediate fulfilment. Through a labyrinth of rooms, communicating through a variety of signs, the visitor is attracted to explore the environment without risk, since every new room grants a direct satisfaction. However, after each fulfilment, the visitor ends up disappointed, since the satisfaction only works briefly. Encouraging one to move on to a new room, a new reality, a new desire.

LOST UNDER PARADISE: ENDLESS NEGATION OF FULFILMENT

Literally lost under paradise, a plateau which appeals to one already from afar, seemingly unaccessible. Situated above an existing bidonville, one needs to find his way in a zone of continuous social control. Finding a precarious route to hopefully end up at paradise. Red walls are revealed at the openings of the enclosing walls, luring the visitor in the labyrinthine bidonville. Two towers appear to give access to the plateau, however, they are disconnected. Only providing a plateau from where the visitor can gaze at paradise, forever lost.
LOOKING AT THE POOL IN SWIMMING GEAR

Before entering a swimming pool, certain rituals have to be performed, paying at the entrance fee, the changing of clothing, the putting away of valuables in lockers, showering and then the entrance of the swimming pool. In this design the pool is inaccessible and only there to be looked at. This dramatizes the performative rituals of getting to the swimming pool, exploring the phase of transition as a fundamental act to become a swimmer.

A BRIDGE FOR REAL TRAVELERS

Time and distance are the fundamental factors in this concept to enter the secluded garden of Eden in the middle of the ocean. Instead of paying an entrance fee, the visitor has to endure either the swells that engulf the bridge at high tide or wait for low tide to traverse the bridge to get to the garden. The intervention either requires extreme physical tenacity or extreme patience of the visitor and thus subverting the transaction as a factor of wealth but of ability.
The research has revealed many insights in Casablanca’s coastal boulevard through a variety of methods and readings. La Corniche operates as Casablanca’s ‘other’, wherein the clubs take the central role in the relation between the everyday and the holiday, by means of desire.

**Providing Fertile Ground**

By researching the clubs of La Corniche, it became possible to understand that although the clubs could at first not survive without the presence of the Atlantic Ocean, through their clustering they created a condition in themselves. Where one would go to La Corniche not only for the Ocean, but moreover, to go to the club scene. A club as elevated experience from reality, sometimes reaching the paradisaical. Thus illustrating a certain growing independence from the shared natural common resource, the Atlantic.

Additionally, the club spaces provided an interesting point of entry, as it appeared they followed common logics. Reoccurring patterns in every club, where the means might be different, but the ends always the same. The principles of attraction, transaction and separation may help in developing new design interventions, which can play with the diversity of options offered by this trinity of principles.

Furthermore, it became clear that the clubs, through the construction of desire, aim to fulfil this in a very direct, efficient manner. Where the clubs and its contents are presented as commodities that can be bought. A process which could be looked at critically, since this direct nature, may eventually lead in disappointment rather than satisfaction. The notion of developing a process which is more ambiguous and indirect would be a worthwhile path to consider.

Although these findings only reveal a small quantity of insights developed by the research, they help illustrating how the work can inspire the future design interventions. The combined research will give a fertile ground to depart from, wherein the mediation between the everyday and the holiday can take a central role.

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In Spring 2018, the Methods and Analysis Graduation Studio, Delft University of Technology took the opportunity to descend on Casablanca, Morocco, a 3 million inhabitants North African city, that went beyond its historical boundaries under the influence of colonizer France in the 20th century. Operating in an unknown and unfamiliar context raises the question how to look for ‘firm ground’.

A study of precedents is a valuable point of departure, which creates a frame of reference. The analysis of the projects in Casablanca is a collective research to understand the local architectural cultures in a threefold perspective of communing.

Firstly because in the autonomy of the architectural projects, social, political, and cultural values and ideas about commonality are hidden. Secondly because this city has been transformed by outsiders already: why which and how modern ideas from Europe were taken to Casablanca; how did the architects create meaningful public space and place and respond to local conditions and culture. And last, what happened over time, how did the original plans interact with the lived-in?

The following projects were selected and chosen to study. The 4.5 kilometer Medina wall which is still very present in the city developed from a clear boundary into a more or less permeable structure where public life was accommodated by means of small interventions like arcades and in-between-spaces. The art-deco Lutetia cinema and Tazi passage and structuralist Marché d’Alimentation represent European typologies from the 30-ies and 70-ies that were transplanted to North Africa and appropriated by the Moroccan way of living. The Mahkma du Pacha courthouse and the Quartier Habous from 1953 follow the footsteps of traditional compositions and sequences of spaces: a systemic play of monumental fronts and elegant perspectives. The Aïn Chock residential district has the same principle of sequences but was ordered by modern European geometries and later on moulded completely by its inhabitants, but kept its meaningful public space structure like a fish bone.

Plan analysis - studying buildings meticulously by means of analytical drawing and modeling (abstractions that grasp the keys of a project) - is a specific Delft designerly way of amassing knowledge: topic, research method and result are in the language of architecture itself. The process of analysis follows the steps of a design process, however, in a reversed order. By taking a design project apart, the ‘specific construction’ is dismantled into ‘principles’, which are not only useful to understand a project, but also opening up opportunities for ‘re-interpretation’ or ‘reconfiguration’. This research is a preparation to study the topic of the commons: the interaction between form and inhabitation.

You can find the video’s of the projects by scanning the QR code or on the collective YouTube channel ‘Casablanca Precedents 2018’. 

dr. ir. Willemijn Wilms Floet
The Medina, towering turrets, high blank walls, mighty gates, impenetrable.

A continuous protective body sheltering its inhabitants by a simple act.

Separation.

Like the hardened shell of an armadillo, it only shows its soft contents when it wants to. A topology, a space that can be bend and deformed but can never break.

The Medina wall, representation and function in one body. A rock in the desert untouchable and pristine. Like an emblem of premorden times.

Times change.

Modernity came in the form of French occupation, and all of a sudden the wall was surrounded, its function lost, its boundaries blurred, remade, destructed, reconstructed. Remnants of forgotten times and yet, within the wall things change as well. Like the medina, the wall grew, was altered. The wall received a continuous stream of changes, some very subtle, some extremely rigid.

Interweaving:

Intensification of the existing fabric, small but meaningful incursions within building blocks, vertical extension of homes, occupation of courtyards.

Reoccupation:

After the extension of the harbour, the fishing warehouses became obsolete. This lead to their destruction and the introduction of living quarters and public space on existing plot structure.

Relocation:

With the introduction of the grand boulevards of the European town, parts of the existing medina

were torn down, the wall was rebuilt on another site, and received a explicit ceremonial function, giving body to the newly built square Étas-Unis.

Is the wall still a recognizable body?

Is it still the topology of its past, that stretchable, bendable body that was unbreakable but by the most extreme violence, or has the violence of the modern metropolis finally torn it apart?

Can we really understand the wall from this panoramic perspective or are we only creating the illusion of coherence?

It would be more fruitful to look at the wall from the perspective of the flaneur, the walking human who, experiences the wall always as an interior, a thick space, a resulting richness that arises from the encounter of different environments.

As de Certeau puts it in Walking in the City: the long poem of walking manipulates spatial organisations. The walk itself redefines relations that may, or may not be controlled and designed, it inserts the instability of speed, time of the day and encounters into that what was deemed solid and recreates, within the planned city a metaphorical, mobile city.

Streetside markets, empty rooms, shuttered storefronts.

Blind walls, piles of suitcases, internet cafés

While traversing the border zone of the wall, it becomes a new continuous space, a perpetual passage, showing its richness, its mystery, as an ever changing whole.

The wall may not exist anymore as a protective separating body.

It has changed.

Became a thick boundary, a space in itself, a body of interlocking rooms, a continuous interior giving birth to anything the mind can imagine.
A: Bab Marrakesh
B: Bab Place des Nation Unies
C: Bab Port
Passage Tazi is designed and built in 1929 by the French architects Felix-Joseph and Louis-Paul. It is located close to Place des Nations Unies, which recently went through a major redevelopment. The car packed streets got transformed into a pedestrian boulevard with a new modern tram line. The building has an arcade along the main street, Avenue Hassan II. This arcade is a continuation of the adjacent buildings. The dimensions of the plinth match with the other buildings, creating a continues covered pedestrian walkway.

**EUROPEAN SHOPPING CENTER**

The shops, ranging from souvenirs to a barbershop, are covering the entire perimeter of the building block and continue inwards to create the passage. The passage consists of a main corridor over the entire length of the building, with two secondary side entrances at the central light dome. The shops on the interior are really a continuation of the exterior shops. They use the same width and even the outdoor lanterns can be found in the passage. Light is being let in by a decorative art deco glass ceiling and stone screens at the sides, making it feel like an outdoor space.

The difference in decoration and materials is the biggest difference between inside and outside. The exterior facade is made of simple plain materials like limestone and there are almost no decorations. The interior on the other hand is filled with decorations and rich with marble and granite. This resulted in more (drastic) changes at the exterior façade. Complete façades got changed or covered, the original structure is hardly recognizable. The interior did not change much, with the biggest change some new window frames.

The original situation had six staircases to the upper floors, with entrances in the passage. And the two central ones both had an additional entry on the exterior, close to the secondary public entrances to the passage. Throughout the years both entrances of the central staircases got replaced by a single entrance inside the public entrance. The old entrances got rented out and used as extra shop space. It could be that because two out of four entrances got privatized, the passage got used less and fell into disrepair.

**A SHORT VIDEO**

In the short video I show the two faces of passage Tazi. This is done through two perspectives, that of the resident leaving their apartment and walking to the tram station. And that of the regular shopper, coming from the main square and walking through the passage to one of the shops. First the viewer can experience both perspectives by two walkthrough videos before they get dissected one by one. The second part of the video shows small close up clips of materials and other interesting things that add to the experience of that specific perspective.

During the dissecting I tried to show the intended beautiful side of the passage, but also the honest truth of the current state of the passage and that none of the shop owners feel responsible for the shared space. They only make adaptations to their own shop if the base-layer accommodates this. By focusing on the materials and used building techniques it is clear that the building is a Moroccan version of a French passage. This is seen, for example, in the mosaic floor, the stone screens on the side and the central light dome.
**Video: Frames**

Walking through Cinema Lutetia, I found myself being welcomed and surprised by series of carefully framed views, each of them so effective that you feel the time freeze at each frame. Deeper into the building, I feel that I am being drawn further away from the busy road, and from the reality. Suddenly as I climbed up on the mezzanine, the mirrors on either side of the walls framed and revealed the world you have slowly drift away from in front of you—only that this time, you are watching it from another oneiric reality—as if watching a movie. Turning away, I was lead up to the upper floor by the light that poured down softly from above. As the beautiful defused light flooded over me when I arrived at the vast space with large floor tiles and intricate décor, I felt that I was completely transported to another world. Door opened, loud music and dialogue poured out, I walked into the screening hall, finding myself transported to yet another reality, yet another movie.

**Materiality: function, precision, illusion**

The essence of Cinema Lutetia is its cinematic quality of its interior and the sequence of frames throughout the journey from the public road to the screening hall, which are achieved by the strategic choice of materiality.

The materiality choice is simple yet precise, the tiles, mirrors, décor and colour accents not only serve the building aesthetically but they are also used strategically in guiding the movement, framing views and create illusions. For example, the prominent red strips on the ceiling draws you inward, the manipulation of scale in the floor and wall tiles suggests the hierarchy of spaces, and the placement of mirrors creates a magical illusion, giving the visitors a sensation of being transported to another reality while looking back into the actual world. This modernist building also combined ornaments and technical function. Interior wall cladding panels peel off to reveal ventilation vents, which adds to the playfulness of the use of materials.

The way the simple form work together with the environment and context, and the precision and simplicity of the choice and application of the finishing material and décor in respond to natural lighting and movement creates a promenade with high cinematic quality and atmosphere, that begins as an extension of the street and gradually leads one further and further away from the reality and into the film. It is a very poetic yet dramatic architectural response to the site and its function, where the user and the film eventually become one.
Cinema Lutetia. Casablanca, Morocco
This market place, called the Marché d’Alimentation, is situated in the European quarters of Casablanca and it acts as a social meeting place in an otherwise dense city fabric. In Casablanca, during the 1960’s, many French-Moroccan architects were experimenting with modernism and its implementation in the city. Zevaco’s market is one such an example which plays with the idea of uniformity and diversity. Although the marketplace can be conceived as a uniform scheme, it in fact hosts a lot of diversity. The marketplace becomes energetic and diverse, full of life.

A DIVERSE UNIFORMITY

The tension between uniformity and diversity is visible throughout the scheme. The roof is constructed from a modular parasol element which varies in size and height, and positioned in a playful manner. Together, they create a unifying gesture, covering the stage of the marketplace. The independent parasol roofs are placed in such a way, that they always create an overlap and in addition create ambiguous divisions in the collective space. Underneath the market roof, the shop stalls are situated on an elevated plateau. The shop stalls work similarly as the roofs, wherein a repeating pattern of modular stalls creates compositional forms, resulting in a uniform language. However, Zevaco broke the rigidity of this uniform repetition by sometimes distorting the pattern, enhancing the diversity of the scheme. Furthermore, the uniformity of the shop stall is challenged through the interventions of the shop owners, adapting and adjusting it to their needs. These interventions sometimes occupy collective space, which results in a division in spaces, which are either emphasizing the activity of no-nonsense shopping or social meeting. All these diverse market activities are hosted on a plateau, which is elevated from the city of Casablanca. Thus, Marché d’Alimentation is Zevaco’s market of diversity in between a unifying roof and elevated plateau.

A SHORT DOCUMENTARY

The thematic has been explored further in a short documentary. Within this medium, the Marché d’Alimentation is interpreted and read through both video recordings and drawings. The documentary is published on the ‘Casablanca Precedents 2018’ Youtube channel, and is named; Marché d’Alimentation, A Diverse Uniformity.
unifying roof which always overlaps

composition through repetition and distortion

repeated and differentiated roof modules

user intervention

structure resonates site boundaries

delineation of spaces for shopping and social meeting

structure adheres to parking system

mediation between the public and the private
Mahkama du Pacha is a court house located in the city of Casablanca. It is built in 1952 by August Cadet in the Habous quarter. The building is housing the court of justice and at the same time functioning as a state reception room.

THE COMPOSITION AND DETAILING

Mahkama du Pacha can be seen as a composition of exterior spaces. We analysed the relationship between these different spaces and how this is articulated in the form and way of representation in this building.

The two smaller patios, located in the front of the building, are richly decorated with colourful mosaics and plaster. They are part of the reception function of Mahkama du Pacha. The details and refinement in these patios are impeccable. Although the patios are outdoor spaces, they seem to be part of the interior. Opposite to this refined appearance, is the more grand and stately appearance of the courtyard, which is part of the justice function. This courtyard is clearly outdoors and corresponds with the exterior of the building, in terms of scale, form and materiality.

REPRESENTATION AND RATIO

Throughout the whole building the ratios and logics of the elements are carefully thought of and reappearing in every layer of the design. The facades of the courtyard and the smaller patios are mathematically proportioned on multiple levels. The facade itself is divided in parts by the arches leading up to a bigger arch functioning as an entrance block in the middle.

Within the arches there are specific measurement of the height and width of the base and the radius of the circles that form the arch. The relations between base and arch are derived from a 1/3 ratio. Looking more closely to the detailing, even here we find that this is not just pretty mosaics on a wall. The patterns are formed of mathematic calculations and are based on the construction of different forms such as circles, squares and triangles. The repetition of the decoration is emphasizing the rhythm of the facades.

Mahkama du Pacha can be identified by a structure of which the outside reacts with the inside and where rough and grand elements are alternated with refined and detailed elements. Transition spaces connect these characteristics and complete the composition of this building.

THE BUILDING IN RELATION TO THE HABOUS

In the video, that can be found through the QR-code in the beginning of this chapter, we enlarged our scope of analyses. In the video, a comparative study of the Mahkama du Pacha with the Habous is shown.

This neighbourhood is comparable with Mahkama on multiple levels. The Habous is constructed out similar components such as patios, courtyards and transition spaces. The appearance and representation of these elements alternate between grand, rough structures and more detailed, colourful structures. Only this time these characteristics are the result of human actions, instead of solemnly architectural implementations as seen in Mahkama du Pacha.
Aïn Chock is a mass-produced minimalism housing project for the working class of Casablanca in the 1940s. The design of Aïn Chock represents a combination of Muslim traditions and the most vogue modern planning ideas during that time. This study is intended to present two important features of Aïn Chock, the spatial structure and spatial quality of the neighborhood and users’ adaptations of original design.

**THE FISHBONE STRUCTURE**

Aïn Chock was planned to be introverted. The peripheral building blocks and gateways fence the district off from heavy traffics outside. The structure of the neighbourhood resembles that of fish bones, a wide multi-centric main street with numerous residential alleys inclined to it at an angle of 45 degrees. The main street is the space where public activities take place. Shops, small gardens, and children’s playgrounds are arranged at those five small plazas scattered along the main street in a sequence. The squares followed centric organisations, surrounding buildings arising the sense of enclosure through their heights and density. For the residential alleys, however, life is more quiet and domestic. They are also the transition space between the main street and private housing units.

Arches are the most representative building elements in Aïn Chock community. They are the transitions between plazas and main street, between main street and residential alleys. Architects deliberately choose arches as transition elements to reflect Morocco’s traditional neighbourhoods, the Medina. Beside of that, Arches are also introduced at the space most open to the public, the market plaza, in the form of the arcade. The continuing arcades not only carve out a relatively intimate space from the public plaza but also differentiate the marketplace from other public places.

**AN AUTONOMOUS VERTICAL CITY**

Originally, Aïn Chock neighbourhood was a minimalism complex of one-storey courtyard housing. All dwellings were arranged in an enclosed way around the patios with no windows opening towards outer alleys. The front doors of families were deliberately misaligned with each other to protect their privacy. This introvert way of dwelling respected the traditional Muslim culture. With the growth of population, however, residents start to change the original design and build upon the one-level construction autonomously. To claim more living space, residents first closed the patios and added opening towards alleys for sake of light and ventilation. As the families gradually growing bigger and bigger, they built more levels on top of the ground floor and inserted staircases by themselves. Through those personal adaptations, Aïn Chock turned out to be a high-density vertical village.

Users adaptation is a critical feature of Aïn Chock not only because it changed the appearance of the community, but also as a way how individuals got attached to the built environment. In the original design, buildings are of little decorations for their limited budgets. Through the alternation of users, personalised details, colourful paints and Moorish tiles, became crucial for public space’s identities.
TOWARDS INTERVENTION

eight personal reflections

TÜRKER NACİ SAYLAN
Through our investigation of the New Medina, I understood that there are certain unchanging (stable) and changing (unstable) layers of architectural space. And for the case of the New Medina, we see that the changing layer operates in order to conserve this unchanging layer. What is most surprising was to see that even though the form of the grid has changed drastically it was still able to sustain the memory of family unit and the fundamental rituals that make that memory possible. This realization made me question the how memory can be sustained in public realm which has a heterogeneous and plural nature. For my graduation project, I want to explore an architecture that is generous to give birth many kinds of memories, suggesting a longer life span of architectural space in the memory of the city.

REBEKAH TIEN
From our morpho-typological research of the Ecocitadel 8x8 grid, we uncovered layers of the transformation, and learnt that the typological shift was the result of the negotiation between the changing external forces and the attempt to preserve or destroy certain memories. The two positions derived from this finding are either aiming for a framework that could withstand the changing attitudes and memories and avoid total destruction; or to place oneself in specific moment in the timeline and deal with specific (selective) situations. As my personal trajectory I have chosen the latter. For my graduation project, I would test the abstraction of our previous research on a chosen site and scenario, looking into how specific memories can be disconnected, reconnected or reshaped through architectural intervention.

MENG YANG
The ad hoc intervention on site reflect some underlying deficiencies in the built environment regarding the actual needs of users. These deficiencies, however, are not necessarily mistakes in the design, but the inevitable constraints in initial proposals to everyday usage. These interventions, which are done by users, evoke an architectural issue. How would architect position themselves towards those different interpretations and uses of original designs? Architects could choose between going against them or welcoming future changes and leaving space for that. Reflecting on the research, in my graduation project, I take a position of constructing an architectural open work, which open to various ways of actions, open to future changing of programs with significantly altering the original design.

MATTTHIJS ENGELE
Our study of adhocracy showed me that if you understand a city block on a microscale you can understand the functioning of an entire city. The systematic research into the ‘traces of behavior’ as a permanent evidence of the misuse between the use and the architecture, showed that some architecture is more supportive and allowing of ad hoc modifications than others, this can be intended or not. I think that in a culture as that of Casablanca, the built environment could benefit from users changing their individual context. This will add to the connection and care their environment to their needs. However, architecture tends to be unforgiving with respect of change. It has a certain kind of permanency while the context is in constant transition. With that in mind, the continuing of my graduation project, will explore the possibility of a formal framework to be informalized by the user. This to further define the quality of informality.

MARLOES KNOESTER
The relation between the spaces for the holiday and the everyday is very segregated in Casablanca. ‘Through reading La Corniche, it became apparent that it operates as Casablanca’s “other”. Offering an escape from the city’s obtrusive everyday, where the political and economical norm is suspended. This escape however, is only accessible to a privileged few due to the distance to the city and the important figure of the club. To enjoy the Atlantic coast one needs to pay. The space for the holiday, facilitated by the clubs, is thus exclusive.

RENSE KERKVLIET & JORIS KLEIN
Research showed that the boulevard of Casablanca has grown into a big leisure area full of private clubs. Because of the proportion of this area it is secluded from the city, only accessible by car. These aspects turned the boulevard into an exclusive strip that is locking the boulevard, the beach and the ocean. My aim in continuing this graduation project is to open up the boulevard towards the public and make a connection with the city. Achieving this by reclaiming the clubs as a common resource that acts as a cultural architectural stage and production center, in a delirious manner.

SASKIA ASSELBERGS
The ad hoc intervention on site reflect some underlying deficiencies in the built environment regarding the actual needs of users. These deficiencies, however, are not necessarily mistakes in the design, but the inevitable constraints in initial proposals to everyday usage. These interventions, which are done by users, evoke an architectural issue. How would architect position themselves towards those different interpretations and uses of original designs? Architects could choose between going against them or welcoming future changes and leaving space for that. Reflecting on the research, in my graduation project, I take a position of constructing an architectural open work, which open to various ways of actions, open to future changing of programs with significantly altering the original design.
MSC3 GRADUATION STUDIO
AR3MET100
Positions in Practice: Analysis and Intervention in the Afropolis
Casablanca, Morocco

Feb 2018 - Jul 2018

Analysis and research
Offered by the Chair of Methods & Analysis
Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment
TU Delft

STUDIO COORDINATORS AND TUTORS
prof. dr. ir. Tom Avermaete
dr. ir. Hans Teerds
ir. Jorge Mejía Hernández
dr. ir. Willemijn Wilms Floet

STUDENTS
Saskia Asselbergs
Matthijs Engele
Rense Kerkvliet
Joris Klein
Marloes Knoester
Türker Naci Şaylan
Rebekah Tien
Meng Yang

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This book is the result of the research conducted in the P1 phase of the graduation studio ‘Positions in Practice’ of the chair Methods and Analysis in the department for architecture and the built environment, TU Delft. The education of the chair engages with a series of pressing issues in developing territories, as well as with the increasing cross-cultural character of contemporary architectural practice. The work presented here tries to find appropriate instruments and methods of analysis and design in complex, foreign cultural contexts, in which European architects are challenged to develop innovative approaches and techniques, as a response to particular cultural, social, religious, environmental, political and economic conditions.

Finding a balance between local cultures and techniques on the one hand, and global developments on the other, seems to be an important challenge for the young architects who present their work here. Against this cross-cultural background, their explorations investigate a set of pressing issues in the rapidly developing urban territory of Casablanca, Morocco.