

# The effects of urban housing policies socio-spatial distance on families with different paths in Adrar neighborhood of Agadir

## Efectos de las políticas de vivienda urbana sobre la distancia socioespacial en familias con trayectorias diferentes en el barrio de Adrar de Agadir

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### ABSTRACT

The study aimed to analyze and understand the problem of social-spatial distance “in their intricacies and complex intersections to the issue of urban integration” (Elbhiri & Assebane, 2022) between two typologies of families with different paths. The first model refers to families that fall within the framework of the settlement policy, residents of shanty houses. The second model relates to families not targeted by the housing policy and who broke into the housing market due to their economic capital by purchasing the rights of slum residents within the neighborhood. According to the gender approach, the study’s sample consisted of twelve people; there were six males and six females. The qualitative methodology employed in the study included observation and semi-directed interviews. As a result, this study came to several conclusions. For instance, the families who weren’t covered by the resettlement program had no issues with the distance between the housing sites and the work locations. For the families covered by the resettlement policy, the distance between their place of residence and place of employment presents daily challenges because they don’t have access to private transportation, except for one respondent who owns a motorcycle.

### RESUMEN

El estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar y comprender el problema de la distancia socioespacial “en sus complejidades e intersecciones con la cuestión de la integración urbana” (Elbhiri & Assebane, 2022) entre dos modelos de familias con trayectorias diferentes. El primer modelo se refiere a familias que se enmarcan en la política de vivienda, residentes en chabolas. El segundo modelo se relaciona con las familias que no son objetivo de la política de vivienda y que irrumpieron en el mercado inmobiliario debido a su capital económico comprando los derechos de los residentes *en barrios marginales dentro del barrio*. Según el enfoque de género, la muestra del estudio estuvo compuesta por doce personas, de las cuales seis fueron hombres y seis mujeres. La metodología cualitativa empleada en el estudio incluyó observación y entrevistas semidirigidas. Como resultado, este estudio llegó a varias conclusiones. Por ejemplo, las familias que no estaban cubiertas por el programa de realojo no tuvieron problemas con la distancia entre las viviendas y los lugares de trabajo. En cuanto a las familias cubiertas por la política de realojamiento, la distancia entre su lugar de residencia y su lugar de trabajo presenta desafíos diarios porque no disponen de transporte privado, excepto un encuestado que posee una motocicleta.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

The question of social mix has become one of the questions that have arisen with great urgency in housing policy programs, since it has become an objective of public intervention, in particular, forms of combating the phenomenon of “ghettos”. (Tissot, 2005). However, the means used to achieve social mix aren’t always free from accusations of discrimination (Grafmeyer, 2008). On the one hand, it is regarded as a mechanism that enables us to accurately and thoroughly analyze the reality of housing policies implemented by the state and its institutions in the urbanism and housing sector through the processes of “social division of urban space” (Grafmeyer). On the other hand, however, it is believed to embody the policy of social mixture, which serves to both create a heterogeneous society and perpetuate new disparities between people living in the same residential segmentation; as it clarifies the studies of “David Dwyer, 1977; Shlomo Angle *et al.*, 1977; Geoffrey Payne, 1977”, which concluded that the process of removing and resettling residents in new human settlements could create an economically, socially, and culturally heterogeneous society (Suleiman, 1996).

Otherwise, we find the works of Pétonnet, which focused on the mobility of Portuguese residents living in slums, which appeared how some of these families chose to purchase individual housing (pavilion) instead of being housed in low-income housing (Lelévrier *et al.*, 2007). In addition, we find another study by “Henri Coing” in his attempt to approach urban renewal in the french city of Paris towards his attempt to link government intervention, aspirations, and the families concerned. He showed, in particular, the different effects of mobility according to social paths, considering that mobility was compulsory, which came early in accelerating the changes produced by social paths (Lelévrier *et al.*, 2007).

The process of division of the land in Agadir continued until new neighborhoods emerged in the center of south and east of the city, such as the Zaitoune and Asska neighborhoods, the Wefaq and Farah neighborhoods, the Mohammadi and Tilila neighborhoods, Adrar and others. It is typically regarded as one of the areas which was the focus of relocation initiatives for a large number of slum people, by a housing strategy that included the social mixing policy as a new mechanism in urban planning. However, the policy of social mixing that wasn’t officially planned can be recorded as a result of some of the difficulties that followed subsequent housing strategies for fragile or poor families that were targeted in resettlement programs until the year 2008 (Adrar neighborhood, for example), where some families found themselves forced to sell their lands for many reasons. We mention among them: the burden of means of mobilization for construction, the inability to obtain official and informal loans, etc... (Assebane, 2023).

Given the importance of studying the course of these housing policies at the level of individual residential neighborhoods specific to Morocco, regarding what concerns the process of rehousing families who lived in shantytowns recently after suffering from forms of marginalization, spatial isolation, social exclusion, but today it has its official housing alongside families of different paths. However, despite the independence and the freedom provided by owning individual housing, the problem of the distance between the various physical components of the Moroccan cities still constitutes a central issue for researchers in many fields of knowledge, notably in sociology, geography, political sciences, and urban planning. The demographic growth of the city of Agadir has led to numerous housing programs and resettlement policies for slum dwellers, which have often led to the emergence of mixed residential neighborhoods, particularly those associated with individual houses.

These public policies have resulted in the construction of spatial disparities between the neighborhoods that make up the city as a form of inequality in the spatial distribution of various collective facilities on the one hand and then at the level of the compositional structure of the population in the neighborhoods on the other hand. The Adrar neighborhood was among these neighborhoods that were targeted by resettlement programs within the framework of the so-called “Cities Without Slums” program, as a practical program for state intervention in the fight against shanty towns in the city of Agadir, in which the city was declared in 2008 a city without slums.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The state’s officially ill-considered housing policy created an adverse social reality that changed the course of many subsequent population strategies. Families who moved from shanty houses to planned individual



housing were not a successful process, according to many of those targeted for resettlement. Instead, resettlement disappointed many families, leaving them with a deficit of capital (economic, social, and cultural) and self-supervision of construction.

This officially unthought-of housing policy will result in differentiated population movement in the neighborhood, allowing the meeting of different socio-professional groups, where the existing distinctions between families appear concretely at the level of the physical housing framework, Whether in the internal organization or its external morphological dimension. The availability of amenities (such as transportation, for example) versus their absence leads these families to have divergent views about settling in the neighborhood.

Through the above, we tried to address this problem through a central question: What are the effects of the social-spatial distance in the Adrar neighborhood on the residential stability strategy?

In this research paper, we aim to address the different forms of influence of the Adrar neighborhood on family members in their relationship with the neighboring neighborhoods of the city by highlighting the problem of distance in the neighborhood; which means the dual distance between the location of the house and the various functional places inside and outside the neighborhood. The importance of this work is revealing the problem of proximity and spatial distance in the neighborhood that is the subject of the research.

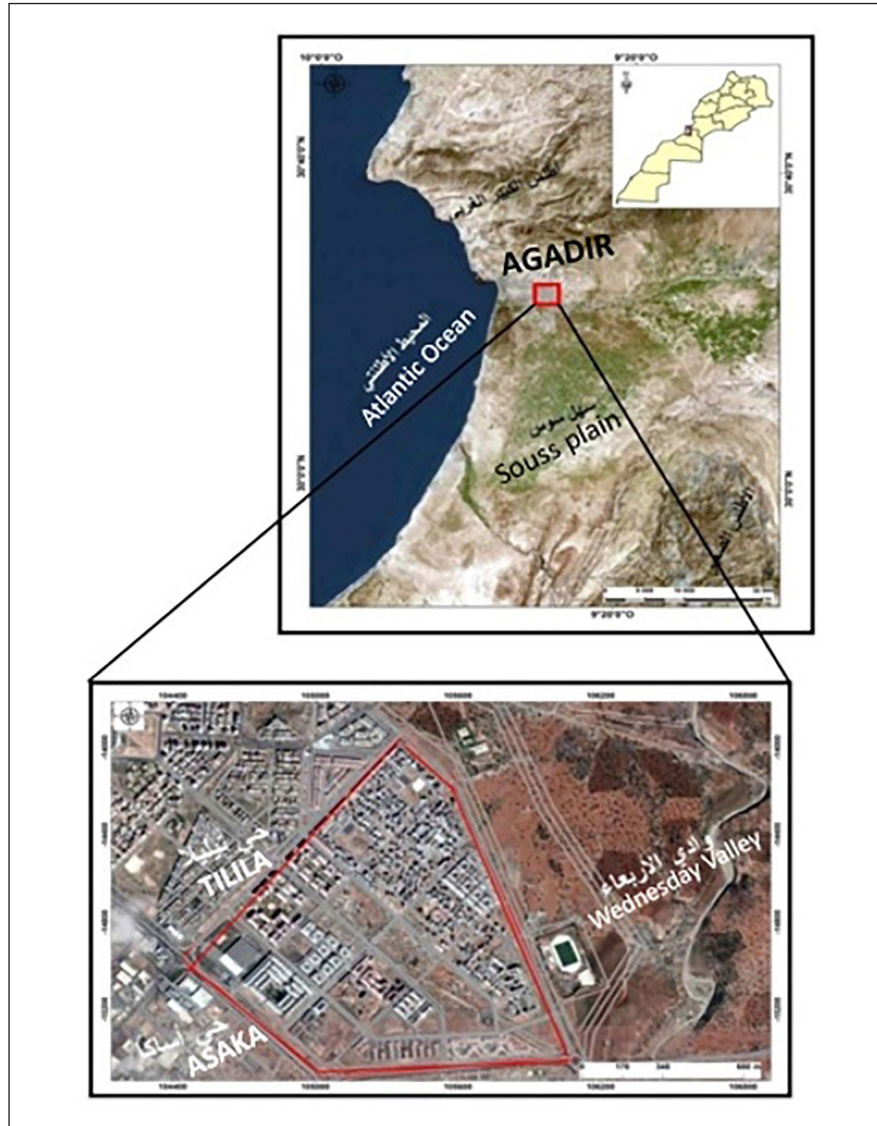
Our research case study focuses on the neighborhood of Adrar, located in the southern part of Agadir town, "with internationally renowned tourists" (Irifi & Assebane, 2021). The Tikiouine quarter delineates its southern edge, the *Mesguina* forest marks its eastern edge, while its northern boundary is indicated by the extension of the Tilila quarter (figure 1). "Greater Agadir now occupies an extensive area in the extreme north-west of the Souss plain. It is a new large urban agglomeration at the foot of the Atlantic High Atlas. It is bordered to the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and its urban expansion is constrained to the north and northeast by the High Atlas mountain range" (Irifi & Assebane, 2021).

This study used a purposive sample of twelve participants, equally split between males and females, and a qualitative sociological technique, which can be presented as follows :

**Table 1.** Data related to the study sample.

Gender	Age	Family status	Profession	Previous residence	Access date	Origin of property
Male 1	60	Married	Accountant	Economic housing	2013	buying
Female 1	36	Married	Housewife	Slums	2012	Resettlement
Male 2	60	Married	Director of a public institution	Economic housing	2014	buying
Female 2	57	Married	Guard employee	Slums	2012	Resettlement
Male 3	36	Married	Sailor	Economic housing	2014	buying
Female 3	30	Married	Housewife	Slums	2012	Resettlement
Male 4	52	Married	Nursery manager	Renting economic housing	2013	buying
Female 4	52	Married	Housewife	Individual housing	2013	buying
Male 5	56	Married	Grocer	Renting individual housing	2014	buying
Female 5		Married	Housewife	Slums	2011	Resettlement
Male 6	47	Married	A chicken shop and a municipal employee	Slums	2011	Resettlement
Female 6	41	Married	Housewife	Slums	2012	Resettlement

Source: own elaboration.



**Figure 1.** Location of the Adrar neighborhood.  
Source: aerial photo on 01/12/2023 Google Earth

In its completion, we relied on the technique of observation and semi-directed interviews included the following:

1. The distance between work and residence;
2. Distance between residence and school;
3. Residents and their relationships with commercial places (see the annexes).
4. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, either in front of the house doors, inside the guest hall, or at the entrance near the stairs. They took place once or sometimes twice, with either one partner or both together, and lasted anywhere from half an hour to two hours.

In addition to photography, which “allows reference to the information at any time” (Jérôme-Chenal, 2006). This is why image formation has become increasingly important in social science practices for many years, whether in texts, seminars, or in the context of teaching. Therefore, the image is considered a model of expression, communication, and proof (May Du-Meyer, 2006), [...] and a tool combining the three basic principles of analysis: description, research into contexts, and interpretation (Fraser, 2018, p. 3).





We also focused on diversifying information sources and using mapping techniques, as in most Chicago School research. For example, in his Chicago neighborhood study, Harvey Warren Zorbaugh (Colon, 2012) used city books, maps, plans, statistical data, historical documents, and municipal reports. All of them are essential tools in achieving the goals of this research work.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1. The different effects of the neighborhood on members of families

##### 3.1.1. Distance spacing in the neighborhood

James *et al.* (2022) state that, as Piketty (2014) puts it, “Housing is critical in the reproduction of social inequalities” (p. 63). For practical reasons related to land availability and pricing issues, urban integration is thus accompanied by physical distancing from the heart of the agglomeration. Moving from “spontaneous segregation” to “planned segregation” (Chouiki, 1997) represents a form of symbolic violence against slum dwellers and, in a sense, contributes to mechanisms that reproduce a concordance between social status and spatial environment (Zaki, 2005-2006).

Housing shifts from having a limited domestic focus in the analysis of urban integration processes to a more comprehensive consideration of fundamental services. Surrounding the home, access to water, sanitation, basic education, and primary healthcare contribute to “social safety nets” and sustainable human development (Bertrand, 2002). The demand for such amenities and the challenges of urban integration in contemporary neighborhoods remain pressing issues, particularly for the two types of families under discussion. Further analysis and interpretation of these dynamics will be explored in the following sections of this research.

##### 3.1.2. The distance between the place of residence and the work location

Residential mobility<sup>1</sup> is an important event in people’s lives that, on an aggregate level, drives changes in housing systems, populations, and the social fabric of neighborhoods. The field is rapidly evolving, and the life course framework currently provides the main conceptual apparatus for understanding how, why, when, and where people move (Coulter & Thomas, 2020). This mobility is not just a personal decision; it is an influential component of local population growth and decline, with significant implications for service provision (such as schools and clinics) and neighborhood change (including gentrification) (Bailey, 2015). It is regarded as one of the primary forces behind shifts in the economic, social, and spatial structures of urban areas. Moreover, residential movement is a crucial element of urban dynamism, whether at the micro level (individual) or the aggregate level. The issue of proximity to the place of work is one of the indicators that allows us to diagnose some elements of the problem of residential mobility. It was found that “some occupations require a short distance to the residential location and some residential stability due to independent occupational constraints (Authier *et al.*, 2010). “It was also found that working at home or in a nearby place in many cases for professionally independent people raises the issue of balance between family and work, especially when the activity includes receiving a customer” (Authier *et al.*).

1. We use the concept of residential mobility and residential movement to denote one meaning.

**Table 2.** Socio-professional characteristics of the study sample.

Gender	Number of employees	Profession	Means of transportation	Workplace	The distance between residence and work
Male 1	Father	Accountant (-)	Personal car	(-)	(-)
Female 1	Father	Municipal mediator	Public transportation	11km	11km
Male 2	Father	Director of a public institution (-)	Personal car	(-)	(-)
Female 2	Father and daughter	Guard employee	Public transportation	6km	6km
Male 3	Father	Sailor	Motorcycle	15km	15km
Female 3	Father	A cart pulled by a donkey	Public transportation	In the neighborhood	Inside the neighborhood
Male 4	Father	Nursery manager	Motorcycle	In the neighborhood	Inside the neighborhood
Female 4	Father	soldier (-)	Personal car	(-)	(-)
Male 5	Father	Grocer	Motorcycle	In the neighborhood	Inside the neighborhood
Female 5	Father	DIY	Public transportation	unstable	unstable
Male 6	Father	A chicken shop and a municipal employee	A car owned by the state	2km	2km
Female 6	Father	DIY	Motorcycle	unstable	unstable

(-) retired.

Source: own elaboration.

The roots of residential mobility and the different paths between families that are included in the resettlement policy and families that are not included in this public housing policy, reveal one of the aspects that affected the ease or difficulty of daily movements, as a result of that differentiation in the economic and social foundations of individuals within the neighborhood. Therefore, the dual distance between residence and work location presented a different problem for the respondents, because for some it did not pose any challenges, given that the heads of these families; Either in the case of professional retirement, or if their job site is located in the neighborhood, so we have noticed that these two situations do not pose any problem in this regard. However, in contrast, we find families whose members work outside the neighborhood problematic in daily transportation, and here we specifically mention those families that do not have their means of transportation.

Having my motorcycle, is better for me than public transportation, because after ten at night, the transportation service in the neighborhood is non-existent, thank God<sup>2</sup>.

The family's availability of transportation in the neighborhood plays a significant role in the ease of daily movement. So, having such humble means was like ordinary motorcycles representing a time capital that benefits families positively in saving time, effort, and freedom in their various daily movements in

2. Respondent woman.



the city. This is what we need to notice among the families included in the resettlement policy– except for one respondent - who had a public car belonging to the state. Many studies have attempted to approach residential strategy and mobility. We mention – for example, but not limited to –: first, “the issue of distance from the place of work and the burden of daily transportation, as is the case of swiss families who face dual distance in terms of the location of residence with the place of work. We find that Vincent Kaufman (2010) also shows how couples decide between two solutions: long-distance mobility and dual housing, i.e. secondary housing. This situation is mainly dictated by work-related pressures (job insecurity...).

The lack of private transportation for some families concerned with the resettlement policy has forced them to travel to public transportation buses daily. This type of transportation does not meet the level of demand of these respondents, as is shown in the following letter, where using public transportation buses remains insufficient for them, as they are forced to complete their journey on foot for distances that may approach half an hour daily to their work location. “Thus, residential mobility is essential because it is linked to many aspects of the urban environment, as it is related to employment and the consumption of public services” (Segaud *et al.*, 2002).

The job site was much closer to my husband, but after we moved to this neighborhood, he is forced to walk half an hour every day in order to access the great taxi station<sup>3</sup>.

Highlighting the proximity and distance from the work site of the head of these families enables us to know that this family depends only on public transportation; some of the heaviness of these daily movements also becomes clear both materially and morally. This is highlighted by the respondent speech when she expressed that the inability to own a means of transportation or use a taxi, etc., led the head of the family to have to walk a long distance. Hence, the periods required for individuals’ daily transportation may take more than two hours between the distance traveled by buses and the distance traveled by walking. From our observations, the urban bus transportation system in the neighborhood appears to be constantly present and always dynamic.

Sometimes the husband is late for work in the morning, and has to run to the street outside the neighborhood, in order to wait for the great taxi and others transportations, such as motorcycles and personal cars<sup>4</sup>.

The discourse exposes the problem of time taken by daily commutes. In light of the absence of taxis in the neighborhood, Whether large or small, some heads of families - as was the case with this Respondent - are forced to resort to running in order to reach the main street, where large taxis pass. This highlights that the public bus transportation system is not preferable, mainly for avoiding being late for work. Therefore, it was noted that this discourse hides a living social situation, showing the absence of taxis in the neighborhood, in contrast to the concentration of their fleet only in the center of the Tikiouine center (figure. 2). One of the respondents says: “Although I own a motorcycle, as a family, we suffer from the delay of public buses”<sup>5</sup>. The neighborhood contains personal transportation, including cars, motorcycles, and regular vehicles, on the one hand, and public transportation is represented only by the urban bus system. Here, it is worth noting that the axial line of the buses is located approximately in the middle of the individual residential area and somewhat away from the location of the social housing in the neighborhood.

Movement in this neighborhood has been an issue of the social-spatial dimension. What made this matter for the majority of the respondents is that they consider it part of their daily suffering, especially among the families concerned with the resettlement policy, “It costs us to transport children on buses four hundred dirhams per year every month, and that is without those daily living expenses”<sup>6</sup>. his respondent not only complains about the issue of the social-spatial distance from the work site, but she considers public transportation in its entirety to constitute a financial burden that costs her an enormous budget of the

3. Respondent woman.

4. Respondent woman.

5. Interview with a men.

6. Respondent woman.



family's monthly income budget. Otherwise, the second model applies to households that do not fall within the framework resettlement policy, with the results of studies focused on “analyzing the effects of residential choices in terms of distance to the workplace and the effects of these decisions on household balance. It was found that the main factor in the distance to the workplace is due to ownership or individual home ownership. This option relates more to the wealthy groups and those with diplomas”. (Baccaïni *et al.*, 2002).

It appears that these differences between families in owning a car or a motorcycle, or sometimes without them, have led to multiple viewpoints for families, as some are owning regular motorcycles makes them content with them, without wanting to provide the neighborhood with taxis in general: (*Or Dari Mushkel, Dari Motor*), “I have no problem with transportation, because I have my motorbike”<sup>7</sup>. However, for some other families, the situation is entirely different, as despite having various means of transportation, they express their urgent desire to connect the neighborhood to various transportation networks. Here, we can come up with two classifications in this aspect: a class of families that spoke a lot about their needs for large taxis, considering that reaching the latter requires leaving the neighborhood, either waiting for it on the side of the main street or walking a distance of no less than a kilometer and a half, where the large taxi stand is located in the Tikiouine center. As for the second category, they are families that are not concerned in the resettlement policy, as they were very insistent on providing both large and small taxis in the neighborhood.



**Figure 2.** Urban transport bus route in the neighborhood. Source: field research, 2017.

7. Interview with a man.





In discussing the relationship between transportation and housing policies, it becomes evident that integrating transportation elements into urban planning is essential for enhancing the social mix. Research, such as that conducted, as cited in Suleiman (1996), indicates that resettling residents can create fragile communities characterized by social and economic diversity; however, this process often fails to address existing gaps.

The need to achieve a social mix emerges as a critical goal in housing policies, as this mix is perceived as a means to combat ghettos and promote social balance in urban environments (Tissot, 2005). However, it is important to acknowledge that housing policies aimed at achieving a social mix can inadvertently lead to discrimination, as noted by Grafmeyer (2008). This dynamic highlights the persistent economic and social disparities that exist within these communities.

Inadequate or costly transportation serves as a significant barrier to accessing employment opportunities and public services, emphasizing the need for urban planning that genuinely addresses citizens' needs (Segaud *et al.*, 2002). Following this perspective, the challenges families face regarding transportation and mobility are multifaceted issues that greatly impact their quality of life. Mobility is a complex matter, interweaving social and economic factors, particularly as bus transportation often imposes a financial burden on families affected by resettlement policies. Additionally, families express differing perspectives on transportation; while some find satisfaction with motorcycles, others urgently need public transport, highlighting the diverse needs shaped by their unique economic and social circumstances.

### 3.1.3. *The distance between the place of residence and the places of study*

Manuel Castells cited restricted residential trajectories, instability, and government interference. Despite the general improvement in living and housing conditions over half a century, many individuals still suffer from residential trajectories characterized by some instability. This fragility stems mainly from the ongoing socio-economic transformations since the war's end, represented by the weakness of social protection and "wage affiliation" (Castells, 1995).

In a related article titled "Effects of School Proximity on Students' Performance in Mathematics" (2022), the research examined the impact of school proximity on the academic performance in mathematics of Grade 7 students at a public national high school in a mountain barrio in Pinamungajan, Cebu, Philippines. The study found no significant relationships between students' modes of transportation, the accessibility of their homes to the road, and their academic performance in mathematics. In contrast, the Urban Institute (2017) discusses how transportation policies can enhance educational opportunities. Furthermore, these policies promote participation in enriching before- and after-school activities, contributing to a well-rounded educational experience (p. 2).

The issue of distance between residential areas and secondary educational institutions becomes a prominent concern for families. This dual distance not only raises logistical challenges but also indicates the existence of social and spatial exclusion. Currently, this exclusion is evident in the absence of educational institutions within the neighborhood itself, despite their presence in nearby areas. For instance, the nearest secondary school in the Tilila neighborhood is approximately 1.90 kilometers away, while another secondary institution in the Zaitoune neighborhood is located about 1.30 kilometers from the center of the neighborhood (see photo 1 & figure 3).

The effects of residential mobility on school places do not pose a problem for primary institutions or nurseries and kindergartens. Because the neighborhood has a ready-made primary school and another is under construction. However, in contrast to this, we find that secondary institutions are present in the development and planning designs of the neighborhood. However, they are absent at present.

The Tilila neighborhood has a middle school far away from us, and we need to leave home half an hour or so earlier. On their way to school, my daughters complain of bullying and stealing attempts by young men, and for this reason I am forced to accompany them to check on them<sup>8</sup>.

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8. Respondent woman.



Research results, along with recorded field observations, have shown that the neighborhood's lack of these two types of educational institutions forces some mothers to accompany their daughters, especially those studying in middle school. This accompaniment process requires, once or twice a day, long distances to be traveled for more than twenty or thirty minutes, which takes place under challenging conditions and in unsafe places and paths.

The speech indicates expressive connotations that carry within it part of the daily obstacles that this family experiences due to the social-spatial distance from the educational institution. Since the roads her daughters took were long and unsafe, this respondent needed to accompany her daughters to protect them from being harmed by strangers. It seems that this distance between the place of living and the place of study led to a feeling of panic and fear in this family when it received news of some female students being robbed by some young men, as well as stories of the harassment that girls are exposed to on their way to study. Therefore, we noticed during our interview that this respondent, who falls within the framework of the resettlement policy, was complaining about the burden of these objective circumstances because they cost her a great deal of effort and an objective problem in reconciling household chores, raising children, and daily accompaniment.

In addition to the suffering that this respondent experiences with the two girls who study at the preparatory level. The text of the speech also reveals those socio-professional conditions for a family, as they appear very clear in the fragility of the internal equipment and at the level of its internal and external residential morphology.

Therefore, we note that it is difficult for this family to provide school or personal transportation for these two girls. This is something that differs between families in the neighborhood. We noticed a very dynamic presence of school transportation within the neighborhood. It was also noted that there are among the respondents who do not participate in the resettlement policy who use their private car to pick up and drop off their children from institutions: "Sometimes my husband takes our daughter to school". We also recorded a very significant use of bicycles as a means of transportation by some students (photo. 1).



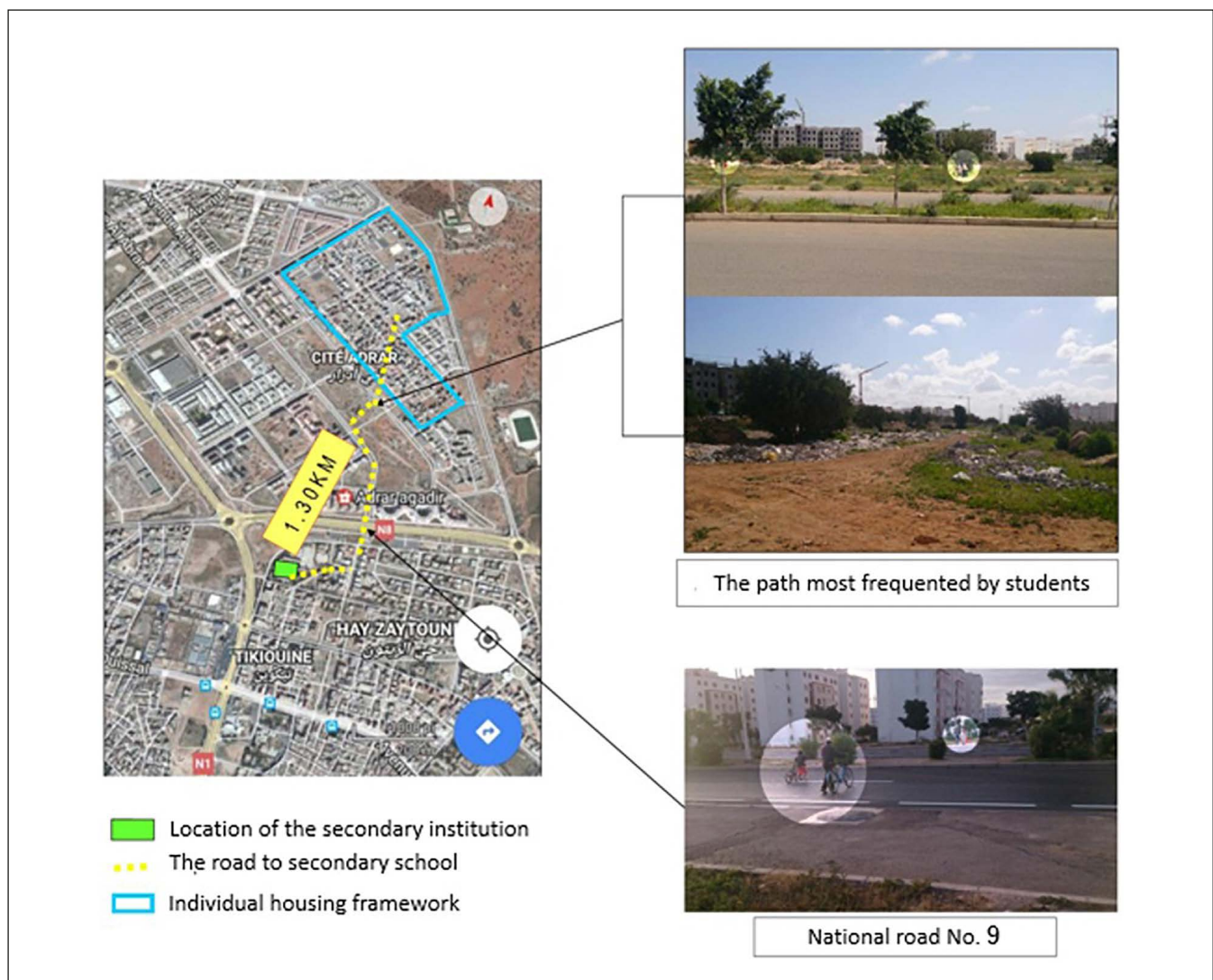
**Photo 1.** Tilila Neighborhood Middle School. Source: field research ©, April 7, 2017. 16:50:53.



We found that the distance of the paths that students frequently frequent in order to reach one of the high schools located in the Al-Zaytoun neighborhood is also long, in addition to being unsafe and unstructured paths (figure. 3).

The socio-spatial dimension of the secondary institution shows some of the difficulties that residents in general, and students in particular, face when they cross the national road. On the one hand, the latter constituted a physical separation, forcing passersby to carry motorcycles or bicycles, as well as handcarts, onto the sidewalks so that they could cross this road, known for its heavy traffic. On the other hand, it is considered a symbolic separation, carrying connotations of social exclusion of individuals in terms of the distance of facilities and services from individuals, as well as extended waiting periods for crossing, in addition to fear and running on the road.

The distance separating the residential location from the institution's location is seen as part of the current social problems in the neighborhood. Therefore, the attitudes expressed by the respondents were similar towards these challenges that cost their children a great deal of time and effort: "The constraints we suffer from include college and university" (the constraints we suffer from lie in the need to provide the neighborhood with a preparatory and secondary institution). It is clear from this speech that the subject here indicates that the absence of these two types of educational institutions constitutes one of the constraints they face in the neighborhood.



**Figure 3.** The air distance separating the secondary institution from the students' living places.  
Source: field research ©, April 1-7, 2017.





It is noteworthy that the findings indicate that the absence of some educational institutions in neighborhoods leads to significant challenges, particularly for middle school students who often need parental accompaniment over long distances in unsafe conditions. This situation creates not only logistical difficulties but also negatively affects the psychological well-being of students and their families, giving rise to feelings of fear and anxiety due to potential incidents such as theft and harassment. Furthermore, the text highlights the social disparities between families who can afford private transportation and those who cannot, further exacerbating inequalities in educational opportunities. Addressing these issues is essential for promoting equitable access to education and supporting the overall well-being of both students and their families.

### 3.2. Meeting places in the neighborhood

Segregation, fragmentation, and gentrification are all processes that characterize the overlap between social and spatial dynamics. Urban space thus constitutes a major social issue, both a constraint and a resource for individuals. These processes evolve and space to reinforce or, on the contrary, attenuate social and spatial inequalities (Nédélec, 2018). The phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation, such as the case of the population center in Agadir, which witnessed social, demographic, and economic changes, resulted in its expansion towards suburban areas [...] to the annexation of heterogeneous and fragmented spaces that led to the differentiation of neighborhoods (wealthy, middle, and poor neighborhoods). The agglomeration has become polycentric (Rehaimi, 2018). In other words, the structure of the biggest Agadir city is a kind of settlement of the rich people in the center and the poor people in the periphery (Rehaimi).

The spatial distribution of collective equipment in the "Tikiouine" area and its location reveals an aspect of the disparity between the residential neighborhoods it contains. Most of the basic facilities and services were located near the center of the ancient city of Tikiouine, which makes the residents of the neighborhoods that make up it, especially (the Talila neighborhood and Adrar neighborhood), face the problem of the distance that separates their places of residence from the various urban functions provided by the area. Therefore, the lack of such vital functions in the neighborhood in the study area led to the emergence of intense dynamics in the Tikiouine center, the most prominent of which was the dynamism witnessed by the weekly market: "We have great difficulty going to the weekly market"<sup>9</sup> (figure. 4).

The location of the weekly market in Tikiouine, as a living space with social interactions that allow meeting, "building relationships with people, gaining access to urban knowledge" (Sebti, 2009), exchange, and communication between individuals and groups, raises the problem of the social-spatial dimension among the respondents who are the subject of the study, especially for families who do not have their means of transportation, as a result of the market location being far from the individual residence location, with an air distance of approximately 1.60 kilometers. This will produce forms of internal family solidarity at times and various adaptive mechanisms with the problem of this distance at other times. The previous speech shows the extent of the difficulty posed by the geographical location of the market.

The location of the market is far away, of course, so I take turns shopping with my husband, but what about the one who cannot pull a wheelbarrow?<sup>10</sup>.

The dual distance between the residential location and the market location varies in terms of the extent to which it is adapted by families, primarily according to their material possessions. For this reason, it has become convenient for families to own a regular car or motorcycle to take them shopping. As for families who do not have a means of transportation or who do not use their regular bicycle - even if they have one - as is the case for respondents who fall within the framework of the resettlement policy, they resort to using

9. Respondent woman.

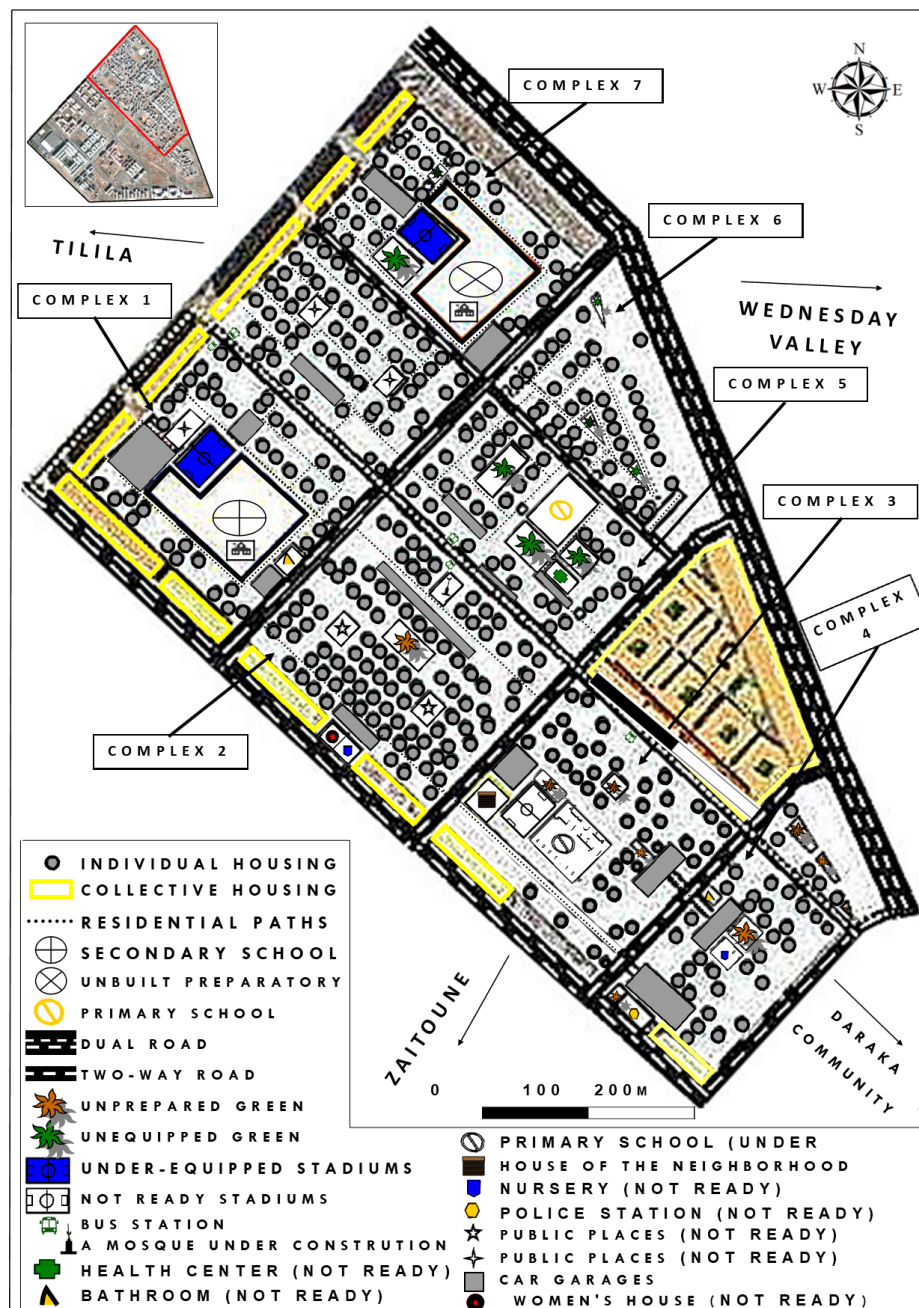
10. Respondent woman.





manual carts or private vehicles to transport goods, and sometimes using public transportation, although it does not bring the sample members close to their places of residence. Therefore, it is clear from the words of this Respondent, which falls within the framework of the resettlement policy, the role that women play alongside men in sharing the burdens surrounding shopping operations. Also, through this person's speech, we can notice social sympathy towards others otherness regarding the problems that families who cannot afford to use wheelbarrows may face.

I go to the market in the car of my friend whom I met in the neighborhood<sup>11</sup>.



**Figure 4.** Map of Basic facilities and services in the neighborhood.  
Source: data analysis by Google Earth on 15-03-2017.

11. Interview with a man.



This discourse explains the role of social relations that can solve some problems related to geographical distance. Here comes the role in which the circles of social relations, i.e., building “social capital” (Bourdieu, 1980) in the neighborhood, play an essential role in saving effort and time for this respondent, which gives him a feeling of comfort regarding this distance. Therefore, openness and the formation of beneficial relationships with neighbors were a solution to overcome this socio-spatial problem, which costs people many difficulties, even if they have some public means that bring shoppers closer to their area of residence. (We go to the market on foot, and although there are means of transportation, we need to find a way to get closer to the location of our homes.) Resorting to double transportation despite the negative trends surrounding it, in terms of not bringing the respondents closer to their places of residence, reveals to us another problem, which may lie mainly in the inability to pay money, especially among families that fall within the framework of the resettlement policy.

Moreover, it is possible to clarify the difference based on the level of religious facilities in the neighborhood compared to other neighborhoods. In it, we find that in the area of individual housing, there is only one small mosque, in contrast to what appears in the neighborhood adjacent to it, such as the Tilila neighborhood. This neighborhood had approximately three of these religious places, all of which were designed with large floor areas and luxurious internal and external morphologies.

It is also worth noting the absence of banking services in the neighborhood, and here we recorded that most of these services, which number eight agencies in the area, are densely distributed in both areas: Old Tikiouine and the Zaitoune neighborhood. As for the “Tilila” neighborhood, adjacent to the studied neighborhood, there is only one banking agency. Therefore, the respondents who deal with such institutions express this lack of services.

The incomplete preparation of some entertainment places, such as playgrounds, and the absence of others in planning documents related to the neighborhood, such as areas for children, make the respondents feel dissatisfied in the face of this societal reality. Given the absence of these entertainment places related to children, there were significant challenges facing the residents, the reason for which was the distance they needed to reach such facilities outside the neighborhood. Therefore, we found that the majority of respondents who have children are upset in the face of these territorial distinctions that have supported some neighborhoods with amenities and urban integration while marginalizing other neighborhoods.

We do not have entertainment areas. As for the entertainment areas in the Zaitoune neighborhood and the Tilila neighborhood, they are far from us. We only go to these places once a week<sup>12</sup>.

It seems that the respondents are fully aware of these spatial differences existing between neighborhoods, which has made it a social problem that does not stop only at the boundaries of the orbits of their neighborhood but, in return, calls for a comparison of their neighborhood with other neighboring neighborhoods. This means that the social-spatial dimension of entertainment areas, on the other hand, gives these neighborhoods where entertainment areas are concentrated another dimension in the possibility of meeting their neighbors in one neighborhood more than in others. This is clearly evident from the Respondent words when she said that she does not occupy these entertainment places except on holidays. Therefore, during our field visits, we noticed a significant absence of these places where residents gather in the neighborhood.

Despite the availability of green spaces and public areas that are not fully prepared in the neighborhood, they remain communal facilities that are predominantly concrete, and this may constitute a lack of comfort in using them. We witnessed daily that these places designated for sitting are often empty and monitored by various social actors in the neighborhood due to the nature of their location in the neighborhood, which makes them an area of surveillance on the one hand; on the other hand, it repels strangers coming to the neighborhood.

12. Interview with a man.



### 3.3. Different services in the neighborhood: other dimensions of distance and proximity

The economic and commercial activities provided to the neighborhood residents are distributed in the form of separate points, along its physical areas so that most of these daily activities were concentrated with a significant concentration in Complex No. (2). "In these informal crossroads, there are a thousand and one ways to get supplies, in tiny shops, from street vendors and from stalls redistributing products of all kinds" (Sebti, 2009). In addition, some mobile vendors display their various wares on buggy carts, As well as three-wheeled vehicles, such as sellers of eggs, vegetables, fruits, and so on..."Middle- and low-income populations find what they need to meet their needs in these spaces" (Sebti).

The majority of social, cultural, religious, and economic activities are concentrated in the Tikiouine region's core. We note that individual housing, on the other hand, provides various basic daily living needs. From regular and premium shops, a central market, and shops selling chicken and meat, in addition to some daily services, such as blacksmithing and carpentry shops, including aluminum, wood, and photography, as well as a shop that sells birds.

The individual residential area also has two cafés designed in modern ways, as it appears from the words of one of their owners that they are still new to coffee and do not know a great demand from the residents, and this is what we also recorded through our observations in the field. The neighborhood also has four men's barber shops, while there are no women's barber shops. The absence of this service in the neighborhood and others may lead to the necessity of searching for it outside the neighborhood. Pigeons also appear to be completely absent at the current level of reality.

The distance I walk on foot to reach the health center is very far<sup>13</sup>.

Accessibility to health care remains a global challenge, particularly pressing in low-income countries of the South (Lysaniuk & Tabeaud, 2015). In the absence of private asylums in the neighborhood, the previous discourse clarifies a form of social problem experienced by this respondent whose family is included in the resettlement policy. Due to her lack of transportation and her weak financial capabilities, she expressed to us the great effort she made, despite her illness, to reach the nearest public hospitals in the region. This is evident in her phrase "*Har*" which considers the health sector just one of the many challenges she faces daily in the neighborhood.

According to one of the people interviewed, who is not among the families included in the resettlement policy program, the medical visits he made with his wife on his motorcycle to one of the private hospitals in the city took place in harsh conditions. Nevertheless, despite the difficulty of the road and the time the husband needed for each weekly or monthly visit, owning a means of transportation, such as a regular motorcycle, was better for him than using public transportation. Nevertheless, despite the difficulty of the road and the time the husband needed for each weekly or monthly visit, owning a means of transportation, such as a regular motorcycle, was better for him than using public transportation.

In addition, the physical landscape of the individual housing district at the current level needs more cultural and social facilities, which may negatively affect the life of association activities and volunteer work among the resident population. In this regard, we noted that there is an absence of civil associations in the neighborhood, except for the Mosque Association, of which we had the opportunity to meet one of its members, the subject of the research sample. This respondent spoke to us about the role of this association, which includes only those families that which includes only those families that do not fall within the framework of the resettlement policy, in providing support and assistance to needy families in the neighborhood, such as used clothes, Eid sheep, and the like. We noticed, on the one hand, that there was dissatisfaction on the part of many of the respondents about the absence of cultural spaces in the neighborhood. On the other hand, some respondents considered establishing associations in the neighborhood.

13. Respondent woman.



The results reveal the challenges faced by residents of the Adrar neighborhood, particularly regarding the availability of certain services and cultural and social activities. Most commercial activities are concentrated in Sector 2, where residents rely on small shops and street vendors for their daily needs. This heavy dependence on local vendors highlights the uneven distribution of essential services inside the city. For low- and middle-income families, this lack of nearby services worsens their already fragile financial and social situations. Without easy access to essential services, these families must spend extra time and resources to meet basic needs, making their lives more difficult and lowering their overall quality of life.

Moreover, respondents emphasize the difficulties locals encounter in accessing healthcare, especially for families impacted by resettlement policies. Respondents expressed concerns about the lack of transportation and financial resources, which makes accessing public hospitals a difficult task. This demonstrates how economic conditions affect public health and residents' overall well-being, emphasizing the need to improve access to healthcare services.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

We conclude from the above that the dual distance in the neighborhood, in general, presented various problems, as the distance separating the housing sites from the work sites did not raise any problem for the families that were not included in the resettlement policy because they all had their means of transportation, and the heads of families; most of them were retired from work, including one respondent whose job was in the neighborhood. Despite all this, they, on the other hand, complained about the absence of taxis in the neighborhood. As for the families that fall within the framework of the resettlement policy, the distance separating the home location from the workplace constitutes challenges for them that they live with daily as a result of their lack of access to private means of transportation, except one respondent who owned a motorcycle. Therefore, we noticed in this aspect that the majority of individuals in the neighborhood were more dependent on the public transportation system.

In 2017, the neighborhood provided various daily essential services, including grocery stores, coffee shops, men's barbershops, chicken and meat vendors, birds, and a photography studio. In exchange for the absence of many basic services, including stores that sell shoes and clothes, women's salons, party and wedding suppliers, as well as electronic equipment stores of all kinds, as well as craft activities, such as; tailoring and cobbler shops. Concerning public services and educational, health, and social facilities, we have noticed a large presence of primary institutions. These include a kindergarten, nursery, and two primary institutions, including one under construction, as well as a health center, pharmacies, and a driving education institution. Meanwhile, we record the absence of private institutions at all levels, primary, preparatory, and secondary, as well as the absence of public educational institutions, both preparatory and secondary. As for other public services and facilities, cultural facilities are absent and the role of the neighborhood in individual housing, the problem of the distance of the market, the provinces, municipalities, and various banking agencies, as well as the problem of the absence of entertainment places in the neighborhood, as well as the distance of places of worship, especially in performing Friday prayers outside the neighborhood.

For families, the dual distance between the location of residence and places of study in preparatory and secondary educational institutions has constituted that aspect of daily suffering, especially those daily constraints that oblige mothers to accompany their daughters who are pursuing studies in preparatory institutions, which are located outside the neighborhood. The same is true for students studying in a secondary institution, as they suffer from the problem of the distance they travel daily, in addition to the danger posed by crossing the national road.





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## ANNEX

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### The different effects of the neighborhood on residential stability

##### 1. The distance between work and residence

- What is the work location for the head of the family?

Inside the neighborhood	Outside the neighborhood

- How much time does it take to reach it? .....hour.....minute.
- What is the means of transportation used for this?
- What is your esteemed opinion on transportation inside and outside the neighborhood?
- What's your take on the current infrastructure in the neighborhood?

##### 2. Distance between residence and school

- What is the type of educational institution in which your children currently study?

Private education	public education

- What is the number of children studying at the pre-primary level?
- What is the number of children studying at the preparatory level?
- What is the number of children studying at the secondary level?
- Could you tell me about the distance between the location of the institutions where your children pursue their education and the location of residence?

##### 3. Residents, their relationships with commercial places

- How do you see the distance that you need to cater your daily living needs?
- How do you observe the distance which separates you from basic services, including banks, internet clubs, police stations, and so on...?