

Territorial Assessment of the Urban Peripheries Fragmentation in Fez, Morocco

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ABSTRACT: The paper discusses the problematic of the urban fragmentation at the level of the peripheries of Fez, Morocco. The paper aims at dealing with complex urban issues namely: How can we nowadays assess territorially the scales of the urban in this large city, based on the observation of the urban peripheries fragmentation, which are so sensitive and strategic, with a plural and complex reality, interactive and in full motion? On what basis and according to which criteria can we define the degrees of this fragmentation quite visible spatially from its peripheral extensions?

There are two main objectives in this study. First, we shall demonstrate if this spatial fragmentation regenerates any social fragmentation. In this sense, we have to master the indicators allowing us to evaluate the presence of this fragmentation. This approach allowed us to manage its meaning in terms of urban integration and/or exclusion. Second, we shall identify the diversity of peripheral scales according to how the inhabitants themselves visualise their territories.

At the level of methodology, we adopt two complementary qualitative approaches based on an extensive and long fieldwork. The "renewed" typological approach adopted in the first part has been completed in the second-level by the "axiological" approach, essentially qualitative.

The analysis of the issue refutes clearly any correlation between mechanical spatial fragmentation and social fragmentation. It follows from the in-depth analysis that the "non-regulatory city» is not at all "another city", it has similarities and articulations with the conventional city. On the other hand, our research confirms the importance and size of these different forms of adherence, symbolic and real, to the urban, through the individual and collective access to products and services of the "Urban," tangible or intangible. These results call for a critical examination of the fragmentation connotations as a shared and irreversible process at the core, related to an advanced and desirable urbanization.

KEYWORDS: Peripheries, fragmentation, integration, urbanization pace, territorial assessment.

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the issue of the socio territorial assessment related to the urban fragmentation through the "reproduction" scales of our peripheries at the time of globalization in a big Moroccan city, Fez.

Questioning this reality is done in our research through the various scales and socio-territorial manifestations of the "creation" and urban practices process. Indeed, our field work, undertaken since the middle of the 90s, focuses on new forms of territoriality and the new ways to make the "urban" today in accordance with different strategies. These strategies are facilitated by multiple actors who actively participate in the process. In this presentation the focus is on the "ordinary" actors long neglected, though largely at the heart of the making and practices of the city in the urban peripheries of Fez.

At a first level, it is a question of applying a multi-criteria approach in assessing the spatial fragmentation of urban peripheries of Fez, with the intent of demystifying the thresholds of the socio-territorial diversity which generate four geographically distinct scales. This level of analysis has been accompanied by a minute and intense methodological approach in terms of mapping, reporting milestones and research results. Taking into account the normative requirements, only the overall findings will be analysed with the synthesis map in this paper.

At a second level, it is a question of deepening the socio territorial assessment and urban fragmentation through social practices of appropriation and reconfiguration of peripheral territories. This time the analysis

of urban residential practices reverse the posture of the approach, starting from inside and focusing on the "micro" scale: from the district housing towards the periphery.

The "renewed" typological approach adopted for the assessment of this urban fragmentation in the first part has been completed in this second-level by the "axiological" approach, essentially qualitative, of the alternative process, made of social forces "against- fragmentation". And beyond the observation that confirms whether the dynamics of articulation actually or symbolically describe these peripheries, it is a matter of using the new scales and new ways to create the "integration" of the urban and territorial qualification in our Southern Mediterranean countries, today and tomorrow, at the time of globalization.

1.0 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MULTI-CRITERIA APPROACH IN ASSESSING THE SOCIO SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION: DIVERSITY OF THE "GEO-TYPES"

1.1. The assessment background: Complexity of the peripheral urbanization processes and stakes

In the urban peripheries of Fez, and following the example of the major Moroccan cities, the internal "national" transfers, in their relation to the international dynamics of globalization, are asserted and articulated par excellence. It is in these peripheries that the future of our cities is asserted because numerous stakes are concentrated and articulated there.

Indeed, demographic issues related to the horizontal extension of the urban area is at the heart of this fragmentation, and Fez city is characterized by a growing population. The population has passed from 100.000 at the beginning of the 20th century to around one million a century later, becoming the second largest city of Morocco. During two decades, 1970-1980 and 1980-1990, the population's growing rate was due mainly to a migration flux from the rural areas and the nearby cities. Faced with the impossibility to intensify the historic urban fabric that has reached a "saturation" level, and the lack of access to nearby property opportunities, housing demand has shifted massively since the 70s to the "non-urbanized" margins. The choice of households is usually directed towards sites topographically rugged and private land: on the slopes associated with the Pre-Rif hills in the northern peripheries; slopes related to "Oued Boufekrane" in the North Eastern and South Eastern peripheries, on the agricultural plains where groundwater is near the surface due to the proximity of "Oued Fez" in the lower part of the South Western peripheries.

Thus, the unregulated solid housing market encompassed until the early 90s about 25,000 plots of land, approximately 180,000 inhabitants, 30% of the city of Fez, that is three times the national average. Hence the beneficial contribution of this market to mitigate the housing crisis and the economic dynamism that ensued, Meanwhile, the regulatory market had seized from the mid 80's a fairly consistent land reserve inherited from colonial urbanism. The latter is located in the peripheries of the South West part of the city. It consists of areas of land belonging to the State, which is approximately half of the total area of this periphery with 45.7%. Indeed, it is this reserve that has allowed the State to conduct its programmes of rehousing slum dwellers as well as all its social housing projects, in the short and medium term, on large surfaces and intensively. But the weakness of this reserve land, given the number of plots - with only 17.3% of the total - has helped to reduce the potential for long-term action. Hence the observation of current trends related to the extensions of the non-regulatory habitat to the south of the city in the rural commune "Ouled Tayeb". It is a new generation of peripheries that reproduces the process of a massive re-urbanization while awaiting its urban status and the official release of the new urbanism document. This new process of urban upgrading has the same logic that conditioned the making of the first generation of South West peripheries, but with a difference that lies at the level of very complex status and property stakes: The lands are governed by a special traditional status of joint ownership "J'moue" because they belong to rightful owners.

In this sense, a question is raised about the worrying delay that the new Master Plan for Urban Planning and Development of the city has known. Indeed, it should be recalled that under the pressure of strong socio-political issues, driven by irrational management of public land reserve over forty years, two major decisions and guidelines of Urban Planning and Development alternate. This is on the one hand related to urban policy governed by the technical institutional logic. The latter generates essentially a process of formal urbanization conditioned by questioning the planning tools so as to make habitat production processes more flexible and to reduce unregulated space (conservation, permissions ...). On the other hand, it is a question of directions governed by essentially political logic. The goal is to accept the fait accompli and proceed with the restructuring of informal settlements in order to grant it public recognition. This is in spite of the consequences generated in terms of financing infrastructure projects and various pressures. In principle, and in a context of concerted planning, these two processes should be complementary. But in reality the

past decades reflect the alternation of the two processes following the national and international contexts. On the one hand, the causes can be external, ie the pressure of international financial organizations. This corresponds for example to the eighties with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme - financed by the World Bank - hence the regeneration of the first process.

It is this context to which belongs the unfinished experiment of the Master Plan for Urban Planning and Development of 1980. On the one hand, the plan was distinguished by the orientation of the development of the city to the east, with the backdrop of the rehabilitation of the historic medina. On the other hand, it was characterized by the adoption of quality management in the restructuring of the peripheral areas most integrated to the city. This in parallel to the adoption of a policy of demolishing the remaining peripheral areas located in areas deemed dangerous and inadequate to the standards of urban planning. But on the other hand, the causes may be internal, in which case they appear in the form of urban unrest triggered from the South West peripheries of the city of Fez in 1990. The last Master Plan and Urban Planning of Fez represents since 1991 the political will to integrate into the urban area all the peripheries and to direct the development of the city to the South West. This trend was criticized by the conservative elites because it recalled the colonial model planning based on the principle of "spatial separation" between the historic and the modern city. In this sense a new administrative division of the city territory was adopted, and The "Zouagha Commune" was one of the fifth new Communes. But the strong social base of the new players in power from these same peripheries strengthens legitimacy of action. It is essentially about the "Zouagha Commune president" elected in 1993. Thus, mass qualification actions of the peripheries during a rather sensitive period, 1992-1997, which affected 48.4% of the population of the city, were accompanied by this new powerful actor. This has been a decisive factor in his promotion and election as mayor of the city since 2003, after the introduction of the new model of governance, which reset the principle of "unity" of the city.

1.2. Methodological approach

The conception/building of our approach makes use of specific databases and new principles regarding the design and optimization of field work. Components adopted are as follows:

- Combine and synthesize different data and approaches where intersect the quantitative with the qualitative: institutional quantitative data, qualitative data from institutional self-assessment. In this sense, institutions focus attention on the technical data about slums projects. However, when it comes to interventions in substandard solid housing, data becomes scattered, partial and lack precision. And to fill this gap our own field surveys have been incorporated.
- Investment of data from personal interviews and discussions with institutional actors.
- Capitalization of references and technical data from legal public debate on the definition of standards regulating the production of social housing.
- Exploitation of qualitative data from fieldwork relating directly or indirectly to the concept of habitat and / or neighbourhood "socially acceptable". These data were released from the dwellers' assessment of their experienced territories. This way we have combined the technical evaluation with the satisfaction rate of periphery dwellers against each of the indicators and generate an average of both. The rule adopted is as follows: The rating increases gradually following the increase in the average of the two percentages.
- Definition and selection of the reference note for each indicator and for any category of fragmentation indicators with a consideration of some equation between the thresholds and standards of "technically feasible" urbanism and those of a "socially acceptable" one.
- Generally, the criteria for evaluating the physical and morphological fragmentation are based on three indicator categories: indicators related to unity fragmentation (discontinuity, isolation ... etc), indicators of articulation (dependent on adequate and adapted transportation) and morphological indicators (fabric, density ... etc).
- On the criteria and indicators of equipment side, we have grouped them into three broad categories: "infrastructure" through the assessment of the technical work and the social use (accessibility), integrating the average rate of infrastructure connection and the rate of satisfaction. The "economic facilities," conditioned by the influence/opening criterion related to public amenities outside the narrow limits of the district or residential unit. The "social facilities and public services," treated similarly to the previous one.
- Concerning the criteria for assessing social fragmentation thresholds, they rely on a combination of indicators: socio-cultural (urban or rural origin, level of education), socio-professionals (by sector and skill level) and social (three major classes distributed into strata).

1.3. Assessment of the socio spatial fragmentation in the peripheries of the city of Fez: Synthesis map (Figure 1)

The general observation confirms results as follows:

- Presence of complex and composite indices, useful for understanding this fragmentation and the determination of its thresholds and scales, its justification and its backdrops.
- Emergence of a fundamental relationship between the socio economic situation and the current spatial studied units, both are evolutionary consequences of complex mechanisms,
- positive transformation of these spaces with the development pace of urbanization and the gradual integration to the urbanization process,
- Differentiation of scales and peripheral territorial units: the analysis allowed to identify four types of units interacting with the pace of urbanization.

In order to structure the findings of the assessment, a closer analysis has allowed to identify a classification of socio-spatial units studied on the basis of four geographic scales which correspond to four thresholds. These thresholds correspond to four separate peripheral models, some sort of "peri geo-types": namely the South West periphery located at the lower than average threshold, as opposed to the Northern periphery model corresponding to the higher threshold above the average, the North East periphery located in a central position, and at the bottom scale the South East periphery:

- First threshold corresponding to the socio-spatial potentialities above average, represented by the northern periphery of Fez: This "peri geo-type" is representative of a relatively positive situation in relation with the fragmentation/cohesion equation. This equation has led to a relative balance between a spatial fragmentation relatively low due to the relative concentration of equipment (despite pressure from the morpho-physical fragmentation) combined with social potential relatively positive (presence of positive socio cultural indicators and more meaningful involvement in the formal economy). This is parallel to a representative balance in the social composition of this periphery. In sum, this positive situation is both the result of early commitment in the process of urbanization, and the opportunity of appropriate location near the old Medina of Fez.
- Second threshold corresponding to the socio-spatial potentialities relatively average, represented by North East periphery: This "peri geo-type" reflects the positive effects of localization economies near the Medina. In this case, follow one another, almost equally, breakup forces and cohesive forces. This results on the one hand, in the spatial fragmentation which is situated in the average threshold. The development of economic facilities, related to the convenience of location near the Medina, helps reduce the effects of these spatial constraints. This balance justifies the presence of relatively positive social dynamics: significant representativeness of middle class, positive socio-cultural and socio-professional mixing. .
- Third threshold corresponding to the socio-spatial potentialities below average, it is represented by the South West peripheries. This "geo type" expresses socially negative pressure forces, which act in the direction of social exclusion: political choice to direct the growth of the city to this peripheries hence the concentration of state projects for relocation of slums of the city in this periphery. Hypertrophy of the lower class represented by its different strata reflects the direct consequence of this trend. Despite this, the South West peripheries include positive dynamics. This has to do with spatial potentialities adequate for urban planning, reflected on the one hand by fragmentation values relatively moderate, and on the other hand by a positive social mixing in the case of districts producing non-regulatory planning. This is expressed mainly by a stronger representation of the middle social class in the non-regulatory areas of production. This reflects the role of "non-regulatory planning" in the disparities regulation and in recreating alternative balance, allowing some "catching up" of urbanity.
- The deepening of territorial analysis at the level of neighbourhoods on the peripheries of the South West leads us to conclude that the main elements of analysis are as follows:
 - This is to confirm that the non-regulatory areas of production are not "another city" isolated from the regulations. This is all the more true that the oldest core of these districts, especially High Zouagha, play a vital role in the integration of new adjacent neighbourhoods. Moreover, these are at the top of the hierarchy.
 - Concerning the districts resulting from intervention in the slum, they meet the following classification rule: the more precocious these districts are part of the urbanization process, the more there is an increase of cohesion and urban integration forces: the case of "Ben Souda" and "N'zalet Faraji" are significant in this sense. By contrast, opportunities for integration of relatively new districts are reduced, mainly represented by the relocation of the slum district named "Al Massira," located at the southern end of the South West

- In opposition to all this, these opportunities dwindle completely in the case of precarious habitat districts, consisting of "pockets" of slums scattered around non-regulated housing, "pockets" not yet part of the urbanization process.
- The fourth and final threshold, corresponding to relatively low socio-spatial potentialities, is represented geographically by the South East periphery. This "geo type" expresses the pressure exerted by the spatial fragmentation forces due to the combination of three negative factors: namely the constraints of uneven topography, lack of equipment and a low level of articulation with the rest of the city. Despite the presence of relatively positive social indicators, physical constraints pressure remains strong.

To conclude, the factors that explain the spatial fragmentation do not automatically fit the simple socio-economic elements and exceed the static and recurring ones. The fragmented or discontinuous urban pattern, differential according to typo morphology and differences in equipment and services, correspond to the perpetuation of the process of exclusion and integration. This proves that the issue of fragmentation is beyond mere mechanical and simplistic reading of spatial and social components. It requires the integration of elements of urban living, along with the monitoring and evaluation of projects. This requires to go beyond this level of analysis and to switch to a direct questioning of the socio-spatial fragmentation from "below", meaning the actual experience of urban projects redevelopment.

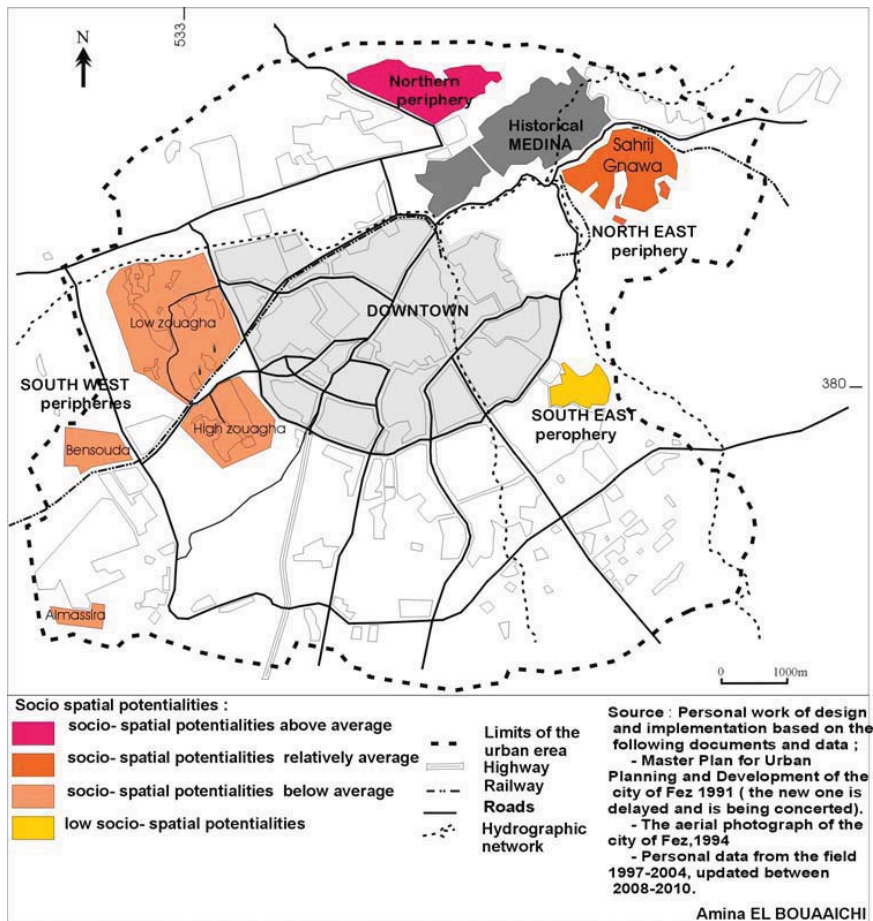


Fig 1: The socio-spatial fragmentation in the outskirts of Fez city. Source: (Amina El Bouaaiichi, 2004)

2.0 MODES OF TERRITORIAL APPROPRIATION ACROSS THE DISTRICTS ON THE SOUTH WEST PERIPHERIES

The in-depth interviews carried with the inhabitants has shown the importance of territorial models reformulated in residential areas of the South West peripheries of the city, used for the needs of micro analysis. This is because they express the practices and strategies used by people in the process of access to "socially acceptable" housing. In this sense, several constants and variants determine the production, accumulation and control of the residential territorial capital, and thus determine the configuration and reformulation of the experienced housing models.

2.1 The constants in the residents' capitalization on territorial "resource"

The models of housing experienced by all people, irrespective of the type of housing and neighbourhoods studied, highlight on the one hand, the desire to acquire an independent property and reflect, on the other hand, the criteria and conditions that underlie socio territorial housing / building "socially acceptable".

The desire to access an independent urban land is considered as an ultimate objective, "an ideal" for the general population in all districts. The results of the analysis confirm that approximately two thirds of the households interviewed have concluded their residential process through the establishment of completely independent housing. The low mobility combined with the dwelling seniority are there to explain these gains. Thus the semi-independent housing becomes an alternative for about a third of the mobile population and of recent residence (with the exception of pockets of slums). Whereas the formula for collective housing is almost nonexistent, in fact, it is restricted to the nuclei of small households and / or recent constitution. Independent urban housing or semi-independent is considered a socio territorial gain which may materialize the conditions to create "adequate" habitat according to the population.

"Sufficient" surface area and "independent" or individual entry are two decisive factors that contribute to the projection of the "desirable housing" model. This model is based on the reference model of the traditional habitat. The "separation" space between the internal spaces, loaded with intimacy, and the external reception areas, charged with social representation, constitute one of the most significant expressions of this model. Besides the advantage that this independent housing model allows, through expanding the margin of freedom (formulation of desirable housing model), this quasi-independent housing also generates additional income for the household through the exploitation of the ground floor business and / or renting a portion of the house. All this to substitute for the lack of stability in employment and lack of social security (pension, health care insurance ... etc).

2.2. Variants conditioning the reformulation of residential models at the level of the South West peripheries districts of Fez

The processing and in-depth analysis of field qualitative data show a set of variables that interact to define the degree of ownership of residential territories and reformulate housing models. These variants are considered as "resources" that feed the territorial capital in a continuous process of accumulation and valorisation of the latter. It is these variants that determine ultimately – downstream/the later process to the making of residential territory- the "winning" categories of population who managed to accumulate an "optimal" residential capital and the opposite, "losing" categories of population who have not been able and / or did not know how to seize the opportunities that underlie these "resources". These are the thresholds and degrees of socio territorial expertise which condition the acquired aftermath/outcome by these categories: we mean by this expertise the input in time and space of the territorial experiences and social skills accumulated and used to control the residential territory by the "ordinary" actors.

The identification and analysis of the variants in question offer the following outcomes:

- **Mobilization of family and relational capital:** This mobilization is diverse and combines more when it comes to producing non-regulated areas. In these areas, in addition to family mobilizing, a fairly specific mobilization stands out: This is the mobilization of socio-political networks of local intermediaries. However, in the districts resulting from intervention in the slum, the relational capital is concentrated on the mobilization of the entire "household unit". As for the pockets of slums, the mobilization is restricted to the family network.
- **Diversity of residential areas:** social fragmentation in large spatial peripheries, the South West, and the diversity of its suburbs have been used by people in the formulation of appropriation strategies and territorial mastering in the sense of generating the best possible residential opportunities. The diversity of the districts in this periphery expands the degree of people's freedom to act. The districts resulting from intervention in the slum also participate in this sense: they offer a new market in product diversification "socially acceptable habitat» in these South West peripheries.
- The strong and average ownership of residential territory has been brought out as a lived experience even in the case of "pockets" of slums. This high and medium residential appropriation is based on the "acquisition" of the "right of occupation" of land, for cheaper available land on the

market, and pending valorisation of this capital through the passage from the "precarious residential territorial capital" to "conventional residential territorial capital" and with the perspective of the restructuring of these slum pockets on site. In this sense, the "market" of "Nouala" or "shed" becomes a buoyant market for exchange value, thus fulfilling the law of supply and demand, just as is the case for other non-precarious districts.

- **Policies and public interventions in the peripheral territories in the south west of the city of Fez:** The impact exerted by these public interventions on the process of appropriation of residential land has been highlighted from two angles of analysis:
 - Ahead of the process of residential appropriation, these interventions allow people to mobilize and direct their residential projects with the ultimate goal of accessing a "suitable" residential formula.
 - The post process of residential ownership allows these public interventions to affect differently the strengthening or weakening of territorial capital and thus the "catching up" or not of urban integration.

Urban policies that affect directly the process of territorial appropriation are represented by: intervention programs in the slums and intervention programs in non-regulatory restructuring neighbourhoods.

- **The level of intervention policy on the slum:** These programs are seen as good opportunities for suitable independent regulatory housing affordability. This finding reinforces stability in the pockets of slums, especially since the actual engaging (since early 90s) in "restructuring" projects allows to multiply the chances to benefit from a plot of land to build and accelerates the rate of home-ownership. In this race to "catch up" urbanity and the accumulation of this territorial capital, it has been a question of going further and create new slum pockets, parallel to the urban density of existing pockets.
- **At the level of regularizing illegal plots:** The "restructuring" of the non-regulatory areas has become a major socio political stake used by the public actor as a "game" election. But on the other hand, this issue has been recovered as a "fundamentalist gain" from the groups that represent dissidence in situ in these peripheries. These groups frame these populations. This fact has an obvious effect on the area, but it is cyclical. This established fact results in the reproduction of a non-regulated housing market (solid and precarious).
 - However, the negative effects of the "restructuring" policy have been brought out through the pressure of the building cessation over a decade (technical constraints, groundwater close to the soil surface) on the dynamics of territorial reconfiguration.

CONCLUSION

A review of the issue of urban fragmentation across the peripheries of Fez refutes clearly any correlation between mechanical spatial fragmentation and social fragmentation. It follows from the in-depth analysis that the "non-regulatory city" is not at all "another city". It has similarities and articulations with the conventional city. On the other hand, our research confirms the importance and size of these different forms of adherence, symbolic and real, to the urban. This adherence is done through the individual and collective access to products and services of the "Urban," tangible or intangible.

In this sense, we find harmony between the orientation noticed in Fez and the result of the studied reality carried out in cities of the Maghreb. However, the comparison with parallel studies of the urban realities of various areas in other sites (Latin American cities in particular), prompts us to ask some questions about what might be considered a merely temporary balance due to a particular composition:

- The idea of "achieving urbanity" reflects a strong positive socio-spatial mixing, which is one of the features of "urbanity" in the context of the current situation. In this sense, the position of the population about achieving urbanization is based on references prior to public action, given its strong presence in the population's memory. These references are projects / models from which residential areas and segments of the urban community have benefited, in the same city and in other cities.
- The outcome of our field research unequivocally confirms that the future of the socio-political regimes is vital for our cities, given the importance of the implicit "Community Charter" enhanced recently by the Arabic spring.
- Abandoning the implicit "Social Charter" recreates the formula of unconventional "urbanity"; through the re-employment of illegal production of the urban area as a way to control the rarity and disparity of the socio-spatial capital. Therefore, the illegal "urbanization" could become a means to "catch up with" urbanity.
- In this context, we propose a national dialogue that may be held on extending the debate on the intersections that may be drawn and implemented between on the one hand, the public formula of "technically acceptable" models in the control and requalification of the urban area, and on the other hand

the "socially acceptable" population formula in adapting urban space values to the socio- cultural references and values.

The most meaningful results of the research clearly demonstrate that the ways of action carry some likeness; they materialize themselves notably in the general references that use the "lodging" in multiple intervention formulas to widen and recreate the socio political and socio technical legitimacies. In this sense the analysis demonstrates the importance of the models of living as witnessed in the southwest peripheries of the city. These models reflect the strategies and the practices implemented by the population to reach the "socially acceptable lodging" in the limit of "technically feasible formulas ". This analysis also shows the influence of these strategies and practices on the dynamics of construction, reconfiguration and private planning of the residential areas.

The assessment of socio-spatial indicators of fragmentation in the urban areas and districts under study, at the level of their relational composition and their horizontal and external systemic connections, confirms the presence of compound indications that help us to understand this fragmentation and determine its limits, justifications and dimensions, in addition to their significant background. This perception has important practical dimensions, both at the level of theoretical assimilation, and at the level of developing appropriate strategies to overcome problems. The consequence is the emergence of an intrinsic relationship between the socio-economic structure and the current field situation of the units under study. Both of them constitute an evolutionary outcome of complex mechanisms, given their multiple connections and dimensions, whether social, economic, of real estate, legal or other. It may have a direct impact that is soon embodied in field manifestation, and it might in other cases have an indirect influence, constantly working implicitly to adapt the situation to the regulatory requirements.

However, the positive transformation of these areas with the gradual engagement in the rapid progress of urbanization - in time and place – reflects the strong presence of cohesion and integration forces. The weight of these forces is identical with the weight of the forces of fragmentation. In this sense, the outcome of the research proves that the peripheral areas vary with different levels in their socio-spatial components and the tempo of urbanization. This itself reflects the disparity between cohesion and integration forces and the rest of the urban areas. In order to restructure the practical conclusions drawn from the socio-spatial fragmentation, the hierarchy of the field units under study was devised on the basis of four levels of assessment, according to their particularities and practical projections.

The results in general call for critical examination, on an international, national and local level, of the meanings of fragmentation. On this basis, we can use the specifics of fragmentation, its composition and its levels in Fez in the context of putting forward a set of questions and assumptions, that seem to be pending, as follows:

- The absence of extreme manifestations of fragmentation, similar to the districts of South American cities isolated from the urban "whole", is linked to the time and the current pace of urbanization,
- Questioning the time and the pace of integration into the global economy and the process of globalization,
- Reading the process of field and social mobility in some Latin American cities, as a significant model in the eighties, provides important similarities and differences with the condition of our major cities in the nineties,
- This fact prompts us to question the nature of the future process, and the possible impacts of the current dynamics - in the socio-spatial restructuring – supporting a number of phenomena, including the phenomenon of "metropolisation", economic restructuring, developing state institutions and urban governance.

I would like to end up with these ideas/questions to explore:

The Study lays a number of new questions that remain pending until today, and constitute a fertile field of thought and social, geographical and socio-political research,

- What are the determinants of socio-territorial "unity" for the urban of today?
- How can we separate the socio-territorial "unity" and distinguish it from the unity of the urban "regime" / "system"?

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