INTRODUCTION

Yto Barrada is a contemporary female Moroccan artist who uses photography to criticize the government policies concerning the city and its inhabitants. Her focus is on her hometown, Tangier, which she transforms into a series of pictures and forces us to perceive in a new way. In her photographs, Tangier is illustrated as a closed city, full of boundaries and walls. Its massive concrete buildings are similar and faceless; its new architecture is soulless and its urban development projects do not take into consideration the real needs of the community. In this chapter, I explore the way Barrada reflects on public space and the city in her photographs. Barrada’s work also includes films, publications, installations and sculptures, but my focus in this paper is on her photographs. Yto Barrada works with pictures and I work with words to engage in a debate concerned with urbanism and the city in Morocco.
There has always been a close link between art and architecture, especially in the early part of the twentieth century. City photography goes back to the beginning of the last century with photographers such as Walker Evans, Berenice Abbott and Eugène Atget. In *Cities and Photography*, Jane Tormey explains how “photographic representations translate the city for us and contribute to how we conceive it, as they visualize changing attitudes to the world and ourselves” (xiv). The themes urban photographer Barrada evokes echo those of important spatial theorists such as Henry Lefebvre’s ‘the right to the city’ and Edward Soja’s ‘spatial justice’. The theories of both Lefebvre and Soja provide essential tools with which to interrogate art and the city. Lefebvre asserts the right of people to a form of participatory citizenship. This is what he calls, ‘the right to the city’, a concept he developed in the late 1960s. It is “rooted in taking control over the social production of social space, in a kind of consciousness and awareness of how space can be used to oppress and exploit and dominate, to create forms of social control and discipline.”¹ The term ‘spatial justice’ refers to the attempt to explore the way the spatial perspective might open up new ways of thinking about justice, democracy, citizenship, community struggles and so on. Edward Soja based this urban concept on Lefebvre’s ideas about the city. He writes,

The political organization of space is a particularly powerful source of spatial injustice, with examples ranging from the gerrymandering of electoral districts, the redlining of urban investments, and the effects of exclusionary zoning to territorial apartheid, institutionalized residential segregation, the imprint of colonial and/or military geographies of social control, and the creation of other core-periphery spatial structures of privilege from the local to the global scales. (3)

Barrada’s photographs both provoke us and make us reflect. Familiar objects are shot from unfamiliar angles. Barrada does not use photography to offer documentary truth; she uses anti-realism
and breaks thus with the relationship between the work that guarantees the truth and the spectator. Her pictures are made in the spirit of Thomas Struth who began his series of street scenes, Unconscious Places in the late 1970s. They record what the eye does not see: social, political, economic and cultural inequality. They challenge the official narrative produced about Tangier and its people and replace the sentimental image of Western literature and art about the city with one that addresses the contradictions of Morocco.

In her artistic projects (A Life Full of Holes: The Strait Project 2004, Red Walls 2006, Iris Tingitana 2007, Riffs 2011, Mobilier Urbain 2012), Barrada uses photography as a symbolic gesture of defiance in the face of thoughtless urbanization which has engendered new forms of injustice in Tangier. Photography which is accessible to everyone nowadays is transformed into a tool to combat industrial and bureaucratic power, and to denounce the standardization of the city and its inhabitants. Barrada’s works give space to the invisible, the silenced, the displaced, the deformed and offer visual expressions of Morocco’s social unrest.

In this chapter, I question the use of photography as a means of resistance to dominant structures and show how Yto Barrada’s pictures reflect Morocco’s identity crisis and invent a visual space to those marginalized by urban planners and politicians. My focus is on the content of Barrada’s photographs rather than on their ‘aesthetic qualities’. I consider how they add to our understanding of certain conditions of space and the city in Morocco. The paper consists of four sections. The first section explains why it is important to take note of art photography to understand the city. The second section focuses on the way Barrada’s work reveals the fractures and incoherencies of Moroccan cities. I then show how Barrada’s pictures give voice to the forgotten collective memory of the city. And in the final part, I explore the way Barrada’s photography offers a visual narrative of failed, postcolonial, global cities.
1. THE SYMBOLIC POWER OF PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography is a very popular medium; it is easy and cheap. Everybody can take pictures without asking himself if this is art or not. As David Bate writes, “not only has the photograph permeated every corner of the earth, but the experience of the photographic image has in turn transformed our sense of identity and the social. It is hard to think about the modern world without the photographic image” (439). Still, photography is also a means of contesting dominant structures and practices. “The black box is not ‘neutral’ and … its structure not impartial” (Damisch 88). Photography can be used for contradictory aims; it is a means of revolution, an advertising devise or a family snapshot. It has the capacity to turn every experience or event into an image. Insignificant things become important when photographed. The camera captures the world, transforms it and miniaturizes it. In “What the Eye Does not See”, Ossip Brik explains that “the task of the cinema and of the camera is not to imitate the human eye, but to see and record what the human eye normally does not see” (90).

For Yto Barrada, photography is a critical enterprise that penetrates beneath the facades of things to reveal their true character. Her photographs challenge our schematized notions of reality and invite us to think about the world differently. Art in Morocco is often used merely to accompany the so called urban ‘renewal’ projects through aestheticization in the form of abstract sculptures or individual art objects in public places. Barrada’s art stands outside this definition. Her pictures interrupt the routine way we look at the city. The city in her work is much more than a collection of buildings beautifully photographed; there are no props, no fantasy scenes or exotic architectures in her pictures. As the artist says in an interview: “The city is modernizing but the people’s needs are not at the centre of the decisions – the triumphalist liberalism of the choices made in our national infrastructure projects is quite blinding.”
Barrada’s camera captures the personality of the Moroccan society. She is alert to the interaction of the different elements which compose an urban scene. As American urban photographer Stephen Shore explains,

There is an old Arab saying, “the apparent is the bridge to the real.” For many photographers, architecture serves this function. A building expresses the physical constraints of its materials: a building made of curved l-beams and titanium can look different from one made of sandstone blocks. A building expresses the economic constraints of its construction. A building also expresses the aesthetic parameters of its builder and its culture. This latter is the product of all the diverse elements that make up “style”: traditions, aspirations, conditioning, imagination, posturing, perceptions. On a city street, a building is sited between others built or renovated at different times and in different styles. And these buildings are next to still others. And this whole complex scene experiences the pressure of weather and time. This taste of the personality of a society becomes accessible to a camera.”

Barrada’s documentary, straightforward, frontal photographs investigate the urban everyday with the aim of criticizing and resisting the remaking of public spaces by powerful interests. Lefebvre writes that space has become for the state a political instrument of primary importance:

The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places, its strict hierarchy, the homogeneity of the whole, and the segregation of the parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even a policed space. The hierarchy of spaces corresponds to that of social classes, and if there exist ghettos for all classes, those of the working class are merely more isolated than those of the others.

Barrada’s work belongs to art and transcends it at the same time. Her photographs are unsuited for mass consumption and are
used to counteract the damage of mechanization. Barrada works against the folkloric representations of the “dominant regime” whose main objective is to market the country as an international tourism destination. Billboards and postcards depict a coherence which the Moroccan cities lack. Barrada’s photographs provide different perspectives from which to view social, political and cultural issues about the city and aspire to open up fixed positions of spectatorship. As Jane Rendell writes in *Art and Architecture: a Space Between,*

Art and architecture are frequently differentiated in terms of their relationship to ‘function’. Unlike architecture, art may not be functional in traditional terms, for example, in responding to social needs, giving shelter when it rains or providing a room in which to perform open-heart surgery but we could say that art is functional in providing certain kinds of tools for self-reflection, critical thinking and social change. Art offers a place and occasion for new kinds of relationship ‘to function’ between people. (3-4)

2. PHOTOGRAPHING THE FRACTURES OF THE MOROCCAN CITY/TANGIER

Central in the urbanization process are architects and planners who build cities, the citizens who live in them but also the artist’s whose work can provoke urban change. Barrada exposes the paradoxes at the heart of Moroccan cities. Her photographs investigate the contradictions and potentials of Morocco’s current urban concerns. They draw attention to the modern urban living’s fragile, often fragmented or dispersed nature and therefore its problems.

Tangier is a multi-faceted city; an intricate ‘picture puzzle’ that cannot be reduced or depicted in a singular mode. In Barrada’s pictures, Tangier is unmanageably varied and anarchic. Its disorder resists classification. Barrada questions the dominant myths
which surround the city.\textsuperscript{6} Tangier, like many other Moroccan cities (Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, etc.) is facing a multitude of crises and Barrada depicts it in all its confusion, its poor quarters, its decayed monuments, and its multiplying tall buildings. Barrada captures the contradictory character of the contemporary Moroccan city which is homogenous, fragmentary, and hierarchical, to borrow the words Henri Lefebvre\textsuperscript{7} uses to talk about the modern city. She explores critically the qualities of the streets, the squares, the parks and other aspects of the public realm in terms of how they are used, imagined and lived. The city is overcrowded; its streets are dull, narrow, steep and filthy. Piles of filth are everywhere. The interminable excavations of roads for sewer works, electricity or general repairs add to the disfiguring of the city. When the local authorities dig up a street, the cobblestones have to be pulled one by one and the work drag on forever. The dark surfaces of neglected, unpainted, fallen down mansions and the disordered heaps of houses and trees reveal an aging and impoverished city affected by the fissures and ravages of time.

The forms of poverty are everywhere visible: in the city’s narrow alleys and dirty thoroughfares, in the buses packed with passengers, in the crumbling city walls and past the houses of which only the facades are left. Photographic immersion in the city shows street’s life, its violence and its rituals. It depicts the fragility of people’s lives in Tangier. Street sellers wander among the crowds; beggars utter the same appeal day after day; the drunks and the homeless roam in the never-ending streets. Inequality is particularly high in Tangier and in the other big cities of Morocco. The shameful poverty of the city is cloaked from official reports and media but not from Barrada’s camera eye. Tangier lost its importance in the world\textsuperscript{8} and became a remote place burdened with social marginality, poverty and despair. Moroccan cities are inhabited by a rich minority and a frustrated, impoverished majority which struggles to earn a living. Youth unemployment is
very high. The lack of opportunities and the dim prospects for personal and professional advancement have destabilizing impacts; illegal migration is one of them.

Talking about the fractures of the contemporary city, Italian Architect Aldo Rossi states, “I believe that today we live in a world that cannot be repaired, a world of psychological and human fragments … I always say that our true invention as architects is to determine how to connect all these fragments together.” At the heart of Barrada’s work, there is a parallel search to the one mentioned by Rossi. Her photographs which are published and exhibited in a sequence that suggests thematic or formal resonances often omit clues as to what particular places they refer to. The buildings’ structural relationship to their setting and the relationship of the photographs to themselves help her create an imaginary city built of images.

Barrada’s photographs are not just substitutes for the already existing buildings. Her desire is to tell a story which offers meaning to the multiple fragments of the contemporary Moroccan city. She does not merely produce an urban still life which describes the incoherencies of the city. Her photographs are ordinary and complex; they transform the fragments of the urban space into a visual narrative. Her works are documents and art works. Barrada is a spatial story-teller who explores critically the cultural geographies of the Moroccan cities. Her art “shake[s] up our modes of perception and (...) redefine[s] our capacities for action” (Rancière 259).

Barrada’s work is also an incisive critique of modernity. The artist criticizes the simplification and standardization characteristic of modernist architecture. According to Lefebvre, “world urban space is a space of “violence”, where “a formidable force of homogenization exerts itself on a worldwide scale, producing a space whose every part is interchangeable (quantified, without qualities).” Barrada denounces the uniformity of concrete, func-
tionalist buildings. Reinforced concrete is a medium of architecture which is considered as responsible for modernist uniformity. Modern architecture was born with this material. Reinforced concrete factories emerged between the 1900s and the 1930s. As functionalist concrete buildings began to dominate industrial landscape after 1910, their credibility as cultural forms expanded.¹²

Barrada’s photographs capture ugly, gray concrete buildings with no ornamentation.¹³ Many of them have been built during colonialism and their facades are discolored by dirt, rust and dust. Other buildings three or four stories tall, also made from reinforced concrete and brick are built on the top of the Rif Mountains.¹⁴ They look identical, odd and repellent. Even old, historical buildings are restored by concrete! Architecture and designed spaces including buildings, landscapes, gardens, interiors and public spaces have been transformed by concrete.

Barrada’s attention to detail is worthy of an architect. Her fidelity to everyday detail reveals another of the city’s flaws. She criticizes the privatization of public space and the associated passivization of city dwellers. Urban space in Morocco is becoming increasingly privatized and commercial. Thousands of hectares of valuable agricultural land were lost to urbanization. The new urban landscapes are dotted with commercial centers, car show rooms, urban highways and mass housing projects in the suburbs of the cities. Many dormitory towns miles and miles away from existing cities have been created.¹⁵ Urban planners, businessmen and municipal officials are responsible for the commoditization of urban life. Moroccan cities are quickly becoming a sterile, depthless space for a consumer society. According to Lefebvre, the modern city has become an object of consumption. “Space as a whole is consumed for production just as are industrial buildings and sites, machines, raw materials, and labor power.”¹⁶
3. URBAN MEMORY LOSS

Barrada denounces the failure of architects and urban planners to connect to the human body in their designs and to locate the city in the fabric of the everyday. In his book, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization*, Richard Sennett talks about “the sensory deprivation which seems to curse most modern buildings; the dullness, the monotony, and the tactile sterility which afflicts the urban environment.” According to him, this “sensory deprivation” is “a professional failure_ modern architects and urbanists having somehow lost an active connection to the human body in their designs” (15). We define ourselves through our relation with space and architecture in its turn affects the fiber of our being and defines us. Architecture should reveal our history and culture. But as the photographs of Barrada suggest, Moroccan postcolonial cities are deracinated from considerations of history and place. The material history and memory of city space and city life are absent. As Aldo Rossi writes in *The Architecture of the City*, a book with enormous influence on architecture, and written as a rebuttal to the modernist redevelopment of European cities after the Second World War,

“The soul of the city” becomes the city’s history, the signs on the walls of the municipium, the city’s distinctive and definitive character, its memory (…) One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city’s predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts became part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it. (130)

The Memory of the old city has been eradicated by modernist architecture and the bonds of identity are therefore broken. This
led to a breakdown of its collective memory. The material traces of Morocco’s urban heritage are its historical buildings, the names of the streets and the old city’s architectural particularities. The past is an integral part of life which played an important role in the shaping of mentalities and identities. “The urban identity of a city is the collective expression of its various physical attributes indexed through its fabric of streets and neighborhoods, its significant historic and contemporary buildings, its everyday spaces and lesser-known built environment”.

The medina is bounded by an old urban fabric that contains, in a morphological sense, the memory code of the city. Barrada’s pictures document the old city in an attempt to preserve it photographically before urban planners and politicians gradually destroy it. Moroccan traditional cities have been hierarchically organized around the Mosque while the suqs were interconnected by streets. The living breathing city; its compact houses, its streets, its smells, the rich variety of its everyday life used to give their inhabitants a sense of security and an opportunity of spatial orientation. The central market square constituted the heart of the town. The circle of the ramparts and the narrow, winding, serpentine alleys which led to the patio houses determined a safe and familiar existence space, with which the inhabitants could easily identify. The morphology, the building materials and the architecture depended on climatic features and local resources and environmental conditions. The uniqueness of Moroccan traditional architecture was due to its capacity to respond to environmental, social and cultural requirements. Urban memory in the traditional city, as Anthony Vidler says, was ‘that image of the city that enabled the citizen to identify with its past and present as a political, cultural and social entity.’ The absence of people from many of the city photographs of Barrada highlight the impoverishment of the city and the trouble people have to feel at home in desolate, treeless spaces, full of concrete buildings.
4. UNMASKING THE URBAN FAILURE

Barrada’s photographs point at the erasure of a significant part of the memory of the Moroccan city. Colonial and postcolonial urban planners are responsible for the ugly transformation of the city and the memory loss and identity crisis which threaten its inhabitants. The architecture of Moroccan cities is the result of a planning process taking place as part of France’s late colonial policy. According to Paul Rabinow, “The colonies constituted a laboratory of experimentation for new arts of government capable of bringing a modern and healthy society into being” (289). Colonialism marked the emergence of a new form of architecture in Moroccan cities which started along with the imperialist expansion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This led to the division of the architectural space into two parts: the historic, old city and the colonial city. The narrow and winding streets of the medina were expanded to fit the modern vehicles. Many old buildings were destroyed and the fabric of the old medina was deeply altered. Le Corbusier, who is one of the founders of modernist architecture, ignored the needs of inhabitants and their logic of settlement and paved the way for a universal architecture which made an abstraction of the everyday context. Urban planning moved from making plans for an individual city to mass productions.

Le Corbusier’s oft-quoted dictum ‘we must kill the street’ can be related to two preoccupations. On one level, Le Corbusier wanted to eradicate the dense, noisy, treeless and chaotic urban artery, because he thought he had something better to offer in the form of the ville radieuse, where high-rise apartment blocks would be set within parkland. Less attractively, his campaign against the street can be related to a political project, which was to convince the authorities that his reforms, like those of Haussmann in nineteen century Paris, were essential to avoid revolution. The street was where
the dangerous classes congregated: if they were tamed by wide streets in the nineteenth century, by no streets at all in the twentieth century, a potentially restive urban population might be pacified.\textsuperscript{22}

North Africa served as a laboratory for European modernization projects under twentieth century colonial rule. Big cities in the Maghreb were the testing ground for architectural projects. Thus, Casablanca for example, turned into a model of modern urban architecture by the French. “The master plan for Casablanca was designed in the 1950s by urban planner Michel Ecochard. The realization of the Casablanca plan depended on new ideas of architects, urban planners and engineers who regarded the colonial territory as a space of expansion and urban experiments.”\textsuperscript{23} The colonial city has emerged as an archetype fundamentally different from the traditional, old city. A new society and a new mode of life were imposed on Moroccans.

Since the independence in 1956, the Moroccan government faced a number of choices about how to manage its urban environment. Moroccan urban planners continued the policy started by the colonizers. They created various political projects that did not put Moroccan identity at the forefront. The desire to westernize and modernize, the obsession with urban renewal and land speculation and a willingness to publicize the achievements of mass production explain how architects and politicians negotiated urban planning. The need to enhance the city’s image and attract tourism and investment is also at the heart of urban policies. Today, 60 years after the independence, Moroccan cities are inevitably becoming universally banal by their sameness. Cities across the country are dominated by tall towers of steel and glass, rows of large cubist boxes and concrete buildings. The lack of reference to the country’s individual and unique culture is nearly absolute. Moroccan cities have lost any true regionalism as well as references to the ancient styles of architecture. As Lefebvre
writes, “the “city historically constructed is no longer lived and is no longer understood practically. It is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists, for aestheticism, avid for spectacles and the picturesque.”24

Barrada’s images lead the viewer into unpopulated urban scenes. She depicts empty places where tall concrete buildings are being constructed. The materials of construction and demolition are evident and the buildings are shot at an angle, so that their entries are obscured. People are absent as are any signs of daily life. By stripping the buildings of their context, Barrada shows how the city and its people lost their individuality. The historical city is being dismantled and something new is emerging.

The informal settlements growing up on the outskirts of big cities mark the failures of urban policymaking. To confront questions of squatter neighborhoods considered overcrowded and illegal, mass housing projects were built. This spatial segregation was a legacy of the colonial regime to address the problem of improvised constructions by the rural populations at the suburbs of big cities. The settlements were reshaped by their inhabitants and new forms of urban life which could be considered as a return to the old compact city emerged. The Bidonvilles of Carrière Centrale (one of the largest shantytowns of Casablanca) even became sites of anti-colonial resistance. Similar housing development initiatives were taken by governmental urban planners and were rejected by the dwellers as neither affordable nor in accordance with their everyday needs. In her pictures of the Bidonvilles of Casablanca, Barrada highlights what Soja calls locational discrimination.25 In photographs that are far from being photojournalistic, she depicts squatting settlements in the city of Casablanca and shows how people have transformed these forms of spatial injustice by creating spatial structures that fit their daily needs and challenge urban exclusion.
CONCLUSION

Yto Barrada’s work is freighted with politically charged connotations. It brings into focus the daily problems and the spatial inequalities affecting the lives of Moroccan citizens. Barrada asks relevant questions related to the design of Moroccan cities and uses photography as both an artistic practice and a form of political activism. Her photographs invite us to explore the meaning of living in a city. Her artworks are ‘projects’, rather than individual images, which work as an extended discourse that engages with theoretical perspectives – visually. They speak beyond the literal reference to objects. They rewrite the city and its history and develop a new narrative of the Moroccan urban environment. However, her photographs do not tell a conventional story; they give us scattered clues which we have to assemble into a coherent narrative. Barrada privileges anti-realism, a mode of contestation and representation which goes against the grain of realism. The way in which the realist text places the reader in the position of guaranteed knowledge serves to conceal and naturalize ideology. Barrada does not just reproduce reality; she criticizes it. She uses militant documentary photography not in order to preserve the urban status quo, but in order to overthrow it. She metaphorically saves the city from her male politicians and designers and repossesses it by injecting a female point of view in its male buildings.

Barrada’s photographs can be read in the light of what Henry Lefebvre says talking about the interaction between art and the city and the role of contemporary artists in reshaping urban life and urban space: “the future of art is not artistic, but urban.” Her photos are both social documents and images for galleries and museums. Yto Barrada engages with and intervenes in the city through her urban artistic practices, contributing thus to a certain manner in enacting a new urban imaginary. Her art is a “means to defuse dissent.” Her artistic exploration of the city is a spatial
transgression and an urban resistance which she compares to the strategies of resistance used by those who are spatially marginalized. “I am attentive to what lies beneath the surface of public behavior. I am a big reader of Jonathan Swift. In public, those oppressed accept their domination, but they always question it off-stage. The subversive tactics, strategies of class contestation and forms of sabotage used by the poor is what I try to locate.”28 Barrada uses art as a device to stimulate the public toward a more active stance; she visually urges people to participate in the creation of a counter-space in order to take back control of the right to the city and to spatial justice.

NOTES

5. Mounir Fatmi, Hassan Darsi and Daoud Oulad Syed are the names of other contemporary photographers whose works are driven by the question of urban life.
6. Talking about and representing Tangier is a practice with a past. Barrada is not the first artist to talk about this city; not the first Moroccan to
think creatively about it; but maybe she is the first Moroccan woman to do so. Her art can be linked with other artistic practices about Tangier. Mohamed Choukri, Mohamed Mrabet, Jack Kerouac, William Burrough, Paul and Jane Bowles, Ronnie Kray, Barbara Hutton, Tennessee Williams, Henri Matisse, Joe Orton, Cecil Beaton are artists who lived in or passed through the city of Tangier and reinvented it in their writings and artistic works.


8. Tangier is a border Moroccan city located on the North African coast at the western entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar. From the mid-1920s to October 1956 it was an international zone, administered by a joint convention including France, Spain and Britain. During these golden years, Tangier was as glorious as London, Paris and New York. It attracted artists and writers from Europe and the United States.


10. Talking about the relation between photography and architecture, American cultural critic Frederic Jameson says,

“The project, the drawing, is … one reified substitute for the real building, but a “good” one, that makes infinite utopian freedom possible. The photograph of the already existing building is another substitute, but let us say a “bad” reification _ the illicit substitution of one order of things for another, the transformation of the building into the image of itself, and a spurious image at that … the appetite for architecture today … must in reality be an appetite for something else. I think it is an appetite for photography: what we want to consume today are not the buildings themselves, which you scarcely even recognize as you round the freeway … Many are the postmodern buildings that seem to have been designed for photography, where alone they flash into brilliant existence and actuality with all of the phosphorescence of the high-tech orchestra on CD” (35).
11. Henri Lefebvre, “Space and Mode of Production” 204.
12. Adrian Forty, 2012. *Concrete and Culture: A Material History* (Reac-
tion Books LTD) 16.
13. “Concrete is always regarded as a dump stupid material, more associ-
ated with death than, life” Forty 9.
14. The Riff mountains refer to a mountainous region in the north of Mo-
rocco which extends from Tangier to the
Moulouya river valley near the Moroccan-Algerian frontier.
15. Sla Jdid, Kenitra, Tamessna are some of these dormitory towns.
universitaires de France) 6.
18. Tanu Sankalia, 2011. “Excavating Minutia: Identity, Memory and In-
terstitial Space in San Francisco”, *99th Association of Collegiate Schools
of Architecture (ACSA) Conference Proceedings*, eds. Alberto Perez-
19. The renovation of a 1930s cinema in the old city of Tangier, *la ciné-
mathèque de Tanger*, is an artistic project in which Barrada participated
with the aim of engaging with the collective memory of the city.
ern Unhomely* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press) 177.
21. Anthony Flint explains in *Modern Man: The Life of Le Corbusier,
Architect of Tomorrow* (New York: New Harvest, 2014) how Le Corbusier
invented new ways of building and thinking.
Photography and Architecture in the Modern Age*, edited by ( London: 
Barbican Art Gallery, Prestel.) 139.
23. Marion Von Osten, 2009. “Architecture without Architects—Anoth-
er Anarchist Approach” online, *E-flux Journal*. http://www.e-flux.com/journal/architecture-without-architects%E2%80%94another-anarchist-
approach/.
Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden, *State, Space, World: Se-

25. Edward Soja writes that, “locational discrimination, created through the biases imposed on certain populations because of their geographical location, is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of lasting spatial structures of privilege and advantage. The three most familiar forces shaping locational and spatial discrimination are class, race, and gender, but their effects should not be reduced only to segregation” (3).


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