

Spatial planning, a factor in economic and social development of Morocco, between colonial heritage and economic globalization

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Abstract

After the independence, Morocco has paid strong attention to economic and social development in the fight against territorial imbalance caused by the period of the protectorate. The choice of certain public policies and the lack of effective coordination between the various stakeholders have highlighted these territorial inequalities. This is due to spatial planning device for each epoch that rocked from a doctrine to another; the market economy has achieved protectionism, due to various historical and socio-economic uneven development. The mechanisms of decentralization and devolution have not really changed the state intervention methods nor helped to control inequality. Now the country is at a crossroads, registered a demographic, economic, social, political and territorial transition, to the extent that globalization and trade globalization requires it to put order in its territory strengthening the competitiveness of its cities and its regions. The reconstruction of the territory is subject to new logics, those of liberalism and globalization accompanied by an adequate model of territorial governance.

Keywords: territorial development, regional policy territorial development, regional policy, land use, globalization, Development Territorial Durable, governance.

Introduction

Since independence, Morocco has experienced profound changes that have made the necessary revision of the land use policy. The latter followed the major economic and political steps that the country has known. Economic planning has always preceded land, it looks progressively in the 1960s, without being really established as a scheduled program. During the first thirty years after independence, the land was part of a sectoral approach to state action and a vertical economic planning. The disparities inherited from the colonial period regions are amplified. Indeed, disparities dynamic metropolises are experiencing a weakening of their production capacity and depend more and more government jobs. It took until 1996 to witness the birth of the first national development plan for the territory, and regional patterns. Political change at the time had an impact on national development policies. Indeed, in the 2000s: workshops and forums of national debate on regional planning, development of the National Spatial Planning Charter and the planning scheme, 2001 establishment of the Higher Council of planning (CSAT); 2004: first session of the CSAT chaired by His Majesty Mohammed VI; 2004: Validation of SNAT, it generated a movement on the land by economic investments, equipment and administrative promoting cities. Political and institutional changes related to the increase in international aid have introduced significant changes in the administrative structure. Currently, the development of the Moroccan cities, and particularly that of the most dynamic of them, is in the process of design to meet the challenges of globalization. Planning documents and current development plans adopt choices that strengthen the selective development. This direction of openness and inclusion in free trade involved a so-called reform policy of "full upgrade". Urban policies and actions must take a part in the economic competitiveness factors. How then territorial and urban policies that try to establish a spatial and territorial organization balanced and consistent with sustainable development issues they are built to introduce the constraints of globalization? can we try to analyze the main stages of land since independence, and then address the issues of territorial governance face of globalization.

National construction and territory planning

Morocco, on the eve of colonization, was sparsely populated (about 3 million) and weakly urbanized (less than 5% of urban population). Colonial penetration, the gradual introduction of a market economy oriented towards the satisfaction of the Metropolis of needs and especially the creation of the port of Casablanca and the transfer of the capital to Rabat, will now devote moving downtown seriousness of Morocco from within (Fez-Marrakech) towards the Atlantic coast. To institutionalize this new territorial setup of the country, the Resident General (Lyautey) decreed the division of the territory under French colonization in "useful Morocco" Fez, Casablanca-Marrakech corresponding to the agricultural and mining area and "useless Morocco" then the rest of the territory where production methods were rudimentary.

It is from this date that the urban axis Casablanca-Rabat-Kenitra will form and will emerge as a center focusing most of the equipment, wealth and much of the urban population.

The colonial period also saw the creation of many cities that had the role of the mining and agricultural collection centers (Khouribga, Louis Gentil, Port Lyautey, Little John, etc.) to be conducted subsequently to the Metropolis. This period will also be marked by economic growth and high population growth of cities experiencing a massive rural exodus, which generates a change in the urban fabric, size and socio-spatial structures of cities.

The 50s were marked by the appointment of Michel Ecochard as Head of Urban Planning Department. He had as main idea of congestion Casablanca which concentrated 75% of Morocco's industry. Ecochard defended the principle of industrial decentralization in favor of new centers should be created mainly in the South as Agadir and Safi. Decentralisation would also benefit other small and

medium cities like Meknes, Marrakech, Little John (Sidi Kacem present), Berkane, Beni Mellal, Sidi Slimane, etc. (Vermeren, 2006).

Difficulty processing spatial disparities (1956-1969)

Constitution of the first national five-year plan

After independence, the Moroccan authorities were faced with the obligation to manage the disparities between different regions. They set targets for the achievement of sufficient and sustained economic growth to improve the level. This is what is shown by economic and social development plans from 1960.

It is in this socio-economic context that the Government of National Union developed the first five-year plan 1960-1964¹, in its first version, which is defined as a transition plan of a colonial economy to an economy. However, the results achieved have been not usually live up to the aspirations of the kingdom and objectives, despite different business strategies and measures to that effect. This plan focused on constant and fixed priorities. He had set a goal of achieving an economic growth rate of 6.2%. He planned the development of agriculture and the establishment of a basic industry through state intervention in order to establish the country's economic independence and enhance its national resources. However, this policy could not be realized in full and some projects were canceled or postponed due to financial constraints. This document also highlighted strong regional disparities, both in terms of the distribution of the activities of the population. The policy orientation aims to address both territorial imbalances and dysfunctions that the race to urbanization, which require more and more the state to equip and planning cities.

The Administrative division and regional planning as political action

In 1956 Morocco began the creation of two levels of local government (then called local authorities), first municipalities and prefectures and provinces (the name respectively depending on their dominant urban or rural). Committed in the early years of independence, decentralization referred to three levels of local government since Dahir No. 1-59-351 1 Jumada II 1379 (2 December 1959) relating to the territorial division of the Kingdom): regions , prefectures (from the former departments under the protectorate), and municipalities. The existence of these local authorities was consecrated for the first time by the 1962 Constitution.

In 1976, the Dahir No. 1-76-583 on the communal organization repeals and replaces Dahir No. 1-59-315. This changes the operation of joint and extended their powers. Law No. 47-96 of 1997 on the organization of the region reduced its role administratively to transfer the skills of the 16 regions with traditional wilayas acquiring the status of local government in place in the region.

Indeed, the administrative division allowed beyond traditional frameworks tribes and strengthen social cohesion. However, the multiplication of local communities and improving administrative services and equipment did not contribute to reducing regional disparities. The strategies introduced by the central government have been criticized in form and in content (geographical, economic, institutional ...) all, they insist on inter- and intra-regional disparities regions in Morocco, they are in administrative or economic. These logical produced unequal spatial divisions, highlighted by the relative importance of a disadvantaged rural areas, scattered and sparsely populated. Poverty thus appears higher in the

¹ The 1960-1964 five-year plan is the first step of a concerted development of the Moroccan economy. For the first time in Morocco, in fact, economic development is considered as a whole, guidelines and objectives are formulated as part of a development policy for several years. For the first time, thanks to the institutional organization that led to the development of the plan, representatives of professional associations and unions could work closely with the directors and decide on the country's economic future. As the five-year plan can be seen as a collective work.

countryside than in cities. According to envm 1998/99, the poverty rate in rural areas, more than two times higher than in urban areas: 27.2% against 12%. These disparities have characterized the country on the eve of independence. human development policies fail to reduce differences because of regional dynamics. Changes in the spatial distribution of the population can be explained in the light of a colonial territorial inheritance expansive operation of the urban system, urban macrocephaly including the economic capital, under-equipment of certain areas remained on the margins, etc. (Vermeren, 2006)

Following changes in policy of the state, the decision was made to abandon the overall direction of the first Five Year Plan in a context of financial crisis in 1964. This is the beginning of the intervention of international institutions (IMF and IBRD) in the economic guidelines of the country. June 25, 1964, Morocco signed an agreement with the IMF providing a facility agreement for \$ 1.3 million. The Triennial Plan 1965-1967 presented as a stabilization plan inspired by the ideology of the IBRD. Liberal economic options are affirmed, the industry is no longer a priority, it comes after agriculture, tourism and training of cadres. The expected economic growth rate is 3.7% per year.

The second Five-Year Plan 1968-1972 contains the same options as the three-year plan from 1965 to 1967 by setting a growth rate of 4.3% per year, the share of public investment and semi-public remains dominant (80%). The emphasis will always be on agriculture and also export and light industry. Plan 68-72 was the first who asked the question of "Planning" as public policy, adopting it as a regional development policy.

The development, hitherto attached to the economic planning becomes independent 1968 by the creation of the Interministerial Committee for Territorial Planning (CIAT). But it is in 1971 that Morocco has implemented a project of progressive regionalization, with the creation of seven Economic Regions, distributed by local authorities under the Constitution of 1992 and 1996. This change caused an opening on Morocco called until there "useless." The effort in this period has broadened the scope whose objective is to promote economic development and fight against inequalities have ceased to increase since the colonial period.

While interventions in favor of spatial organization of agents and services have enabled this policy of land "from above" split jobs on many disadvantaged areas, they could not reach a certain balance space. In fact, during this period, the main feature lay in the preservation of the urban structure, exclusively performed at the State's initiative. But, given the colonial legacies is the industry sector that has been the engine of urbanization. In 1971 Morocco has set up the first draft of regionalization. The association between land use, agriculture and tourism reflects the need for specific sectoral spatial planning.

The changing towards the liberal and transformation of territorial organization (1971-1990)

At the beginning of the seventy years, an economic promotion strategy based on the export replaces one based on the domestic market. This change in the main engine of growth has necessitated the establishment of a regionalization project, the creation in 1996 of 16 regions. This territorial orientation was supported by the liberal movement that have taken the global economy. Rural migration 1970s economic liberalization and express the result of factors assembly: nationalization of colonial areas, privatization of land, high population growth. All this in a context of successive land reforms that accelerated the economic opening. The growth of industry, tourism development, the spontaneous movement of consecutive urbanization illegal occupation of public and private lands, created and caused the expansion several cities (Ben Mami, 2008). This has necessitated the development of a framework, reflecting the interest of the authorities to land. In this context, despite the good sense of governments that have succeeded in creating a Special Regional Development Fund, the promulgation of the first Code of Industrial Investments granting certain tax advantages to start-

ups and relocations by place of implementation in order to encourage industrial decentralization to the inland areas, the establishment of a National management of industrial zones Programme (PNAZI) in 1981, spatial planning is not out of the realm political discourse. The few actions materialized during the 80s and 90s were often a timely and local scope (Adidi, 2010). Culture and ideas of the colonial period are always found in the regulations and institutions involved in the planning. Despite the efforts made in the 70s by the country it was a difficult time for the Moroccan economy: the war in the Sahara, drought years, debt of Morocco, the fall in phosphate and tourism revenues the increase in the oil bill, are also factors that have delayed the implementation of major structural projects planning.

This logical organization of space has created a new relationship between the urban environment and the rural world and relativized the importance of agriculture in the development of rural areas. The Morocco "Useless" remained clear of private investments while benefiting from a thin effort of the State. In the mid-1980s, the economic and political crisis (debt crisis, reducing see the removal of some subsidies on basic products that cause "the revolt of bread") (Olivier Pironet 2008). Note that the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1983 reduced the effort of the State in economic and social development.

The development of the Territory as a vehicle for competitiveness and development and the new approach to development (1991):

The year 1997 saw the creation of the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Environment, Town Planning and Housing. This event was the result of the National Debate on Regional Development between 1999 and 2001 whose main objective is decentralization, became a dominant discourse, relate to balanced regional development and on development of sparsely populated areas. Nevertheless, decentralization remains a highly regulated process. The dependence of local authorities vis-à-vis the central government is not only legal, it is also financial. Guardianship is heavier. Indeed, local development programs must comply with the national plan.

In Morocco, the decentralization process was, from 2002, a new dimension with the complete overhaul of the legal system of local authorities to reduce state supervision. The character of the political system favors a partial devolution rather than a true decentralization. According to Ben Mami (2008), "Devolution has brought only superficial improvements to centralization." Moreover, poor results led officials to reflect on land use based on economic investment through the equipment at regional level. The goal was to address the low, first directly, through administrative guidance and indirectly, through the promotion of tourism and agriculture.

However, these processes of devolution and decentralization raised the issue of levels of governance, including several communal levels. The growth of rural stream multiplied habitat around cities. This has led the state to change its policy towards its role as a creator of jobs to initiate other actions in strategic sectors (university training, new information technologies, etc.).

The adoption of the structural adjustment plan in 1986, membership in the GATT in 1990, the agreements with the WTO in 1994 and the creation of a Free Trade Area with the European Union have signed the entry of kingdom in a process of opening up to global markets involving crushing of the state production machine, an incentive to business competitiveness and privatization of public enterprises. This new reality has necessitated the improvement of competitiveness of the territories, where the changes have affected the spatial planning policy in 2004 (Jacques Barbier, 2012). The Morocco have two references: it is the National Charter for Regional Planning and the National Land Planning Scheme (SNAT). Also, the Regional Inspections of Regional Development are implemented across the 16 regions. Three Development Agencies are created to cover the northern provinces, the Eastern and Southern Provinces. Of Regional Investment Centres functioning as one-stop shops are established in 16 regions. Special attention is given to the "useless Morocco"; the Rif, the Saharan Provinces and the Oriental.

That said, a new philosophy of development and land born. The fight against all forms of poverty and exclusion has grown to become a national cause. With the creation of the Mohammed VI Foundation for Solidarity and the establishment of Human Development of the National Initiative (INDH). The discourse on the region and regionalization is presented as a new form of reconciliation and national unity regionalist aspirations begin to express themselves through political parties and associations to cultural and regional. "The Planning is no longer presented as a policy designed to erase, or at least to reduce regional inequalities, but as a public comprehensive, cross and long term" (Adidi, 2014). Given the risks associated with widening regional imbalances, the authorities are trying to bring more government to citizens and to stimulate the regional development effort.

The interplay of actors and current major projects: A territorial system changing

The integration of the Moroccan economy to international trade since the ninety years has produced new challenges: spatial and sectoral recomposition of economic activity, policy coherence, environmental protection, etc. Today globalization is reflected in the emergence of new players and new planning and development practices. The disengagement of the State, through the liquidation of the public sector of production of goods and services is the highlight of this new context.

International institutions are needed more and more as actors and contribute to a redefinition of standards and tools of development through guidelines (environmental issues, sustainable development, good governance) (UNDP, 1999). The new policy spatial planning approve this. Official documents and current development plans seem to opt for selective choice strengthening development trends through metropolisation becoming stronger. This has exacerbated the territorial dispersion. Also, the privatization process of the management of public assets has experienced in recent years, a strong expansion. Morocco has collected about 94 billion dirhams, fruit different privatizations between 1993 and 2006. Either virtually the investment budget for the last fiscal year (Boushaba. A, 2014). A sum which enabled the coffers and avoided the use temporarily and provisionally, debt for this. In fact, faced with a difficult budget situation and that certain fractions of the territory may offer a satisfactory attractiveness, development projects unequally affect cities. Under these conditions, a rebalancing is difficult to achieve in the short and medium term. The trend towards the concentration of economic power, political-administrative and cultural in large cities remains a reality.

Thus organized, the Moroccan geographic area used to meet the demands of private investors, domestic or foreign, rather than improving the welfare of citizens.

The new approach to territorial development: limits and opportunities

The transformation of urban space and disorganization of much of the rural area are remarkable. Urban and rural landscapes show disproportions increasingly identified in infrastructure and access to basic services. Some cities have degraded living conditions and bring many shortcomings (pollution, dilapidated roads and pavements, condition of buildings, etc.). Major cities also offer a mix of composite urban tracks produced by often contradictory logic (medinas, cities of resettlement, colonial districts, modern, non-regulatory areas of habitat, etc.). Large cities, including Casablanca, Salé flap suffer the importance of illegal housing, and asphyxia due to planning often not meet the requirements of traffic (public transport, car ownership). The highest authorities of the state are aware of these. The reflections did an organization born of a National Debate on Regional Development between 1999 and 2001 was the fruit of the meeting of the first session of the Supreme Council of Regional Development in 2004. To this end, Morocco had two reference documents; the National Charter of Regional Development and the National Plan of Land Management (SNAT) .In the same time, the Regional Spatial Planning of Inspections were implemented at the regional level, three Development Agencies were created in the Northern Provinces, Oriental and South Provinces and regional Investment centers

in 16 regions. Special attention is given to the "useless Morocco"; the Rif, the Saharan Provinces and the Oriental.

Currently, a new development strategy and planning was born, based on the fight against all forms of poverty and exclusion, with the creation of the Mohammed VI Foundation for Solidarity, the establishment of the National Human Development Initiative (INDH) and the discourse on advanced regionalization. The Planning is no longer considered an action to reduce spatial inequalities, but as a global, transversal approach and long-term territory ensuring the sustainable development and the search for social equity.

The function of Land Management has the stakeholder meeting dedicated to a common goal on the different scales of territoriality. It is the new style of governance reorganizing the relationship between the state, the actors and territories.

The new approach of Regional Development considers the city as an engine of economic development, space for wealth creation and Social Change. City management has no concern for the management of waste, water, sanitation and housing, it is also a framework for consultation and participation of various local actors. Local authorities, regarded as the main actor, are called to develop their skills to become economic leaders, managers working in partnership with the private sector, NGOs, associations and the state, as the case of delegated management public services. The city is a framework for creating economic, cultural, scientific and artistic wealth. It is a distribution center for shared values, democracy, justice ... It is the key to development. Casablanca is perceived today more than ever, as the real Morocco door of entry to globalization. The speech today is the need to strengthen its capacity, its attractiveness and competitiveness.

The new approach of Spatial Planning is considered an integrated vision of development based on the fight against poverty and exclusion. To achieve this goal the state social policy must be challenged, hence the objective of the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH), which offers a new approach. "The lessons learned from past experiences demonstrate the relevance of the targeted approach of integrated local development, participatory planning, community ownership, integration of sectoral actions" (INDH platform for an action plan in June 2005 p.7). It must "assert itself as a forward-looking framework for reorganization of public social and territorial solidarity and political guarantees and efficiency programs" (Report on Human Development in Morocco "the future is built, and the best possible" p.39). Operationally, the NHRI should be an instrument of social engineering innovation needs of the population. The program implementation of the INDH which spread over five years called "phases" began with the establishment of local committees for Human Development (CLDH). These elected committees composed of representatives of civil society, external services and the local authority are called to develop concerted projects and development actions defined in the context of a local development plan integrated (local initiative for human development (ILDH)). These committees will be responsible for implementing and monitoring the plan after its confirmation by the prefectural committee. Project management of the projects will be entrusted by contract to the heads of decentralized services, public institutions concerned, local authorities and associations.

These different structures are called upon to strengthen the capacity of their human resources in the development of local development plans, installation, monitoring and evaluation of projects, social mediation, etc. Each Province and a Province Social Action Division (DAS) is in place for monitoring and technical assistance for the initiative. A training program and technical assistance under the initiative in favor of the local committees in the towns and neighborhoods, associations involved in human development, local elected officials. A budget of 500 million dirhams over five years devoted to this action.

The new approach of Regional Development considers contracting as part of integration of sectoral policies. INDH and striking example: The contractual approach allows in all cases gradually build up a process of knowledge, accountability and collective learning.

Of Spatial Planning Territorial Development Sustainable:

The year 2007, during the change of government saw the creation of the Ministry of Housing, Town Planning and Spatial Planning (MHUAE) and a State Secretariat for Territorial Development . The consolidation of the three strategic areas, urban planning, housing and territorial development in the same department confirms the commitment of the State to give another dimension to the understanding of socio-economic problems of the country by repositioning relative to their territorial framework (Adidi, A. 2010).

Territorial Development and mainly passes obligatorily by Spatial Planning. The recommendations of the Charter and SNAT are realized through the Regional Land Planning Schemes (TARS) which are variations guidance SNAT regionally. The TARS to be developed on the basis of consultation and participation of all influential actors in the region to identify local projects. These recommendations will also perform with "the National Rural Development Strategy" (NRDS): This strategy aims to answer a series of adjustments for rural areas: Improving the attractiveness of rural areas, promote the competitiveness of the rural economy Ensuring conditions and environmental sustainability. The National Urban Development Strategy (SNDU) is also among the recommendations of SNAT: Led by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Housing, Town Planning and Spatial Planning, this strategy aims to promote the culture of participation by replacing the centralized and sectoral approaches that have prevailed until now. This strategy aims to qualitative and sustainable urban development, creating a competitive city considered the lever of national economic growth that can lead to genuine social cohesion.

Territorial development based on a new concept of "territorial project". What distinguishes a project territory of the other projects is a new methodology out with sectoral approaches and centralized development (ELKADIRI, N., 2007). It relies on the participation of local actors and all stakeholders at all stages of the project. A regional project is a global project: mobilizing the development potential for structuring the territory. It responds to a strategy whose objectives are realized in the long term which no one can decide on the efficiency and capacity of the projects. The approach is experienced in 2009 in four regions of the Kingdom: Doukkala-Abda, Chaouia-Ouadigha, Gharb-Chrarda-Beni Hssen and Taza-Al Hoceima-Taounate. These regions are characterized by a strong rurality and offer great potential. They are characterized by the National Plan of Regional Development in shadow areas suffering from major shortcomings in terms of basic public services, under-employment, low investment, etc.

To materialize this new participatory approach, the Ministry of the Interior, through the General Directorate of Local Authorities (DGCL) initiated a series of actions aimed at developing "Participatory Strategic Planning" of the scale Development Plans local in a participatory manner. The launch of the idea in late 2007 by the DGCL developed a strategic planning kit concerted and shared with national and international partners (HCP, DFCAT, UNICEF, USAID, GLM / CIDA, ADS and the European Union) made in a specific working group. The PCD can be a real local development instruments if they are actually developed in consultation.

This is not to say that the participatory approach is the inevitable solution and gives the guarantee of the success of a territorial project. Indeed, Morocco has experienced the implementation of major structural facilities that will have a considerable impact on the national territory and the different productive sectors. All public actors have contributed (CDG, OCP, Al Omran, ONCF, ADM, ...) for

large-scale projects such as Tanger Med, the highway program, the TGV line Tanger Casablanca, the construction of new cities the development of the Bouregreg valley ... these projects are undoubtedly beneficial to the improvement of competitiveness of the country, and despite that they are included in any planning document planning and design was done without consultation with the stakeholders of the territories concerned. Through these experiences, it is not necessary to begin to think seriously, to provide an opportunity for local actors to define the methods based on a bottom-up participatory approach, with an accompanying PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS, they consider most suitable for the emergence of projects? In Morocco, the concept of centralized development seems exceeded. In France, since the decentralization laws of 1982, decisions on land use are the result of agreements between local governments, regions and the state, where local actors have a prominent influence. The question is how such principles could be promoted in a Moroccan background.

CONCLUSION

Development policies and planning developed since the colonial period have failed to reduce spatial disparities, aggravated by the opening of the world economy. This new global parameter, which focuses on places, the most traded sectors and activities in relation to the outside, is trying to accentuate the regional imbalances, while generating new environmental and social problems. Meanwhile, metropolisation policy has become source of inequity and inefficiency (Davezies Estèbe, 2007). Moreover, the central model, bureaucratic managerial territory only fuels advantage of marginality, particularly after the global opening that discredits these modes of government.

Faced with this situation, Morocco is engaged in the process since the Liberal ninety years, when it found it was unable to struggle effectively against the sub- development and also the governance deficit in goods and services. Instead, neo-liberalism, which "does not mean the withdrawal of the state and the end of interventionism, but a redeployment of means of exercising power" (Owl, 2006), Morocco has proven but encourage and promote real development. For this reason, the regionalization and regionalization of public action today constitute a real challenge and a real opportunity for Morocco. Indeed, it requires review and revise permanently the relationship between state, territory, citizens and adaptation of technical capabilities. Requiring more sharing of responsibility between actors, synergy and merger policy. It is clear that the political discourse on land evolved over the last fifty years and the development community now say that a good territorial governance based on decentralization, participation and coordination of actors is the secret to successfully develop the country. However, the break with the central approach, sector, which has prevailed since the country's independence is difficult, due to lack of a culture of sharing and listening to each other in many makers and actors.

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