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### ► **To cite this version:**

Oumhani Eddelani, Najiba El Amrani El Idrissi, Salvatore Monni. Territorialized forms of production in Morocco: provisional assessment for an own model in gestation. *Insights into Regional Development*, 2019, 1 (1), pp.6-18. 10.9770/ird.2019.1.1(1) . hal-02115301

**HAL Id: hal-02115301**

**<https://hal.science/hal-02115301>**

Submitted on 30 Apr 2019

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## TERRITORIALIZED FORMS OF PRODUCTION IN MOROCCO: PROVISIONAL ASSESSMENT FOR AN OWN MODEL IN GESTATION\*

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Received 10 December 2018; accepted 20 March 2019; published 30 March 2019

**Abstract.** With the current movement of "glocalization" imposed by openness to the global sphere and the necessary anchoring to the local, the productive systems - from here and elsewhere - can no longer be non-territorial or autarkic. As much openness opens up the prospect of competitiveness, as much the local territory ensures a kind of "rescue net" and refuge in the event of global crises that have become frequent. Whether it is the social movement paradigm or the local production system canvas "glocalization" is justified by the wealth potential that territories of any nation seeking its competitiveness on the international scene conceal. To identify, grasp, understand and value such a territorial resource, the diagnosis of the existing is necessary. Socio-spatial disparities are at the heart of the problems of regional development confronted with the double malaise of poverty and environmental degradation. With the certainty that wealth is created within companies and that they are the key players in territorial development, the analysis of the spatial anatomy of productive systems provides information on the symbiosis between the productive and the spatial. Without claiming to reproduce the evolution of productive systems and their spatial expressions in its completeness, this paper proposes to explore the major territorialized forms that the

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\* This research was supported by the project, which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research and Innovation Staff Exchanges ES H2020-MSCA-RISE-2014 CLUSDEV MED (2015-2019) Grant Agreement Number 645730730



**European Research Council**  
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productive system in Morocco has taken from independence to our day. It's all about finding to characterize the specificities of Morocco in this matter by launching a sort of a provisional assessment. The main question here is to approach a kind of model in gestation that Morocco can create for the rest of Africa at this spatial / productive level.

**Keywords:** Productive system; territorialized forms of production; glocalization; integrated industrial platform; clusters; LPS

**Reference** to this paper should be made as follows: Eddelani, O.; El Amrani El Idrissi, N.; Monni, S. 2019. Territorialized forms of production in Morocco: provisional assessment for an own model in gestation, *Insights into Regional Development* 1(1): 6-18. [http://doi.org/10.9770/IRD.2019.1.1\(1\)](http://doi.org/10.9770/IRD.2019.1.1(1))

**JEL Classifications:** F02

## **1. Introduction**

The various territories composing the nations present a real unavoidable resource for states wishing to better position themselves in global competition, especially in an international context where industry and space interlock. Western researchers (Monni et al., 2017; Mikhaylov 2018; Kiselitsa et al., 2018; Mayorova et al. 2018) have early become aware of this "niche" for already more than half a century. However, in the south - including Morocco - this territory's rediscovery, dates back only less than twenty years. Indeed, a careful analysis of the spatial expressions of the productive process in Morocco coincides with the famous analysis on LPS and territorial competitiveness in 2002, recommended by the Territorial Planning Direction. Workshop where the first premises were already prepared with the regionalization of 1997 and the national debate on regional planning. With the offshoring sphere and the new industrialization orientations, the spatial variant becomes vital in the race for the attractiveness of domestic and foreign investments via cities, regions and localities territorial marketing maps.

The economic changing that Morocco is experiencing makes it an open worksite at all levels. The spatio-temporal organization of the productive system, passed from the Industrial Districts to the Integrated Industrial Platforms "P2I". Such are the case of Casa Nearshore, Rabat Technopolis, Agropolis of Meknes, Fes - Technovalley, Tanger Free Zone ... This trend is prolonged by the Industrial Acceleration Program (IAP) and the "clusters" as expressions of a spatial anatomy attesting of the new dynamism experienced by this cosmopolitan country.

Given this dynamic, this paper proposes to interrogate these P2I as territorial expressions of the productive organization by putting them under the analysis and investigation spotlight to be able to compare them with other forms called clusters, LPS or others. Two axes will articulate our communication. The first one is devoted to the presentation of the new Emergence program and the National Pact of the Industrial Emergence (NPIE) by asking ourselves if this last one constitutes the continuity or the rupture of the first one. The second deals with their spatial and territorial anatomy while at the same time exploring whether there is an overall coherence leading to a thoughtful development of our economy open to different actors of the international economy.

## **2. Emergence plan (EP) - National Pact of the Industrial Emergence (NPIE) - Industrial Acceleration Plan (IAP): continuity or rupture?**

The challenge facing Morocco's openness is to increase the competitiveness of its economy, transform potential risks into odds and opportunities, and finally to erect, the country into regional investment-production-exchanges platforms, attractive and efficient at the crossroads of Europe, and the space Maghrebian/African and Mediterranean. The action plans : EP (2005), NPIE (2009), and Industrial Acceleration (2014) enroll in this spirit.

### **1.1- The main features of the Emergence Plan**

Morocco in the 1990s had just emerged from a long and painful Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), but it let appear new ambitions: reclaiming markets, economic take-off, competitive industry. Under these conditions, the World Bank recommends setting up a development monitoring committee, whose mission is to define a strategy that will endow Morocco with a modern and competitive industry. The committee has developed a strategy called "Competitive Morocco", built around clusters, sectors supposed to play the role of locomotive to pull growth up. It was necessary to create wealth and ensure source of foreign currency; hence the slogan of "Emergence". The EP focuses on two axes: to create wealth, employment and growth and to develop export activities with high added value.

However, a number of handicaps have been identified by McKinsey: the importance of the informal sector, the weakness of domestic demand, the economy's reliance on a widely under-capitalized scattered industry, heaviness of administrative procedures, taxation and business regulation...

These pitfalls are more pressing in so-called second rank regions. The upgrading of the Moroccan company then intervenes as a means to face the opening both as necessity, opportunity and challenge.

The PE was strategic and relied on the proactive but non-exclusive targeting on engines of growth and competitive modernization of the existing fabric. Indeed, this program was a voluntarist policy to focus on the export-oriented growth engines or what are called the World Trades of Morocco (WTM) (2), mainly:

- ✓ Offshoring or relocation of services;
- ✓ automobile
- ✓ Electronics
- ✓ Aeronautics
- ✓ Food industry
- ✓ processing of seafood
- ✓ Textile-Clothing Sector

All these projects and the expected spinoffs were - according to PE logic - tributary of a kind of competitive modernization of the already existing economic fabric. This is the second pillar of the emerging strategy.

It presents a road map of growth likely to restore the visibility, trust and mobilization. The aim is to provide Morocco with an Economic Recovery Program to make it an investment, production and export platform. A big question remains, however: Have we really prepared the transition to a modernized and creative economy?

### **1.2- The NPIE, complementary contributions and novelties**

From 2005 to 2009, telecoms exploded, infrastructure improved. Many companies have moved to Morocco mainly in sectors with a strong technological component such as aeronautics, electronic components, teleservices, what leads us to interrogation ourselves about the contributions of the NPIE in the light of the EP.

NPIE refers to the Public-Private Program-Contract 2009-2015, relating to the National Pact for Industrial Emergence and Investment in Morocco.

The NPIE had 111 measures of which 48 relate to the competitiveness of enterprises. The targeted objectives / impacts were to give greater visibility to economic actors in a "disturbed international situation"; to reduce urban unemployment rates and the trade deficit; to increase industrial GDP; to support national and foreign industrial investment and to contribute to regional planning policy.

For the business climate, the plan stipulates that the targeted actions corresponding to the investors needs are: the "greater use of mediation and arbitration for conflict management, harmonization and continuous improvement of the tools of welcome investors including the Regional investment centers (RIC) and the Moroccan Agency for

Investment Development and the establishment of complete one-stop shops within the Integrated Industrial Platforms (P2I). The objective is to improve Morocco's position in international rankings (Doing Business ...) ". Indeed, Morocco revives - somehow with his dreams. The economy is more or less healthy, less dependent on agriculture and services have exploded. But growth remains shy. The rate of growth is insufficient for an economic take-off, especially for a country whose unemployment rate still exceeds 9%. There was also an aggravating factor, that of exports in breakdown, not diversified enough, nor high added value products. The trade deficit is digging dangerously especially for goods trade and the deterioration of MRAs' (Moroccans' Reside Abroad) income ... The 2008 crisis has aggravated the situation.

It should be emphasized here that the emergence sphere has caused a kind of snapshot of our economy with its advantages in terms of market access, EU logistical proximity, quality of life and moderately skilled workforce. Alas, on the other side, there is a set of pitfalls aggravated by the free trade agreements, the proven productivity gap, the cost of energy, the administration quality, the narrowness of the internal market, business regulation and taxation.

### **1.3- Industrial Acceleration Plan (IAP)**

Launched in 2014, this plan recognizes the contribution of the two previous ones and seeks to "consolidate the achievements". Mainly those relating to "the 22% increase in exports of the sector, a clear evolution of infrastructure and the implementation of global industry leaders, increasing FDI up to an annual average rate of 23% since 2009". The same source considers that these performances "allowed to better position Morocco as a credible and competitive industrial destination". Without commenting on these statements, we wonder how the IAP will fulfill these ambitions?

The declared objectives don't go beyond the emergence framework: increasing the industry's share of GDP, boost export capacity both quantitatively and qualitatively, improve the reception capacities of investors and to increase productivity by targeted support to the industrial fabric. The components explicitly declared concern: industrial ecosystems for a more integrated industry, support tools adapted to the industrial fabric, a stronger international positioning and a steering and governance of the strategy.

In reviewing the above plans and strategies, we highlight the importance of the declared reforms and the diversity of the underlying restructuring measures. However, declared voluntarism must not obscure a still worrying reality.

We retain, indeed, the three main conclusions:

- The industrial base is very fragile because of its high level of fragmentation and the impact's relativity of the upgrade;
- Distinctive comparative factors and advantages are few and misused;
- Sector trends remain favorable despite the rise of Asia; but on condition of implementing a targeted and proactive approach.

The objectives of the emergence sphere - first and second version - remain far from being achieved. But what about the spatial and territorial expression of the productive system in Morocco especially with the new regionalization project in gestation?

### **3. Spatial and territorial expression of the industrial movement**

Morocco has not lived through pure and hard Taylorophordism, but at the level of productive structures, the crisis of the so-called Taylorophordism appears like that of the great dimension and the process of spatial concentration

of production. Such a situation leads to new development models, towards new so-called post-Ford productive systems and begets important effects on the mode of spatialization of productive systems.

Also, the occurred restructurings at the productive structures level bring about a real territories dynamic. To report for this, and after focusing on the evolution of productive structures, we will concentrate on the territories dynamics that the evolution of Morocco's productive system (s) generates. From industrial zones to clusters and innovation ecosystem via integrated industrial platforms.

### **3.1- Industrial zones before the "emergence era", willingness to support local economic development and to influence regional imbalances**

Given the role of industry and the weight of spatial and productive restructuring both at national and international level, Morocco is supposed to be interested, since its independence and even before, in the importance of infrastructures for hosting productive activities. Indeed, their implementation is a major concern in the process of strengthening the global economic environment and bases of its viability. The first planned organization forms of these spaces refer to the "industrial zone" notion whose national program of industrial zones (NPIZ) claims to be the expression in Morocco.

The NPIZ initiated already since 1951 will be set up in 1980, and this to establish a better distributed industrial development and thereby fight against the glaring spatial disparities. The NPIZ concerned a set of sites across the different regions of the country with a budget of 950 million DH for the development of 1300 ha. In the early 1990s, this area was expanded to 2000 ha. Thus, from 25 industrial zones in 1980, the NPIZ covered 80 zones at the end of 2001 to reached about 120 in 2004.

The NPIZ's enlargement depend for many of the economic role's development of the local authorities, for whom these areas constitute essential sources of tax revenue. By diagnosing closer this program, it appears that the regional disparities against which it has been originally conceived are only getting worse and that almost all Moroccan industrial zones suffer from several handicaps, mainly:

- lack of a real strategic vision in industrial and / or territorial planning;
- concrete lack of capabilities in industrial planning and management among the main developers;
- lack of financial means resulting from the austerity required under the SAP which coincided with the start of the NPIZ;
- the fact that local governments view ZIs only as sources of tax revenue. There was a lack of appropriate management structures for industrial space from these communities ...

In fact, the industrial zone was most often apprehended according to the legal and land problems that it arouses, its impact on location ratios and the effects it has on the functioning of the urban organism. However, it is no longer a space reserved for a specific activity or a simple urban planning technique but, more of a privileged instrument of economic and spatial strategies.

The industrial zone is then conceived as an essential support for the application of space and sectoral policies carried out by the public authorities. Each actor sees in it, a particular aspect. Indeed, for the company, the industrial zone presents the possibility of benefiting as much as possible from the allocation of public aids, in particular land costs and suppliers. For SMEs, the industrial zone essentially makes it possible to minimize implementation costs, to benefit from the presence of certain services and possibly to find outlets through specialized subcontracting activities. For the planning organism, the industrial zone appears primarily as an instrument of spatial coherence. At the local community's level, the industrial zone is both an instrument of urban planning and a mechanism of social and economic development. It constitutes a way of rationalizing urban land



use, controlling land speculation and protecting the environment. It is also the hope of attracting businesses for job creation and securing new financial resources.

The IZs question arises for two concerns: first; the industrial decentralization able to energize the economic fabric at the different regions' level, then, the urban space's organization and the development of the city itself. In both cases, there is a need to optimize the state's infrastructure investments for "social and spatial equity".

At the institutional level, the implementation of the above-mentioned program had needed the establishment of a steering and assistance committee chaired by the Prime Minister and a committee for monitoring the execution bringing together the ministries of the interior, of trade and industry, and of housing ... This institutional framework called a number of actors / developers who can be public, semi-public or private. What were then the objectives of the NPIZ and who are the actors?

### **3.1.1- The NPIZ's objectives**

With the socio-spatial disparities of the 80s and especially the heaviness inherited from the past, the preparation of an integrated space/platform delivering a "diversified panel of infrastructures for the implementation of industrial projects" was of primary necessity. It had the following objectives:

- reduce the dependency links between the areas of the same city and of the region vis-à-vis other regions;
- improve the standard of population's living by keeping them in their locality and through distributed income;
- use the potential of the region by valuing them on the spot;
- alleviate the crucial problem of unemployment and underemployment of which some cities suffer;
- provide companies with technical assistance tailored to their needs and offer them support services for the projects' implementation;
- provide units with modular structures adapted to the activities;

Thus, the NPIZ aims in principle at an economic and spatial strategic planning. This program aspires to provide space support to certain units, that allow them to be quickly operational.

It is confirmed there that; the industrial zone is a privileged tool for boosting the economic tissue fabric of the city and its region. The objectives presented above are not definitive and quantified. Indeed, they must be scalable and take into consideration the general economic context restructuration. Achieving these planning, urbanism and economic, social and spatial development goals, identifies broad and different areas of intervention. This involves a variety of stakeholders which can be private, public or semi-public.

### **3.1.2. Institutional framework of IZs and the diversity of their actors**

The complexity of the assigned missions to the industrial zones and the diversity of the mobilized actors to ensure the implementation of the targeted objectives, led the managers to develop an institutional framework capable of guaranteeing the execution and monitoring of the program. The management and administration bodies installed are multiple :

- the Orientation and Assistance Committee;
- the Accreditation Commission for Industrial Zones;
- the local attribution Commission.
- the Monitoring Committee responsible for the execution of the program.

From this institutional framework, we deduce that the development of industrial zones brings together a set of social actors, each called to fulfill a specific function in the planning process. The State, the local authorities, the landowners, the planning agent, the financing organizations, the industrialists ... represent the actors who intervene in the matter of development of the industrial zones. However, their logic can sometimes be of contradictory logical, which makes the management process particularly complex.

These different actors are linked with several connections that are intensifying during a development operation of a IZ. However, the central role always comes back to the planner, who occupies a privileged place as the interlocutor vis-à-vis the other actors.

Whether it is institutional, public, private, or semi-public structure, the developer is responsible for:

- the acquisition of land and the registration;
- the subdivision of the area according to a specific parcel plan;
- the equipment of the zone;
- the allocation of subdivisions to beneficiaries;
- the management or support to the management structures of the area.

A review of industrial zones shows that:

- their planning and development is still the prerogative of the public,
- they consist in making available to the industrials, land already developed in infrastructure and other basic equipment at preferential prices,
- the spatial dynamic is far from being dictated directly by that of capital.
- the space and territory dynamics, governed elsewhere by the organization and logic of productive systems' restructurings, remains in Morocco a work of the State even with the emergence's sphere.

### 3.2- P2Is, Clusters and Industrial Ecosystems, Beyond Spatial Expression

Before talking about P2I, we focus on the notion of industrial parks and their relationship with the process of regionalization, integration and territorialization of the producing and investing act.

#### **3.2.1 - Industrial parks / tool of the region-vector of SME / FMN synergies**

The current globalization is in the process making regionalization, which is "an institutional form of reorganization of the relations between the Government and the territory", an engine of national and international dynamics.

Thus, because of its median position, the economic region is at the heart of a plurality of logics and at the crossroads of several dynamics linking the local to the regional, the two to the national and all three to the international level.

The region such as claimed now in Morocco is no longer just this space consolidating decentralization and deconcentration and giving signs of the completion of "modern state" construction. It is mainly a region allowing a rational territorialization of productive systems and a local / international synergy. it became clear that, the creation of an economic region in Morocco is uplifting because also induced by "the structural requirements related to the positive articulation between the consolidation of the national economic space and the development of interregional and continental economic spaces".



Having adhered to the "global village" where borders tend to be abolished, Morocco is forced to prepare a reception structures for foreign and domestic investments capable of launching international networks.

Among actions taken in this direction, and next to the promotion of development's poles, of industrial zones and the promulgation of investment codes, an industrial development policy of the territory imposed itself. Indeed, the region, center of economic decision, also passes by the development of an integrated, diversified, decentralized regional productive system and open to the outside. It is in this sense that "the industrial parks, considered in the new context of globalization and liberalization, are presented as an important vector for the revitalization of the industrial sector and its bases of competitiveness on a global scale".

The World Bank, in its efforts to support and guide the Moroccan economy makes industrial parks and free zones a new framework suitable to the promotion of the national private sector and the reception of FDI. Industrial parks are a new formula for the industrial systems spatial organization, that allow fruitful management for the Government, developers and investors.

The principle is that the developer rent land from the government to sublease them to private companies after development. The Government undertakes to carry out all the off-site infrastructures, provided that the developer commits himself first to mobilize the private funds for the realization of the infrastructures within the site and to assure the management and the services to the companies.

The developer must then act as an intermediary between Moroccan companies and local and national authorities in various fields.

Given its importance, a first phase of the Private Industrial Parks Program, developed and managed by organizations with internationally recognized experience in the field, was launched in 1997. Thus conceived, and linking multinational contractors to subcontractors or local partners, the industrial parks, well organized and managed, will constitute development poles, and headlights for a successful opening on the global production system.

This is an arduous task that can only be successful with the support of the State, especially the regions through programs capable of reviving regional development and thereby promoting a national economic takeoff. The target regions are those capable of creating synergies at the productive and territorial levels.

That is why we affirmed that the issue of economic regionalization and regional planning is at the crossroads of several paths.

Thus, a region capable of overcoming the globalization and facing its challenges would be able to:

- contribute to build an economic, social, spatial and territorial democracy;
- achieve a rational and intelligent opening on the regional, supra-national and global productive systems in progress of shaping;
- create and maintain a harmony between the rural and the urban;
- succeed in creating and maintaining a synergy between SMEs / SMIs (which can become regional development actors and not only passive subcontractors) and multinational firms whose powers tend to outweigh those of the States.

Morocco of this 21<sup>st</sup> century needs an "economic region" capable of mobilizing local and regional resources and integrating them for a better insertion of the country into the world economy while preserving the competitiveness of the national economy. Will he succeed this work with the P2I?

### 3.2.2 – The P2I, Clusters Ecosystems: extension or redesign?

If under the aegis of the emergence's plan and the NPIE, the P2Is were evoked, with the IAP we will introduce the notions / forms of "clusters" and industrial ecosystem.

The P2Is can be identified to the new forms of industrial and productive organization spatialization in Morocco such as technology parks, clusters and LPS. The P2I program includes 3 types of platforms:

- The generalist P2Is: open to all sectors, and can combine several sectoral neighborhoods;
- The sectorial P2Is: dedicated to a specific sector. However, they may include neighborhoods reserved for sectors close to the main sector (eg the Electronics district embedded in a P2I Automobile);
- The P2Is "regional / national Areas": generalist zones reserved for actors of an industrial fabric coming from the same region of a foreign country.

The selection of the final sites of P2Is implementation is based on the presence of an employment's pool ensuring an available workforce meeting the needs of industrialists, logistics accessibility ensuring a good connection of the site for its supply and production's export and in terms of the presence of a mobilizable land reserve.

Officially, the value offered by P2Is to investors can take six complementary forms:

- real estate offer (rental or purchase of land or buildings),
- offers of various services (infrastructure maintenance, security, telecommunications, catering, health services, banking, business center, recruitment support, travel agency,
- training offer (specialized training institute or OFPPT),
- logistics offer,
- one-stop shop, logistical connectivity to the city and
- status of free zones (for the P2I of Kenitra, Nouaceur, Tangier and Oujda).

**Clusters:** These are public / private mixed governance structures comprising several actors: Government, large companies, SMEs, education and research operators and, of course, aid and financing organizations with the ultimate aim to bring out innovative projects. In 2014, thirteen-component implemented in various regions and operating in a variety of sectors, grouped themselves in "Morocco Cluster", it comes to:

- Morocco Numeric Cluster in ICT;
- Electronic, Mechatronics and Mechanics Cluster of Morocco – in Electronics and Mechatronics,
- Oceanopole Cluster of Tan-Tan for the valuation of seafood products
- Agadir Cluster Haliopolis for the valuation of seafood products;
- Menara Cluster of Marrakech for Luxury products in the food and cosmetics industry;
- Textile cluster for technical use in Technical textile;
- Cluster denim & casual wear in Jeans fabrics;
- Building materials and energy efficiency in Settat;
- Solar cluster in Solar technologies sector;
- The environment and sustainable development in Casablanca;
- Biotechnology and agro-industry in Meknes;
- The Smart City, (Smart City Cluster in Casablanca);
- The Smart City and the green economy in Oujda.

This list has been extended to new projects installed after this period such as Tangier tech.

**Industrial ecosystems:** This is a new designation of territorialized forms of industrial production that "aims to reduce sectoral fragmentation by fostering strategic, targeted, and mutually beneficial partnerships between industry leaders and SMEs (Very Small, Small and Medium Enterprises)". These ecosystems are called upon to

group together a community of companies of various sizes around a "locomotive", vector of ecosystems projects and get all the actors concerned by innovation and creativity adhere to it.

It should be noted that the previously developed projects are very promising in terms of " intent's declaration ". But do we have the material and human means to ensure a spatially equitable distribution? Shouldn't we cross clusters, LPS, P2I with a kind of territorial plans of economic cooperation to establish what we can qualify as a model of Socially and Spatially Equitable Productive Systems

## **Conclusions**

To report of a certain correspondence between the evolution of the productive systems and the restrictions of the territories, a general grid can be presented. Three highlights of a such evolution are: the pre-Fordism, the Taylorophordism and the post-Fordism. We will retain in parallel respectively: the complexes of workshops and factories of the 19th century, the regions of mass production Fordist and the revenge of the local through the LPS and the current phenomenon of "glocalization".

Without going back on the controversy regarding the opportunity to appeal to foreign firms (Mc Kinsey in particular) and the national competence's calling into question in the matter, let us retain a kind of management by objective by recognizing the contribution of the program "emergence" as diagnostic analysis of the country's economy. Indeed, some analysts speak of "ant work", others of interference and waste but there is agreement on the fact that the Program "emergence" presents an instant cut, of what is our economy; especially that, an effective therapy requires at first a good and accurate diagnosis.

Driven; at least formally, by this logic, the Minister of Industry of the time recognizes that the issue of the moment dictates the following imperatives:

- Dynamic management of existing fabric and respect for balances;
- Get out of the defensive and restrictive logic that underpinned the MAN approach;
- Revitalize and modernize the fabric by redesigning the existing system;
- Accelerate long-term cross-cutting reform projects;
- Allocate resources in line with issues and priorities.

Indeed, according to the specialized press, "For the Emergence program to succeed, it is not enough to provide benefits and train the workforce. There is also a need for general coordination involving several actors including five ministerial departments, the wilayas and project facility regions, the Regional Investment Centers, the Investment Department, the Inter-Ministerial Investment Commission, territorial governments and local authorities. To entrust the task to a single ministry would be utopian. The idea is to set up a dedicated agency. »<sup>22</sup> Taking the globalization's train requires to enter the digital sphere and attract services outsourcing activities (processing of financial, accounting and banking information or even teleservices). However, the real economy (industrialization in mind) remains the single leader in the dynamic transformation of productive but also spatial structures. This is a living dialectic dictating that the productive system acts on the territorial morphology and conversely the spatial logic recommends the productive activities.

This is how we talk about a spatial evolution of the Moroccan territorial chessboard linked to that of its productive system. Indeed, "independent" Morocco has moved - at least at the level of discourse - from industrial districts, to industrial zones and then to industrial parks that come to support the so-called integrated industrial platforms or P2I, whose designation even attests to "modernity". However, it remains to be seen whether this dynamism will be part of the continuity or will simply serve as a marketing map for the current government era?

This question is legitimate especially since the productive and spatial dynamics must rhyme with the new dynamic of institutional reforms in favor of a more advanced vision of regionalization. According to the king, "the desired enlarged regionalization is not limited to a simple technical or administrative development. It embodies a choice assumed for the renovation and modernization of state structures, and the consolidation of integrated development. "Regionalization will only; be balanced and national in scope, if the optimal exploitation by each region of its own strengths and potentialities, is correlated and concomitant with the establishment of efficient mechanisms of solidarity, embodying the interregional complementarity and cohesion in a united Morocco "(Royal speech of 3 January 2010).

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## ***Aknowledgements***

*This research was supported by the project, which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research and Innovation Staff Exchanges ES H2020-MSCA-RISE-2014 CLUSDEVMED (2015-2019) Grant Agreement Number 645730730*



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