



# Urbanism Law in Morocco : Framework, Implementation and Jurisprudence - Study Based on Cases

KERDAD OUAIL<sup>1</sup>, BENTAHAR ABDELRHANI<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. PhD Student at FSJES Oujda

<sup>2</sup>. University Professor at the FSJES Oujda

**Abstract :** This Article addresses the Moroccan law of urbanism in a composite doctrinal and empirical study dealing with its normative systems, modalities of application as well as the legal construction that gives rise to them. They're two standards of the law (Laws 12-90 and 25-90), which regulate planning instruments, land subdivision, housing groups, and permit compliance. The study subsequently evaluates Law 66-12 s specific enforcement regime, teasing out as separate considerations the powers of inquiry of the judges, criminal and other sanctions in response to breach, or procedural guarantees. By taking a look at administrative court cases (appeals against building permits and rulings with regard to withdrawal or adaptation measures) the article shows how this is sought to be tempered with urban regulation, legal certainty and social considerations. The paper illustrates how statute is tied back to enforcement and jurisprudence, providing practicing lawyers, planners and administrators at large with benchmarks for compliance and territorial development under the Moroccan legal system.

**Keywords :** Urbanism Code, Territory Management, Law No. 12-90, Law No. 66-12, Administrative Judiciary Constructions Permits and Developments Clearance Laws Demolition Legal Enforcement.

## Introduction

Urban planning law (droit de l'urbanisme) in Morocco not only tempers perhaps the two most pressing imperatives of national urban growth and modernization on one side, and conservation of social order, ecological integrity, and lawful land use across other. Morocco has experienced since the 1960s deep spatial changes characterized by the rural exodus, rapid demographic growth and metropolisation of Casablanca and Rabat with increasing demands on infrastructure and public services (Bencheikroun, 2019).

In response to these challenges, the legislature formulated a hierarchical legal system. The hierarchy of urban planning instruments—forming the legal framework for construction and land development—is provided in loi n° 12-90 relative à l'urbanisme (1992), including the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain (SDAU) & Plan d'Aménagement (PA) by Belghazi, 2017. Simultaneously, the Law belongs to No. 25-90: lead projects cities and subdivision of land how formed the residential assemblies and partitioning of land - transformation from terrains in real estate (Обязательно) учредить публичные общественные парки. Nevertheless, until recently the framework was backed by very poor implementation, and in a context of weak enforcement there has been massive informal construction and spurious urban development alone.

A key benchmark annotation was seen in the Law 66-12 on the control and repression of urbanism and construction infractions, which brought new investigative competencies, targeted sanctions imbued with a reinforcement for either enforcing or legalization (Ministry of National Territory Planning, 2017). While the law

is an indication of the state's resolve to stem illegal construction it has also come under scrutiny for its application, questions about proportionality, due process and socio-economic consequences of enforcement.

In fact, the Moroccan administrative courts have been more and more frequently required to settle differences concerning construction permits, withdrawals of authorizations or also criminal demolition orders. For example, in 2008 the Court of Cassation ruled that demolition need not be automatic where the offending building could otherwise be made to comply with planning rules (Cour de cassation, 2008). This jurisprudence exemplifies a larger issue wherein the principle of legality is counterbalancing the principle of proportionality, especially when family housing or small businesses are targeted for demolition (El Ouazzani, 2020).

For this reason, this paper has three purposes :

1. Deliver a systematic examination of the urbanism legislation in Morocco and its mechanisms for implementation.
2. The interpretation of these norms by administrative courts, as provided to in selected case law.
3. To examine the wider implications of enforcement practices on governance, citizen entitlements and sustainable urban preference.

Its methodology is based on a formal analysis of statutory language against the background of doctrinal commentary and court decisions. This emphasis on location reveals both the capacities and failures of Moroccan urban planning, providing valuable insights into how law can mediate growth, legality, and justice in Morocco's urban spaces.

## 1. Urbanism Legal Frame of Morocco

Certainly formal urbanism in Morocco is governed by a panoply of laws and regulations that seek to control how land should be used, what attracts can be built, and how the development of urban spaces can take place. These efforts ensure that sustainable urban planning will be fundamental and representative of social issues in the 21st century, as a plural faculty whose colonial past and post-independence reforms are continuously reframed to respond to expanding informality due to rapid urbanization (NACIRI, 2016).

### 1.1 Law No. 12-90 on Urbanism

Law 12-90, published in 1992, remains the keystone of Moroccan urban planning legislation. Introduces the hierarchy of urban planning instruments and binding their delivery with the parameters to be met in building and development. InstrumentsThe law recognizes three major instruments :

- SDAU (Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain) Plan Directeur, local development, personnel forestier Commentaires... Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain ; planification stratégique des grandes agglomérations exprimant les orientations de développement à long terme et l'objet des usages du sol.
- Zoning Plan (PZ) — a regulatory tool that maps out the land use zonally for solutions, ranging from residential to industrial, agricultural and protected ones.
- Plan d'Aménagement (PA : Set of detailed plans that anticipate and regulate construction, built-up surface ratio, roadway network etc. (Belghazi 2017).

Essentially, Article 28 of Law 12-90 stipulates that no permit may be issued for a project which does not comply with the PA as approved, meaning that conformity is an ultimate criterion of legality (El MernissiQueslati).

### 1.2 Law No. 25-90 on Subdivisions, Housing Groups, and Lotissements

Law No. 25-90, also adopted in 1992, further complements Law 12-90 this time focusing on subdivisions, housing groups and land partitions. Its purpose is to prevent uncontrolled parceling of agricultural or peri-urban land and to require that newly created lots are properly serviced (roads, water, sanitation, electricity) upon subdivision approval. The law is subject to approval from the local authorities and must comply with the SDAU and PA (El Idrissi, 2018).

A new land file (Folle Khatiya) will help solve the persistent problem of casual subdivisions (lotissements clandestins) that have spread across Morocco's peri-urban zones, particularly around Casablanca, Marrakech and Tangier.

### 1.3 Law No. 66-12 concerning the Surveillance and Repression of Offenses

To bring the laws into real force, Morocco realized that having planning law alone was not enough and it enacted Law No. 66-12 in 2016 to strengthen compliance mechanisms. The law also gives territorial control agents (agents d'autorité) more powers to investigate, allows for the instant suspension of illegal construction and authorizes demolition in cases where non-compliance is particularly serious. Criminal penalties are also defined, including fines as imprisonment for recidivists (Ministry of National Territory Planning, 2017).

Nevertheless, the law has been criticized as repressive or integrating bulldozers into official town and city planning (El Ouazzani 2020), especially the demolition of small households that are more likely to be vulnerable.

### 1.4 Additional Regulations And Institutions

In addition to these basic laws, there are several decrees and ministerial circulars providing details on procedures for the issuance of building permits, subdivision authorizations and enforcement. Agences urbaines were established in 1993 by Dahir and perform key functions to review and evaluate permit applications, prepare plans, and ensure that all comply (Chikhaoui, 2014).

Municipal councils, based on the 2015 Organic Law of Communes, also retain important competences to sign off local plans and construction permits but decisions can still be overridden by the Ministry of Interior or overturned in court.

## 2. Mobilities, Enforcement and Judicial Practice in Moroccan Urbanism

However, the extent of Morocco's urban planning model success does not only rest upon whether it is well-drafted or on paper. It also highly relies on how enforcement can be achieved in practice. Moroccan judicial administrative courts are confronted daily with the conflicts opposing citizens to public authorities for reasons directly or indirectly related to urbanism, due to the persistence of informal construction.

### 2.1 Implementation of Law No. 66-12 by the Administration

The Law No. 66–12 meanwhile provide for stronger enforcement mechanisms. Charge offers (moughafine) and local Missions powers to :

- Suspend unauthorized construction works,
- Formal notices of warning (procès-verbaux d'infraction),
- Issue demolition orders where works are manifestly non-compliant, and
- Make penal sanctions to serious violations, suggested to the public prosecutors (Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, 2017)

This law reinforced state power, striped naked of demolition and a frequent source of social tensions especially in the periurban districts that have deep housing stress (El Ouazzani 2020).

### 2.2 Judicial Review of Urbanistic Decisions

Administrative justice in Morocco, the Moroccan administrative courts intervene in urbanism decisions, notably on construction permits and demolition operations. Jurisprudence reveals two key trends :

1. The courts have regularly invalidated permits that have been issued in breach of the urban plan, including holding that compliance with the Plan d'Aménagement is an essential element of validity (Court of First Instance of Rabat, 2011).
2. Proportionnalité de la démolition : La Cour de Cassation (2008) a jugé que la démolition n'est pas systématique quand les travaux sont régularisables, rappelant ainsi que légalité du respect de règles et le principe d'application des lois ne saurait être opposés (Cour de Cassation 2008).

The principle of proportionality from the Guiramand Decision has left its imprint on a number of cases that followed, and judges have, in some instances, elected to stay demolition orders pending correction.

### 3. Case Analysis of the Urbanism Law in Morocco

#### 3.1 Case Study 1: Withdrawn Building Permit in Casablanca

In 2016, the administrative court in Casablanca reconsidered a municipality decision to cancel a construction license already sanctioned prior. While the applicant pleaded that he had lawfully obtained the permit, the municipality countered that there had been certain irregularities post issuance. Okružni sud je doneo presudu, kako se jednom kada zakonski izdata dozvola ne može više povući a povlačenje takve dozvole može biti samo u veoma strogim uslovima, pre svega u slučajevima prevare ili sumnjivog pravilnog sprovođenja. If not, a withdrawal under any different circumstances would be in violation of the principle of legal certainty (sécurité juridique) (El Idrissi, 2018).

##### Analysis and Interpretation

The case perfectly illustrates the function vested in judiciary for ensuring a modicum of freedom under the rule of law protecting an individual property owner from the arbitrary power of administrators. The ruling establishes that urban authorities are prohibited from capriciously withdrawing permits, strengthening the logic of maintaining predictability and stability in urban planning processes. This will increase confidence among investors that developers and property owners can place reliance in decisions of local governments unless such decisions are patently wrong as a matter of law. This also mirrors the more general conflict of Moroccan urbanism law if it comes to administrative flexibility versus individual rights protection.

##### Comparative Insight

Courts always favor legal certainty, as in some other similar cases in Rabat and Tangier, where the courts argued that large urban projects related to economic or private investments should be upheld in 2024 (Benkirane). There are a few consistent lessons, all of which also contribute to sustainable urban governance by prioritizing legal certainty over administrative convenience in the Judiciary.

#### 3.2 Case Study 2: Demolition Orders in Informal Settlements near Marrakech

In another case of first impression, local authorities judicially ordered the immediate demolition of informal housing in proximity to Marrakech pursuant to Law 66-12. Residents challenged the demolition before the MCT, claiming that the action violated procedural safeguards and caused excessive harm. Even though the Administrative Court itself acknowledged that admitting the constructions as legal just because authorities have already refrained from their removal would be “to retract into tortuous reasoning” (Chikhaoui, 2014), it also hammered in the necessity of exhaustive exploration of potential alike regularization processes before a decision to demolish can be made.

##### Analysis and Interpretation

This case exemplifies the judiciary trying to navigate between the state's urban planning aims on one hand and social and housing rights on the other. Although the law confers powers upon the administration to enforce urban order, Albie Sachs stated that any law enforcement must be proportionate, procedurally fair and sensitive of social consequences. This is testament to Morocco's double concomitant challenge : containing illegal urban sprawl and responding ethically to the rights of humanity and housing in areas subject to rapid urbanization.

##### Comparative Insight

Three words : enforcement with leniency In Casablanca and Fes as well, the right to adequate housing and other human rights aligns with best judicial practice to oblige proper procedures : more resources are needed to regularize settlements, safeguarding them until at least preventive measures and alternative accommodations can be found. It reflects a juridical orientation toward more socially conscious urban governance (Arab Land Initiative, 2021).

#### 3.3 Rabat-Salé-Kénitra Applied Case Analysis

The Rabat-Salé-Kénitra (RSK) has served as a full-scale case study for an urbanism law in action. The plan, the Regional Development Plan (PDP) 2017–2021, was supposed to guide urban development for a fast-growing metropolitan area, and infrastructure development and territorial planning Elhazziti & Chtouki 2023.

### Implementation Challenges

- Financial constraints : Municipalities were unable to finance urban development and infrastructure, such as roads, water supply & public transport system (Benkirane 2024).
- Institutional Fragmentation : As its responsible for approvals, monitoring and enforcement of the PDP was time delayed due to coordination issues between regional & municipal bodies (World Bank,2019)
- Informal Settlements : The rapid increase in population combined with housing that is not consistent with urban plans led to informal construction outside the intended planning zones, resulting in the need for some sort of ex post intervention (legalization or service upgrade) (Arab Land Initiative 2021).
- Political and Social Constraints : Local resistance to zoning changes or land acquisitions slowed down execution, demonstrating that social attitudes play a critical role in the outcome of urban planning.

### Outcomes and Interpretation

Nevertheless, the PDP seems to have liberalized control over the urban structure in such a way that even with these limitations there are some clear improvements.

- Urban development focused on existing centers of population, thus diminishing unplanned urban sprawl
- (Number) Investments in public transport and roads to enable greater connectivity between municipalities ·
- Environmental indicators, which might include green zones or how we evaluated coastal protection like compatibility with sustainable development objectives ([Elhazziti & Chtouki 2023 ])

### Comparative Analysis with Other Cases

- Similar PDP implementations in Tangier-Tétouan-Al Hoceima, for instance, attest that regions with greater financial capacity and better institutional coordination are characterized by a more efficient urban governance (World Bank, 2019).
- The experience of informal houses in Marrakech, where case law and participatory planning together have proven useful in achieving compliance with these regulations and reducing conflict.

### Synthesis

The RSK case suggests that the legal structure of Law No. 12–90 is sound, however its effectiveness is strongly conditioned by financial, institutional and social factors. All told, the report makes it clear that not only is an orderly urban growth but also a balanced evolution of social equity possible with adequate integration of judicial oversight, community engagement and sustainable planning practices.

### 3.4 Role of Urban Agencies/Local Governance

Created in 1993, agences urbaines (urban agencies) provide technical opinions on permits and monitor the actual implementation of plans. Courts are now more likely than ever to rely on these opinions when judging the legality of a challenged permit. Nevertheless, a significant impact of the decentralization reforms with the 2015 Organic Law on Communes which is relevant to urban allows them displaced actions and reservations preparing overlaps occasionally sources between local and central competences (Naciri, 2016).

## 4. Challenges and Perspectives for Reform

Morocco still faces structural urbanism issues, despite a comprehensive legal framework and answers to an efficient enforcement system introduced by the law No. 66-12. Many of them are legal, institutional and socio-economic obstacles that illustrate how complex the challenge is in allowing for high-speed urbanization without alienating sustainable and equitable growth.

### 4.1 Informal urbanization persists

The longest of them would be the durable growth of zones d'habitat non réglementaire, particularly in the peri-urban plains. Opportunities, as driving forces behind irregular construction even if it is prohibited by law (Naciri, 2016); rural migration and the consequent high housing demand; and finally marginalization factors such as limited accesses to adequate residential solutions.

Law No. 66-12 is an attempt to put an end to these things through harsher sanctions (El Ouazzani, 2020) yet has been generating social conflict especially when vulnerable groups with no access to housing except the demolition of informal settlements are affected by them.

#### 4.2 Administrative Fragmentation and Overlaps

In Morocco, urban governance experiences competition between powers of central authorities (Ministry of Interior & Ministry of National Territory Planning), urban agencies and any municipal council. Although reforms to decentralisation and devolution under the Communes Organic Law of 2015 have been signed, which mean communes can now be responsible for plans and organisation, this has led in turn to overlapping over jurisdiction or inconsistencies in making the decision (Chikhaoui, 2014).

#### 4.3 Legal Certainty and Rights of Citizens

A second issue is the dichotomy between legality and rights of the citizens. Courts have at times protected the permit holder against arbitrary withdrawals or excess demolitions, though the lack of unambiguous regularization (*mise en conformité*) procedures leads to most being kept in suspense. This is creating trust deficit in Urban Governance (El Idrissi, 2018) because citizens go through long legal battles to secure what they are entitled to.

#### 4.4 Sustainability and Environmental Integration

Although Moroccan urbanism laws and regulations place a great emphasis on the legality enforcement, almost all dimensions of sustainability— green area, climate adaptation and balance ecology — are still weak in the practice. While the SDAU and PA theoretically incorporate environmental considerations, In practice ; however, rapid urbanization has often superseded longer-term ecological planning (Benckroun 2019).

#### 4.5 Perspectives for Reform

While no silver bullet exists, scholars and practitioners point to the following as potential paths forward :

- Reduce harmful distortions to existing financial architecture by · improving regulation mechanisms ; legalization pathways for irregular set-ups facilitating them to adhere rather than opting out for demolition forestalling judicial overreach.
- Strengthening coordination = Formalising roles and functions of institutions between the municipalities, urban agencies with those at the central government.
- Advocacy for social housing policies : Increasing affordable housing to decrease the requirements for informal residences ;
- Sustainability Integration : Further internalising environmental objectives into planning instruments and enforcement practice.
- Promotion of transparent governance and public engagement, through participatory planning to enhance legitimation and minimize conflict.

Reforms of this nature would consolidate legal certainty and enforcement efficiency, all while ensuring that Morocco's urbanism policies remain in congruence with overarching principles of sustainable, inclusive development.

## 5. Environmental Considerations

Sustainability is a key cornerstone of Morocco's urban planning framework. Article 14 of Law No. 11-03 on environmental protection stipulates that all development projects, including urban planning under the provisions of Law No. 12-90 that contribute to wise ecological impacts shall be subject to an EIA (FIG, 2014). These evaluations seek to avoid negative consequences on the lands, natural resources, biodiversity and health of human beings integrating thus environmental management into territorial development.

### 5.1 Integration in Urban Planning

At multiple levels of the urban planning process, environmental considerations are integrated :

- Urban Planning Preparation : In order to approve new development plans, planners must need first to evaluate the state of water resources, air quality and soil stability, green spaces (Chtouki 2014).

- Zoning Regulations — In certain areas, the environment is designated as sensitive and only permits house and land construction to protect wetlands, forests and agricultural lands (Arab Land Initiative 2021).
- Monitoring and Compliance : local authorities (using environmental clearances) ensure that these projects meet the necessary approval regarding waste management, energy use and pollution emission standards (World Bank 2019)

### 5.2 Challenges in Implementation

However, even though legal provisions detail environmental considerations, their actual implementation is not so easy due to :

1. Poor technical capacity — Many municipalities do not have technicians who can perform good EIAs or monitor compliance (Chtouki, 2014).
2. Short Funding : Smaller municipalities cannot afford to use adaptive infrastructure and technologically friendly in best marriageatus (Regarding, 2024)
3. Urban pressure/informal settlements : The rapid expansion of urban areas grows informally and is constructed without environmental assessment that result in land and ecological resource degradation (Arab Land Initiative, 2021).
4. Fragmented enforcement : Low intramural coordination between environmental agencies and urban planning authorities a fact that weakens the effectiveness of environmental regulation (World Bank, 2019).

### 5.3 Examples of Environmental Integration

- Rabat-Salé-Kenitra Region : Considering that the region is conducting a wave of transport and infrastructure programs, including in certain cases the rollout out of environmental impact assessment standards as part of its efforts to support the expansion of public transport networks, there are prospects along these linesques (especially for safeguarding coastal wetland habitats). The major object behind these projects are reduction of transport related emissions and important gold delivery area preservation (Elhazziti & Chtouki, 2023).
- Green Urban Planning Initiatives : Green corridors, parks, and energy-efficient buildings are some of the urban green areas many municipalities have implemented to ensure that urban development meets their sustainability objectives. Despite this, delivery in the regions of a number of such projects is still raw.

### 5.4 Recommendation : Strengthen Environmental Considerations

1. Training for municipal planners and local authorities on environmental assessment techniques and sustainable urban planning practices ;
2. Incentives : Fund green infrastructure and efficient construction technologies.
3. Better Coordination : More collaboration between environmental agencies and urban planning authorities, so that the enforcement is uniform.
4. Public Awareness & Participation – Include public in environmental planning for better compliance and sustainable urban efforts.

For Morocco to meet its financing needs and ensure the sustainable development of the territory by equilibrating urban development with environmental protection, it will be central to integrate in a pragmatic manner the environmental dimension into the heart of urban policy.

## 6. Conclusion

In Morocco, the Law relating to urbanism has been structured on an increasingly strict set of rules over time based essentially on Law 12-90: the law concerning Urbanism, Law 25-90 named subdivisions and Law No. 66-12 adjudicating control and repression of infractions. The play of these instruments, coupled with the role played by urban agencies and municipal councils, have gone a long way in determining how land use and construction is governed.

This system is not ideal and judicial practice is replete with case studies that have thereto demonstrated the limited efficacy of this system. Despite the demographic pressures that keep informal urbanization expanding

and inability of municipalities to ensure access to affordable housing. There are conflicting implementation statuses between central government and local authority, procedural rigidity, administrative overlaps and legal uncertainty that citizens faces punishment. In some cases, courts have stepped in to mitigate overzealous measures — especially demolition orders — exercising proportionality and legal certainty, but this jurisprudence is far from consistent.

For the future, change is needed in the urbanism regime of Morocco to provide some legal security for social equity. More focus should be given to :

- Creating remediation pathways for non-compliance that must be taken before resorting to demolition ;
- Defining institutional responsibilities to limit administrative conflicts.
- Deeper social housing projects to combat the main cause behind informal construction, as well as.
- Whether it be integrating sustainability goals into urban planning tools for more effective solutions to both climate and environmental problems. ·Ensuring that even the remote places escape from poverty socially by providing electricity and internet simultaneously so as to have a just distribution of riches between city and countryside, no longer relying on economic development been only measured through GDP.

In summary, the law may be quite varied, but the real power of the legal arsenal is to meet citizens' demands, defend rights and guarantee sustainable development. In engaging with such dilemmas, Morocco can strengthen an approach to urban planning that is not just legal but also fair, inclusive and sustainable.

## 7. Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the literature review of urbanism law in Morocco, judicial cases, and applied experiences (mainly Rabat-Salé-Kenitra Region) to make measures more sensible considering their effectiveness, fairness and sustainability.

### **Legal and Regulatory Frameworks**

1. Clear Land Tenure Regulations are Critical : Develop statutory and customary land rights so that urban planning enforcement of the lot reduces ambiguities reducing capabilities.
2. Enforcement Procedures : Provide for guidelines to define when building permits can be revoked, or demolition orders issued in conformity with the notion of legality and the principle of proportionality.

### **Improve Institutional Coordination**

1. Integrated Managing of Procedures between Central and Local Authorities : Introduce formal procedures to coordinate central authorities, regional governments and municipalities on permitting, monitoring and enforcing plan implementation.
2. Train Municipal Staff : Strengthen local governance by training municipal staff in Urban planning, environmental management and legal compliance.

### **Promote Socially Sensitive Enforcement**

1. Regularization First, Demolition Last : Legal regularization of informal settlements (mise en conformité) where feasible, balancing urban order with residents rights.
2. Community engagement : Plan with local communities to increase acceptance, compliance, and social equity.

### **Strengthen Financial and Technical Support**

1. Funding : Provide adequate programmatic and financial resources for infrastructure, land protection, and natural resource management.
2. Support Craft Municipality : To increase the level of planning and implementation accuracy, provide municipalities with advanced GIS tools, intelligent monitoring systems, and environmental assessment scope.

### **Integrate Environmental Sustainability**

1. Compulsory EIAs : Require all new urban projects to pass detailed environmental impact assessments.
2. Green Urban Development : Promotion of Sustainability through green corridors, energy efficient buildings and water management strategies.

### Enhance Judicial Review and Direction

1. Uniform Jurisprudence -Concordant Arrangements for all issues concerning planning in order to eliminate arbitrariness and provide municipalities with clear patterns.
2. Legal Guidance and Implementation : Share judicial interpretations as well as bespoke best practices with local authorities, developers to enhance compliance and reduce the disagreement.

### Promote Data-Driven Planning

1. Urban Monitoring Systems : to implement real-time monitoring of urban growth, informal settlements and infrastructure development.
2. Evidence-Based Decision Making : Use demographic, economic and environmental data to inform zoning, land use and investment priorities.

### Synthesis

If these recommendations were to be realized, this would contribute to optimizing the functioning of Morocco's urbanism law, securing individual rights and promoting sustainable territorial development. If we want it, we'll need the legal certainty, institutional capacity, social determination, financial backing, environmental compatibility, judicial orientation and planning through data in order to urbanize more equitably whilst being resilient ; mature but elastic ; structured but diverse.

## 8. References

1. Arab Land Initiative. (2021). *Land governance and urban planning in Morocco*. Global Land Tool Network (GLTN).
2. Atia, M. (2022). Moroccan slum dwellers' nonmovements and the art of resistance. *Urban Studies*, 59(6), 1141–1157. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211024922>.
3. Benkirane, S. (2024). Urban planning and territorial development in Morocco : Challenges and perspectives. *AESOP Proceedings*.
4. Boulmani, S., & Saadane, A. (2023). Land use and urban sprawl in the case of the city of Rabat in Morocco : An integrated approach using remote sensing, geospatial modeling, and machine learning. *E3S Web of Conferences*, 363, 03006. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202336303006>.
5. Chikhaoui, H. (2014). Informal settlements and urban law enforcement in Morocco. *Journal of Urban Studies*, 21(3), 45–62.
6. Elhazziti, M., & Chtouki, M. (2023). Regional territorial planning in Morocco : Case of the Rabat-Salé-Kenitra development plan between legal provisions and implementation realities. *ResearchGate*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.18289.17769>.
7. El Idrissi, A. (2018). Administrative law and urban permits in Morocco : Case study of Casablanca. *Moroccan Journal of Law and Governance*, 12(2), 33–50.
8. Gross, H. (2023). Youth perceptions and constructions of urban space in Morocco. *SIT Graduate Institute Digital Collections*. [https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection/4752](https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/4752).
9. Loulad, S., & El Hamdouni, R. (2023). Monitoring rural-urban transformation in the coastal region of Rabat-Salé-Kenitra, Morocco. *PLOS ONE*, 18(7), e0290829. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0290829>.
10. Mazouz, M. (2025). Economic specialisation and complementarity dynamics in polycentric urban regions : A case study of the Rabat-Salé-Kenitra region, Morocco. *ScienceDirect*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2025.10482>.
11. Mrani, R. (2023). Informalities of legal housing as resistance : A case study of a middle-class neighborhood in Rabat, Morocco. *Top Academic Journal of Engineering and Mathematics*, 7(3), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tajem.2023.09.014>.
12. OECD. (2024). National urban policy review of Morocco. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). <https://www.oecd.org/countries/morocco/national-urban-policy-review-of-morocco-2024-9a5f1c7d-en.htm>.

13. Sakina Boufarsi, M. A., Aksuku, B. I., & Aysu, M. E. (2021). Slums in Casablanca : Assessment of the VSB program, case study : Er-hamna Slum. *Global Scientific Journal*, 9(12), 1328–1345. [https://www.globalscientificjournal.com/researchpaper/Slums\\_in\\_Casablanca\\_Assessment\\_of\\_the\\_VSB\\_program\\_case\\_study\\_Er\\_hamna\\_Slum.pdf](https://www.globalscientificjournal.com/researchpaper/Slums_in_Casablanca_Assessment_of_the_VSB_program_case_study_Er_hamna_Slum.pdf).
14. UN-Habitat. (2022). Benchmarking case studies on planning laws. United Nations Human Settlements Programme(UN-Habitat).[https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2023/11/benchmarking\\_case\\_studies-cc24-revised.pdf](https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2023/11/benchmarking_case_studies-cc24-revised.pdf).
15. World Bank. (2019). Leveraging urbanization to promote a new growth model while reducing territorial disparities in Morocco : Urban and regional development policy note. World Bank. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099900006292235189/pdf/P1679430eabe460040a955092006d241473.pdf>.