

# **Suburbanization of Casablanca: Emergence and actors of the informal industrial fabric.**

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## **SUMMARY**

The Casablanca's coronal area knows deep socio-spatial changes due to combined effects of several factors that contribute to shaping a new morphology of peripheral areas. These areas under the center's urban dynamics pressure are the place of relocation of formal and informal industries, which gives them an increasingly confirmed industrial vocation.

In this work, we will question the processes of reconfiguration of metropolitan peripheral spaces by informal industry. We will therefore try to probe the determinants of the location in the outer suburbs, to identify the actors' relationships that are forged for the establishment of these productive fabrics and to study the informal coalitions around the atypical practices of "laissez faire" on mainly rural territories with no planning framework. The study of this industrial duality also reveals the relationships that are created between these two components that cluster around Casablanca and share space, labor and the market.

The investigations carried out show that the studied area is dominated by Casablanca, that it functions by and for this city whose industry overflows on its outskirts. The spatial deployment of this activity fits more to entrepreneurial logics and is determined, in addition to metropolitan proximity, by economic, land, real estate and urban planning considerations.

The emergence of the informal industrial fabric in the suburban zone is consecutive to the combination of multiple factors linked not only to the attributes of this zone as a host environment but also to the transmitter-polarizing place embodied by the economic metropolis and its environment. Those assigned to these spaces are determined to this occupation as a temporary solution or even an alternative attributable to various socio-economic reasons. Public and private actors animate a coalition which invests the field of production of these components and therefore accelerates functional changes. These settlements in peripheral spaces further diversify existing urban forms and demonstrate relationships with the formal sector that should be characterized.

# 1. IRREGULAR FABRIC: DEVELOPMENT FACTORS AND ACTORS

## 1.1 Irregular fabric: emergence and development factors

Peripheral areas are constantly exposed to metropolitan influences. “This metropolisation, which takes place according to the spatial processes of urban diffusion, often results in more diluted and more rural forms of land use”. This evolution poses the challenge of proactive actions to be initiated to forge productive and habitat frameworks with structured configurations.

In this expansionist trend caused by centrifugal forces and socio-economic and societal developments, this built environment appeared "serving the interests of the city and the extension of its function in the form of informal urbanization on the one hand, and devoting on the other hand the logic of material profit and spatial selectivity applied and structured by official departments working to regulate and contain these extensions in specific sectors”.

The geographical distribution of this fabric reveals that this active component of the coronal space occupies a central place among the activities contained in the study area, it is discreetly incorporated into the industrial landscape and enriches it with all the banal specializations serving the metropolitan area. One could notice, in figure n°1, the belt formed by these activities on the western borders of the economic capital thus materializing the center of gravity where are located the main places where raw materials and manufactured products are traded.

“Improvised industrial zones are created and have given rise to a fait accompli that is difficult to call into question”. The successive installations have generated a call for air which has resulted in a rush on this growth area and an amplification of the phenomenon over time.

The development of the informal sector has fundamentally benefited from the rental offer, the many transformed agricultural premises are put on a market intended for industrialists and warehousemen which attracts a modest customer base made up of industrialists who cannot provide funds to be immobilized in the land and stone, and storage providers.

Being the product of owners and in particular farmers, this offer is based on actions of workshops and warehouses development intended for professionals and the reassignment of these premises to other more profitable economic functions. The income from this activity is a significant part of the revenue of these people.

“You have to meet your needs by diversifying your activities; agriculture alone cannot be enough regarding the farm smallness and the vagaries of the weather. I set aside reserves by renting my sheds for storage and I cultivate the rest but it remains marginal”. Rental income is important and constitutes new resources for the good living of the farmer. “The hangars of 300 m<sup>2</sup> to 600 m<sup>2</sup> bring a monthly rent of 10,000 to 25,000 Dh per unit. This contribution is significant and incomparable to the low agricultural income”.

Some farmers have completely abandoned their original activity by turning to the rental of buildings they have built especially for this purpose. The search for profit sharpened

by the land boom seems to be decisive for many farmers and in particular their successors who have less affection for inherited funds. "In the area of Lakhyayta, at a certain recent time, the hectare is sold up to 5 million, which is not without creating a great impact on the sale of land and especially those belonging to the heirs, this new generation does not want more work on the land, they prefer to sell and settle in town".

The lacunar regulation which governs the control and the repression of the violations regarding construction is open to criticism. This case of the purpose change of the built premises was not among the checkable infractions. Nevertheless, these construction sites are generally affected by multiple irregularities relating to the permitted heights, sites and extents of the buildings which are not the subject of judicial proceedings since no official statement is drawn.

The consulted actors mention "the absence or inertia of administrative control or competent services" to explain the expansive momentum of the informal sector. This informal process was engaged since the early 2000s and has grown over the years. The renunciation to draw official statements against contraveners expressed by the multiple bodies of sworn agents is express, many informal industrial settlements were born due to this attitude of the administrative actors.

More than an easing administrative control, the connivance of the agents of authority, the elected officials and the lessors in particular, taking care to not display this phenomenon in broad daylight at the risk of thwarting their interests mixed with those of the industrialists and warehousemen have led to irremediable situations without a major effort of restructuring and equipment even if it is expensive and heavy to assume by the public community. "These neighborhoods are the work of the agents of authority of a certain era" confides to us a former senior official of the province, from then on, the disorder observed was cleverly created and hid by the guardians of this space.

No denunciation has been made by local managers or even initiatives to contain the situation, on the contrary, a whole game of disguise and expansion of the phenomenon has been deployed. Some elected officials interviewed specified that these officials did not act because they feared for the rental income since they are large landlords, for the interests of the other occupants or lessors who bought their silence and for the future of this juicy market. Moreover, these units operate behind closed doors with high enclosing walls preventing any view of the interiors and without displaying any slightest distinctive sign of these activity's places.

Furthermore, the successive parcelling out of land has resulted in a predominance of agricultural micro-plots. As can be seen in Table n°1, 62% of rural properties in the study area have an average parcel size of 0.8 hectares. This existing situation animates the residential and business activities decongestion and contributes to the socio-spatial reconfigurations underway in this area.

**Table n°1: Summary statement of plots in the rural area of the study area**

Parcels area* Rural commune	0.1ha-2 ha		>2 ha		>0.1 ha	
	parcels nb.	%	Parcels nb	%	Parcels total	%
Sahel Oulad Hriz	5274	55%	3015	32%	8289	87%
Soualem Trifia	624	07%	590	06%	1214	13%
Total	5898	62%	3605	38%	9503	100%
Area average	0.8 ha					

*Source: SICAD database, cadastre of Berrechid province, situation at the end of June 2020*

*\*: are excluded plots of less than 1000 m<sup>2</sup> from subdivision and agglomerated fabric.*

"The small plot is quite useless for agriculture other than residential, rental or speculative purposes". Certainly, cereal or vegetable crops, very famous in the area, which would be viable would require generous areas, unlike the hegemonic plot size which is in great demand around the economic capital for all the aforementioned purposes, hence the phenomenon of secondary housing and activities settlements.

Water stress contributes in this situation and intensifies these mutational processes. From then on, this market could satisfy the different tastes with its richness, the land and real estate offer is varied and goes from the small plot of a few ares to the large plot of a few hectares.

The said phenomenon of parcelization is driven by the granting of administrative certificates of parceling. This irregular division is done either within the framework of the succession between heirs with generally insignificant quotas, or between co-owners who buy in the joint ownership then proceed to the division. The production of the small plot is a factor in the proliferation of clandestinity in all its forms.

This scenario has already happened in the first belt of Casablanca. Due to the land structure, informal industrialization crawled on big parts of ground. The more generalized is the small plot, the greater is the irregular fabric (see table n°2). We could conclude that there is a direct relationship between the two quantities, the volume of the irregular fabric is inversely proportional to the parcel size in the coronal zone.

**Table 2: Ratio of irregular units identified by parcel size**

Parcel size - m <sup>2</sup> -	Identified units nb.	Rate -%-
< 1500 m <sup>2</sup>	1605	63.89
>1500 m <sup>2</sup> et <2500 m <sup>2</sup>	419	16.67
>2500 m <sup>2</sup>	488	19.44
Total	2512	100

*Source: F. Chafiq, production and management of anarchic spaces in the southern and southwestern suburbs of Casablanca, PhD thesis, Faculty of Letters and Humanities of Ain Choq, 2017. Personal adaptation.*

The land situation in the second belt has greatly weakened the urbanistic situation, when it came to the implementation of the national program of technical and architectural

assistance in the rural environment, which consists in offering for free a standard building plan to the needy. Indeed, some presidents of communes have diverted this program from its initial objective by issuing authorized standard plans to everyone without distinction and without getting the opinion of the technical commissions established by the law in force.

If the whole area is affected by the drought, the phenomenon of land splitting and conversion is not however generalized, it affects in particular the immediate peri-urban fringe of Casablanca, that is to say that an additional ingredient comes to stimulate actively and specifically the aforementioned fringe with less repercussion on the rest of the study area, it is the absolute proximity to Casablanca.

The significant income resulting from these new assignments leads to the gradual adhesion, even if slow, of other reluctant farmers who are attached to their land. Agriculture gives way to industry, which now occupies 38.4% of the sector's active population. The result is a diversity of owners: farmers, heirs of farmers engaged in various trades and purchaser-promoters.

The duality of lessor-owners indicates the predominance of those originating from the study area (Table n°3) who have converted from agriculture to the rents arising from the allocation of their buildings to more profitable activities.

**Table n°3: Lessors' nature of industrial and warehouse premises**

Activity Lessor's nature	Industry		Storage	
	Units nb.	%	Warehouse nb.	%
Aboriginal lessor	53	87	47	89
Allochthonous lessor	8	13	06	11
Total	61	100	53	100

*Source: field survey, 2019.*

Given the scale of this emerging fabric, the product of the combination of several factors, the administration wanted in 2010 to stop the informal extensions and dissuade the responsible actors. The new local executive has proceeded to the sweep and diagnosis of informal industrial sites and the identification of those responsible for this situation among the body of authority agents, who have been sanctioned, transferred or even dismissed, and among the elected communal officials, who are removed from office, but without being able to affect the indelible imprint of the existing fabric.

Despite "the issuance of dozens of demolition orders against infringers, no enforcement action has been taken", because hundreds of jobs and costly investments are at stake in terms of industrial equipment and buildings that took place and became part of the industrial landscape of the area. The orders of demolition notified to these industrialists have, for a period of time, destabilized this system of irregular production that has frozen its activities in anticipation of a decline in the attitude of the administration rigorously invested in the restoration of order and compliance of the fabric produced outside the law. This administrative posture had the merit, not to stop the disorder, but to slow down its production, but it has softened by weariness and time.

Attentive to social aspects of peace and stability, the administration has preserved the status-quo of existing settlements while encouraging the industrialists concerned to organize within a union that would coordinate the individual actions of its members and proceed to the development of a study of regularization of the fabrics concerned.

Then, no progress on this issue has been recorded. If the administration has assigned this area to industrial zone in the master plan being established, the association of these industrialists has not replied to administrative injunctions to prepare those areas for this vocation. They were dithering while waiting for the approval of this plan in order to impose themselves as a full-fledged industrial area. This is the story of mass violations that continue in full view of the local system, which has remained in a state of latency or even tolerant of this situation that has tested its credibility.

## **1.2 Involved actors and operational scheme**

The big city constitutes a common denominator between the various industries that gravitate around it. The factors of exclusion from the center and its prohibitive prices, the insufficiency of the regulatory real estate offer linked to the inadequacies of the urban planning documents and the incapacity of the local actors to accompany the dynamics of reproduction of the industrial sector, the speculative land market and the interplay of public and private actors profiting from informality are so many elements of production of the informal spaces which question by their scale the roles conferred to the official authorities in terms of urban management of this phenomenon.

Different actors are involved in this scene that is constantly playing out in the host environments: the authorities in charge of controlling and writing up offenders and guardians of these spaces, the elected officials issuing authorizations and administrative certificates, and the landowners who are heirs or purchasers.

The actions of this group are knowingly harmonized and articulated to give shape to this fabric which probably stirs up covets and feeds insatiable avidities. "It is recommended to the owners to apply for a building permit for agricultural or breeding purposes and to use it thereafter in the desired activity, to rent or to sell the parcel, it is simple and it is efficient".

These owners are sometimes politicians on communal councils who have a dual decision-making and operational capacity. Their status as political representatives, or even as notable, and the close ties they have forged with the agents of authority are resources that enable them to act in this way. The reciprocal interests, the relationships of complaisance and the balance of power are explanations for this situation which is played out in spite of the rules in force.

The deciphering of the operating of this circle of actors is enlightening in this respect. An active coalition of these public and private actors structures itself and cooperates in order to achieve common objectives while being linked by interdependencies of resources. Then, rules framing their power relationships allow them to renew and reproduce these atypical practices.

None of these actors has the plenipotentiary power to make this situation alone, hence the need for an integration of actors based on the sharing of resources, interests and benefits to perpetuate this cooperation. This coalition was only disrupted and destabilized in 2010-2011, due to the creation of a new province and the appointment of a governor who wanted to break with these practices of a past era. However, little by little, joint action has resumed within the new coalitions, but in a less extensive manner.

This sustainable action is based on the complementarity of legal, financial and symbolic resources between its members. The private actor would need authorizations that belong to the regulatory power of the commune and the indifference of the authorities and the commune to concretize its projects. Conversely, these public actors will need the operational capacity of the promoters of this fabric in order to create employment, boost the communal economy and urban development. The balance of power between the authorities and elected representatives contrasts with their asymmetrical relationship with the private actor subject to institutional directives.

The stabilization of interdependencies between these actors is also due to the material and financial benefits of the construction and development of activity premises. Elected officials benefit first of all from political gains. The population benefiting from these authorizations and from the laissez-faire attitude of the communal authority would prefer to re-elect these same people, who would become stronger in their political competition. Then, elected officials and agents of authority would receive their batches of advantages and personal interests resulting from the services provided and from postures favorable to these irregularities. Finally, for private promoters, seeing their business set up and running is synonymous with the realization of their plans.

Elected officials play a key role in these coalitions. "They are also the ones who set up the different negotiation scenes where the members of the coalition stabilize their exchange of resources and build their agreements". They structure a joint action that facilitates the actions wanted. "The elected official is less of a leader than a broker or facilitator, but he remains very present in the decision-making processes".

In the process of building these fabrics, procedural rules are observed, an authorization from the president made on the basis of a favorable opinion from a provincial technical commission is required, which emphasizes the power and place of the elected official, who must have guaranteed the upstream part of the cooperation. The change of destination and, where applicable, the modifications made are not reported by the municipality or by the authority agent, which presupposes a consensus that avoids a conflict that could degenerate into a denunciation and triggering of the repressive procedure.

In this dynamic of urban management of the rural land vocations, narratives of legitimization of the local modalities of production of this urban space arise. The contested built environment is defended, "we should not stop the issuance of building plans for sheds because of possible transformation, the control body must do its job". Then, an empathetic posture is frequently shown towards these mutations affecting these peripheral spaces, "how

could these poor people live decently without these rentals, no irrigation water, small plots, and then the new activities create employment and value for the commune".

This pointed out local way of doing things is subtended by a political support that makes the economic and social characteristics of the study area the discursive elements that give the informal phenomenon a character of "territorial evidence". These politicians' logics shape the kind of approach to be taken to develop the communal territory and organize urban development. Restructuring appears to be the ideal approach to deal with an existing situation of dependence on new economic functions.

This action capacity of the elected official, consisting of meeting requests by extending the limits of his possibilities, is the effect of a context characterised by the modesty of the resources at his disposal. Hence, actions with a strong political charge, claimed by these leaders who use them to increase their popularity and improve their local political rating.

## **2. ESTABLISHMENT DETERMINANTS AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE REGULAR FABRIC**

The settlements of workshops and warehouses that spread across this area raise questions not only about the conditions of their appearance, but also about the determinants of this concealed mode of industrial installation and its relationship to the regular fabric.

### **2.1 Installation determinants**

Among the decisive factors that lead these professionals to integrate the irregular fabric are affordability and rental availability. Faced with the huge need for industrial buildings wanted for direct rental, which the city of Casablanca and even its first belt are unable to cover adequately, the demand is transferred to the second belt.

Our study area is adjacent to the communes of Bouskoura, Oulad Azzouz and Dar Bouazza knowing a singular proliferation of this fabric. They have, taking into account a radius of 5 km from the western limit 769 units. These communes include in addition 1743 additional units of which 1302 are concentrated in their parts immediately adjacent to the prefecture of Casablanca.

It turns out that this area is the natural field for the expansion of these activities looking for real estate opportunities and additional space to grow, absorb the increasing demand and mitigate the impact of centrifugal forces forcing professionals to move away from the center. All of these factors have produced an invasive tide that flows further out.

The census carried out in the field shows that the manufacturing units are tenanted up to 70% against 60% for the warehouses. It is clear that this occupation status predominates by the numerical importance of tenants who have opted for this type of key-in-hand installation. Only 35% of the cases are settled for their own account on acquired or inherited properties.

Again, it should be noted that the tenants represent two thirds of the cases identified in small and medium industries. The status of tenant is more important for micro-industries and reaches 75% of cases. Such numbers demonstrate the considerable contribution of the rental



market in the supply of buildings dedicated to activities and especially for small industrial structures.

It is obvious that the Casablanca agglomeration is not devoid of regular and irregular professional real estate. Nevertheless, this peripheral redeployment is strongly induced by the restrictive and selective rents practiced, which only activities of high added value can sustainably bear.

The professionals interviewed were unanimous on rental affordability as a determinant of settlement in the second ring. This interpretation by the rental cost had also existed in the settlement of the first ring; a study revealed that all the interviewees of the irregular fabric considered that the market or rental value of the building is decisive in their peripherization, as opposed to the derogated fabric, whose holders were rather animated by the parcel insufficiency of the official industrial areas.

"There is no public or private offer of industrial buildings ready to use, yet the rings are submerged by the informal because of the public actor's inertia and the lack of foresight and anticipated planning. This passive attitude towards a reality that is getting stronger and that requires proactive actions would perhaps long compromise the spatial organization, harmony and environment of rural landscapes.

Two-thirds of the tenants interviewed expressed their financial inability to access industrial areas due to the acquisition and construction costs of the buildings. An industrial investment can be compromised by the acquisition of a budgetary land, "the new industrialists would be well advised to concentrate their start-up funds on the tools and the trade, the appropriation would come later".

In reality, 87% of industries are very small and small businesses, three quarters of which are tenants. The latter represent only one third of medium-sized companies. As can be seen, this fabric is rather modest and concentrates its investments on means of production other than real estate in order to gain competitiveness and penetrate markets.

The shortage of structured offer in front of the growing demand is a constraint that has boosted the irregular fabric. Thus, we have observed the construction-conversion and renting of agricultural buildings for industrial purposes after modifying them during the construction process to adapt them to the intended functions. "Several farms and agricultural sheds, located away from the main roads, have been transformed into industrial premises, attracting slums in their immediate vicinity".

One third of the interviewees from the administration agreed that the rental process has the advantage of a quick installation at low cost, "it is a short way to invest in an optimized way", and therefore it intercepts many people interested in these activities in the periphery. The optimization of the installation times is underlined, "as soon as rented as soon as put into service" confessed to us a manager of a unit of PVC carpentry that has established itself in an irregular workshop.

Some see this irregular circuit not only as a time saving but also as a way to reduce the costs and expenses of establishment, "it minimizes the costs and expenses of installation". Avoiding the regular circuit is equivalent to be free of reports and studies to be carried out by professionals, of additional plans, in a word, of a considerable paperwork to constitute the derogation's dossier and authorization, generating expenses and additional times.

Furthermore, land located on engaged industrial corridors is the most expensive, especially when it is directly connected to ranked roads. Today, the commissions granting the derogation are intransigent concerning the aspect of road connection, which is based on an extensive main network and must be ensured by widened and asphalted accesses. In view of this specific situation regarding derogations, the circumvention of these restrictions by the authorization of farm premises, for later conversion, is recurrent.

Approximately two thirds of the industrial and storage premises are located on properties that are far from the main circulation routes (Table n°4) and that cannot be connected in accordance with industrial standards without a heavy investment in land and development. Regularization, which involves, among other things, widening access roads to properties generally served by narrow paths, requires amicable land acquisition from multiple owners, which is obviously not easy and project implementation may be compromised.

**Table n°4: Distance from public roads for industrial and storage premises**

Activity Distance/public road*	Industry		Storage	
	units nb.	%	Warehouse nb.	%
From 1m to 50m	32	37	32	36
More than 100 m	55	63	56	64
Total	87	100	88	100

\* Ranked and communal roads

Source : Field survey, 2019.

There are other reasons for these deliberate choices to follow such informal approaches. We encountered two cases of industrialists who were determined to come to the area by their lessors within the circle of acquaintances. This active search for potential tenants is not insignificant, as these neighborhoods were filling up more and renewing departures. This interested approach involves a wider spectrum and is also carried out by intermediaries, elected officials and even professionals in the sector. In the same way, other promoters have chosen it because of the temporary character of the activities such as those of the building materials that supply particular building sites during their operation.

Therefore, it has been argued that this situation of informality arranges the interests of all these property title holders, the land income from these unorthodox practices provide them with valuable rentier funds, an interviewee said that "this situation arranges everyone: tenants, lessors, elected officials and employees, except the public interest.

On the industrial side, the acquisition of agricultural premises and their development or their rental is an easy and quick way to avoid the administrative procedures related to

urbanism authorizations, which are considered cumbersome, slow and with no guarantee of success. The majority of the interviewees believe that this situation of urban informality is temporary, that there would be normalization and that "it is a platform for the regularization of the situation which would end up with the integration of these areas following the example of the old areas of Dar Bouazza". This social culture reinforces the tendency to invest in irregular buildings, and the pre-established convictions carried contribute to amplifying the spatial influence of this phenomenon.

## **2.2 Relationship to the regular fabric**

The observation of the geographical distribution of irregular fabrics shows that they infiltrate around the developed zones of Oulad Azzouz, Bouskoura and in the corridors occupied by the regular productive fabrics along the roads penetrating the economic capital. The mix of the two fabrics that share the existing spaces and infrastructures raises the question of the nature of the relationships that exist between them. In any case, one invariant is proven and active with regard to this deployment, it is the metropolitan gravity.

These workshops have taken place around the structuring axes and near the agglomerations of the economic habitat or the villages. "All of these forms of production of residential or economic space are located in the vicinity of spaces that are legally developed and even take advantage of existing reception structures.

Derogated manufacturing units are generally subject to the off-site development requirement. Different networks can therefore be provided and serve the areas of passage. That is to say that these upstream developments remove the obstacles of viability in front of the whole economic and residential fabric without distinction and therefore the rate of attractiveness improves.

However, in the two Douars of Lakhlaiif or Lakhyaita which regroup 50% of the irregular fabric, few authorized units have taken place and after the eruption of this fabric, which refers to a kind of autonomy of these fabrics whose emergence and expansion are independent of the facilities created or to be created by or for the structured fabric.

Intrinsic and extrinsic factors underlying this phenomenon are to be seen in these economic and spatial developments, which are clearly based on a considerable infrastructural potential in the peri-urban area and its surroundings. This potential is insensitive to the said considerations of juxtaposition to regular sectors. In fact, the areas concerned are accessible to transport, the unsealed sections are very short and practicable, and are connected to electricity and water, from the public network and/or from the well, usable in industry.

Observed from the outside, these groups encircle a mixed built environment in the Casablanca neighborhood, integrating manufacturing districts and residential areas. They are an extension of this neighborhood and perhaps, as far as the economies of localization are concerned, they are revitalized by this contiguity. It is not certain that it is this proximity to the surrounding activity zones that is the determining factor in the choice of the site of establishment, but, a fortiori, all the determinants of deployment around the metropolis.

The survey conducted in the field shows that 80% of these fabrics are concentrated in five Douars with common boundaries with Grand Casablanca. These settlements opening in their majority on paths, narrow passages and rarely classified roads produce by and for Casablanca and gather a diversity of trades: plastics, metalworking, metal carpentry, wood, manufacture of construction materials. And so on.

In the regular sectors, we find the same non-exclusive trades that compete for market share with similar industrial branches since everyone is counting on the gigantism of the metropolitan market and the sale from its wholesalers windows. "A large part of our production is absorbed by this market, where wholesalers from all over the country are present. The competition is thus well established according to the market rules of price or quality-price ratio.

It is obvious that these diversified and spatially close locations generate agglomeration economies when they are analyzed on a broad metropolitan scale, as we have already noted below. Due to inter- and intra-sectoral externalities, whether positive or negative, everyone benefits or suffers, whether the fabric considered is regular or irregular, especially if it ensures production for the local market.

Also, it was established in the present study, that the irregular sector of the manufacturing industry is a provider of income as well in local taxation, contrary to what thought the elected officials or the interviewed public actors, that in taxes. Like the authorized units, the economic and fiscal environment, and even the social environment, is identical. Therefore, it is not possible to impute any advantage to this situation of urban informality in the reduction of public burdens or the charge of taxes on the result.

From this, we conclude that there is a complementary relationship between the two fabrics. The determinants of installation tell us a lot about this relationship. First, the irregular fabric fills the deficit in the supply of industrial buildings in the regular sector, recovers part of those excluded from the urban center, who are unable to acquire and build a plot in the industrial zone or to support a rent in the urban center. This fabric presents both an alternative and an opportunity for this category of professionals wishing to practice and develop their profession on the outskirts of the metropolis with the available means.

Secondly, some professional owners whose application for a derogation is refused impose a factual state and make this accommodating choice, which satisfies them while waiting for a better future, a regularization, a restructuring or a favorable urbanistic zoning. In the same way, temporary activities, simple storage or the long times of authorization unfavorable to a quick putting into service of the projects push their holders to opt for this fabric.

We can also identify for these owners, but on a smaller scale, a certain relationship of competition between, on the one hand, regulatory zones requiring authorization dossiers subject to restrictive conditions, deadlines and various costs, with no previous derogation, if any, being acquired, which can discourage a part of the professionals, and on the other hand, an irregular fabric resulting from a disguised authorization but easily granted through a simplified procedure, which can be of interest to many. These cases are limited and

concentrated in Douar Lakhlaif, but that does not prevent them from being quite satisfied with their situation and that they have no intention of relocating to an industrial zone.

## **CONCLUSION**

We have noted that irregular settlements are mainly determined by the availability and affordability of the built premises given the shortage of official offer. Also, the installation quickness, the associated savings and the possible regularization have undoubtedly boosted these fabrics.

The production of irregular fabrics, as we have shown above, involves a coalition of public and private actors who are the elected representatives, the authorities and the landowners. Their cooperation is maintained over time through resource interdependencies, the sedimentation of implicit rules governing their interactions, and the allocation of various gains from the realization of their objectives.

This informal coalition extends the integration of different demands for the creation of industrial or storage projects to the irregular sector. This mode of doing secretes a territorial canvas regrouping not only the derogated regulatory industries but also all other informal occupations creating a composite economic and social mix.

The promotion of this diversity of fabrics makes it possible to establish territorially an irregular economic component that is banned in the rational speech, but is widely accepted territorially. These mixed settlements coexist in the same spaces around the metropolis and share the entire industrial environment, infrastructures, markets, suppliers. And so on.

It was found that despite this juxtaposition, the irregular fabric cannot be considered as parasitizing the regulatory industrial areas of the study area. It draws its strength, even its existence, from a strong and well-established viability in the metropolitan area and from its economic, social and financial potential. On a functional level, this fabric offers an alternative field that makes it possible to intercept those who could not find a place in the organized fabric.

## **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

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