



المنظمة العربية للقانون الدستوري

The Arab Association of Constitutional Law

Reality and Prospects of Decentralization in Morocco

Policy Paper

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Introduction

The Moroccan decentralized organization model approved by the 2011 Constitution was a quantum leap in the path of territorial communes. This model resolved the issue of territorial planning of the Kingdom based on Article I of the Constitution, which stipulated that the Kingdom of Morocco shall have a territorial decentralized organization based on advanced regionalization, and that citizen-based and participatory democracy is one of the most important foundations of the Moroccan constitutional system.

The Constitution also allocated a set of articles and mechanisms in this respect, which allow citizens and various new actors to have an efficient participation in decision-making and the achievement of local development. Moreover, the Moroccan constitutional legislator has devoted a whole chapter to organizing territorial communes and setting the foundations of the components of decentralization. This Chapter consists of 12 articles in the 2011 Constitution; up from just three articles in the 1996 Constitution.

Before analyzing the reality and prospects of decentralization in Morocco and for more clarity, it is necessary to define the various levels of territorial decentralization in the country in terms of the relationship with the representatives of the central authority.¹

Decentralized organization in Morocco consists of three levels as follows:

Communes: They are the basic units that have a council elected by direct universal suffrage. The Pasha represents the central authority in urban areas and the Caid represents the central authority in rural areas.

Prefectures and Provinces: They include a group of homogenous groups that have a council elected by indirect universal suffrage, and the governor of the prefecture represents the central authority at this level.

The difference between the prefectures and provinces currently lies in the fact that prefectures are urban areas that constitute a center for the region.

Regions: They include a group of homogenous prefectures and provinces that have a council elected by direct universal suffrage, in which the Wali represents the central authority.

Taking a look back at the historical evolution, it appears clear that these three levels were not established in the same historical period, but rather in a sequential and consecutive manner. Without referring to the pre-French occupation of Morocco, or to the French or Spanish experience in Morocco in the field of organizing local communes, it should be noted at the outset that the Moroccan experience in the field of administrative decentralization has witnessed a steady evolution. This evolution has always been moving towards the consecration of administrative decentralization as a result of greater organization of territorial communes and the expansion of their powers as well as the reduction of administrative guardianship over them.

It should be noted here that the Moroccan experience showed a focus on basic units known as urban and rural communes. This was first organized by the Dahir [Decree] of June 23, 1960², and the Dahir of September 30, 1976³, which was tantamount to a collective charter that sought to expand the scope of intervention of urban and rural communes and their authorities in the development spheres⁴. This charter continued to be enforced until it was amended by the 2002⁵ law and later by the 2009 law. Morocco moved from limited powers and duplicated implementation by the president of the communal council and the representative of the central authority, to giving broad powers to the president of the commune, including the power to execute the council's decisions alone.

Meanwhile, the other levels of decentralization that emerged later, witnessed a slow evolution, represented in two levels:

- The prefectures and provinces remained with limited powers, as they were merely coordinating authorities rather than decision-making bodies. This can be seen in the Law of September 12, 1963, or Law No. 79 on the organization of prefectures and provinces in Morocco, issued on October 3, 2002.
- The regions were established since 1971 as purely economic regions (there were seven). They were upgraded by virtue of Article 94 of the 1992 Constitution to the rank of local communes with legal personality. They were organized as administrative units under the law of April 2, 1997. However, the findings of the advisory Royal Commission on Regionalization, operating on a participatory approach, formed the cornerstone for the issuance of the 2011⁶ constitution. It is this Constitution that made a quantum leap in the field of territorial administrative decentralization as it set the solid foundations for the territorial communes at their three levels: the regions that came to the forefront of territorial communes, prefectures and provinces that turned into real communes, then the communes that took on their position as the basic unit.

- Based on this historical evolution, one may generally deduce that the study of the decentralization in Morocco requires evoking two basic elements. On the one hand, the reform workshops that were launched within the scope of the 2011 constitution are still incomplete and in the process of being translated on the ground. On the other hand, the success of these workshops depends on the realization of parallel reforms, in particular radically reviewing centralization, which should be transformed into a de-concentration, as well as addressing the imbalances that emerged since the actual implementation of advanced regionalization.

To what extent did previous decentralization experiences contribute to the formation of the foundations of local democracy?

What is the extent to which the provisions of the 2011 Constitution contributed to the advancement of the Moroccan experience?

Will the legal and regulatory texts issued in implementation of the 2011 Constitution allow for entrenching local decentralization?

Will the decentralized authorities be able to exercise all their powers vis-à-vis the representatives of the central authority, who still enjoy broad powers?

In order to pinpoint the strengths and weaknesses of the Moroccan experience, we will tackle the characteristics of decentralization, represented by the following:

- Advanced legal framework for territorial communes and regions
- An unbalanced relationship between the central authority and the territorial communes
- Recommendations and prospects

First: An advanced legal framework for the territorial communes and regions

The legislator endowed territorial communes and regions with an advanced legal framework, both from the constitutional and the legislative points of view. The constitutional legislator conferred to them a very distinct and advanced position. Meanwhile, the ordinary legislator exerted efforts to modernize the legal and organizational system and align it with the constitutional requirements in order to advance decentralization workshops.

1. An advanced constitutional framework for the territorial communes

The Constitution allocated the entire Chapter IX to the regions and other territorial communes. The chapter is composed of 12 articles that set out rules forming the basis of the various legislative and organic texts necessary to establish the edifice of the decentralized administrative organization in the country. The following rules are the most relevant:

- There are three levels of territorial communes, namely the regions, prefectures and provinces, and communes (Article 135);
- The regions and the other territorial collectivities must participate in the implementation of the general policy of the State and in the enactment of the territorial policies through their representatives in the Chamber of Councilors. (Article 137);
- The presidents of the Councils of the regions and the presidents of the other territorial communes must execute the deliberations and decisions of these Councils. (Article 138);
- Participative mechanisms of dialog must be developed so as to favor the participation of male and female citizens and of the associations in the enactment and the application of the programs of development. This is in addition to allowing male and female citizens to exercise the right of petition with a view of demanding the inclusion of an item in the agenda of the Council. (Article 139);
- The principle of assignment⁷ must be applied in determining the competences of the territorial communes, which are three: the communes' own competence, the competence shared with the State and the competence transferable to it by the latter (Article 140);
- The regions and the other territorial communes shall dispose of their own financial resources and of financial resources allocated by the State (Article 141);
- Temporary funds must be created to serve the regions and fill the deficits in matters of human development, infrastructure and equipment (Social Rehabilitation Fund) with a view of an equitable division of resources (fund of inter-regional solidarity) to reduce the disparities between the regions. (Article 142);
- In the enactment and the application of the programs of regional development and of the regional schemes of management of the territories, the region assures, under the supervision of the President of the Council of the region, a preeminent role in relation to the other territorial communes, subject to abiding by the competences of these communes. (Article 143);

However, the Constitution is not responsible for laying out all the details. It entrusted organic laws to regulate and expand many spheres. These include, the conditions for democratic management by the regions and other territorial communes of their affairs, the number of members of their councils, the rules related to the qualification of candidates, the cases of incompatibility, the cases of prevention of accumulation of mandates, the electoral law, the provisions for improving the representation of women within the aforementioned councils, the conditions of execution by the presidents of the Councils of the regions and the presidents of the Councils of the other territorial communes of the deliberations and of the decisions of said Councils, and the financial regulations, in addition to what is specified in Article 146 of the Constitution.

Furthermore, the Constitution stressed the necessity of drawing up a charter for public utilities, which shall set forth the rules of good governance related to the conduct of affairs of public administrations, the regions and other territorial communes and the public apparatus. (Article 157).

2. The regions' advanced legislative framework

Since the issuance of the 2011 Constitution, the legislative authority has been committed to modernizing the legal and organizational system necessary to advance the territorial decentralization workshops. These efforts culminated in the renewal of the texts related to the various levels of decentralization without prejudice to the principles set out in the Constitution. The introduced developments included promulgating an organic law rather than a regular law concerning the texts framing decentralization. This is a matter of particular importance because it must be mandatorily submitted to the Constitutional Court to decide on its conformity with the constitutional text after voting on it and before issuing the order for its implementation. If it is not possible to address all the legislative texts collectively in this study, we will use the text on advanced regionalization as an example.

The issuance of the Dahir of July 7, 2015 implementing organic Law No. 111.14 related to the regions was an opportunity to consecrate the region as a territorial commune subject to public law, enjoying legal personality and administrative and financial independence, and constituting one of the levels of the Kingdom's territorial organization. The Dahir of July 7, 2015 is a decentralized regulation based on advanced regionalism. It relied with respect to the management by the region of its affairs on the principle of free management, according to which each region is empowered to deliberate in a democratic manner and is competent to implement its deliberations and decisions. It is also based on the principles of cooperation and solidarity among regions and between them and other territorial communes.

In order to consolidate the privileged position granted by the Constitution to the region, the organic law gave it primacy over other territorial communes in the processes of drafting regional development programs and regional designs for the preparation, implementation and tracking of territorial management. Moreover, the principle of assignment in determining the competences of the region makes a distinction between the region's own competences, the competences shared between it and the state, and the competences transferred to it by the state by a third party.

Based on the foregoing, the competences of the regions were greatly expanded. Regions were entrusted with the tasks of promoting integrated and sustainable development by organizing, coordinating and tracking development. This entailed competences that can be classified as the region's own competences mainly consisting of regional development and territorial management. This turned the region into the main drive of economic activity in the country. Regions also were endowed with competences shared with the state in areas of economic development, rural development, social development, environment, culture and tourism. This is along with the competences that the state can transfer to it in important fields such as equipment and infrastructure with a regional dimension, industry, health, trade, education⁸, and other vital fields.

Of note, the legislator opened new prospects of work by adopting several mechanisms for dialogue and consultation between the region and its surroundings in order to facilitate the participation of male and female citizens and associations in the process of preparing and following up on development programs.⁹ Three advisory authorities carry out this process. The first works in partnership with civil society actors on region-related issues concerning activating the principles of equality, equal opportunities and the approach to gender. The second handles issues related to the interests of youths, and the third partners with the economic actors in the region for studying region-related issues of an economic nature. Meanwhile, male and female citizens and associations will be empowered to submit petitions with a view of demanding the inclusion in the agenda of the Council of an item that falls within its scope of competence.

Second: An unbalanced relationship between the central authority and the territorial communes

The unbalanced relationship between the central authority and the communes is evident through the following three points:

1. Wide powers for the central authority representatives

Despite the many advantages of the aforementioned constitutional requirements, we note that Article 145 of the Constitution has reserved to the representatives of the central authority broad powers in relation to the different levels of the territorial communes. Thus, the Walis and the governors of prefectures ensure the application of the laws, implement the governmental regulations and decisions and exercise administrative control. The walis and governors are deemed the representatives of the Ministry of Interior on the one hand and the government's delegate on the other hand.

In the event, the governor is carrying out his duties at the level of the prefectures and provinces, then the governor of the central prefecture inside region also takes the capacity of the region's Wali at the same time.

In this context, the walis and governors gain more power as — under the authority of the concerned ministers — they coordinate the activities of the decentralized services¹⁰ of the central administration and ensure their proper functioning.

In order to better entrench decentralization at the expense of centralization, it would have been better to delegate some of the powers of the wali to the head of the region and some of the governor's powers to the head of the council of the prefecture or province. But instead of that, the Constitution entrusted the governor and the wali to assist the heads of the territorial communes, especially the heads of the region councils, in implementing development plans and programs.

2. Decentralization workshops falter as the administrative decentralization policy stumbles

The development of decentralization basically requires overcoming the obstacles of an administrative and organizational nature, which impose on the elected councils a slow pace of work as a result of the excessive centralization of the various ministerial sectors. Morocco has clearly failed to transfer some of the powers of the centralized administrations in the capital to the external services of these administrations at the level of regions, prefectures, provinces and communes. Thus, the transition from the centralized management to decentralized management has yet to take place.

The developments in the 2011 constitution and the apparent difficulties impeding the consolidation of decentralization forced the issuance of the Decree of 26 December 2018 as a national administrative decentralization charter. This charter will be one of the main pillars of an advanced decentralized organization¹¹. This charter aims to lay down new principles and rules to frame the relationship of the state's decentralized services with the elected councils. The State's decentralized services are represented in all the territorial representations or administrative structures representing the central administration, irrespective of their denominations. These services must abide by the principles and objectives listed in Chapter II of the decree. In our present study, we will refer mainly to the principle of "keeping up with the Kingdom's decentralized territorial organization based on advanced regionalism and seeking to ensure its efficiency and efficacy," while providing all forms of support and assistance to decentralized organizations.

Meanwhile, as per the philosophy underlying the decentralization charter regarding the distribution of competencies between central administrations and their decentralized services, central administrations shall assume the tasks of a national character or those that cannot be accomplished by decentralized services (Article 14). Thus, decentralized services at the region level will assume the task of managing the state's regional public utilities and implementing public policies, which will enable them to make decisions locally without referring to the central authority. This charter and new rules for managing state utilities will have a direct impact on consolidating centralization in terms of accelerating decision-making and its implementation in complete harmony at the level of the region, prefectures, provinces and communes despite the special importance given to the walis and governors of prefectures in this regard.

3. Difficulty in exercising the powers of decentralized authorities

Despite the positive developments of the centralized organization in Morocco, there are still many obstacles and difficulties that make the exercise by the territorial communes of their competences a process characterized in many cases by a slow pace due to the unbalanced relationship with the central authorities. These difficulties can be summarized in three main aspects:

First, the poor financial and technical capabilities placed at the disposal of the territorial communes to implement their projects on the ground. To this date, a large part of the income of Moroccan territorial communes stems from the financial credits that the state allocates to them in its general budget. No advanced mechanisms have been adopted that allow the various communes to have self-sufficient financial incomes.

Secondly, the elected elites are still unable to shoulder the responsibility of local democracy. It is sufficient to point out, for example, the results of the last communal elections held on September 4, 2015 for 31,482 seats. The results discouraged the educated and cultivated segments from running in the elections. They showed that 15.11% of the elected representatives did not have any level of education, 28.27% of them had only primary education, and 30.35% of them had a secondary educational level, which means that 73.73% of the commune's male and female counselors do not have a high level of education¹².

Third, despite the changes in the concepts used in the relationship of central authority, which moved from the use of the term "administrative guardianship", which implied that territorial groups as a minor who is always in need of tutelage by an "adult" to the term "administrative control" Transformed in general to oversight exercised through the judiciary, the interference of the central authority and its representatives in the work of the decentralized bodies continues as a result of the historical accumulations and the powers that the constitution reserved for the representatives of the central authority.

Secondly, the elected elites are still unable to shoulder the responsibility of local democracy, and it is sufficient for us to point out, for example, that the results of the last collective elections that were held on September 4, 2015 regarding a number of seats that reached 31,482 seats resulted in results that were discouraging to contest the elections by educated groups. Thus, we find that 15.11% of the elected representatives do not have any level of education, 28.27% of them have only primary education, and 30.35% of them have a secondary educational level, or 73.73% of the group counselors and counselors do not have the level of education.

Thirdly, it should be noted that the central authority changed the concepts it used regarding its relationship with the territorial communes. It stopped using the term "administrative guardianship" that implied that territorial communes were a like a minor always in need of tutelage by an "adult" and adopted the term "administrative control," which generally turned into an oversight exercised through the judiciary. However, the central authority and its representatives keep interfering in the work of the decentralized authorities as a result of the historical accumulations and the powers that the constitution reserved to the representatives of the central authority.

Third: Recommendations and Prospects

1. Recommendations

The National Conference on Advanced Regionalization in Morocco organized by the Association of Regions of Morocco and the Ministry of the Interior on 20 and 21 December 2019 was a milestone that allowed an overall diagnosis of what has been accomplished on the one hand, and the obstacles and difficulties facing this conference on the other hand.

Although the Councils of the regions are still in the middle of their mandate, the current situation required taking a stand and reflecting on the multiplicity of viewpoints and the different angles of analysis. This resulted in a diagnosis focused on the negative aspects rather than the positive aspects, mainly due to the fact that the attendance at the conference was composed mainly of male and female councilors working on the ground. Therefore it was natural to focus on the difficulties and obstacles. Moreover, reflecting on the deficiencies was aimed at finding appropriate solutions, which even if they may not be generalized and valid for all regions, they would still produce at least indicators towards the best direction.

Any careful reading of the recommendations issued by the National Conference shows that the biggest concern was filling the gaps in the advanced regionalization system. These gaps cannot appear through legal and regulatory texts, but through practice and field work. Therefore, it is useful here to analyze these recommendations to identify the weaknesses that may impede the rooting and consecration of the advanced regionalization system.

The discussion during the National Conference showed that there is no default policy that enables the coordination of regional development programs between each other on the one hand, and then between them and the national sectoral plans of the various ministries on the other hand. Of course, a close coordination process is the only way to lay the foundations for coherent and harmonious development so as not to implant the already existing inequalities between the various regions. These inequalities cause some regions to progress and develop at the expense of others. The parties to the conference were aware of this point. They called for strengthening the national territorial management mechanisms in harmony with the state's general relevant policies. The planning-based national territorial management policy is the guarantee for creating harmony and coherence in developmental action, whether at the regional or national level.

One may say that the difficulties arising from the lack of planning will perpetuate the phenomenon of lack of spatial justice, at a time when this justice should be the core pillar for reducing spatial disparities and ultimately reducing social disparities. The development process is not merely quantitative growth, but rather a process aimed at influencing a specific sphere for the benefit of the human being, and thus exploiting economic development to achieve social, cultural and human development.

Overcoming these negative aspects can only be achieved by adopting two main mechanisms:

First, the state should continue to adopt initiatives aimed at supporting the regions' capabilities in the fields of governance and financial management, and work to diversify the sources of funding for the regions through innovative solutions aimed to finance their investment programs.

Second, the regions are invited to engage in the actual implementation of the principles and objectives of the new system in terms of budget and financial management by adopting multi-year programming that evokes the conditions of effectiveness, efficacy and quality.

These mechanisms place the responsibility on both parties: the state should continue to devise solutions to create sufficient financial income for financing the development programs of the regions, and in turn the regions are called upon to change their working methods inherited from the previous regional system and which no longer keep pace with the constitutional, legislative and organizational developments. It is noted in this regard that the financial issue is fundamental to decentralization since in the absence of an income, the decentralized authorities will remain merely administrative frameworks devoid of any content.

While the constitution and the organic law granted the region significant embedded powers and competences, yet some of these powers remain in the hands of the central authority and efforts must be exerted to transfer them to the regions. Therefore, the National Conference focused on the issue of transferring powers, even if at a minimum, especially in the fields that provide direct services to female and male citizens and lead to improving their standard of living. This placed regional councilors in a predicament since their work and interventions are linked to their capacity to run in elections. Should they fail to serve the citizens, they may lose their electoral appeal.

In the same context, the transfer of powers will be an opportunity to conclude program-related contracts between the state and territorial communes that ensure the participation of everyone in regional development programs and mobilize sufficient resources for their implementation.

It is worth mentioning here that the regions are not mere geographically broad territorial communes, nor are they an intermediate level between the state and smaller territorial communes, but rather a level on which the state is betting to achieve comprehensive development. Therefore, regions should be transformed from a mere executor of state policy to a partner in the development process. This requires urging the various centralized services of the ministerial sectors and public institutions to engage in consolidating advanced regionalization, by accelerating the implementation of the deconcentration charter referred to above. This will allow giving more powers and transferring sufficient resources to the external services in order to enable them to carry out the tasks entrusted to them efficiently, and so that the regions have a close contact point they can liaise with. The matter requires, as indicated in one of the recommendations of the National Conference, “workshops related to the legislative and regulatory suitability of the competencies vested in the various relevant ministerial sectors to the competencies of the region in the same fields,” which in turn requires a radical review of the texts in force and inherited from the pre-2011 constitution.

Among the conditions for the success of the advanced regionalization workshops is the fulfillment of conditions of openness by activating all the encouraging mechanisms. First and foremost, this concerns the mechanisms of participatory democracy that allow associations and non-governmental organizations to open up to the civil society, and to open up even directly to male and female citizens. Such democratic mechanisms enable the decentralized regional authorities to communicate, which in turns allows identifying closely the problems and placing them at the focus of attention. However, implementing a participatory democracy and keeping pace with the pulse of society require developing the capabilities of territorial communes so that they can interact positively and not content themselves with pro-forma meetings. In the same context, we refer to the need to open to the media through all available means of communication, whether traditional or modern.

The decentralized authorities’ openness will undoubtedly be one of the most important factors that stimulate participation by the region’s population in inclusive development and promote the integration of development into the programmed workshops aimed of achieving it. This surely falls in the region and the country’s best interest.

In conclusion, openness also requires applying one of the National Conference’s recommendations on the need to “entrench governance mechanisms and activate coordination and communication mechanisms between the region’s administration and all stakeholders.” It should be noted that regional administration is the means to execute the region’s programs and projects. This method may prove successful if the regions are empowered to attract highly qualified competencies who can assume the region’s tasks while meeting all necessary and required expertise.

However, attracting competencies is still not achieved, because the regions have not yet been able to adopt a basic system for the territorial communes' employees that would boost demand on jobs that are not linked to central administrations.

2. Promising prospects linked to a new development model

In the midst of the process of entrenching local democracy by expanding the powers of decentralized territorial authorities, it has become necessary to accelerate the adoption of a new development model. Development in Morocco does not achieve the desired outcomes as a result of major imbalances that must be addressed. A dual task must be executed, consisting of reducing both social disparities and spatial disparities. In order to fulfil these two tasks, the advanced regionalization workshops should be treated as a lever for territorial decentralization based on a new approach.

In order for the advanced regionalization workshops to succeed, it is necessary to actively engage in modernizing and renewing the state's structures. Regionalization workshops are not just a territorial or administrative measure, but rather a step that requires the consolidation of all the pillars of integrated development of the territorial communes. This approach indicates that the fate of inclusive development in Morocco has become dependent on a review of the development model approved in relation to territorial decentralization in general, and advanced regionalization in particular.

Endnotes

- (1) This study will use Arabic terms and concepts used in Morocco and which may have other connotations in the Arab Levant region.
- (2) Dahir No. 1.59.315 issued on 28 Dhu al-Hijjah corresponding to 23 June 1963 concerning the organization of communes council, published in Official Gazette No. 2487 dated 24 June 1960, Page 1970.
- (3) Dahir No. 1.76.583 issued on 28 Shawwal 1396 corresponding to 30 September June 1976 deemed as a law related to the communal organization, published in Official Gazette No. 3335 dated 1 October 1976, Page 3034.
- (4) سعيد حموتي، الجهوية في المغرب نموذج لإصلاح إدارة اللاتمرکز، مجلة العلوم السياسية والقانون، العدد 18، المجلد 03، نوفمبر 2019، المركز الديمقراطي العربي، برلين - ألمانيا، ص 28
- (5) Law No. 78-00 related to the communal charter.
- (6) رشيد ليكر، التطور الدستوري للجهة بالمغرب، مجلة مسالك في الفكر والسياسة والاقتصاد، عدد مزدوج 19-20، مطبعة النجاح الجديد، الدريبيضاء، 2012، ص 139
- (7) The assignment principle is based on the idea of distribution of tasks and definition of responsibilities and jurisdictions among the various administrative levels (urban and rural communes, prefectures and provinces, regions, the state). This means that each administrative level shall not cross the scope of competences granted to it. The right to act according to this principle confers the lower administrative level, since a higher administrative level would not be allowed to exercise the competences of the lower level. The prefecture, for example, cannot carry out the tasks entrusted to the urban or rural communes, and region cannot carry out the tasks entrusted to a prefecture, and the state cannot carry out the tasks entrusted to the region. However, as an exception, if the lower unit is unable to fulfill its duties, the higher unit may interfere to support it. The higher administrative level is obligated to assist the lower level, and therefore this principle gives precedence to the base over the top.
- (8) Dahir No. 1.15.83 issued on 20 Ramadan 1436 corresponding to 7 July 2015 concerning the implementation of organic law No. 111.14 related to regions, published in Official Gazette No. 6380 dated 6 Shawwal 1436 (23 July 2015), Page 6625.
- (9) علي قاسمي التمساني، سياسة الجهوية الموسعة: رهانات وآفاق، مجلة العلوم القانونية، العدد الأول، ماي 2013، محور العدد السياسات العمومية ورهان تنزيل الدستور، مطبعة المعارف الجديدة، ص 190
- (10) The National Administrative Deconcentration Charter (Decree No. 2.17.618 issued on Rabi al-Akhar 1440 (26 December 2018)) defined the decentralized services as territorial representations or administrative structures representing the central administrations, at the level of the region and at the level of prefectures and provinces, whether they were affiliated to a specific ministerial sector, or joint between two or more sectors, whatever the form of these representations or structures, and whatever their denominations.
- (11) بن يونس المرزوقي، ورش الجهوية المتقدمة ورش استراتيجي، جريدة الأخبار، العدد 2188، الاثنين 6 يناير 2020، ص 7
- (12) The official website of the results of the parliamentary and territorial communes elections, www.elections.ma



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