ABSTRACT: This paper presents the application of a proposed analytical framework that takes cultural dimensions as main parameters to explain territorial development processes. It is illustrated through the analysis of flood risk management in Morocco. This paper explores this relationship and suggests that a cultural studies approach, despite its weaknesses, potentially revitalizes the significance of culture in relationship to territorial development. It aims to help planners and policy makers to better understand how local planning cultures should be taken into consideration in policy planning processes, The culture -territorial development conceptual framework shows a high level of validity and applicability to explain territorial development processes in the Moroccan cultural contexts. The paper addresses three principal elements that are necessary for understanding relations between culture and territory development, local planning cultures and spatial development outcomes. They are (i) three facets of culture expressions relating to flood risk management – risk perception, conception on human-nature relationships and conception on human relationships; (ii) four fundamental factors (physical conditions, attributes of the community, formal institutions and informal institutions) and their interrelationships that condition decision-making processes; and (iii) three change-determining factors (diversity, consistency and power relations).

KEYWORDS: culture, Risk, territorial development, culturel policies, risk management, culture-risk nexus.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, economists have been reluctant to rely on culture as a possible determinant of economic phenomena. Conventional development thinking has of course separated the economic from the cultural, hence the reaction marked by the ‘culture and territory development’ debate. However, as economic anthropologists have long been aware, not only is the economy embedded in culture, but it is itself culture /a system of values, evaluations, processes of production, consumption, and exchange, and of social arrangements predicated upon particular patterns.

Territorial development in this Moroccan context is considered as a result of the complex and dynamic institutional arrangements of interconnected social-ecological systems in a given territory and The framework was developed to facilitate an analysis of territorial development processes taken culture as an important element shaping planning processes and spatial outcomes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In light of this background, this study aims to address three important and interrelated questions: to what extent the culture of risk in Morocco affects territorial development.
OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

- Involving the various stakeholders at the different levels of government.
- Contributing to the evaluation of Morocco’s territorial development policies.
- Offering recommendations for meeting current and future challenges.

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Review of existing theoretical literature of culture-risk and culture-territorial development in Morocco.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL POINTS AND FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH ON THE CULTURE - RISK NEXUS: CLASSIFICATION OF RESEARCH CONCEPTS

THE MEANINGS OF CULTURE

Culture is complex and multidimensional. It is in fact too complex to define in simple terms. The word ‘culture’ apparently came from the Latin cultura, which is related to cultus, can be translated as ‘cult’ or ‘worship’. This meaning is helpful in understanding the use of the term. Members of a cult believe in specific ways of doing things, and thus develop a culture that enshrines those beliefs. Culture includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Taylor\(^1\); Hofstede\(^2\)). Culture has been defined by different authors as follows:

- all the historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men\(^3\)
- ‘the integrated sum total of learned behavioural traits that are shared by members of a society’\(^4\)
- ‘the collective programming of mind which distinguishes one group from another’\(^5\)
- ‘culture is learned, shared, compelling, interrelated set of symbols whose meaning provides a set of orientations for members of a society. These orientations, taken together, provide solutions to problems that all societies must solve if they are to remain viable’\(^6\).

The definitions being proffered in anthropology textbooks of the immediate post-war years, However, Culture is a reflexive concept, and a slippery and ubiquitous concept. Initially, culture was associated with the notion of civilization tout-court and Except as a totally abstract category its definition is always contingent upon its historical location, contemporary understandings of the relationships between culture and nature, the politics of the moment, the uses within social theory to which it is being put. In spite of, the idea of culture as process, she has a number of exponents, among whom might be included Jonathan Friedman with his notion of culture as a complex negotiation of identity now irretrievably embedded in globalisation and linked also with consumption as the dominating cultural form of late capitalist society. Likewise Arjun Appadurai who also locates contemporary understandings of culture in the context of globalisation and the flows and hybridities that characterise that culture, locates it too in relation to modernity, localities in which global cultures are reproduced and modified, and ideas of scale and spatiality.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH OF CULTURE

La culture is a source of satisfaction, she plays a very special role for territorial development. Not only does it represent a specified of activities, encompassing the safeguarding and promoting of heritage in all its forms (both tangible and intangible),

---

\(^1\)Taylor, E. (1871), Origins of culture, Harper & Row, NY
encouraging creativity (particularly in the cultural industries), and facilitating mutual understanding through intercultural dialogue.

Contemporary cultural sociology seems to offer a suitable theoretical framework for the study of the cultural dimension. Its main exponent Jeffrey Alexander⁷ (1998, 2003, 2006, Alexander & Smith, 2002; Alexander & Reed⁸) and other proponents (Baiocchi⁹; Connor¹⁰; Jacobs¹¹; Jacobs & Smith¹², Ku¹³, Smith¹⁴), are concerned with how events, actors and institutions acquire significance through cultural codes, narrative genres and metanarratives. It is therefore a suitable tool for developing an integrated approach that would serve to explain the structures and changes in educational phenomena on the cultural plane. The approach of cultural sociology is based on the central argument that culture has relative autonomy¹⁵, which means that culture is not reducible to other factors (social and economic), nor is it merely an analytical dimension of society. Rather, it is an important semantic structure, and its impact both affects the meanings of social phenomena, and offers a repertoire for the creation of symbolic boundaries between groups, as well as helps to create their identity. For this reason, it stands out as a suitable vehicle to address the cultural dimension socio-historical phenomena.

Sociological Approach To Risk

The meaning of the word ‘risk’ has not received much attention in the literature until recently, just as the concept of ‘corporate governance’ was not well recognised thirty years ago. Economic idealism demarcated risk as being a separate category from uncertainty – a distinction which subsequently shaped and influenced operational strategies for the management and regulation of risk in organisations. Research defines risk as an uncertain event that, if it occurs, has a negative or positive impact on one or more project objectives¹⁶. Risk can be defined as the combination of the probability of an event and its consequences¹⁷. Risk can also be simply defined as the future issues which can be avoided or mitigated, or the probability of something happening. Or risk can be defined more formally as combination of the likelihood of the occurrence of a hazardous event with the accompanying possible loss, catastrophe, or other undesirable outcome involved (Knight, 1921; Hubbard, 2007). Risk is generally defined as a strategy referring to instrumental rationality. But it is interpreted as one strategy among others to transform uncertainty regarding future expectations to a manageable entity. that risk is seen as one specific way to make an uncertain future manageable that is valid on the organisational and institutional level as well as on the individual level.

The following definitions are needed to understand the different approaches to study risk perception. 

**Risk perception**
describes the process of mentally representing and assimilating the likelihood of adverse events that are connected with certain objects or activities and that might occur in the future (Renn, 1981).

**Risk Acceptance:** Risk acceptance reflects the results of balancing positive and negative consequences and their probabilities by forming a general evaluative judgement of the riskiness of a certain object or activity (Renn, 1981).

**Values:** A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action (Kluckhorn, 1951).

**Belief.** A belief represents the cognitive images that a person possesses about a given object, i.e., it is a probability judgement whether an attribute is or is not associated with the perception of an object and if it is, to what degree it is associated. The subjective feeling of goodness or badness which is linked with each attribute refers to the effect a person might have and is called subjective evaluation (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

**Attitude:** Attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport, 1935).

---

**THE CULTURE - RISK LINKAGE : LITERATURE REVIEW**

The term risk refers to a variety of concepts that vary according to the sources of risk, the dimensions of risk, the risk debate, which interprets risks on the one hand as something that could be described independently of the social context and on the other hand gives a subjective and social interpretation of these objective risks (e.g. Slovic 1999). Risks as social constructions Since Douglas worked on risk and culture, a central assumption in sociology is that risk is a social construction in a particular historical and cultural context, but there are different notions of constructivism.

In spite of, the risk and culture approach draws on the grid/group scheme of Douglas and Wildavsky (1982, Douglas 1985, Thompson/Wildavsky 1982, Thompson et al. 1990) that was developed to understand different logics of risk as they are expressed in social groups or organizations. There is no access to objective risk independent from the social, and risk interpretations are not absolutely independent from objective events although such events are not immediately and objectively accessible. In order to avoid the loss of awareness for the social construction of objective risk sociological authors refer to constructivist ideas (e.g. Krohn/Krücken 1993, Adam/Van Loon 2000, 2). Wynne, for example, calls the
epistemological standpoint recognizing the inseparable quality of culture and nature constructivist realism. This insight has significant consequences for the distinction between lay knowledge and scientific knowledge or lay and expert risk-perception and -taking. From a constructivism viewpoint, there is no epistemological superiority between these different knowledge systems. They are just different, and these differences in social production and reproduction are important in the context of risk-taking. However, the central assumption is that there is a relationship between modes of social organization and the responses to risk, and that culture are adequately represented by the dimensions of the grid/group scheme. Research on risk and culture can be divided into a quantitative standardized approach and a qualitative approach. The attempt of standardised studies on risk culture is to examine how people’s risk perception is culturally biased. It shows that only a minor part of variance of perceived risk can be explained by culture (e.g. Sjöberg 1997, 113; Brenot et al. 1998, 730).

Although, the central critique of the risk and culture approach concerns the reduction of social risk-perception to the categories of cultural bias used. Assumptions about risk perception are far more complex and dynamic than the categories of the culture of risk approach imply (Renn et al. 1992; Boholm 1996). The perspective of the socio-cultural approach to risk could be interpreted as a descendant of the cultural theory approach, relieved of the functionalist view in the work of Douglas/Wildavsky.

THE CULTURE - TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT LINKAGE

Debates in development theory have recently swung back to taking seriously the relationship of culture to territory development. Placing culture at the heart of development policy constitutes an essential investment in the world’s future and a precondition to successful globalization processes that take into account the principles of cultural diversity, especially in the face of manifest failures of conventional approaches to economic growth and social transformation. The concept of culture itself is undergoing critical examination, and when cultural studies has emerged as a major challenge to anthropology’s self-defined specialisation in the social-scientific analysis of culture. Few attempts have been made, however, to relate cultural studies and development studies, despite the fact that the relatively recent ‘cultural turn’ in the social sciences has derived largely from the currently fashionable status of cultural studies and its multidisciplinary nature.

How Culture Contributes to Development

Source: Stlucianewsonline

---

In the last year, a very important debate about culture and his role to development has been installed with increasing force, from different areas of development and also from different multilateral organizations and national governments with an impact on the subject. In spite of, Culture and Development had argued along similar lines that cultural diversity is not simply an asset to be preserved but a resource to be promoted, with particular regard to its potential benefits, including in areas relatively distant from culture in the strict sense. Development is not synonymous with economic growth alone. It is a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence. As such, development is inseparable from culture. Strengthening the contribution of culture to sustainable development is a goal that was launched in connection with the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1998). In this regard, the major challenge is to convince political decision-makers and local, national and international social actors to integrating the principles of cultural diversity and the values of cultural pluralism into all public policies, mechanisms and practices, particularly through public/private partnerships.

**THE CULTURE - TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT LINKAGE : BENCHMARKING**

Four different dimensions were explored to explain the diversity of successful experiences observed throughout Europe.

These four axes of analysis allow an understanding of the ‘territory milieu cultural creativity’ triangle, in terms of all the diversity of situations implicit in the different case studies observed, in each of the following four dimensions of analysis: .

Axis I) The cultural conditions: some experiences were based on the abundance of indigenous supply, others on the scarcity of indigenous supply, and still others on the presence of intercultural influences .

Axis II) The territorial conditions: some experiences relied on agglomeration and concentration, others on high levels of networking, and still others benefited from marginalization and closure .

Axis III) The ‘genetic’ characteristics of the initiative: some cases demonstrated creativity as a set of emergence phenomena, while in other cases it was the presence of specific ‘creativity-relevant’ policies, and in still others it resulted from specific cultural motivations .

Axis IV) Their effects: some of the experiences reveal cultural wealth, others worked as key elements in local development, and yet others essentially enhanced territorial resources.

**THE CULTURE - TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOROCCO : THE DEBATE OF TERRITORY DEVELOPMENT MODELS**

Morocco has implemented since 2015, the “advanced regionalisation” reform, which gives the elected regions greater competences in terms of economic development and additional financial and human resources. The regions become major partners of the government for territorial development and attractiveness at the national and international levels. This reform, which aims to bring public decision closer to local realities, has raised many expectations in a country where social and territorial disparities are important issues. Coordination and implementation of public decisions need to be improved, in spite of, Evolution in policies to territorial development reflects an ambitious strategic focus on territorial development......yet they do not seem to have been accompanied by implementation mechanisms to support the institutions in charge of delivery and to evaluate impact.

However, Morocco has implemented different approaches and policies to territorial development, Morocco is a country rich in history, tradition and culture most of which is tied to it’s official religion of Islam. The Berbers are believed to be the original inhabitants around 8000 BC, and still make up a large part of the population today. Since then it has been settled, colonized and reclaimed by several different nations including the Phoenicians during the Roman Empire, the flourish of Islam under Idrisid Empire, the Alouite Dynasty, and French and Spanish protectorate lasting until 1956 when Morocco gained its independence from France. Many of the customs, laws, and practices within Islam widely influence the people and the culture of Morocco today.
The culture of Morocco reflects the Berber and Arab influences represented by its population. The majority of Morocco’s population identifies as Berber and Arab. At least a third of the population speaks an Amazigh language. Following the Islamic conquests, Arab tribes came to Morocco and settled in the low regions, such as Tadla and Doukkala. For example, there are groups called Charkawa and Arbawa who settled in Morocco from Arabia. The Charkawa claimed to be descended from Umar ibn Al-Khattab, the second caliph of Islam. In general, Moroccan culture can be an exciting and worldly experience. The people are friendly and the place is colorful.

Hospitality is really a part of their culture so you can strike up friendships virtually anywhere if you have the right attitude. Usually this results in further association with these dynamic and interesting people and a real taste of Moroccan life.

Territorial Development Models

the models of territory development have changed based on political, economic, and social needs. The earliest development models were developed using several assumptions:

Modernization Model

This model is focused on change through economic growth. It is the basic model outlined above in the background information on the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Material progress through industrialization, market expansion, and technological innovation are key components as is a democratic political system with consolidated power vested in the state. Material progress would result in better lives for the citizenry even if the environment and society suffered.

Growth-Oriented territory Development Model

Drawing on the modernization model and Rostow’s stages of growth theory, the growth-oriented development model proposes that a trickle-down effect will occur when there is investment in economic growth. As wealth increases for those investing in economic growth, some of the wealth will make its way down to those less well off thereby positively impacting human welfare.

Human territory Development Model

In this model, the focus is on investment in human welfare, better education, health care, security, and safety, with the belief that it will lead to economic growth (Miller 2011).
Sustainable territory Development Model

Probably the most recent development model, sustainable development focuses on the conservation of non-renewable resources and, in some cases, survival of indigenous peoples. This model also proposes investment in development projects that are financially sustainable over time.

Indigenous territory Development Model

Indigenous development models draw on local cultural practices to promote realistic change and not overinnovation.

THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON RISK MANAGEMENT DISCLOSURES

To sum up the above definitions, culture can be described as the collection of values, beliefs, behaviours, customs and attitudes that distinguish a society. Culture is a construct that means it is not directly accessible to observation but inferable from verbal statements and other behaviours and useful in predicting still other observable and measurable verbal and nonverbal behaviour. Culture has both a normative (inter-subjective) and a behavioural (objective) component. A society’s culture provides its members with solutions to problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Herskovits19; Downs20; Hofstede21). Culture can be studied at different levels22:

- international (East v West)
- national culture (Chinese culture)
- regional culture or subculture

Over the past 30 years, researchers have attempted to develop a composite picture of culture by studying the differences among cultural values. Various researchers have tried to classify values. Hofstede, one of the most famous researchers in the field of culture, designed studies to measure constructs such as beliefs, attitudes, and personality to infer values. Hofstede has tried to quantify the values of different countries using scores for different characteristics. He carried out a large research project between 1967 and 1973, the IBM study, across 50 countries, as well as a series of follow-up studies on other samples. Many empirical studies that were based on Hofstede’s (1980) evidence take culture to be a static variable and, therefore, quite stable within a given context.

It should address methodically all the risks surrounding the organisation’s activities for the past, the present and in particular, the future, that is, in a proactive way. Risk management should foresee any possible exposure to risk. For risk

---

19 Herskovits, M. J. (1955), Cultural anthropology, Knopf, N.Y.
22Hofstede, G.H. (2001), Culture’s consequences: comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organisations across nations, Sage Publications.
management to be effective, it must be integrated into the culture of the organisation with an effective policy and a proper structure or framework.

REFERENCES