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Introduction

- ¹ Since the award in 2009 of the Nobel Prize for Economics to Elinor Ostrom¹, interest in commons / commoning has increased rapidly, in particular in the field of law and the humanities and social sciences in French-speaking countries (Fofack and Morère, 2016 ; Perez, 2020). The notion of commons, with often ill-defined contours, is increasingly widely used to (re)formulate or (re)interpret a certain number of issues involving different types of territory² at various scales. The polysemy of this term and its widespread use have given rise to the publication of a dictionary of common property (Cornu *et al.*, 2017), the aim of which is to explore the diversity of this notion. For Gaël Giraud (2020), the commons are “resources, symbolic or material, that a community chooses to administer by attributing to it rules which are themselves subject to deliberation. What defines commoning is thus not the nature of the resource, but the political action of a collective which entrusts to the continual discernment of the community its own *modus operandi* in the protection and promotion of what it holds dear”. Thus, no more than for the other categories of property (private, public, club), there are no commons *per se*. In other words, the institutions that we construct are determinant for the defence of the commons, which are defined by “1) institutions or rules; 2) a community that takes the political decision to promote them and to uphold them; 3) a resource (material or not)” (Giraud, 2018). Following several other authors (Dardot et Laval, 2014 ; Helfrich et Bollier, 2017 ; Allaire, 2019, etc.), we consider the commons as above all an adaptive institutional construct, in constant evolution in order to avoid disappearing “tragically” (Hardin, 1968 ; Rose, 2020).

- 2 In the present article, we propose a case study which highlights the constructivist character of the commons, and its ongoing reconfiguration over time. By presenting an example of a mountain commons in perpetual adaptation, and an innovative form of collective action at the scale of a village, our aim is to investigate the commons as a continuous process rather than as immanent property. Then, by considering the commons as a social activity in movement, as a verb of action rather than as a noun, we can tackle the question of hybridisations which lead to a persistence of the collective action in mountain areas.
- 3 The territory of the Aït Oucheg³ has been chosen to analyse this continuous mutation of the commons. After providing some details regarding the context and describing the methodology adopted, we shall present two illustrations⁴ which show the evolutionary character of the commons at different socio-territorial scales. We shall first analyse the mutations of a traditional pasture area shared by various communities of right-holders (*ayants droit*) and the conflicts of usage which disrupt the collective structure of this pastoral high plateau, leading to new forms of multi-institutional collective organisation. Then, we shall examine the collective dynamic that underpins the very active role of the local village development association. This association is behind the technical and institutional innovations favourable for the rehabilitation of the commons in a form updated and adapted to the current context. Before concluding, we shall discuss, on the basis of the previous examples, the evolutive dynamic of the 'commoning' of these mountain societies.

Context and methodology of the study

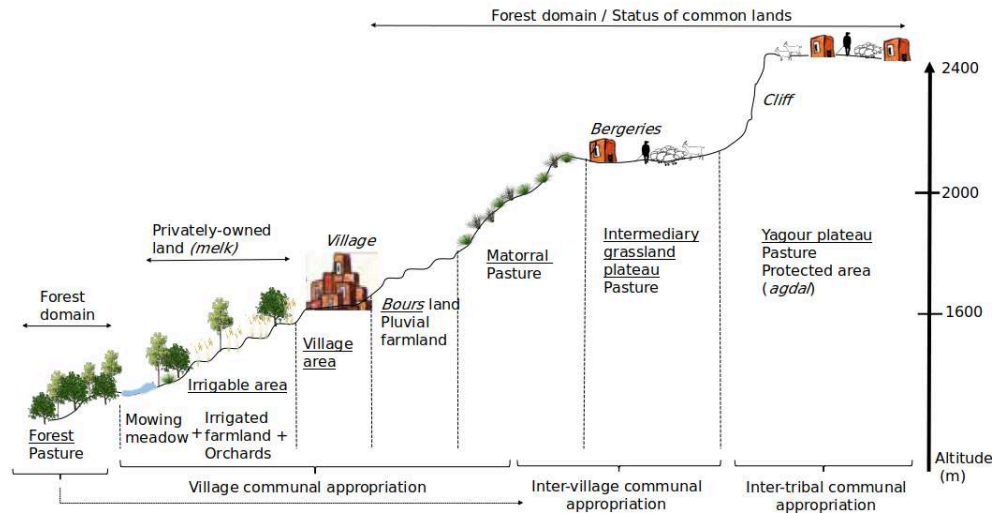
The Aït Oucheg: a territory in full mutation.

- 4 The tribe of the Aït Oucheg occupies an agro-pastoral territory on the northern slopes of the High Atlas. Its agro-pastoral economy, which has always been centred on the city of Marrakesh, has undergone major disturbances under the impact of tourism, the spread of urban development and the mobility of people and goods. The farming families now try to benefit from the job opportunities offered by tourism, salaried employment in the valley and migration⁵ to the southern provinces which have seen strong urban growth.
- 5 In an environment that is in full mutation, the commons referred to as 'traditional'⁶ continue to exist despite the progressive abandoning of livestock farming and a diminished dependence of the Aït Oucheg on income from agriculture. Apart from the privately owned farmland (*melk*) or registered land (positive law), the resources – water, grazing lands – are governed by various operational collective decision-making bodies. Each of these commons, whether state-owned (water, forest), registered under the status of collective land (Aderghal and Romagny, 2017) for the grazing land, or private property (fruit trees), is a source of particular forms of collective organisation. We will not go into the issue of the more or less clear boundaries between the different forms of land status in Morocco (Chiche, 1997 ; Bouderbala, 1999), but rather focus on the modes of community appropriation which highlight the different levels of inter-relation between the social structures.

The collective resources of the Aït Oucheg are distributed over an altitudinal gradient

which gives the territory a configuration in stages: a high plateau of pasture, the Yagour, dominates a flank with a slope that levels out towards the bottom, where are located the dwellings and irrigated farmland (cf. figure 1).

Figure 1: Cross-section NE-NW of the territory



Realization : Bonnin, 2017 (sketches by Chauvin, 2007 for bergeries and villages).

Methodology and conceptual framework of the study

- 6 First of all, given the lexical richness of research on commons (Cornu *et al*, 2017), a survey of the terms used is required. Gilles Allaire (2019) made a distinction, which we shall adopt, between 'commons' as an institutional complex and operative rules, and 'common property' in the sense of ideals, goals, fundamental rights necessary to society or to humanity (moral dimension of commons).
- 7 The survey protocol adopted in the field involved three phases in an iterative approach, including 102 semi-structured interviews. The first, involving observation of the landscapes, aimed to identify the resources and their uses within the village. The aim of the second, depending on cartographical relevés and interviews of right-holders, was to produce a detailed description of the mountain commons. To that end, various observational⁷ pathways were followed to accompany the shepherds in the matorral in order to record how the landscapes were perceived and the landscapes experienced by them. Finally, the third phase, depending on participative observation and interviews with the various actors (tourists, village leaders, etc.), focused on the analysis of tourism activities, collective development projects and the functioning of the association of Tizi n'Oucheg (Bonnin, 2017).
- 8 At conceptual level and in relation with the field approach, we based our study on the various 'entry points' identified by the Technical Committee "*Foncier et développement*" (land and development) to characterise the commons "constructed around the land and the resources it produces" in a given situation. It concerns 'entry points' via: the resources, the appropriation regimes, the ecosystem, the communities, the governance and the practices. These entry points can be dealt with in any order, and each of them offers a particular insight into the commons and provides a basis for a transdisciplinary approach for this object "the comprehension of which does not

derive exclusively from any discipline” (CTFD, 2017). Thus, the phase of the observation of the landscapes enabled a first approach of the commons via the entry points of resources and ecosystems. Entry via the landscape made it possible to resituate humans in their environment and to develop an approach for the commons by analysis of the relation to the resources and the ecosystems on which they are based.

- 9 In a second stage, we have focused on the analysis of the various modes of appropriation (Weber et Revéret, 2013) of the resources which has enabled us to study the perceptions, the usages, the modes of access and control, those of the transfer of resources and of the fruits derived from their exploitation, etc. Finally, entry via the communities has enabled us to introduce the institutional dimension of the commons before addressing the various modes of governance. By analysing the commons, not as fixed rules but on a dynamic basis, as institutionalising practices, we have been able to align with Allaire (2019) with regard to the fact that the commons are not “atemporal property” but “dynamics sensitive to the context”. Thus an approach “in terms of transactions rather than property [...] is better able to offer a framework for the analysis of the institutionalisation of the commons” (*ibid*).
- 10 In this study, we have also made use of the analytical grid proposed by Elinor Ostrom (1990) who identified eight design principles which seemed to her to represent the institutional irregularities of the commons studied. These principles are the following (Giraud, 2020): “1) The boundaries must be clearly defined, both around the resources and around the community itself (who has the right to harvest the resources ?) ; 2) There must be consistency between the rules of appropriation and the local conditions for the renewal of the resource; 3) The rules of management of the resource should be decided on and amended collectively; 4) The harvesting of the resources should be carried out under the responsibility of outside supervisors, themselves answerable to the members of the community; 5) In the event of non-respect of one of the rules of management, sanctions should be applied in a graduated manner; 6) The mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts should be inexpensive and local, and easily accessible; 7) The institutions governing the uses of common resources should be solely under the control of the communities concerned, any outside authority (including the State) being secondary; 8) All activities (appropriation, conflict resolution, governance, etc.) should be organised in different sub-strata”. The idea is not to slavishly follow this grid to validate or not a space-resource as commons, by ticking one by one the various criteria for the success of the collective action, but rather to use them as an appropriate means to describe the functioning of a socio-territorial space. As we have already pointed out, we understand the notion of commons as a whole, as the expression of the practices of the commoners to 'commonise'. Elinor Ostrom was herself astonished by the dogmatic utilisation of certain of her works, and in particular those on the 'design principles' (Perez, 2020). We are aware of the methodological and theoretical difficulties raised by certain works of the school of Bloomington, and of their interpretations related to the guarantees of orthodoxy that Elinor Ostrom had herself to provide to achieve recognition among the academic community of mainstream economists (Baron *et al.*, 2011). Elinor Ostrom believed in the potential for continual improvement of research on the commons, at various scales, through exchanges and mutual enrichment between different currents of thought. Thus certain authors proposed an agenda for research post-Ostrom: “..rather than adding more variables, progress requires a cleaner, more consistent approach to selecting, defining and measuring institutional elements; stronger links between theory and empirical

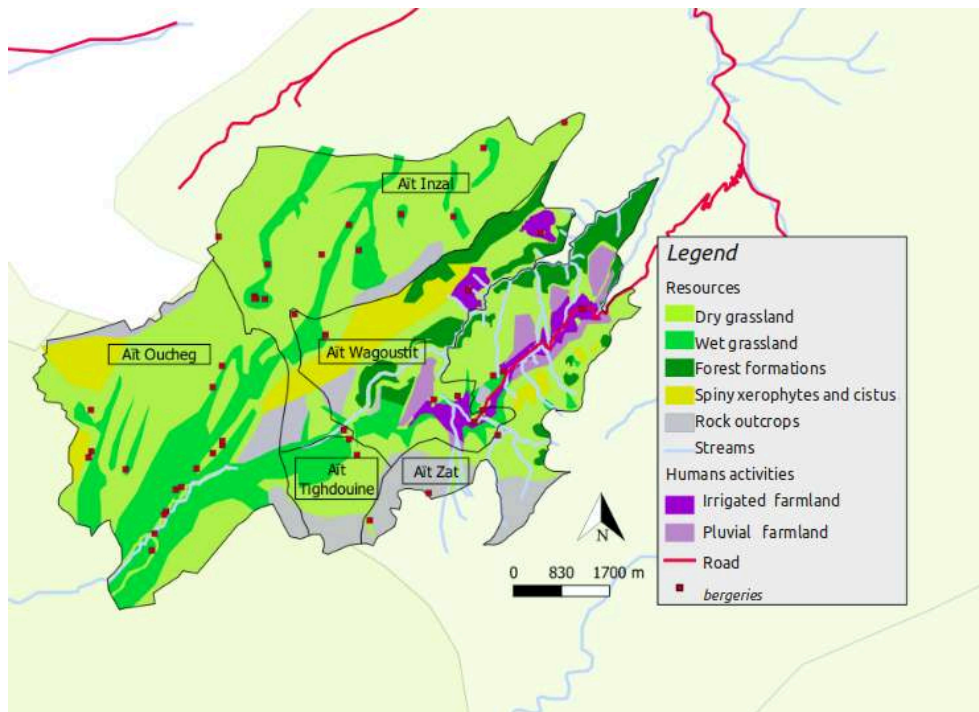
research; a greater focus on mechanisms and causality; and the development and application of new methods, including quantitative approaches” (Cumming *et al.*, 2020).

Mutations of traditional commons

The *agdal* of Yagour: a text-book case of communal management

- 11 Situated between 2 400 and 2 700 m altitude, with a surface area of around 70 km², the high plateau of Yagour is a pasture area used by fifty or so villages and appropriated by five subtribes of the Mesfioua tribe, including the Aït Oucheg (cf. figure 2). It falls within a territorial system of seasonal transhumant livestock farming by stages. Each year, access to the collective pastures is prohibited from the end of March to mid-July. This seasonal protection, alternating periods of closure and periods of opening, and permitting the continuity of the ecosystems and the pastoral activity, is referred to as *agdal* (Auclair and Romagny, 2017).

Figure 2: Map of resources at Yagour and division by subtribes



Réalisation: Drawn by Bonnin (2017) from SIG database of Sellier (2004), QGIS 2.18.2 system WGS 84.

- 12 The *agdal* contributes significantly to the reproduction of pastoral resources, and also to the social reproduction of the communities. The governance of the Yagour plateau was constructed at several levels by introducing: (i) boundaries recognised by the different right-holders, (ii) rules of usage consistent with the local socio-ecological context, (iii) well run areas of customary collective choice, (iv) a system of self-supervision, (v) a graduated system of sanctions that is sufficiently dissuasive, (vi) conflict resolution mechanisms.

- 13 The community is represented by an assembly (*jmâa*) which is governed by customary law and is the guarantor of the regulation of access to the common resources (pastures and water) as well as the social affairs of the community (religious matters, drinking water, land ownership). These resources are subject to a spectrum of rights (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992): right of access, of harvesting, of management, of exclusion, but not of cession or sale (right of alienation).

Institutional pluralism and future perspectives of the *agdal* of Yagour

- 14 Since the Decree of 1919⁸, this communal management of the territory has been under the authority of the State. The transition in land status of the Yagour between the pre-colonial period and today has had the effect of progressively transferring the panoply of rights between the customary institutions of the State, which means for the *jmâa* the loss of certain of its prerogatives. In accordance with the policy of 'detrribalisation', at the time of the Protectorate the State replaced the Mesfioua tribe in the possession of the right of *abusus*, as well as the *jmâa* for the resolution of certain conflicts (e.g. : refusal to pay fines to the *jmâa* for non-respect of the *agdal*).

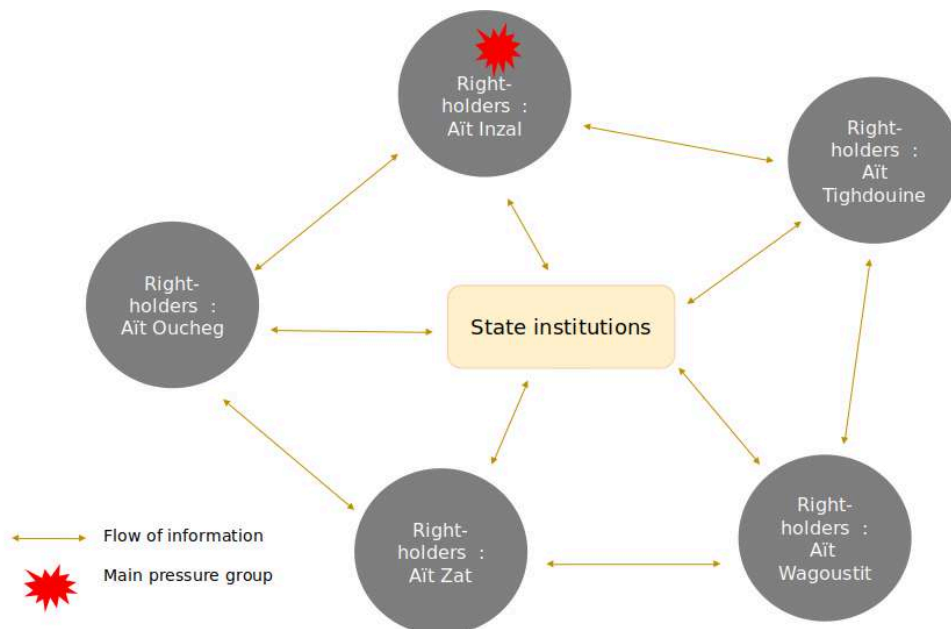
Table 1: Changes in land control at Yagour

Socio-territorial entities	Non-differentiated control : access	Priority control : harvesting	Specialised control : management	Exclusive control : exclusion	Absolute control : alienation
State	Free access (in all periods) : Everyone (e.g. foreigners for tourism)				Yagour plateau (after Protectorate)
Subtribes		Yagour plateau (after 2016-2017 conflict)	Yagour plateau (after Protectorate)	Yagour plateau (before Protectorate 1912)	
Village					
Household		Yagour plateau (in all periods)			

Realization: Bonnin 2017 (from Le Roy, 2000).

- 15 In a context of strong climatic fluctuation (Debray, 2015), the calendar of access to the pastures has been adapted. The date of opening may be renegotiated in a dry year, when demand for forage from livestock farmers in the spring is high (Auclair *et al.*, 2013). So far, despite a conflictual situation, compromises had been found. But in spring 2016, following a long drought, certain villages demanded the suspension of the application of protection. Two sides were then constituted: on one side the 'pro-*agdal*'⁹ who wished to maintain the period of closure, on the other the 'rational egoists' or 'free riders' who decided to overlook the collective interest so as to preserve their flocks. The State authorities remained neutral, although they were solicited. The absence of protective measures and the drought led to the rapid depletion of forage stocks on the plateau, causing a severe decline of the flocks. To avoid progressing towards a 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin, 1968), at the initiative of an inter-subtribe *jmâa*, representatives of each group in 2017 appealed to the State authorities with the aim of formalising a contract establishing fixed dates and in which the signatories attest the respect of the rules by all the right-holders that they represent.

Figure 3: Schema representing multi-institutionalism in the negotiation of the Yagour agdal



Réalisation: From Elouarti, (in progress)

- 16 The future of the traditional commons of the Yagour plateau is today more conditioned by the development of tourism activities which have introduced new actors and new issues (Elouarti, in progress). Hitherto marginalised with regard to the hotspots of mountain tourism, the stakeholder communities of the Yagour see this perspective as an opportunity. With its mountain landscapes shaped by pastoral activity dating back thousands of years, the Yagour is becoming increasingly well-known in the world of mountain hiking (*ibid*). Two competing forms of business activity have developed: a local offer (accommodation, visits to sites with rock carvings, etc.) with a direct impact on the territory, and exogenous tourism, run by agencies in Marrakesh, without any involvement of the local population and little in the way of local economic spin-offs (Bellaoui, 1996). In 2016 a tourism development programme was launched (Boujrouf *et al.*, 2019) which plans the construction of a road from the Ourika valley to the Zat valley. Although the work has not yet begun, it has already brought changes. Certain local inhabitants have begun to construct enclosures so as to be able to claim rights in due course, and to transform their *bergeries* into tourist accommodation. These transformations are still tolerated in as much as they do not impact the grazing rights. It is thus legitimate to wonder about the reaction of the *jmâa* in the face of the risk of possible 'privatisation' of the land or of the sources of water by outside actors. We note too that another form of dispossession is in progress, impacting the material and non-material elements of the patrimony of Yagour.
- 17 Civil society (researchers, associations and tourism stakeholders) increasingly deploys approaches targeting the patrimony (inventories of rock carvings, exhibitions, school visits, etc.) and some aim to have Yagour listed as a national heritage site or under a UNESCO label (Boujrouf *et al.*, 2019). Despite their wish to preserve and valorise their territory, these 'heritage brokers' are playing a role in a shift from a traditional commons to a new collective property, from which the local communities are at risk of being excluded in favour of a multitude of new actors whose interests may converge or diverge. As in the case of the Basque mountains at Soules, "the key question is then to

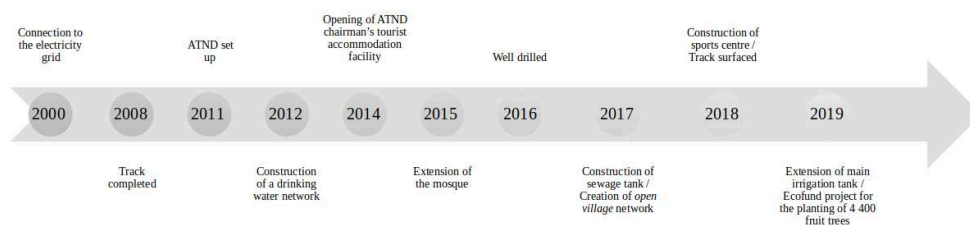
know how the communal high mountain pastures (*estives*) can survive, when the traditional pastoral usages are in decline” (Bagdassarian *et al.*, 2019). The interest focused on the material and non-material dimensions offers a way “to take note on one hand of the management of a high mountain commons in a context of changes in the usages and on the other hand of the stability and fragility of a mode of functioning which connects the collective and the private interests of the right-holders” (*ibid*). With tourism, an inversion of the relationships may already be noted: the shepherds who used to live on their pastoral resources are becoming in turn a 'resource' appropriated by the tourism stakeholders. In wondering what place this traditional common property might occupy in a multi-usage multi-stakeholder territory pursuing “contradictory goals based on a systemic complex dynamic”, we are echoing the “ambivalence of the commons” emphasised by Allaire (2019). This ambivalence highlights the challenge the Yagour will have to face: continuing to exist in a scenario of 'commoning', to avoid becoming a living witness of the existence of traditional commons.

Development association and new form of rehabilitation of the commons

Associative dynamic at Tizi n'Oucheg

- 18 In the years 2000, the number of associations grew exponentially¹⁰ and their profile became more diverse¹¹ (Charfi, 2009). The Tizi n'Oucheg Association was set up in 2011 by a local elite proposing projects, often pioneering for that region, in the field of education, health, access to drinking water and the management of sewage.

Figure 4: Chronological schema of the main projects of the ATND



Realization: Bonnin 2017

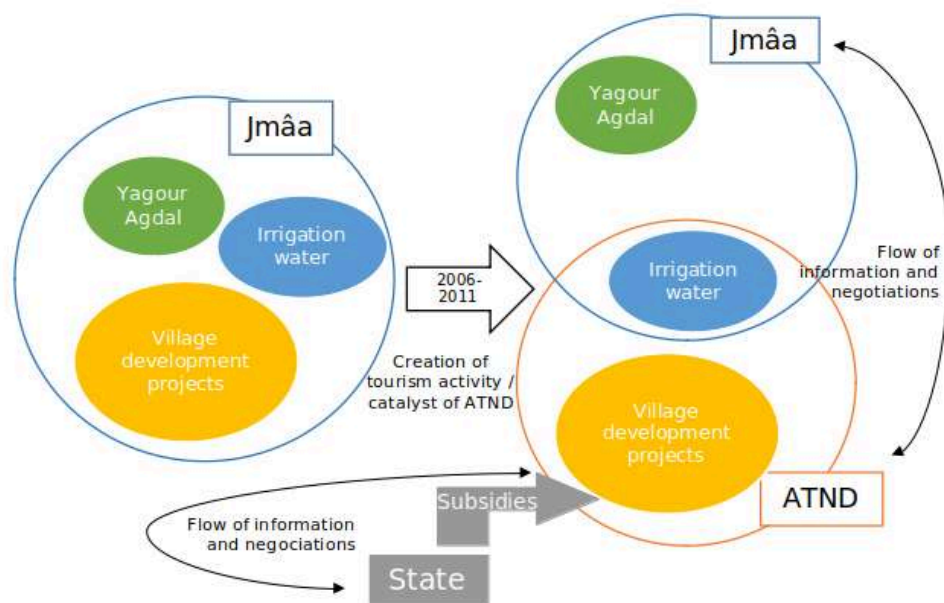
- 19 To judge from the press, “The success of Tizi n'Oucheg is solely the result of the courage of one man, the chairman of its development association”¹². This charismatic personality plays a key role in the life of the community. His important role in tourism development and his networking skills that enabled him to attract funding for projects of collective interest have made him a real “development broker”, in the sense intended by Olivier De Sardan (1995).
- 20 At first sight, we can observe that the development projects give an attractive image of the territory, and tourism enables the Association to have access to new sources of funding while bolstering the integration of the tourist accommodation facility in national and international networks. By word of mouth, the tourists bring other tourists, and also potential sources of funding or agents of development. A new form of

tourism offering a perfect illustration of this two-fold interest has made its appearance in the village with the arrival of “eco-friendly” tourists (Bonnin, 2017).

Transfer of the arenas of collective choice and action

- 21 The successful realisation of all these projects is the result of the dynamism of the Association, which without seeking to replace the *jmâa* or the State, has been able to negotiate its role by including them, each according to its function, in the decision-making process.

Figure 5: Schema of the transfer of the arenas of collective choice



Realization: Bonnin, 2017.

- 22 Let us bear in mind that these social areas of negotiation are places where the power issues between village leaders are high-stakes and may generate power struggles - hierarchical, status-related, lineage-based, and so on. Yet the actors playing an active role in the ATND office and involved in the development projects come from leading families that are already well-established in the *jmâa*. We could summarise this by saying that the Association is based on three main pillars. The Chairman, as we have seen, plays the role of intermediary with the outside world bringing in development agents and funding via the tie-up with tourism. Furthermore, he comes from a family of *chorfa* (saints), which confers on him an advantageous social capital in the management of the Association. The vice-chairman, son of the elected delegate for the district, manages the ATND's relations with other institutions: customary institutions and the rural district. Finally, the third pillar that we define as 'the driving force' has the power to mobilise the village work force to carry out the various projects (Bonnin, 2017). These three pillars that intimately bind the traditional customary institution and the association also underpin the legitimacy of the ATND.

Table 2 : Main differences between the *jmâa* and the ATND

	Jmâa	ATND
<i>Participants/members</i>	Village community	Village community + outside partners
<i>Beneficiaries</i>	Community	Community + tourists
<i>Representatives</i>	Villages leaders (heads of family) + district elected delegate	Association office (elite of young intellectuals)
<i>Political influence</i>	Strong via the elected district delegate	Politically neutral
<i>Possession of power of decision</i>	Village leaders	Triptych: Chairman, + vice-chairman + the "driving force"

Realization: Bonnin, 2017.

- 23 This double presence of members of the ATND in the customary bodies and in the association has enabled them to play a role in several arenas. At the same time, the ATND has made possible the extension of the field of collective action and that of the commons from traditional areas of production towards new areas redeveloped for educational and recreational purposes.

Discussion: dynamic of mutation and creation of commons

- 24 On the basis of these examples we have studied, we wish to insist on the capacity for change of these commons at different scales. We have developed this constructivist character first at regional scale (Yagour), to end at village scale (ATND). Thus, as we have been able to observe at different social and also geographical scales, the adaptation of collective practices to a shifting context suggests responsibilities and reciprocities via "co-obligations", to adopt the terms of Dardot and Laval (2014).
- 25 By envisaging the Yagour as a shared activity, and not simply as a resource to be extracted - or even depleted through mining - an extension of the traditional commons of quasi-exclusively pastoral usage towards a commons expanded to include a disparate ensemble of actors is a challenge for the current and future right-holders. The difficulty will be to construct a balanced and equitable arena for dialogue between the various actors in the light of the new usages. With the *jmâa* in a weakened situation, it might be wondered whether the role of powerful and unifying local actor might not be attributed to the association if it is the leader of a territorial project, going beyond the clannish divisions and electoral stakes. Between a privatisation of the territory and the transition to a 'common heritage of humanity' where the local populations would be not one component but a stakeholder, it seems a fine line. Efforts should therefore be

oriented towards the co-construction of the future of the plateau as multi-sector commons.

- 26 If it is admitted that the ATND is in the process of taking over the role of the *jmâa*, what are we to make of its achievements at local level? Apparently, the Association is not only intent on 'modernising' traditional commons, it is investing in other projects that also incorporate principles of collective action: the planting of fruit trees¹³ on collective land with a view to organising the producers into a cooperative, the community management of certain public places, school, dispensary, and also household refuse. It is at this level that we may think about the emergence of new commons in the course of initiatives which are fuelled by past and present experiences. Our analyses lead us to think that it is more a matter of creating a new configuration of arenas of collective choice than of multiple creations of commons¹⁴. But we note that the collective action undertaken by the Association is far from being inclusive of all the components of the local society, and that its interest in the management of the Yagour *aqdal* is not among its priorities. This leads us to reflect on the possibility for the Association of asserting itself as a sufficiently powerful actor to manage the frictions in a territory such as the Yagour.
- 27 The practice of taking turns (*tawala*), a kind of *habitus* of the mountain populations, reappropriated by the ATND, is particularly illustrative of the reutilisation of traditional practices in this new associative governance. The *tawala*, deployed in the management of natural resources (water and pastures), is also found applied in several aspects of life in the local population: the sharing of household tasks when several women live in the same house, the allocating of tasks taking into account the comings and goings of migrants between the Sahara and the village, the practice of taking turns by the drivers responsible for provisioning the villages in food supplies or transporting tourists. Collective action would appear to be the rule. Individual interests can only be satisfied by means of a compromise since there is a strong dependence on collective discipline, also consecrated by the Association. Often, in the ATND, each one in turn will have a task to perform for the whole group. This taking of turns is a way to ensure that everyone works. Sanctions are applied if “the volunteer designate” is not present on the day of his task without a valid excuse: the miscreant will have to pay a fine equivalent to one day of salaried work at the ATND. As well as the transfer of responsibility and powers of decision from the traditional to the associative, the re-use of this *habitus* by the ATND enables it to gain confidence by being in conformity with a community practice which ensures that it is rooted in the local culture. These innovations demonstrate the remodelling of ancient socio-territorial tribal structures by the local actors, in order to create new modern territorial structures meeting the new requirements (Boujrouf, 2005). At once rule and practice, the *tawala* is seen to be a “norm favouring collective action” (Weinstein, 2012) or “attribute of the society” (Ostrom, 1990), contributing to the rehabilitation of the commons within a mountain territory.

Conclusion

- 28 With reference to the English terms *commoning* and *commoners*, we must “perceive the commons, not as resources or as static things, but as fluid social activities, in the process of change, which occur in shared territories” (Helfrich and Bollier, 2017). In

terms of the management of a pastoral area with a patrimonial dimension, or within village development projects, the perpetuation of the commons now depends on the inter-relation between several arenas: customary institutions, state and/or associative institutions.

- 29 One of the specificities of Tizi n'Oucheg is its emblematic character. The village and its actors are often presented as a text-book case study of the dynamism of the associative movement in Morocco, founded on the self-organisational capacities of the local populations associated with the boom in alternative tourism activities.
- 30 The collective dynamics engaged at Tizi n'Oucheg are not generalisable to other enclave villages in Morocco. As we have shown, they are based on a singular context of key actors very well integrated locally. From our field observations and from the literature (Saaf, 2016), the local development associations in Morocco are often initiated by charismatic and unifying actors, often with a formative migratory background which they put to good use on their return to the village. In the neighbouring village of Zat, for example, another association (*Les Amis du Zat*) has also organised a number of collective projects of benefit to the local inhabitants, but without having the 'high profile' of Tizi n'Oucheg. Furthermore, the collective actions which work at the scale of a village are much more difficult to maintain when there is a change of territorial scale and thus of the level of political stakes and responsibilities.
- 31 Over the past decade, "the Moroccan associative rural elites have become the designated intermediaries for carrying out participative development projects. It would be tempting to propose the hypothesis of a reconversion and a reformatting of the rural elites, elected or non-elected, on the strength of their confrontation in the political arenas of development". It is thus that certain associative militants, members of leading families or having become development brokers, appear as outsiders in the local political arena, when opposed to local elected representatives who in contrast perfectly incarnate the insiders. Behind these associative projects "can be glimpsed a race towards communal notability between rural elites driven by contradictory logical premises" (Benidir, 2010).

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NOTES

1. The first woman to be awarded this prize, Elinor Ostrom shared it with Oliver Williamson for their work on economic governance in the neo-institutional economy.
2. See in particular the special edition of the journal *Espace et Société* 2018/4 (n° 75) entitled '*Biens communs et territoires*', or thematic dossier n° 10 (2008) of the journal *Développement Durable & Territoires* on the theme of '*Biens communs et propriété*', and volume 10 n° 1 (2019) dealing with (im)material commons.
3. This study was carried out in the course of the final study project undertaken in Morocco in 2017 by Charles Bonnin, ISTOM research engineer agronomist, financed by the programme *Med-Inn-Local* (ANR TRANSMED, 2013-2019, <https://medinnlocal.ird.fr/>) as part of the research activities of the *Laboratoire Mixte International (LMI) MediTer 'Terroirs Méditerranéens'*, <http://www.mediter.ird.fr/>
4. We do not propose to deal here with changes in the collective management of farmland water among the Aït Oucheg, which are described in detail in the final project thesis by Charles Bonnin (2017).
5. In the village of Tizi n'Oucheg, emigration has become a substantial source of revenue with 82 % of households having at least one migrant in 2017, compared to 72 % in 2001 (Bonnin, 2017)
6. The 'traditional' commons, described as land commons relative to tangibles/material resources, are sometimes in opposition to informational commons that concern non-material resources (Coriat, 2011). We do not feel it judicious to oppose these two dimensions, but rather to inter-relate the tangible and the intangible by including the knowledge, the tradition, the lived experience of the landscape, etc. This has been demonstrated by several articles on this subject in the journal *Développement Durable & Territoires* (<https://journals.openedition.org/developpementdurable/13098>). The commons that we describe here as 'traditional', historically constituted, evoke above all a heritage of knowledge and practices (non-material cultural heritage), thus calling into question this dichotomy between the material and non-material dimensions of the commons.
7. During the month of July 2017, for twelve days, Charles Bonnin also took part in the transhumance to the summer pastures of the Aït Oucheg. This was an opportunity to undertake interviews with the shepherds present on the Yagour plateau.
8. According to the Decree of 27 April 1919, the management of the communal lands is a prerogative of the *Direction des Affaires Rurales*.
9. Those described as 'pro-agdal' can also be driven by individual motives such as, for example, the preservation of the protection system at Yagour in order to increase their symbolic capital.
10. According to Fatema Mernissi (2003), there were 30 000 associations in Morocco in 1999. There may have been 130 000 in 2016 according to the figures of the Ministry of the Interior (<https://www.medias24.com/SOCIETE/162411-Le-Maroc-compte-130.000-associations-en-2016.html>).

11. There are at least three categories: the associations set up by a local elite (as in the case of Tizi n'Oucheg), those resulting from an initiative by public or private sector stakeholders, often foreigners, and finally those emerging directly from civil society.

12. The village of Tizi n'Oucheg and the chairman of its Association have been the subject of several articles in the Moroccan and international press. The headlines reflect the message transmitted: "Tizi n'Oucheg, a village which gets by on its own" (*Tel Quel*, n° 775, July-August 2017); "A Moroccan village takes control of its development" (*Géomètre*, monthly, January 2017); "Tizi n'Oucheg, a Moroccan village given its autonomy by the locals" (https://www.wedemain.fr/Tizi-n-Oucheg-un-village-marocain-rendu-autonome-par-ses-habitants_a1241.html). Tizi n'Oucheg has also been the backdrop for a documentary film, co-produced by the IRD (http://www.audiovisuel.ird.fr/index.php?id_doc=9843) entitled '*Berbère des cimes*' which highlights the ingenuity and the organisational skills of the local population in matters of water management.

13. Project for planting 4 400 trees, funded by Ecofund.

14. Concerning this new configuration of arenas for action, see the work of Charles Bonnin (2017) describing a form of testimony of the transition from the *jmâa* to the ATND: namely, the transfer of part of the governance of the agricultural water.

ABSTRACTS

Since the years 2000, Morocco has seen a strong associative dynamic, in both urban and rural areas. In marginalised rural territories (mountains, oases, steppe, etc.), this infatuation for the associative phenomenon is in phase with two major factors : the partial disengagement of the State and a tendency towards the breakdown of collective action. It is in this context a priori unfavourable for the emergence of practices related to commoning that we present an example of the mutation of a traditional commons, and an innovative form of collective action at the scale of a mountain village situated near Marrakesh. In both cases, we analyse the modes of reproduction of the practice of commoning. Irrespective of the nature of the commons studied, innovations at both the operational and institutional levels are essential in order to encourage the maintenance of the territorial commons. These innovations often result in hybrid forms of commons marked by institutional pluralism and changes of the actors involved, in a shifting socio-economic climatic context. The functioning of the local development association at Tizi n'Oucheg is a perfect illustration of this necessity to innovate for the rehabilitation of commons, which here involves the shifting of the arenas for collective choice from a customary institution towards an associative body.

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Keywords: commons, governance, hybridisation, local development association, resources

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