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Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/rga/2311>

DOI: 10.4000/rga.2311

ISSN: 1760-7426

This article is a translation of:

Ressources patrimoniales et développement des territoires touristiques dans le Haut Atlas et les
régions sud du Maroc - URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/rga/2259> []

Publisher:

Association pour la diffusion de la recherche alpine, UGA Éditions/Université Grenoble Alpes

Electronic reference

Saïd Boujrourf, "Heritage resources and the development of tourist areas in the High Atlas and
southern regions of Morocco", *Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine* [Online], 102-1 |
2014, Online since 13 June 2014, connection on 08 December 2022. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/rga/2311> ; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.2311>

This text was automatically generated on 8 December 2022.

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Heritage resources and the development of tourist areas in the High Atlas and southern regions of Morocco

Saïd Boujroutf

EDITOR'S NOTE

Translation: Henderson Traduction

- 1 The High Atlas and southern regions of Morocco are marginal parts of the country that are currently facing major challenges due to their low level of human and social development, and to the degradation of the natural environment (Antheaume & Giraut, 2002; Bellaoui, 1996; Leimbürger, 2004). Different policies and strategies have been implemented in order to improve living conditions for local people while preserving, as far as possible, the environment. In parallel, numerous local initiatives have been introduced, including projects to develop tourism in a way that respects, helps, and involves local people by adopting new approaches to the valorization and management of heritage resources.
- 2 In these areas, a process aimed at turning distinctive local resources into heritage objects has been triggered by the effects globalization is starting to have on Morocco. The exploitation of local resources has become an important challenge involving different actors and new ways of putting together projects. In these marginal areas, the standard, centralized, and top-down model of creating tourism activities that generate revenues is tending to evolve into a model based on decentralized profit and partnerships between the actors involved (Boujroutf, 2005).
- 3 This process is based on the concept of territorial resource, which can be latent (Gumuchian & Pecqueur, 2007). A territorial resource can be defined as “the result of a

strategy drawn up by a group of actors who cooperate to achieve the goal of gaining recognition for local particularities or specificities that they have appropriated and would like to valorize through a territory-based project” (Landel, 2013).

- 4 More specifically, Senil and Landel (2013) defined a heritage resource as “a tangible or intangible object that is chosen, revealed, and transmitted by a social group, and integrated into a project in order to ensure its durability. This underlines the project’s concordance with the territory’s, history”. It also reflects the capacity of actors, who are mostly local, to use their local knowledge and collective consciousness to promote their area’s cultural identity through the heritage economy. However, the valorization and promotion of heritage objects is not just the result of local collective actions, in many cases it is also due to the initiation of these processes by different actors working on different scales (government, local authorities, patronage, GOs, and foreign NGOs).
- 5 Building projects around the valorization of territorial heritage resources feeds the dynamics that are resulting in territorial, political, and institutional restructurings. However, these restructurings also raise the issue of how the components of this archipelago of development territories interconnect, both horizontally and vertically. The territorial resource at the center of the heritage production and territorial construction process has to confront challenges relating to human and social development. Directly or indirectly, this raises question of the nature of the relationship between social capital, spatial capital, and economic capital (Boujrouf, 2004; Boujrouf *et al.*, 2009).
- 6 Hence, the present article addresses the following questions: How are territorial resources being created in local efforts to develop tourism in the High Atlas? How do they contribute to the heritage production process occurring in these marginal areas? Will a territorial resource that is created or revealed have the ability to go beyond the sectorial and strictly local approach?

The resurrection of the rural mountain world via the transformation of territorial resources into heritage resources

- 7 The High Atlas Mountains and the southern regions of Morocco are moving away from an economy based mostly on agriculture and pastoralism to a new socio-spatial position in which their specific characteristics are integrated into a global framework. Local actors are launching new collective territorial projects in order to exploit these characteristics and the opportunities they present. Thus, in the course of local development, the emergence of new challenges and new attractive areas (Ben Arrous, 2006; Bellaoui, 1996) has helped accelerate the transformation of local societies and their systems of production and representation.
- 8 Most Moroccans from the plains or cities associate the country’s mountains with “dissidence” and see them as difficult areas to develop. Change has taken different forms, ranging from evolutions in the legal and regulatory framework to the development of specific sectors and the valorization of territory-specific resources. As a result, the mountains and surrounding areas are starting to be recognized as part of the nation’s heritage. However, the process of turning Morocco’s mountains into heritage objects has sense only as part of the development of economic sectors linked

(mostly) to the promotion of tourism in these mountain areas (Boujrouf, 2004) and the preservation of biodiversity via the creation of protected areas. In fact, tourism has modified the stereotypical image of the mountains by highlighting these areas' riches, encouraging the creation of tourist accommodation, attracting outside interest in developing tourism, and encouraging tourists to visit the most remote areas. All these elements are producing substantial socio-economic benefits for the areas concerned.

- 9 The concurrent evolution from public policy implemented mostly by a technocratic, sector-oriented administration to territorial policies involving new economic, associative, and political actors operating in remote areas has contributed to the emergence of new local development initiatives based on the territorial-project approach.
- 10 Local assets are exploited by mobilizing local skills related to local or regional history and forming a strong component of the local identity (Oiry, 2012). Such territorial heritage resources are increasingly becoming the focus of a range of collective territorial-development actions. The process of valorizing these resources by highlighting their specific qualities has led to the development of new economic sectors and new tourist circuits, and reinforced the sometimes consensual/sometimes conflictual transformation of these resources into heritage objects. The rural world is increasingly turning its resources, its landscapes (Chevallier, 2000), and its identities into heritage objects, as a way of developing tourism. Different actors are playing larger roles in the appropriation of these resources by using their traditional skills and by applying new promotional tools and new territorial marketing techniques that were rarely used in the past. Development projects based round local products such as argan oil, saffron, and roses are good examples of this (Romagny, 2010; Landel *et al.*, 2014), as are the efforts made to valorize folk practices such as agdals (Auclair & Alifiqui, 2013).
- 11 These valorization and heritage production trends first began in the rich, central areas of Morocco and were based on competitive economic systems. In these cases, destinations developed “paniers de biens” (literally, “baskets of goods”) consisting of well-known, reasonable-quality, and competitively priced generic heritage products (riads, the atmosphere of the souks and medinas, craft products), which were coupled with generic beach tourism. In contrast, it is much harder for under-developed, marginal areas to produce competitively priced services and products offering good value for money. In order to make a place in the tourism market, but without entering the niche market of elitist ecotourism, these areas began to integrate into their offers the dimensions of environmental sustainability and local specificities. Thus, as a way of gaining a larger presence in the mass-tourism market, currently concentrated in cities such as Marrakesh, marginal areas began showcasing the things they hold most dear (Senil, 2011). In addition, this strategy of promoting the specificity of their products and the distinctive characteristics of their territories and societies is reinforcing the process of heritage production.
- 12 Even though the value system that uses such heritage-production processes to help develop these areas tries to reduce the clash between modernity and tradition by stressing points of contact between the two, modernity continues to be seen as a major factor of cultural, social, and political otherness. For some it is the “good that brings evil”; for others it is “the evil that brings good”. Moreover, throughout the High Atlas and Southern Morocco, tradition continues to be seen as a retarding factor, even if it is a “necessary good or evil” for the development of these regions. This reveals the

potential contradictions between the social and economic necessity, including with respect to tourism, for improvements in basic infrastructure and services, such as access to electricity, education, and the valorization of local culture, which is associated with marginalization and the traditional living environment.

- 13 So, how can the modernity-tradition pairing be reconciled while promoting local specificities, now seen as being both part of tradition and compatible with sustainable development? What instruments of modernity can be used in this process?
- 14 The new issues raised by this resurrection of the rural world in the Atlas Mountains and oasis regions of Morocco has led to the emergence of a mobilization and restructuring process, as well as territorial effects aimed at interconnecting the traditional food-crop economy with an open “little economy” oriented by the following key factors:
 - Globalization investment projects by surrounding cities, especially Marrakesh, Agadir, Essaouira, and Ouarzazate;
 - Investments in the social economy supported by contributions from national and international donors/lenders;
 - Money from emigrants injected into real estate, the tourism sector, and the services needed for local development;
 - The choice of a form of tourism in which the mountains and the oases play a secondary but not marginal role because they are constituent elements in the Morocco “product” and its diversity.

Towards the integration of local heritage resources into territorial tourism projects

- 15 From the 1960s to the 1980s, most projects to create tourism activities and facilities in Morocco were run by the public authorities. Although there was a certain amount of private investment in tourism, private investors were not interested in developing projects in marginal areas, which were considered unpromising areas and as having insufficient critical mass for investment to be profitable. During this period, the tourism industry, or more exactly investors, were interested only in getting the best return for their money. Hence, they were considered opportunists and were referred to as the “money bags” of a sector Moroccans called “*moul choukara*”. For their part, the tourists then being targeted preferred the ease and comfort of the country’s coastal resorts. This situation conforms to the model of tourists as consumers of competitive generic products for which Morocco’s heritage was very much a secondary factor in their choice of destination.

Figure 1. New model for constructing territorial projects integrating the tourism variant: decentralized and mixed aimed at a win-win sharing of benefits

Credits: Said Boujrouf

- 16 At the end of the 20th century, tourism in Morocco began evolving in ways that have led to changes not only in the nature of the offer and the promotion of new destinations, but also in the regions that are attracting tourists, the way they are organized, and the actors involved. The project-based approach has become a new instrument of spatial projection for tourism in the hinterlands of Morocco's traditional tourist hubs. Territory-specific resources, such as regional products, craft products, culture, and the natural environment, have become central elements in tourism development. New economic sectors linked to these "high-quality" distinctive resources have emerged in these marginal areas, mobilizing individuals and networks of actors. Increasing the role of women and developing a solidarity economy through associations, cooperatives, and collective craft workshops, etc., are clear trends in these sectors. In addition, new categories of intermediaries have found a place in the local territorial system between producers and buyers, and between entrepreneurs in the fields of agriculture, craft products, culture, and commerce, on the one hand, and consumers in the world of tourism, on the other hand.
- 17 The rural world of these remote regions, which have been isolated for centuries, has become better connected to the urban world and to globalization, via the tourist circuits that pass through them, within a framework of hierarchical and interwoven territorial networks. This restructuring of territories is having an enormous impact on traditional rural families and societies. It is also affecting local power structures through the involvement in local politics of a new local elite consisting of tourist guides, manufacturers of cosmetics, vendors of local products, craftspeople, stallholders in the bazars, intermediaries, and private project developers, etc., who are

taking over positions formerly held by traditional notables and leading professions. The valorization of territorial resources, often by associations, cooperatives, and tourism companies, is generating territorial projects focusing on new forms of tourism, presented as equitable, socially caring, and sustainable.

The transformation of territorial resources into heritage objects: a “quality” approach to the valorization of specificities and local identities

- 18 Currently, products from the marginal areas of Morocco, which include the High Atlas and oasis regions of the south, are not able to compete on price with generic products and services. However, in the field of territory-based tourism, products can gain access to internal and external markets by highlighting their specificities (François *et al.*, 2006), such as the producer or area of production, in order to differentiate them from more generic products. In Morocco, this has been done as part of the “Green Morocco” program, generally through its second pillar for the development of agriculture in marginal areas. As a result, since 2008 there has been a policy of promoting local products by playing on their specificities and heritage value, and highlighting their quality, thereby facilitating their integration into equitable trade and tourism circuits. Nevertheless, this approach does not have the same ambition as the program’s first pillar, aimed at regions with large-scale hydro-agriculture industries, which are being developed to meet the challenges of trade with partner countries and to be competitive on world markets.
- 19 In some peripheral areas of Morocco, especially in the High Atlas and south of the country, local and heritage resources are starting to become important alternative resources that valorize local skills and help reconstruct local identities based on heritage. Why are these regions prepared to turn their resources into heritage objects? There are several possible reasons:
 - For a long time, these regions were able to shield their ancestral traditions and their institutions from the major changes that most of Morocco has been experiencing for more than a century;
 - They were affected by large-scale emigration to richer parts of Morocco or abroad. However, their migrants kept strong social links with their native regions, thereby favoring openness and innovation. Most migrants support local development initiatives and their local communities through benefaction (Boujrouf *et al.*, 2012);
 - The people of these regions have a reputation for being skillful traders and craftspeople, which facilitates the promotion of local products;
 - They have area-specific natural resources and products such as argan oil, saffron, roses, and dates. Local people have used their local expertise to preserve and valorize these products within a subsistence economy that tends to favor bargaining;
 - These regions are polarized by at least four tourist cities-Agadir, Marrakech, Ouarzazate, and Essaouira-which are trying to diversify their offers by developing niche tourism in their rural hinterlands.
- 20 In addition, the current international context is increasingly favorable to fair-trade and to different forms of tourism project that include local products in tourist

consumption. International institutions and lenders are also supporting local dynamics in remote and deprived areas.

- 21 As a way of managing these dynamics, the Moroccan government has introduced a number of rural development and tourism development strategies, such as “Green Morocco”, “Vision 2010”, and “Vision 2020”, helped create a legal arsenal to recognize and label distinctive products, and established standards¹ stipulating the rules and norms that must be respected so the quality of local products² can be used as tools to promote human and territorial development. These measures have made it easier to launch development projects, as they have galvanized the different local actors, especially government officers, and facilitated local development missions by international environmental and heritage protection organizations.

Highlighting quality: a precious but costly approach that raises complex issues

- 22 The recognition labeling and certification give distinctive local resources is gained via a collective and partnership-based approach that was conducted initially by cooperatives and associations, assisted by government officers, especially those in the agriculture sector. The development of small rural economies based around local resources, which must be differentiated and integrated, is starting to be seen as a way of fostering human and social development by reducing the poverty rate in these areas, which averages around 30% to 40%. It may also improve communication between the different actors involved. Hence, the rural tourism offer is beginning to integrate these regions' riches, in the form of territorial resources that can be used to strengthen the areas' attractiveness to tourists.
- 23 However, these dynamics based on specificity are operating in a complex context that is being made even more difficult by a lack of expertise and skills, the high cost of adapting production to international standards, and the difficulty these new actors have of working together. This approach encourages people to work together to produce and promote an area's local identity (“argan country”, “almond country”, “saffron country”, “rose country”, “date country”, “henna country”, etc.). It raises the profile of these regions, and highlights their specific characteristics by giving them individual brand images. These new orientations have not been well assimilated in their totality and, in many cases, the approaches being adopted are evolving in divergent ways to the requirements of resource characterization.
- 24 In many areas, the approaches for recognizing and differentiating territorial resources are facing major challenges. First, although the certification process is a collective strategic choice, it is limited to a very small number of products, such as argan oil and saffron. Second, the local production system, originally a “subsistence” economy, has diversified and excess production of several products is destined for local markets. In “argan-country”, the flagship product, boosted by its quality label, has come to dominate basic products such as figs, almonds, pomegranates, and lemons.
- 25 Labeling and certification also increase the cost price of products (Johnson et al., 2004, Romagny & Boujrouf, 2010), due to the cost of quality control, traceability, and packaging, etc. As local farmers point out, certification accounts for approximately 4% of the cost price of a liter of argan oil. The increased retail price does not favor local

and national consumption of these labeled products but these products are, of course, aimed at the international market and foreign tourists.

- 26 However, these markets are limited by inadequate traceability and packaging promoting the origin and quality of the products, mainly due to the poor organization and lack of professionalism in the sectors involved, which makes it more difficult for these regional resources to gain access to the tourism market by direct or semi-direct sales (Och, 2012).
- 27 On a different note, in areas of high commercial and tourist demand, the specification of these products is beginning to suffer from the effects of over-familiarity and a reduction in the value of these resources (Hirczak *et al.*, 2009). Products' geographical origins have also been blurred, as the mountain areas that receive the most tourists (valleys of the Marrakesh High Atlas, flanks of Mount Toubkal) and the places of origin of some "Berber" products (argan, saffron, roses, etc.) are not always the same, so there has been a temptation to attribute a local origin to products from other parts of the region. Thus, some products have become "nomad local products", as they are sold in tourist areas as local products by hiding their precise geographical identities or origins. In other cases, large companies have started making certain "local products", without necessarily respecting the characteristics that distinguish them.
- 28 This separation between areas of production and areas that attract the most tourists makes it difficult for both areas to satisfy the needs of their respective sectors, that is, producing certified and valued products, and welcoming tourists.

Territorial and social regroupings linked to the emergence of territorial resources in marginal areas

- 29 The dominant components in the tourism landscape of the Atlas Mountains and oasis regions of Southern Morocco are the tourist towns and cities. Tourism in this area is dictated from these urban centers, as well as from abroad by tour operators. Although tourism is a secondary activity, it is important because it plays a stimulating role for several localities in which tourism is growing rapidly, such as Ourika, Ghyghaya, Aït Bouguemez, and Taliouine, and rural tourism to the Sahara and the mountains is a non-negligible segment of Morocco's tourism offer. The importance of itinerant and excursion-based tourism is starting to grow, with circuits including stopovers in accommodation in local people's homes so visitors can get a glimpse of local lifestyles and cultures. This type of tourism aims to benefit the local population by supporting local development initiatives. It tries to help create revenue-generating activities and to promote local products (produce and craft products), culture, and skills by highlighting their quality. Several actors are beginning to develop the skills needed to promote and organize this new activity by mobilizing different distinctive resources and by setting up small tourism operations in the hinterlands of the region's tourist cities. However, conflictual or even exclusionary logics continue to develop at the expense of community solidarity. The development of these emerging activities is raising many new challenges with respect to issues such as access to local resources, the steering of ongoing dynamics, the search for outside support, and the distribution of added value.

- 30 A nebula of local actors, with support from outside actors from a wide range of horizons, is building territories on the basis of sector-oriented projects on different scales. However, there is often some distance and a lack of complementarity between territories developing tourism projects and those developing agriculture. The logic behind most projects has been based on valorizing an area's distinctive resources without thinking about how they can be combined or coordinated with other resources. Many cases have been seen of local women's cooperatives in the agricultural sector refusing to work with members of the tourism sector, especially with guides, who demand exorbitant commissions on the products sold to tourists they bring to associations or cooperatives. Local products, whether or not they have an official label and are marketed through formal and informal channels, are increasingly trying to break into international trade circuits, national fairs, and the markets of regional tourist cities, in order to reach an essentially Moroccan clientele. This situation cannot be attributed solely to the problems of introducing good governance between the different components of the territorial system, it is also due to the dynamics associated with the market and the competitive positioning of the different actors in the sector. Sales and marketing techniques, on all scales, are new skills to many project leaders and are often imperfectly mastered.

Figure 2. Tourist territories and the mobilization of distinctive resources in the hinterlands of Marrakesh, Agadir, Ouarzazate, and Essaouira

- 31 Before launching new territorial development dynamics and initiatives in the depths of Morocco's countryside, tourism in the tourist cities of Marrakesh, Agadir, Ouarzazate, and Essaouira was mostly based on itineraries following the country's major roads. In marginal areas, these new dynamics and the resulting territorial constructions have opened up new, smaller, and more marginal towns and villages to tourism and globalization. Tourist itineraries are starting to take on a tree-like shape with a city at

the base of the tree and with mountain or oasis hamlets (douars) at its crown. In addition, new tourism practices based on longer-stay tourism are starting to emerge, based around visits to craft and local-produce production sites, participation in voluntary work on human development projects, visits to museums and local heritage sites, learning about traditional management methods, and learning local skills, etc. The emergence of these areas and places is occurring against a background of territorial innovation, generally triggered from outside or by emigrants from these areas, and is based on local leaders or individuals who have the ability to mobilize local and territorial resources. These tourism territories are scattered but they form a framework or network in the form of archipelagos connected by tourism itineraries running from the world space to remote villages. They project globalization at these most elementary scales and in remote places. In fact, these territories are intertwined, overlapping, and “entangled”, with remarkable discontinuities between existing territorial units (Veltz, 1996; Scholz, 2005). In several cases, these territories are starting to develop a degree of self-sufficiency in tourism by creating local structures for accommodation, catering, trade, crafts, and services, which are combined with a diverse offer of tourist itineraries and quality-labeled local products.

Conclusion

- 32 Integrating specificity in development and integration projects in the mountain and oasis regions of Southern Morocco has triggered two processes that are sometimes contradictory and sometimes complementary. These processes are complex and loaded with issues and challenges:
- 1. The process of turning local resources into heritage objects is done to preserve the local identity and/or to promote tourism. However, the commercial value of these resources sometimes overtakes the heritage and identity preservation ideal. A restructuring is under way, with an identity heritage in the center and identity at the margins. Nevertheless, resource differentiation through labeling and certification facilitates the heritage production process, which involves numerous actors within the agriculture, craftsmanship, and tourism sectors. This quality approach, implemented within a modern economic model, is once again instrumentalizing the region and its products. Differentiation is also an area of uncertainty due to weaknesses in how it is organized, overfamiliarity with the products involved, and the challenge of integrating national and international tourists, etc.
 - 2. The territorialization of public actions in an evolving local, national, and international context tends to give actors from local societies decisional room for maneuver. Hence, these regions are seeing the beginnings of a territorial regrouping that is consolidating the roles of civil society, women, and the private sector. However, the construction of these new territories fits in difficultly with public territoriality. The different actors see this territorial anchoring as a process of conflict and domination, not one of accord between stakeholders in territorial projects. In several cases, the main aim of projects to reveal resources is to extract their commercial value and make the greatest financial profit.
- 33 To date, coordination between the process of turning local resources into heritage objects and the development of tourism remains insufficient. Thus, the “panier de biens” formula provides a model that the marginal areas of Morocco could adopt to their advantage, as it would allow them to improve the coordination of their offers at a local level by bringing together the agriculture, heritage, and tourism sectors. Applying

this model would also help produce synergies and improve coordination between the different projects and the different territories.

- 34 The territorial restructuring taking place in the hinterlands of Southern Morocco's tourist cities is creating an archipelago connected to the globalized world, for the better and for the worse (Scholz, 2005; Koop *et al.*, 2010 and 2011). In the region's territories, globalization's greatest impacts are being felt through innovations in areas linked to local specificities, heritage production, and tourism development, as well as with respect to dynamics favoring human and social development. Measures to support development have produced complex, conflictual, and exclusionary territorial constructions that, in many cases, ignore each other (Giraut & Boujrouf, 2000). Hence, territorial readjustments and arrangements are needed in the ways the specificity of local resources and the production of heritage objects are used to promote development in these regions. In some marginal regions, participatory mobilizations to create local development projects have become hegemonic, resulting in projects that are sectorial and often carried out in isolation (Boujrouf *et al.*, 2009). The governance of this nebula of dynamics needs to be revised to ensure effective coordination and strong interconnections, and thereby remove the contradictions in this "projectorat"³ system (Giraut & Vanier, 2006; Louargant *et al.*, 2011). Hence, it is important to encourage and facilitate convergences between participatory development initiatives initiated by NGOs and local government leaders put in place as part of decentralization (Bergh, 2010; Romagny *et al.*, 2008).

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NOTES

1. Mostly through laws relating to “distinctive signs of origin and quality for foodstuffs and agricultural and fishery products” (BO N°5640 of June 19, 2008 and BO n°5040), to internal regulations for the national commission for distinctive signs of origin and quality (BO n° 5722), to the certification of products bearing a distinctive sign of origin and quality (BO n°5722), to the recognition of distinctive signs of origin and quality (BO n°5722), to the creation of the Agricultural Development Agency (BO n°5714), to the creation of a National Office of Food Safety (BO n°5714), to the creation of the National Agency for the Development of Oasis Areas and Argan Production (BO n°5910), to the terms for government subsidies for the construction and equipping of processing units for agricultural products (BO n°5818), to the terms and conditions for granting government financial aid to promote and diversify the export of agricultural products (BO n° 5906), and to government aid for promoting and diversifying exports of agricultural products (BO n°5914).

2. A labeling and certification process is starting to emerge via the recognition of indications of geographical origin (IG), controlled designations of origin (AOP), and agricultural labels concerning: 1. Agricultural and fishery products, 2. Products resulting from hunting and gathering, 3. Foodstuffs, 4. Cosmetics, 5. Essential oils, 6. Medicinal and aromatic herbs. The most important examples are:

The six IGs: “Majhoul de Tafilalet dates”, “Berkane clemntines”, “Sefri Ouled Abdellalh pomegranates”, “Béni Guil lamb”, “Aït Baâmrane prickly pears”, “Chefchaouen goat's cheese”, and the “Protected Indication of Geographical Origin” awarded to argan oil;

The two AOPs: “Taliouine saffron” and “Tyout Chiadma olive oil”;

The Registered Designation of Origin (AOC) awarded to “Crémant de l’Atlas” sparkling wine;

The “suckling lamb” agricultural label.

3. The expression was coined by Rodriguez-Carmona (2009). It is aimed at the multiplication and hegemony of local development projects that tend to be carried out in a sectorial and often-isolated way by external investors armed with development models that place the margins of the Global South under guardianship.

ABSTRACTS

Morocco is currently implementing a decentralization model based on the territorial project approach. Introduced as part of the territorialization of public policy, this model involves many different actors, including representatives of civil society and solidarity economy organizations. Many projects developed by these actors focus on distinctive or typical local resources that are subjected to a process of valorization, differentiation, and heritage production. The main issues involved in this approach to heritage and tourism development revolve around the relative importance given to each of the three concepts of resource, terroir, and territory. The result is the development of new forms of territorial construction, operating on different scales, in Southern Morocco. The emergence of territories through new territorial innovation processes, usually initiated by outsiders or by emigrants from the area in question, is based on local leaders or individuals recognizing the potential of local resources and then exploiting them in order to promote local and regional development. The transformations affecting the territorial organization of the hinterlands of the regions’ main tourism centers provide evidence that these areas are opening up to globalization by restructuring their tourism territories as archipelagos.

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Keywords: Morocco, mountains, oasis, public policies, actors, territorial and heritage resources, distinctive, differentiation, territorial project, heritage production, tourism development, territorial construction, archipelago

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