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Territorial resources and tourist destinations: couples with a bright future?

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Translation: Henderson Traduction

- 1 For economists and geographers, tourism is a very specific category of activities because exchanges in tourism involve services rather than tangible products, and because consumers go to the product, which they then consume immediately, rather than having the product moved to them. Mass tourism, which is built on generic resources such as climate, sea, and mountains, contrasts with cultural tourism, which is built on the revelation of resources such as vernacular heritage (customs, objects, or services), types of social organization, skills, and values provided by local actors that had not previously been developed.
- 2 The present article examines the construction of cultural tourist destinations, whose attractiveness comes from their uniqueness, in which the cultural dimension plays an essential role. We addressed this issue by examining the two-pronged hypothesis that this process involves constructing territory-specific resources by creating relations between actors inside (internal) and outside (external) the territory, and that integrating heritage in this process enables a territory to develop both its individuality and its sustainability, especially in the case of territories in marginal regions. In line with geographers who consider marginal regions to be fertile ground for experimentation and innovation (Giraut, 2009), rather than just areas that depend on the center (Reynaud, 1981), we believe marginal regions are areas where new models of

territorial development are invented in response to the need for these areas to capitalize on the territory's assets. The mountains of North Africa and the Sahel are an interesting example of marginalized regions (more because of isolation due to a lack of infrastructure, persistent social and economic problems, and political and cultural marginalization, than because of their geographical characteristics). In these mountain areas, the revelation and exploitation of a new territorial resource is an important opportunity and lever for developing the area's economy (job creation and revenue production), social links (facilitating the coordination of actors) and identity (reinforcing a group's identification with a territory).

- 3 The following section adopts a constructivist conception of identity, which we consider not as a fact, but as a tool that is used and defined by actors in the territorial resource construction process. For actors involved in tourism projects based around heritage practices and objects, which are inherited from the past, invoking identity legitimizes the present-day value attributed to these practices and objects, presented as being emblematic of the local identity. By doing this, these actors contribute to the construction of a territorial identity and to the anchoring of that identity in the territory.
- 4 This approach arose from work to produce a framework for analyzing territorial resource construction, which drew upon several research programs into marginal regions. In parallel, the authors contributed to the final seminar of the "Tourism, resources, and identities in the mountains of the Atlas and Sahel" research program¹. The present paper outlines the territorial resource analysis framework and its application to the areas of Morocco and Niger that were the focus of this seminar.

Towards a framework for analyzing territorial resource construction

- 5 Gumuchian and Pecqueur (2003) define territorial resources as tangible and intangible constructions produced by actors. This construction is the product of a coordination process, which takes place in three phases: resource revelation, resource development, and articulation of the resource with other resources. We focused our attention on the resource revelation process, as relatively little research has been devoted to this phase. Conversely, we intentionally skimmed over the resource development phase, as this phase has already been subject to much study. Finally, we examined the phase in which the resource is articulated with other resources in order to constitute a tourist destination.

Resource revelation

- 6 Initially, resources are latent in that they are present but not exploited. In most cases, a resource's attributes are revealed by actors who see the territory with an outsider's eyes. One or more of these attributes may be specific to the territory in that the "place of origin –the terroir– guarantees the specificity of the raw materials and a savoir-faire that is not reproducible and, often, non-codifiable" (Lacroix, Mollard, Pecqueur, 2000, p. 4). This factor reduces competition. Contact between an actor from outside a territory and an object within a territory can reveal attributes of the object that are

prized outside the territory. So-called resource “revealers” include new residents, migrants, and tourists.

- 7 However, a resource is not truly revealed until it has been embraced by the territory’s actors as the result of a deliberate process of appropriation (François, Hirczak, Senil, 2006). In fact, revelation is not enough for an object to become a territorial resource. The link between the resource and the territory must be legitimized, tested, and strengthened through differentiation mechanisms built by actors in the territory. We suggest that there is a type of actor, which we refer to as an “anchoring” actor, who brings together two types of knowledge. The first type is knowledge of the local environment, its geography, its history, its economy, and its culture and customs, which is transmitted from generation to generation according to complex social modalities. The second type of knowledge arises from the sharing of experiences via the coordination of actors around the resource. This coordination is established by “anchoring” actors, who act through bodies such as non-profit associations and cooperatives. The examples described in the second part of this article illustrate these aspects of the resource revelation process.
- 8 In order to conserve a resource, measures have to be introduced to preserve the resource’s specific attribute or attributes, or to strengthen its anchoring to the territory. Finally, exposure of the resource allows it to acquire the status of a shared asset that carries “meaning and connections” for the territory’s inhabitants (Micoud, 2004). Although the shared asset is “theoretically for all, this is not necessarily the case in practice. Not everyone has equal access to the asset” (Goedert, Kern, 2009 p. 41). The competition that emerges around the resource shows the difficulty of coordinating the actors involved and these difficulties can only be resolved by public debate. The multiplication of local festivals that accompanies the reactivation of old traditions, productions, and skills contributes to the resource exposure process.
- 9 Table 1 shows the relationship between the heritage production process and the revelation of a territorial resource. Public policy’s role in resource revelation tends to be limited to the interaction between territorial development and the coordination of actors. However, it plays a greater role in the subsequent resource development phase. Research into resource development (François, Hirczak, Senil, 2006) shows that the specification process applies to both the construction of a product and how it is used to create value.

Table 1: Revelation of territorial resources and heritage production: a clear relationship

Heritage production		Revelation of the territorial resource	
Operation	Status	Operation	Status
Invention	Localized heritage	Observation revealing a prized attribute	Potential localized resource
Justification	Territorialized heritage	Legitimization of the territorial anchoring	Territorialized resource
Conservation	Protected heritage	Protecting the resource	Transmittable resource

Exposure	Shared heritage	Exposing and debating the resource	Accessible resource
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Expanding a resource and combining it with other resources

- 10 Developing territory-specific resources leads to the territory being organized round “differentiated products that are intelligible to consumers in order to produce a true territorial offer” (Pecqueur, 2002). Lancaster’s approach to complex goods shows that consumers do not buy a good for itself, but for the ensemble of non-codified attributes, such as knowledge, emotions, images, and experiences, to which it gives access (Lancaster, 1966). Several goods can have common characteristics, linked to the territory or to its “attributes”, presented as reflecting an identity shared by local inhabitants. Such goods, known as “combined goods” or “complex goods”, are brought together to make up a “panier de biens et de services” (Hirczak *et al.*, 2008). The term “territorialized complex good” is used if the good’s attributes are anchored in a territory and therefore linked to its potential territory-specific resources. In this model, the notion of attribute is mobilized by “both suppliers and consumers, as it involves transmitting an identity to consumers through the production of the goods and services in question” (Requier, Desjardins, 2009).
- 11 Heritage contributes to the formation of a specific identity for a territory. Heritage resources tend to be seen as a “last resource” in crisis or marginal areas, and are often incorporated into territorial projects. However, only rarely do they lead to the complete revitalization of a local economy. In addition, heritage promotion must not be considered uniquely in economic terms; its social and cultural dimensions must also be taken into account. Integrating these dimensions into tourism projects helps create “unique” destinations based on a group of anchoring objects with specific attributes. This process leads to the revaluing of a territory’s identity. Because heritage promotion creates an economic, social, and cultural dynamic, it appears to be “an almost inexhaustible resource. It allows the territory’s competitive capacity to be maintained over the long term” (Canova *et al.*, 2011, p. 419). This proposition is in line with the hypothesis that local communities have the capacity “to initiate or orient the tourism development process, thereby aiming to combine its supposed economic advantages and expected benefits in terms of visibility, political status, cultural dynamic, and symbolic prestige” (Debarbieux, 2012, p. 2). The following case studies illustrate these approaches.

Tourism and the mobilization of identity in the mountains of Morocco and Niger: different ways of capitalizing on local produce

- 12 Research carried out for the “Tourism, resources and identities in the mountains of the Atlas and Sahel” seminar brought together the notions of resource and identity. The identity resource emerges in parallel with the territorial resource, allowing a territory’s specific characteristics and attributes to be recognized and used in the territorial development process.

The production of new territorial and tourism resources in Taliouine, Morocco

- 13 The district of Taliouine, in the Anti-Atlas Mountains, typifies the marginalization affecting the mountainous regions of Morocco. The area is socially disadvantaged (it has a poverty index of 34%, compared with 14% for Morocco as a whole, Benhalima, 2009, p. 30), isolated, and poorly endowed with infrastructure. Lying between Agadir and Ouarzazate, with poor links to Marrakesh, it is a transit point between the major tourist centers of southern Morocco. Despite encroaching desertification, saffron production, which has been part of the region's economy for hundreds of years, has been rejuvenated with support from an NGO called Migrations et Développement (MD). Since it was founded in 1986, MD has worked to develop relations between emigrants from southern Morocco and their home territories. In Taliouine, MD played the role of resource "inventor" by recognizing the links between the attributes of saffron and attributes prized outside the territory.
- 14 Saffron has a number of attributes:
 - It has the intrinsic attribute of being considered "organic" because production is based on traditional processes that have been improved without introducing chemical fertilizers or crop protection products;
 - It has functional attributes as an essential ingredient in local cuisine (tea, tajines, etc.), a therapeutic substance and a dye;
 - Another attribute is linked to the social structures involved in saffron growing, as most of the saffron is produced by cooperatives and associations, which are new forms of citizen organization in this region;
 - It has territorial attributes as a result of its close connection to the area in which it is produced, which has specific characteristics due to its altitude, the nature of the soil, and its climate, etc. Saffron production can also be linked to, and help promote, other resources such as the landscape, local architecture, water management methods, and other regional products;
 - It has the cultural attribute of being connected to a tribe's long history in the territory and its coupling with contemporary cultural practices, in particular those of migrants.
- 15 The Taliouine region produces five tonnes of saffron per year, making Morocco one of the world's five largest producers of saffron (Proceedings of the 2nd social economics and solidarity forum, 2009, p. 55). Saffron production has been anchored to the area around Taliouine by a number of converging initiatives. Encouraged by MD, local producers came together to form village cooperatives – sometimes women's cooperatives – which then grouped together to form Economic Interest Groups. These Groups allowed saffron growers to obtain subsidies, share technical advice, improve the presentation of their saffron (figure 2), and organize production so they could stand up to intermediaries who were skimming off most of the added value obtained from the sale of saffron. In order to bring together these cooperatives, since 2007 MD has organized an annual saffron festival during the October harvest. This event combines a trade show with cultural activities such as craft exhibitions, singing concerts, and dance shows.

Figure 1. The makeover applied to the packaging for saffron produced by the Souktana cooperative in Taliouine

PHOTO BY S. VARACCA-OIRY, APRIL 2010

- 16 International and national bodies, including the FAO, the Regional Office for the Promotion of Agriculture, the National Human Development Initiative, and the “Green Morocco” plan, encouraged the sector to increase production and to open up to international business. Ecocert certification was obtained and, in 2010, “Taliouine Saffron” was awarded Protected Designation of Origin status. These initiatives, which culminated in January 2011 with the inauguration of the “House of Saffron” (figure 3) by the King of Morocco, have made saffron a territorial resource that can be associated with other resources. Tourism has been developed in order to do this. For example, emigrants from the territory have financed the building of guesthouses in their home villages. These guesthouses are now linked in a circuit called the “Land of Saffron”, managed by Maroc Inédit, a Moroccan association specializing in socially responsible tourism. On a local level, collective management systems have been introduced, as at Tagmoute, where the guesthouse is run by the village association and works in partnership with the women’s cooperative in order to promote sales of saffron, medicinal and culinary herbs, almonds, and carpets. In addition, local architecture is exploited via guided visits highlighting buildings such as communal granaries (*agadir*), as the brochure below shows (figure 4). As another way of associating other resources with saffron, it is planned to turn the “House of Saffron” into the “House of the Land of Saffron”, which will present a wide range of local products and centralize the area’s tourism offers. Taliouine’s newly created tourism association is trying to re-center the region’s tourist image round saffron so the qualities associated with saffron (special, delicate, unique, fragile, subtle, etc.) contribute to the formation of a tourist destination based round local values and attributes.

Figure 2. "The House of Saffron", Taliouine

PHOTO BY D. MASELLI, JANUARY 2012, PUBLISHED WITH HIS PERMISSION

Figure 3. Brochure for the "Pied du Siroua" guesthouse in Tagmoute

Si vous séjournez à Tagmout...

Visitez le village
 Outre l'attrait des paysages et l'environnement, Tagmout recèle un patrimoine architectural intéressant. En parcourant les ruelles qui serpentent entre les habitations traditionnelles en pisé, on découvre le passé et le présent de la vie de ces paysans berbères. Surmonté de son traditionnel agadit, le village abrite une ancienne habitation fortifiée, la kasbah Aberrj Itoukain ainsi que quelques vestiges de l'occupation portugaise du XVI^e siècle (maison et marabout de Lalla Myriam, vierge Marie).

Achetez les produits du terroir
 Vous pourrez acheter sur place les surplus de la production agricole (olive, huile d'olive, amandes, safran), de l'artisanat et des plantes aromatiques (thym, lavande sauvage...), ainsi que les tapis et tissages réalisés par les femmes.

Rencontrez les habitants
 Dynamique et ouverte, l'association villageoise (AV) vous accueillera pour vous faire visiter le douar et vous expliquer ses projets. Tagmout peut en particulier s'enorgueillir de posséder le premier système d'assainissement écologique en milieu rural de toute la région de Sous-Masse Draïa. (N'hésitez pas à demander à l'associé le document très complet qui récapitule les réalisations de l'AV) (la vie collective du douar s'organise naturellement autour :)

- de l'assemblée villageoise masculine,
- du foyer féminin et des ateliers de confection de tapis et de tissage de laine traditionnelle,
- des récoltes d'olive, de safran et de lavande sauvage,
- de la coopérative filout, fermière de plantes aromatiques et de safran,
- de l'artisanat (tissage, femmes tissent des tapis chez elles),
- de son école primaire,
- de la classe d'alphabétisation des femmes.

D'une architecture simple et fonctionnelle, l'auberge est bien équipée et confortable. Depuis la terrasse, la vue se dégage sur l'oued, le village de Tagmout et la montagne en arrière-plan.

Dans les environs

Depuis Tagmout, on peut accéder aux gorges escarpées de Taliouine pour profiter de la fraîcheur du ruisseau et des prairies verdoyantes. On peut aussi, le temps d'une journée, longer le pied de la grande falaise qui se trouve au sud-ouest du village et monter par le plateau. Cette promenade permet d'observer les aigles royaux et autres oiseaux qui nichent en grand nombre dans la falaise. Elle offre des points de vue superbes sur toute la vallée et les plateaux avoisinants, qui permettent de saisir magnifiquement au coucher du soleil. L'ascension du mont Siroua (situé à une vingtaine de kilomètres de l'auberge) dévoile un panorama magnifique.

Carte de la région de Tagmout

Coordonnées : « Pied du Siroua » : 00 212 88 62 79 00 - 070 28 20 37 / 072 56 14 26

Photos : algaudis@orange.com - ©Océane Leguina • Conception graphique et maquette : Céline Lachaux/cedelachaux.fr • Réimpression : Photo Rostan

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- 17 Applying our territorial resource analysis approach to saffron shows that territorial resources can be constructed in phases, and that this construction involves collective

learning processes within which public policy does not play a central role. In the case of saffron growing at Taliouine, the resource was revealed by MD and then anchored in the territory by local actors, most notably local cooperatives and new tourism actors such as hiking guides and guesthouse owners. This mobilization around saffron is resulting in the constitution of a “*panier de biens*” consisting of territorialized assets and services, and the development of saffron into a territorial resource. On an economic level, it has helped create complementary activities. However, on a social level, a lot remains to be done in terms of the coordination of the different actors, which still depends mostly on MD. In terms of local identity, the territory is still building its image. On the one hand, there is the emergence of a new, clearer, and more specific image evoking the “land” where saffron is grown and saffron’s qualities, which are attributed to the territory. On the other hand, it is proving difficult to extend this image to other local products and heritage objects that complement saffron and which could enrich the territory’s identity. In short, Taliouine is a tourism destination that is still under construction.

The mobilization of new territorial resources to recreate a basket of tourist assets in Niger. The case of Galmi purple onions in the Aïr

- 18 The Aïr is a mountainous region of northern Niger that was a popular destination for western tourists in the 1980s. Visitors were drawn by the area’s mountains and its desert landscape dotted with luxuriant wadis, and by the chance to find out more about the Tuareg, the emblematic Saharan people who live there. However, tourism has since collapsed due to successive rebellions and the continuing security problems affecting the whole of the Sahara. This has led to the emergence of another specific resource: Galmi purple onions.
- 19 Although the French colonial power developed a form of tourism based on traverses of the Sahara, the true “inventor” of tourism in Niger was a pharmacist and photographer from Niamey, Louis-Henri Mourèn. In 1968, he set up the first tourism agency and created the first tourist circuits in the Aïr. Other agencies followed, mostly outside agencies from southern Algeria, and it was not until the 1980s that the first local actors began to emerge. A key local player was Mano Dayak, a guide who became head of a tourism agency and went on to lead the Tuareg rebellion in the 1990s. He also played a major role in setting up events such as the Paris-Dakar rally. His skill in promoting the tourist image of the desert and its emblematic “blue men” allowed him to quickly become a central figure. He filled the role of “anchoring actor”, developing the strong link between tourism, the Tuareg, and the Aïr-Ténéré region. For many years, his tourism agency, Temet Voyage, was the largest in the region. Thus, at the beginning of the 1990s, and despite the obstacles put in their way by the government interference, the Tuareg controlled tourism in the Sahara. These obstacles were one of the factors that triggered the 1990 rebellion, which quickly led to the collapse of tourism. It was not until the second half of the 1990s, following the signing of a peace agreement, that tourism picked up again, going on to enjoy a very successful decade. By 2007 around 60 travel agencies employed almost 500 people, mostly Tuareg from the noble social classes, in a field reserved for men. Tourism was the catalyst for using heritage to develop territorial resources, a process that began in 1991 with the creation of the Aïr-Ténéré National Nature reserve, now a UNESCO World Heritage Site (a status accorded

to the old town of Agadez in 2013). This raised numerous issues relating to use of the local identity in tourism, especially the folklorization of this identity (Grégoire, Scholze, 2012). The affirmation of the area's cultural identity is just as much a resource (figure 4) as the area's landscape and tangible heritage objects, such as its dinosaur fossils and rock art. Local elites (politicians, presidents of NGOs, etc.) organized a number of festivals in the Aïr during the peak tourist season (December/January) in order to promote Tuareg culture ("salt cure" at In Gall, Aïr Festival at Iférouane, shepherds' festivals near Timia). These events helped strengthen the association between the Tuareg identity and nomadism, pastoralism, and crafts. Tourism led to the economic growth of the "caste" of craftsmen/smiths, expanding their range of products (notably the emblematic silver Agadez Cross). Consequently, all these products and services are strongly anchored to the territory and to the local identity, legitimizing the constitution of a destination that has brought together several "products" within a well stocked "panier de biens".

Figure 4. Fantasia organized by a tourist agency in Timia, Aïr

PHOTO BY L. GAGNOL, 2006

- 20 However, the renewal of hostilities in 2007 and the continuing insecurity led to a renewed collapse in tourism. Other activities, often making use of the same resources as tourism, came to the fore and gradually took over. For example, the 4WD vehicles used to transport tourists are now used to smuggle contraband, including people, drugs, and arms, across the Sahara. The nomadic peoples are the conveyors of this traffic and, as for tourism, their knowledge is essential for traveling through these desert areas. Nevertheless, other territorial resources are emerging that clash with the image of the Tuareg as pastoral nomads, and with the exoticism sought by tourists. These resources are closely linked to the wadis of the Aïr Mountains. Luxereau (2005) discusses the revelation and development of many territorial resources in Niger. In the present research we focused on the cultivation of Galmi purple onions (figure 6).

Figure 5. Irrigated purple onion fields at Galmi

PHOTO BY L. GAGNOL, 2011

- 21 Niger has become West Africa's largest onion grower, with production estimates for 2012 ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 tonnes (contributing 22 billion FCFA to the national economy). A large proportion of this production is exported to countries on the coast, particularly Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Ghana, and, to a lesser extent, Benin, Togo, Cameroon, and Gabon. The best-known and best selling onion variety is called the Galmi purple after its region of origin, the town of Galmi on the Ader plateau in south-central Niger (responsible for 2/3 of the country's production), and the color of the bulb. Although onions have been grown here for several centuries, the large increase in production in the Ader can be attributed to the colonial government, which set up numerous irrigation schemes in the 1950s. The selection of the purple variety, by the Institute for Tropical Agronomy Research in Dakar at the end of the 1960s, was one of the outcomes of an economic and scientific partnership between France and Senegal. It was not until after the great Saharan droughts that the State and development organizations once again began to take an interest in counter-season crops by supporting small-scale private irrigation projects. An application by Niger's government led to the Galmi purple onion being granted a trademark by the African Intellectual Property Organization, and a Geographical Indication (GI) application is pending.
- 22 The Galmi purple onion has a number of specific qualities, including its color and shape (thick, flat, purple bulb), its sharp taste (distinctive and ideal for making sauces, or as an accompaniment for grilled meat), its ability to keep for long periods, and its high yields. Although this variety is identified with its home region of Ader, it is also associated with the Aïr, the second largest producer (42,000 tonnes in 2012), thanks to

its advantageous climate and soils. The Aïr is the only region where onions can be grown during the rainy season (the onions do not rot), from September to December, which is when prices are highest. This gives it a great location-related advantage.

- 23 Hence, the Galmi purple onion is a very territorialized resource, specific to two regions of Niger². It has benefited from contributions from outside actors (colonial government, international development organizations), and its development has been encouraged by the State and government institutions. Most importantly, it has also benefited from local initiatives and dynamics, which is quite surprising given the technical, organizational, and, especially, mentality changes these semi-nomadic herders needed to make in order to become the largest producers of onions in West Africa. Due to their socio-economic flexibility and their skills in cross-desert transportation and trade (figure 7), the Tuareg of the Aïr easily and quickly adapted to the needs of onion production. Nevertheless, growing onions requires substantial financial investment (purchase of pumps and fuel), which leads to real-estate speculation and increases in socio-economic disparities (the intermediaries who buy the merchandise from producers are also the producers' creditors). In addition, onion growing can have negative impacts on the environment, including exhaustion of the land, depletion of water resources, and pollution. There is a risk that increased production will damage the attributes associated with these onions and to the resource becoming overly common.
- 24 Today, onion growing is the Aïr's main economic resource. It has also become an identity marker. When the geopolitical situation allows, tourism will undoubtedly once again play an important role in the economy. Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconcile onion growing with the western tourist's image of the Tuareg, their way of life, and the desert landscape. Putting to one side this fixed image, onion growing shows how adaptable and flexible these formerly pastoral and nomadic people are. Hence, some territorial resources can develop multiple facets that exist side-by-side, with one facet or another assuming prominence according to the situation.

Figure 6. Transporting sacks of onions in the Aïr

PHOTO BY L. GAGNOL, 2011

Conclusion

- 25 Analyzing tourism's role in the construction of territorial resources is highly instructive. The revelation of objects with attributes that are specific to a territory and prized by outsiders contributes to the construction of a tourist destination combining both merchant goods and non-merchant goods. Non-merchant goods can be used to develop "alternative" forms of tourism. By capitalizing on heritage objects presented as representative of a local identity, these tourism projects reveal a territory's inherent attributes, thereby making identity a territorial resource. Taliouine is an example of this type of pathway. Here, saffron is the new territorial resource that is being developed to create a new tourist destination. The development of purple onion production around Galmi illustrates a different pathway in which the development of a new territorial resource has renewed the tourism "panier de biens" in an area ravaged by rebellion and insecurity.
- 26 Our approach to territorial resource construction provides a framework for understanding how and by whom identity is mobilized as a resource. Although an outsider's view is needed to reveal a resource and identify its territory-specific attributes, it is mostly local actors organized into associations or cooperatives who are responsible for strengthening a resource's anchoring in a territory. Actions these local actors implement in order to capitalize on a resource and associate it more closely with the territory also strengthen the construction of identities linked to the territory. Hence, tourism, which is often considered in terms of its negative, exploitative, and destructive effects, must also be examined in terms of its impact on the revelation of

territorial resources and the modes of organization used by the actors who mobilize these resources.

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NOTES

1. This program, financed by the Swiss national research fund and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, involved geographers and sociologists from the universities of Geneva (Switzerland), Marrakesh (Morocco) and Niamey (Niger), from January 2009 to January 2012.
2. Other regions of the Sahel have begun imitating this variety: Korhogo purple onions in Ivory Coast, Koudougou onions in Burkina Faso, etc.

ABSTRACTS

Cultural tourism is based on the construction of destinations with attributes that are recognized and prized by people outside the area. A destination is an ensemble of territory-specific resources whose uniqueness is highlighted by their anchorage within the territory. The present article describes a framework for analyzing territorial resources through the three stages of resource construction, that is, revelation, development, and articulation with other resources. It then describes two case studies, in Morocco and Niger, conducted using this approach. Our framework can be used to investigate the notion of resource attribute in more detail and to examine the conditions under which a “panier de biens” combining tradable and non-tradable objects is formed. This co-construction leads to associations between resources with attributes that can be transposed to other objects anchored to the same territory.

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Keywords: actors, Aïr, heritage, Moroccan Atlas, Niger, territorial attribute, specific resource, tourism

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