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CHAPTER 10

**CO-CONSTRUCTION OF THE GENERAL
INTEREST AND SOCIAL INNOVATIONS
FORMS IN KABYLIA:
A PARTNERSHIP INTERACTION APPROACH
BASED ON THREE CASE STUDIES**

Malika Ahmed Zaïd

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Université de Liège

Quartier Agora

Place des Orateurs, 1

Bât. B33, bte 6, BE-4000 Liège

ciriec@uliege.be; <http://www.ciriec.uliege.be>

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Co-construction of the general interest and social innovations forms in Kabylia: A partnership interaction approach based on three case studies / Chapter 10

Malika AHMED ZAÏD*

Abstract

In its theoretical approach, this contribution draws outlines of the conceptual framework of the co-construction of the general interest, and social innovation. It also includes an empirical approach through the results of surveys among concerned social economy associations and public actors in territory of Kabylia (Algeria). It focuses on characterization of social innovation carried by these organizations in relation of public offer, and analysis of its impacts on community and territory.

Then, social innovations' forms of institutionalization were investigated and the institutional predispositions to shared territorial governance that integrates innovations in the economic and social services delivery were identified. Subsequently, we assessed the contributive capacity of the public economy and social economy organizations to the construction of the general interest policies. From there, we were interested in the induced interaction between the various partnerships' forms what we called "public-community", "public-social" and "public-international" observed in three case studies in the investigated territory.

We have characterized social innovation types of the associations that manage community projects in different SSE activities. Their contribution to provide social and economic services for the general interest has been assessed. Finally, we attempted to prove the relevance of forms of governance integrating the co-construction of the general interest in the provision of social services and the forms that the institutionalization of the social innovation takes for the public authorities in the field studied.

Keywords: co-construction; social innovation; general interest; social and solidarity economy; partnerships; associations; Kabylia

JEL-Codes: B59, D64, L31, L38

* Professor, Laboratoire REDYL-Réformes économiques et dynamiques locales, Université Mouloud Mammeri, Tizi Ouzou (Algérie) (malika-ahmedzaid@ummo.dz - laboredyl@ummo.dz).

The substantial works related to the co-construction of the general interest and the social innovation carried by the SSE (CRISES)¹ deal with their factors of emergence and diffusion, their institutionalization modalities and interest of the State to these innovations. Therefore, the State or public actors in general, have to redefine the construction modalities of the general interest, apart from the classical and neoclassical approach, by moving towards dynamics of governance and partnership (Petrella & Richez-Battesti, 2009). In the same way, a transformation of the State's conception is therefore suggested (i.e.) moving from a traditional welfare State towards a facilitator State and a subsidiary State that favors partners/actors autonomy (Levesque, 2007).

The Algerian context is at the heart of these concerns. Despite the positive social and economic achievements of development policies since independence (1962) and significantly strengthened by several economic and social recovery programs; many economic and social needs remain insufficiently addressed. Thus, we suggest analyzing the interactions and modalities of partnership existing between the different actors in an innovation process in a territory and co-construction of public policies. Hence, our approach relies on the methods of economic anthropology (Mauss, 1912; Polanyi, 1944, 1957) and, because of the interaction between innovation and the territory, on the approach of the local public economy, assuming that "if innovation has an effect on the territory, the territory also has an impact on the ability to carry out innovative approaches or not" (Klein, 2011).

In this contribution, we will be interested to the study of the partnership interaction between different co-construction experiments of the general interest between the State and the social associations in terms of public-community partnership, public-social partnership and public-international partnership perspectives. It will focus on the forms of social innovation of social associations in the field community action and the support of disabled people in institutional settings. It will also deal with the setting up of a support fund to the very-small enterprises (VSE) in the context of a partnership under decentralized cooperation. We will discuss the main questions in relation to its innovations such as difficulties of their institutionalization and their role in the transformation and formulation of the general interest. We propose to analyze them in the evaluation process of social economy and the public policies. It will be a question of characterizing the types of social innovation of associations that manage public community services, medico-psychological centers for disabled people or a support fund to the VSE. In the same context, we will examine their contribution to the provision of economic and social services of general interest. At this level, it is also relevant to know whether there are governance forms that integrate the co-construction of the general interest in offering social services. It will then be a question of examining the forms that the institutionalization of this innovation takes for the public authorities.

¹ CRISES is the Research Center on Social Innovations, at the University of Quebec (UQAM), in Montreal.

This contribution is first of all theoretical in discussing the conceptual framework of the co-construction of the general interest and the social innovation applied both to the territory object of this study. It also embodies an empirical character through the results of survey among concerned associations and public actors. It will focus on characterization of the social innovations carried out by social economy organizations in relation to the public offer and analysis of the impact of these innovations on the community and the territory. Then we will study the social innovation's institutionalization forms (Bouchard, 2011) in order to identify the institutional predispositions for a shared territorial governance integrating innovations in social services management. In this way, it will focus on the contributive capacity of public economy and social economy organizations to the co-construction of general interest policies in order to identify the interaction induced by the different forms of partnerships as defined above and observed in three case studies in the territory of Kabylia (Algeria).

Our contribution has three main focal points: the first presents the conceptual framework to the notions of co-construction, general interest and social innovation in order to understand their current practices in our field of study. The second aims to enable the territorial social environment diagnosis of Kabylia. The third attempts to demonstrate how forms of organizational innovation led to practices of the co-construction of the general interest. These practices lead to an interaction between associative action, territorial social action and other public actors, that represents various forms of partnerships in Kabylia as stated before.

1. The conceptual framework of the co-construction, the general interest and the social innovation

The foundation of any democratic political system, the general interest, is the core of public action; it is its purpose and the form of a "social contract" that regulates the individual and the collective. It "has long been considered as an answer, it has now become a question" (Allier, 2015). Like any structuring concept, the notion of general interest includes both political operational and strategic dimensions.

While the first two are widely debated, the third is destitute because of its complexity, both in times of crisis and in times of prosperity when the strategic dimension is not perceived as a priority. However, it is inconceivable to ignore it during a period of profound transformation. The concept remains difficult to define because it carries within it the notions of public will, public service, public utility, social utility, and common good (Allier, 2015).

Social innovation is generally defined as a set of "new responses to new or under-satisfied social needs in current market conditions and social policies, involving the participation and cooperation of relevant actors, particularly users-users. These innovations concern the product or service as well as the organization and distribution of fields such as aging people, early childhood, housing, health, poverty

reduction, exclusion, discrimination, etc. They go through a process in several ways: emergence, experimentation, diffusion evaluation (CSESS)²". This definition shows complexity of the innovation process and multiplicity of actors involved in it. The sector of the social and solidarity economy is recognized to have a social innovation function (Wintrbert, 2012), because it provides answers to needs and aspirations that are not satisfied both by the market sphere and by the non-market sphere (Bouchard, 2011).

The profusion of terms with the prefix "co" (co-creation, co-construction, co-operation) and their use confers to the projects they define a collective stamp and seals partnership of "working together". Some of these terms fall under pleonasm (co-partnership), others carry a strong symbolic meaning in the way they refer to construction with a moral agreement to work concretely for the project achievement. Co-construction is a neologism used in the non-profit sector with societal commitment. This terminology allows the inclusion of all the actors in a project at the base of its conception³.

For Vaillancourt, the concept of co-construction, as understood in public policy, constitutes a typical ideal conceived as an objective that is never completely achieved. He defines three types of co-construction: the neo-liberal co-construction in which economic elites dictate their will to decision-makers; the corporatist co-construction in which certain stakeholders take part in the deliberation and the decision-making process by excluding other groups of actors with less economic and symbolic capital and solidarity co-construction in which all stakeholders participate in the deliberation process and decision-making (Vaillancourt, 2016). He distinguishes co-construction from co-production of public policies (Foudriat, 2016). Indeed, the term co-construction places actors on an equal footing, extracting them from the active-passive and financier-financed relationship, it will give more effectiveness to organizations of the social economy and solidarity enabling complementary and balanced partnerships.

In the sociological approach, co-construction is underpinned by the change that can more or less be resulted explicitly from complex sets of developing process aiming "creative co-operation" that emerges from and between involved actors (Foudriat, 1997). This approach breaks with rationalist and top-down approaches (Foudriat, 2001), it incorporates a paragraph in organizations sociology manual in its first edition (Foudriat, 2011) and then a whole chapter in the third edition (Foudriat, 2013). The approach developed focuses on collective action and mobilization of "civil society" actors. It highlights common issues to debate, such as: problems of framing issues and territories, mobilization-participation strategies debates in a perspective of co-construction of the general interest, learning process of the actors to forms of participative democracy. "The inflationary use of the co-

² Conseil Supérieur de l'Economie Sociale et Solidaire (CSESS) is the Higher Council of the Social and Solidarity Economy in France, <http://www.avise.org/decouvrir/innovation-sociale/de-quoi-parle-ton> .

³ <http://www.carenews.com/fr/news/3285-dis-flavie-c-est-quoi-la-co-construction> .

construction notion would thus mean that the notions of participation and shared diagnosis have become criticized because they have remained too ambiguous and have been object of abuse and manipulation”.

The term removes all inhibitions: using “co-construction”, both public and SSE organizations are no longer embarrassed to forthright intervene in the general interest, their legitimacy being based on the association or structure with which they work. To this end, as advocated by the social entrepreneurs’ movement (MOUVES⁴), tomorrow’s public policies represent a collective challenge, for which social enterprises are ready to co-build with public authorities.

Co-construction brings together State and other stakeholders who share common interest objectives; they thus adopt a more efficient economic model in order to meet the basic needs of the population. As Bason says, co-construction is a “process that generates new ideas, its implementation creates social value for society. It is a continual, dynamic and horizontal dialogue that shakes the administration’s traditional working method, involving citizens, social enterprises and public authorities in defining and shaping public policies; the remaining State making the final decision” (Bason, 2013).

Today, social and solidarity economy (SSE) appears as an optimal model for territorial social development. In theory, the territorial anchoring (Pecqueur, 2009) of organizations in this sector of the economy is the source of innovative experiences thanks to a more adequate care to social needs of the concerned persons than that of public intervention.

The first services usually provided by SSE are providing care for dependent persons on grounds of age or disability. From this perspective came the home services that the SSE currently develops: childcare, assistance to the elderly, meal deliveries, gardening work, etc. The welfare State is not able to create these activities, due to lack of human and financial resources; similarly, for private enterprises, since they are not very profitable. The SSE also contributes to the creation of new forms of social services, because its actors are close to the population; which allows them to put in place original forms of social services.

Social environment analysis in Algeria shows that its economic, sociological and cultural characteristics favor the development of a territorial social action process, based on a partnership between the concerned public authorities and SSE organizations. It is particularly the forms of local solidarity embedded in the society that support this process. These predispositions are expressed in circuits of mutual assistance and common care for the needy. This solidarity, combined with public solidarity at the territorial level, would give rise to organized forms of collective action. For public action, it is an important support for both the collection of information, finance mobilization and the implementation of the action. In this sense

⁴ MOUVES is the Movement of Social Entrepreneurs in France, see: <http://mouves.org/>.

and in our framework of analysis, we therefore note associations of a social character.

Social action is mainly implemented by the Social Action and Solidarity Directorate (SASD) of the *wilaya*⁵, which bring together all the de-concentrated departments responsible of social action. Their main task is supervising social action system implementation in this sub-State territory level. The social welfare services develop and implement any measure likely to frame the activities related to State's social action and the formation of the social nature for the associative movement.

On the one hand, they are responsible for setting up, in liaison with the local authorities, information systems relating to social protection needs assessment and the disadvantaged and the disabled categories identification. On the other hand, their mission relates to the promotion and development of any activity of social and professional integration of disabled people. Finally, they have competence in the field of coordination and evaluation of social protection programs implementation, in particular those relating to assistance for the elderly, the needy, the education and rehabilitation of the disabled, the protection and safeguarding of children deprived of family and young people in a moral danger. They shall also be responsible for the implementation of any measures which promote the expression of national solidarity in the social field, in particular by associative movement developing and encouraging⁶.

That being so, the questions related to innovations that social associations can provide, in terms of social action and with regards to public action and the refunding of the general interest are crucial. What is the contributions' nature, actions and social services offered by these associations? Is their action more specific than those of public action? Is it a particular innovation, both in terms of service quality to the population and in terms of their actions' quality and effectiveness? To what extent and with which partners can economic and social action be co-constructed?

These are all relevant questions to which we will attempt to provide answers through the next two sections related to a diagnosis of the social-territorial environment of the region studied and to the analysis of the data from the surveys undertaken.

2. Diagnosis of the social environment territorial in Kabylia: from organizational innovation to a co-construction of the general interest

The analysis of the social territorial environment in Kabylia can be constructed on Durkheim's thesis, arguing that the evolution from traditional society to modern

⁵ Especially in terms of implementation because design and financing remain the responsibility of the central State, namely the Ministry of Solidarity, of the Family and the Women Condition.

⁶ Article 03 of the Executive Decree No. 96-471 of 18/12/1996 laying down the rules of organization and operation of the Wilaya social action services, JORA n° 83 of 25/12/1996, pp. 17-18.

society is marked by the transition from “mechanical” solidarity to “organic” solidarity. In traditional small communities, ties are based on proximity, resemblance, shared history and shared values. While in modern societies, Men are different, numerous and melt into the mass. The links between individuals are based on the division of labor because individuals become dependent on each other and complementary to the specialization of tasks.

In Kabylia, traditional social organization is based on family solidarity based on segmentarity (Masqueray, 1886; Gellner, 1969) as a social ferment. This has far from disappeared with mutations that witnessed the modern society; it even proceeds to a refunding resembling to social innovation being part of organizational innovations expressed mainly through “the village committees” but also the social and territorial roots of certain associations.

2.1. “Mechanical” or “Hidden solidarities”

It is a context of organized private solidarity in structured forms, insufficiently recognized by the public authorities’ legislator. These are common forms (Oström, 2010) of care between individuals sharing the same geographic territory or having social relations that go beyond this geographical area or non-formalized solidarities (Causer, 2007). In Kabylia, they come in two forms:

A. Village solidarity

The family and village organization of the traditional Kabyle society has always been characterized by a construction of society based on coexistence and the contribution of each to the smooth operation of community affairs. It embodies principles of collective responsibility for collective interests that have not changed even in the presence of public services provided by local representatives of the public authorities. It was and still is, in most cases, more than a form of solidarity, a way of life, a cultural composition that founds and perpetuates the group. This principle of community life was quickly established as a rule of conduct, then in principle of ethics in which the first contours of the concept of citizenship are recognized. This approach recognizes the individual interests, personality and behavior while subjecting it to certain obligations such as respect for others based on the principle of reciprocity, participation in tasks of collective interest, contribution to common expenses and solidarity action for the benefit of the poorest.

In this traditional social organization, there is a family self-organization that is expanding and regrouping the whole village. This organization pattern brings members of a same family and by extension of a same village to take care of each other; thus the people in need are not left behind, using the villagers’ own resources.

The villagers then support the poorest through services and food exchanges on a daily basis or during religious holidays, which are a special moment to demonstrate the power of exchange at the time of collective sacrifice. The rendered services are

materialized by exchange of mutual assistance services and reciprocity, such house building, volunteering and helping a family member during the olive harvesting. All these solidarities give rise to a social action territorial systems resulting from the feeling of private solidarity, which can be a palliative to public action provided if coordinated and well used.

This social dynamic is driven by *tajmaat*, an assembly of representatives of different social organization segments with the exception of women who are represented informally⁷. Besides in collective interest activities, this deliberative and executive body was also responsible for organizing cultural life, ensuring preservation of the common heritage and contributing to values and traditions' transmission (Ahmed Zaid, 2007). Solidarity action has contributed to the community buildings' construction (mosques, schools, roads, etc.) and to ensure a town planning adapted to the needs. It was also responsible for organizing the property and people protection provide certain needs of general consumption and safeguarding the commons (water, education, sanitation). In addition, it helped to facilitate plowing, sowing and harvesting; clean up and the tragedies effects reduction, incidents and accidents that could affect the members of the community. This organizational framework has institutionalized a form of organized volunteering, *tiwizi*, to become the means of recourse of poor and haves. It is the force mobilized in case of necessity, the expression of an accessible altruism to the poorest, the weakest, and a device for more equity. It will be carried by village infrastructures proportionally with the scope of the microcosm of villagers secreting social superstructures in line with the demands expressed by society (Ahmed Zaid, 2007). This form of solidarity organization is a persistent feature in all Algerian regions and even in North Africa (Camps, 1980). It is therefore based on a cohabitation between the rich and the less wealthy; the community assumed its responsibilities to face misery, disease and natural disasters. For this, the unemployment notion has remained unknown as long as reason, work and generosity have dominated.

This territorial solidarity pattern based on the principle of reciprocity is developed by Polanyi. He states that unlike the market, reciprocity assumes that the partners are in a relationship of complementarily and voluntary interdependence (Polanyi, 2001). The pattern is now threatened by changes in social organization dynamics and the rise of individualism that resulted in the need for a social policy to rehabilitate these practices and to extend actions to the care of the elderly, the disabled and the poor.

B. Religious solidarity

The second model of territorial solidarity, practiced in both rural and urban areas, derives from religious practices' rules and principles. This form of solidarity presents analogies with the concept of foundation and the goods that are its object are referred to by the term *habous*. It refers to the law relating to land ownership in Maghreb. Public *habous* are goods considered of general interest intended to

⁷ By her husband, father, or brother, etc.

accommodate hospitals, religious schools or other collective projects, while the *wakf*, property of mortmain, are inalienable goods preserved within a family. When the lineage goes out, these goods are assigned to charitable works and become public *habous*.

Thereby, “the *habous* is a juridical act by which a person stripped himself of one or more of his properties, usually immovable, and puts them out of commerce, by assigning them to perpetuity to charitable or social work, either in an absolutely exclusive manner or with any restriction, it is a public *habous*, or reserving the enjoyment of these goods to one or more determined persons, it is *habous* of family” (Cherif Chakib, 2007). At the extinction of the family line, this last becomes public *habous*. The *habous* include real estate, land and agricultural rents such as the fruit of inalienable olive trees. Incomes of these public dwellers are very useful; they assure in small localities functions of collective interest. Thus, the model of this religious solidarity can be considered as an instrument of long-term support and financing of the SSE structures in view of its historical anchoring in the Maghreb societal being, its incarnation of the interest of the community, its management style and its multiple objectives.

There are other major forms of religious solidarity as *zakat* (Boublal, 2014), or almsgiving, the third pillar of Islam. It is a religious obligation required to believers on a yearly basis over financial resources exceeding 85 grams of gold (2.5% acquittal), the livestock, goods, soil extracted resources, fruits, vegetables, cereals. We can also list the *a’shur*, a sort of tithe of the crops and the assets, *zakat-el-fitr* and *sadaqa*. Products of these religious solidarities are redistributed to the poor and the needy in order to ensure a decent life to them. They contribute significantly to the mechanisms for consolidating solidarity and social cohesion.

These traditional and religious practices have played and play an important role at social and economical levels in Algeria. They are materialized in aid to the needy, as well as through an integrated economy respecting the citizen, social and democratic dimensions. These practices respect and maintain the social and human dimensions underpinned by the creation of sustainable jobs and develop adapted responses to meet the needs of citizens on their own territories. This is particularly the case of the institutionalization of *zakat* through the creation of the *Zakat* Fund (Sfihi, 2013).

However, this mechanism of religious essence involves sprains and breaches of the sacrosanct budgetary principles and limits their scope, allowing the run away of collective means of financing that escape the budget channels. Similarly, it will question one of the fundamental attributes of the tax because it can now be constituted by a contribution in kind contrary to the conditions required by modern tax.

2.2. “Organic” or “apparent solidarities”

This type of solidarity is characterized as “visible” because it occurs in an organized framework that responds to the appropriate regulatory status. It is a solidarity that is part of the legal and regulatory channels defined by the legislator, in the form of associations, interest groups and organization of the solidarity economy, but which originated from the traditional social system organization, including the *tajmaat* or village committees.

A. The associations

These organizations have existed since the independence of Algeria, but have only expanded and blossomed with the political opening and the promulgation of Law 90-30, relating to associations. So, the legal framework applied to associations has been considerably lightened in terms of procedures for creation and exercise controls. This law has been replaced by a new one in 2012⁸.

The tolerated associations are generally those that intervene in particular fields as religious, political, sports, cultural, social and consumers’ protection. Behind the choice of public authorities to promote and develop the associative movement, is the objective of creating a link between the public sphere producing public measures and the private sphere, consumer of public services. This relay must respond to the needs of the population that are not supported by public service bodies because of multifaceted failures. The number of associations in Algeria, according to statistics compiled in 2012, is 1,027 national associations and 92,627 local associations⁹. The Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou ranks third in the country with 4,809 associations.

Social associations have thus known a great development. They are organized mainly around the care of people with disabilities, suffering from chronic diseases and to a lesser degree, the care of the poor. In the field of social relief, public interest associations such as the Algerian Red Crescent and Algerian Muslim Scouts remain mostly involved in this field; their situation is quasi-monopolistic. Otherwise, small associations activate locally, but their activity and their contribution to the community remain limited. This activity is confined to very punctual events during national and religious holidays.

That being so, one cannot ignore the question of interference of public authorities in the functioning of associations and civil society in general and their willingness to co-opt them. Indeed, it can be argued that the associative field also allows the authorities to control society. The various procedures and control mechanisms to which the associations are subject allow the authorities to monitor the activities of their members. Furthermore, the arbitrariness of the administrative practices authorized by the legal uncertainty is a way of managing a social space showing

⁸ Law No. 12-06 of 12 January 2012 on Associations, JORA No. 02 of 15 January 2012, pp. 28-34.

⁹ Data source: <http://www.interieur.gov.dz>.

ambitions of autonomy. The emergence of mobilization forms that call upon other mechanisms to strengthen the democratization of society are repressed and struggle to consolidate. Although still a minority, some associations, known to be active in the field of human rights, have managed to stand out from these co-optation strategies. However, this attempt at muzzling the associative movement has also shown its limits, the authorities have to deal with a new phenomenon that is more difficult to control, such as the presence of regional and international organizations and institutions that privilege direct contacts and relations with the associative movement. In addition, through national level networking or thanks to the support of international organizations, some service associations have been able to increase their autonomous intervention capacity, especially in the social, health care sectors and youth. Thus, coordination platforms have been created in recent years and, from Internet portals, have as their main objective Algerian NGOs' initiatives coordination promotion.

Having more financial autonomy, thanks to the support of international donors, other associations such as Children and Women Rights Center for Information and Documentation (CIDDEF) even managed to stimulate public debate and legislative reform projects on the issue of women and work or abandoned children.

Nevertheless, the internationalization of the Algerian associative field is not well perceived by the authorities that see it as a challenge to their effective control over the associative movement. This is why the legal framework limits the possibilities for local associations to establish links with international organizations: they cannot join international associations pursuing the same goal. Only national associations can do this, after prior approval of the Ministry of the Interior.

B. The village committees

It is the new form of legally recognized organization grafted onto a broader form of traditional solidarity embedded in the village socio-political institution "*tajmaat*", introduced in the conceptual framework of section 2. Currently, the latter tends to restructure and to decline in an associative form called "association of the village committee" with less rigidity in the mechanisms of representation which are based rather on a voluntary commitment than on a family anchor. It is an equivalent to the urban structures "neighborhood committees" but whose functions and principles are quite different. Social action and social assistance are regular functions within the village committees; they come in the form of financial assistance to the poor, food aid, clothing, etc. Neighborhood committees in urban spaces do not automatically address these issues. This new context that *tajmaat* knows is due to the institutional recognition that certainly marks a form of organizational innovation. However, it also joins somewhere Desroche conception of the social economy (Desroche, 1991), who distinguishes between an "instituting social economy" based on a project that drives and is the operation engine of the initiatives, and an "instituted social economy", dominated by the organization (Draperi, 2007; 2011). He then considers that in this

established social economy, the organization is a brake on innovation and creativity. Applied to *tajmaat*, there will be a risk of instrumentalization (Demoustier, 2001) or trivialization (Jeantet, 2006) behind its institutionalization. We believe that certain experiences of village committees have led to innovations in the modalities of participation in the social development of communities and the initiation of certain mechanisms related to solidarity finance (Boutrahi, 2013). Thus we join the analysis of Draperi who shows through some renovations made by large organizations of the social economy that “the process of institutionalization and trivialization is neither continuous nor irreversible” (Draperi, 2007). But, a long-term evaluation is advocated to better discuss these hypotheses.

These committees continue to play an important role in villages’ day-to-day life and they are the ones who compensate local public authorities’ shortcomings in providing certain services: road surfacing, electrification of the villages, drinking water supply, and help to the poor. They manage to carry out activities on a voluntary basis and financial contributions advanced by the members of the village (Taïb, 1999). These committees are sometimes consulted by local elected representatives and deconcentrated administrations. They actively participate in local needs expression and Communal Development Plans formulation.

As it is nowadays, the territorial social organization in Kabylia tends to mitigate social bond disintegration effects under impulse of the populations’ urbanization and modernization of the ways of life. The concerned territorial actors start their organizations on the basis of traditional “mechanical” solidarities. This is mainly the case of village committee, considered as an innovative organizational model with a territorial anchorage that appropriately meets the inhabitants’ expectations. In a second step, it is relevant to identify the innovative actions produced by its associations in their two forms: village committees and associations of a social nature.

Finally, one must note that *tajmaat*, as an ancestral institution with high symbolic value, continues to function in many villages, even though it has no official recognition, while the village committee results from the interaction between the villagers’ desire to modernize their village’s management structures in order to improve their living environment and the willingness of the public authorities to have a politically controllable link. In this form of unspoken contract, the committee offers the public authorities a certain right of inspection and a source of peculiar information on the affairs of the villages by developing in particular privileged relations with members of the committee. Sometimes these relationships help to realize some of the useful projects to the villages by their own financial contributions. In fact, these two types of organization cannot coexist in a same village, at the risk of generating conflicts. But, various associations (religious, cultural, social, etc.) can coexist with *tajmaat*, or even have strong ties of cooperation in the sense of promoting the general interest. In its foundations, *tajmaat* is a historically deep and complex socio-institutional construct resulting from a powerful multidimensional synthesis integrating social, cultural, organizational, political and economic referents.

Attempting to equate it today with a simple organizational framework with limited objectives and functioning such as the village committee would be naive and limiting simplification. This last form of organization, rather associative, took shape with the dynamics of the decades 1980, 1990 and 2000. It tends to be inspired by the concept of *tajmaat*, but for different objectives and missions. The main difference is to be found in the way in which the two forms integrate human values, the reference to the family in the mode of representation and the relations to the central power.

3. Associative action interaction and territorial social action in Kabylia: Content of the co-construction of the general interest

In Algeria, the weight of the third sector has always been a poorly studied indicator in the economic analysis (Ahmed Zaid, 2013a). In this contribution we first wanted to identify on a microeconomic scale (territory of Kabylia) the weight of associations in a field of territorial public action, and its weight in social action. The study was not limited solely to a consistence analysis, but also to the innovation approach in associative practices as an objective in itself.

In our context, the construction of the SSE framework is linked to the conventional economy. The three recognized components in the SSE are declined here differently. The first one, on the type of user reports, also takes into account the actors' aspirations in the internal functioning of their organization. The second concerns the relation to the market and its inscription as a third economy in exchanges. It seeks to position itself as a different economy in the plural economy dominated by market and administered economies. The third strand relates to the policy report on public policies initiated which claim to be forms of social innovation, but which produce inefficient responses to unemployment, rural depopulation and local public services management. This report remains unfinished due to the lack of consideration to defining and constructing local public policies process.

To do this, we first recommend to study the action of the village committees in the framework of community development projects, then the action of social associations activating for the benefit of disabled people and finally the study of a special case of the support fund for very small enterprises by the *Touiza-Solidarité Internationale* association, which can easily be likened to social innovation forms of organizational nature.

3.1. Co-construction of the general interest, and community partnership: Community development and village committees action

The community development and the action of village committees were aimed at co-financing several projects through the public-community partnership in a participative approach. This program is initiated by the public authorities in 1998 as part of a social net support program, entrusted to Social Development Agency services for its financing and to Social Action and Solidarity Directorate at the territorial level for its implementation. It aims to improve the living conditions of poor

people living in disadvantaged areas. The project must, by its very nature, benefit community people in terms of improving their daily well-being as well as temporary or permanent jobs creation.

The project must be sponsored and presented by a local association to the municipality to meet the aspirations of the inhabitants, and the overall amount of the project must not exceed 4,000,000.00 DA. The financial support will be 90% of the project by the Social Development Agency (ADS) and 10% remaining by the beneficiary community.

In this participatory approach, the village committees expressed and showed a community awakening among the population and were able to mobilize necessary co-financing for the projects viability. This enabled the completion of 55 community development projects in the territory of the Wilaya of Tizi Ouzou for a total amount of about 140 Millions DA, corresponding to a Community financing of about 14 Millions DA¹⁰. The projects mainly concern drinking water supply, sanitation, village roads paving and public lighting. The most innovative action within the framework of the realization of this program consists in building a home for the disabled. This type of project does not figure in the official nomenclature of development community projects proposed by the Social Development Agency. But the population, faced with the lack of support structure for disabled people in its territory, took the project forward and succeeded in its implementing. This action meets the definition that states that a social innovation is “an initiated intervention by social actors, to respond to an aspiration, to meet a need, to provide a solution or to take advantage of an opportunity to take action, to modify social relations, to transform a framework of action or to propose new cultural solutions”¹¹.

3.2. Co-construction of the general interest, and social partnership: Innovation of social associations for creation and management centers for disabled people

Actions of social nature associations cannot go unnoticed. The presentation of their consistence, activities and performed actions is outlined through the data on Table 1. The comparative analysis for the years: 2007, 2011 and 2012, shows a number of associations strengthening; while the share of those who remains truly active¹² represent limited proportion. Their activities are mostly oriented to the help to the poor.

¹⁰ Crosschecks on the “DASS” activity reports based on Community Development Reports.

¹¹ The definition is from CRISES, taken by Bouchard M-J., in her book *L'économie sociale, vecteur d'innovation*, Ed. PUQ 2011, p. 7.

¹² Active associations are those that carry out regular actions and maintain cooperative relations with the administrative services concerned.

**Table 1 - Evolution of the number of social associations
and overall orientation of their activities**

Year	Number of certified associations	Subsidy amount in DA	Main activities
2007	140 including 30 in regular activity	Wilaya: 780 000.00 Ministry: 10 048 594.48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ramadan solidarity - Creation of care center for people in difficulties - Creation of training center - Workshop creation with different activities
2011	245 including 45 in regular activity		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor people help - Help for disabled people and children in difficulty - Help for women in difficulty - Assistance to chronic patients
2013	322 including 62 in regular activity	Wilaya : 17 200 000.00 58 subsidized associations Ministry: 22 300 000.00 5 subsidized associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for people with disabilities - Assistance to Chronic Patients - Help for women in difficulty

Source: Crosschecks on the Social Action and Solidarity Directorate "DASS" activity reports.

In 2011, the number of associations has increased to 245 social approved associations, including renewal and new associations. Their field of action will also be restricted to the benefit of poor people while significantly reducing their activities to become more confined to the assistantship dedicated activities. The activities related to training and employment support with regards to training and workshop centers which occur among the "core activities" were eliminated (see Table 1). Out of these 245 associations, only 45 have carried out regular activities in partnership with the services of The Social Action and Solidarity Directorate for a total of 20 719 of associative members, while the number of files processed for constitution or renewal of associations' office has been 30. In 2013, the number of associations is also increasing. It should be noted, then, that this number is acceptable for a Wilaya with 67 municipalities, given that the average is between 4 and 5 associations per municipality, based on the number of existing associations. The public cost of supporting these movements is much lower than that of other social action schemes, like the social safety net. This shows importance of private funds into associative social action financing.

One of the major actions and main innovation of the associative movement in the Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou, concern the creation and management of centers specialized in the integration and training of the disabled and poor, knowing that the institutions of this type are only five in number and geographically concentrated in the chief town.

This geographical concentration gives rise to a territorial inequality in disabled people access to establishments' services. If a disabled person does not reside in the chief town, the distance he has to travel to reach the existing public centers for disabled people is about fifteen to seventy kilometers. This causes him additional costs to bear. Apart from this problem, mention must be made on the capacity of these

establishments, which remains very limited. In 2012, the Wilaya accounts 29,778 disabled people and the public facilities capacity is 558 places. It should be noted that the private sector is absent in this area and that there is no private offer of services for this category of people. The table 2 below shows the number of specialized establishments run by the associative movement.

Table 2 - Associative movement managed Specialized establishments by the 2007-2011-2013

2007	2011	2013
Psycho-pedagogical Center for children with mental disorder in Tizi Ouzou Wilaya, managed by the Association of Parents and Friends of Disabled Children of Tizi Ouzou	Psycho-pedagogical center for children with mental disorder, managed by the association of the parents of handicapped children of the wilaya of Tizi Ouzou	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the association of the parents of Mental handicapped children of the wilaya of Tizi Ouzou
Psycho-pedagogical for children with mental disorder Draa Ben Kheda, run by the association of parents and friends of disabled children of T.O	Psycho-educational center for children with mental disorder, managed by the association of parents of helpers for mentally unsound children in the wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou (Municipality of Draa Ben Khedda)	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the association of parents for children with mental disorder support children wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou (Draa Ben Khedda)
Psychiatric Center for people with mental disorder in Boghni Daira, managed by the Boghni Daira Mental Abuse Association	Psycho-pedagogical center for children with mental disorder, managed by the association of assistance to children with mental disorder of Daira de Boghni	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the association of help to the people with mental disorder of Boghni
Training center in sewing and embroidery, managed by the Wilaya Committee of the Algerian Red Crescent	Psycho-pedagogical center for children with mental disorder, managed by the disabled people's association and their friends from the Bouzeguene daira	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the association of disabled people and their friends, daira of Bouzeguene
Computer workshop, hairdressing and traditional cuisine, managed by the social association "the heart on the hand"	Medical Center, managed by the association of parents and friends of children with mental disorder, Municipality of Larbaa Nath Irathen	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the association of help and support children with mental disorder, Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou (the 7 wonders)
Computer and sewing workshop, managed by the cultural association "relationship and promotion of the disabled people"	Medical Center, managed by the social association "Assirem", village Ait Ailem, Ain El Hammam	Psycho-pedagogical center managed by the social association "Assirem" of the village Ait Ailem Commune of Ain El Hammam
Computer Workshop, managed by Youth and Childhood Prevention and Promotion of League	Medico-educational Center, managed by the association of help and support for children with mental disorder, wilaya of Tizi Ouzou	Medico-educational center managed by the association for children with mental disorder of Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou
Center for the care of children and young people in difficulty: confectionery workshop, managed by the disabled people association, municipality of Assi Youcef		

Source: Crosschecks on 2007, 2011 and 2013 DSAS reports.

It should be noted that apprenticeship and vocational training workshops for disabled people have unfortunately disappeared. The associations that have been able to carry out their actions within the framework of the institutions, since the year 2007 to date are four in number, thus allowing three other municipalities (Boghni, Ain El Hammam and Bouzeguene) outside of the chief town to have this offer of service. In addition to the activities mentioned above, the associations contribute also to social map data updating and in vital needs of the populations' census of the identified sites as pockets of poverty.

If associative social action has made significant progress in the Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou, deficits are still recorded. We note in particular that the segment of the population which benefits from this action, remains limited for many reasons, particularly relating to the geographical distance from the urban centers, given that most associations activate in the urban environment, close to the chief town of the Wilaya. Those, which activate in the other municipalities, are located in the centers of Dairas or municipalities. They do not easily reach populations in villages that remain particularly isolated.

The activities of associations remain confined in psychological care and integration through training, while they would benefit from developing an integration approach through economic activity. Employment is the key to empowering people with disabilities to ensure successful human development. So, one can conclude that this action called "social development action" has its limits. From the point of view of efficiency, it does not allow a sustainable integration of the targeted people in the social life. In terms of equity, the territorial coverage of this action presents a geographical imbalance which does not allow the access of those concerned to the services provided by the structures intended for them.

3.3. Co-construction of the general interest, and international partnership: a particular innovation for the support fund to VSE from the experience of Touiza solidarity project

The support fund project for VSE was set up by *Touiza-Solidarité Internationale* in partnership with the local social Association for Innovative Youth and the Environment (AJIE)¹³ and the Wilaya authorities. It is a part of a sustainable local development pilot project in the Wilaya of Tizi Ouzou. This project focuses on a territory of 19 municipalities located in the catchment area of the new Taksebt dam and it consists in granting micro-credits to young project holders. The targeted population includes those who are looking for a qualified job and are unlikely to access existing formulas in the context of public microcredit and business creation support programs. Sometimes, the size of the projects proposed is unsuited to the conditions of the public devices or the sector requested has reached the stage of saturation. They consist in loans to finance small equipment for sustainable income-generating activities creation. Thus, investments are favored to enable the launch of

¹³ AJIE: *Association pour la Jeunesse Innovatrice et l'Environnement*.

productive activities, in the sectors of agriculture, tourism, environment and crafts. Microcredit is capped at 350,000 DA. The choice of beneficiaries is made after an application files first study by the AJIE Project Manager and a loan committee sponsored by a university researcher¹⁴. Shortlisted candidates undergo a three-day training course on the creation of VSEs, led by an Algerian trainer to help develop a project (commercial, financial and legal study).

As a result of this training, the beneficiaries are selected by the AJIE project manager and the local trainer with the advice of the Loan Committee. It is a small Committee of 5 people constituted by three members of the Local Initiatives Committee, project governance organ, composed of the Chamber of Crafts and Trades, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Chamber of Agriculture and two public bodies (ANGEM and ANSEJ)¹⁵ recognized for their competences in the field of support for the creation and development of very small enterprises. The granting of loans is formalized by the AJIE as part of an agreement with Touiza-Solidarity International. A notarial act legalizes the granting of the loan. In addition to the financial contribution, an accompanying action was also planned as part of the project. This mission consists in guiding, advising and monitoring all the carriers upstream and downstream of loans granting. Whether it is rural or urban areas, monitoring the financed activity development is essential to maintain good relations with the beneficiaries and respect the established repayment schedules. Support and follow-up occur at different stages of business creation.

Prior to loan granting, assistance in setting up the project through initial training is led by a specialist trainer in business creation and by an exchange with the project manager. The project leader is guided to draw up a work plan that includes the three elements relating primarily to the commercial study of the sector of activity, potential suppliers, competitors, and demand; then to the financial study, that is to say the elaboration of the operating account, the financing plan and the cash flow plan; finally, to the legal study to determine to which legal framework the activity is submitted.

If the case application file is accepted and credit is granted, regular follow-up allow to build a trustful relationship with the project leader who is launching the activity; they also ensure that the funds lent have been allocated to the project and initially planned investment (the equipment and material purchase invoices are checked and collected on this occasion), and evaluate the start of the activity compared to the forecasts made during the study.

A follow-up of the project promoters is ensured by the project manager during the loan repayment period. Additional training sessions are subsequently organized to respond to the project leaders' request. In order to assess the sustainability of the

¹⁴ This researcher is member of the Research Laboratory on Economic Reforms and Local Dynamics (REDYL) of Mouloud Mammeri University of Tizi Ouzou.

¹⁵ ANGEM is Microcredit Management Agency and ANSEJ is Youth Employment Support Agency.

generated activities, an annual remote follow-up to the funded projects holders is provided.

The project designers initially have as a goal to finance 23 VSEs. A very large mobilization allowed the identification of 163 people interested in the creation of VSE. Each interested project holder has completed a loan application form. After training and selection, the Loan Committee finally granted 43 financings, 20 micro-credits more than the original forecasts. These projects gave rise to two types of loans depending on the rural or urban character, according to the vocations and geographical specificities of involved municipalities. The activities concerned are agriculture, small sheep farming, cow' milk production, fattening of calves and lambs, pottery, traditional dress, Kabyle jewelery, plumbing and appliance repairs.

On the other hand, a cooperatives' constitution workshop was conceived and financed by *Touiza-Solidarité Internationale* and implemented by association AJIE, as part pilot project of local development in the framework of the Wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou. It resulted in setting up a project to create seven cooperatives, through training on the creation and management of cooperatives, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 - Cooperatives created and their objectives

Project	Number of partners	Objective
01 Cooperative manufacturing of Kabyle jewelry	07	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Purchase of raw materials and the marketing of final products - Make the activity profitable - Labelization of the local product Maatkas pottery - Information - Marketing and rescuing products in danger - Marketing of the production
02 Cooperative Assalas potters	07	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grouped purchase - Fighting against counterfeit - Feeding staffs procurement in the production in the livestock
03 Cooperatives of couscous rollers	04	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improve the productive capacity and quality
04 Cooperatives of milk producers	08	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of knowhow and work conditions
05 Cooperatives of sheep breeders	06	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open a new breeding branch production and sale of sheep milk

Source: Crosschecks on Touiza Solidarité Internationale reports.

Here, innovation does not only concern the introduction of solidarity finance in associative action, which is a new fact in the Algerian context, but it is multi-faceted. Beyond the mode of governance and the ability to mobilize a multiplicity of actors involved in this process, the project is also an important organizational innovation. Finally, the support of project promoters after its launch and the search for territorial cooperation modes between these entrepreneurs, are also an innovative experience

whose main challenge embodies these businesses sustainability, creating wealth and supporting income generation.

From there, we note that the associations surveyed have been the innovations bearers resulting from their territorial anchorage, so from the proximity with social action seekers in all their forms. The innovation achieved is the result of the existence and maintenance of the social link, prevailing at the territorial level with a development perspective, in all its components, for which these organizations aspire to be a palliative to the approach of state handouts borrowed from the public sphere itself.

The relevant questions surrounding these innovations, their institutionalization and their role in the general interest formulation transformation are multiple. We propose, in the evaluation of social economy and public policies, to analyze the following questions:

- What kind of social innovation can be characterized in the SSE' organizations actions and thus what is their contribution in provision of social services of the general interest?
- What are the public-authorities institutionalization forms of these innovations? (Assistance, Assignment, Applications processing, Projects viability, etc.).
- Is there a form of integrated territorial governance in the co-construction of the general interest in the provision of social services and territorial resources development? (Partnership, Recognition of actors, incentive mechanisms and support for social innovation).

Conclusion

The possible perspectives should combine SSE actions and territorial dynamics. From now on, it is a question of considering the part of Social and Solidarity Economy in the local development political construction to arrive gradually to its translation to new territorial collectivities level governance networks (wilaya, municipality, even at the scale of geographically identified regions). That needs identifying sufficiently homogeneous territorial dynamics to give birth to SSE materialization and evolution process in its societal and historical dimensions. In sum, it corresponds to SSE territorial regimes' definition those are specific to each region.

In his paper, *"The SSE territorial regimes: the case of the French Basque country"*, Itçaina shows that this approach amounts to questioning the territorial social capital constitution factors which constitutes as a collective good a production factor in its own right. Then, we see the constitution of the systemic political regulation that is to say the territory governance forms, and finally, the territory public problems construction, or the transformation of social issues into public problems and political problems (Itçaina, 2010).

The opportunity to promote the SSE in Algeria must be seized for the development and implementation of a transversal policy of initiatives and to build strongly structured companies in both statutory and sectoral logics. The emergence of SSE territorial policies must be geared towards an institutional consolidation and renewal which gives a place to the SSE as a legitimate component of the plural economy. This will able the SSE to influence local development logics. The recognition of the cross-cutting nature of the SSE is fundamental to the logic of sectoral or statutory integration, which periodically questions its socio-economic and socio-political specificities (Fraise, 2016a). The field of the SSE is still in gestation phase in Algeria. It manifests itself more by crumbled actions than by logic of actors and organizations that are rooted in societal realities and even less in convergent territorial and economic dynamics. This trend is also corroborated by the absence of an SSE specific legal framework in Algeria as well as in the other Maghreb countries, despite the existence of a legislation governing the various forms of social enterprises, and an institutional framework to support the social economy both at the level of state administration and local authorities.

It is clear that the field of SSE is for the moment largely dominated by the forms and institutional arrangements that provide the bulk of its funding through direct or indirect channels. Foundations are poorly developed and are mostly extensions of NGOs. With a tradition rooted in the country history, co-operatives embrace a variety of activities, but they remain effective and operational only in the field of agriculture.

The assessment of the share of SSE in the Algerian economy is an extremely difficult exercise in a context marked by the absence of specific data and statistics to the field, the difficulties related to the interweaving of the institutional levers with the traditional levers as well as by the dilution of the SSE attributable actions compared to the public devices. However, the hope that the SSE takes off and constructively evolve as in other countries remains possible, given the gradual favorable networks emergence both nationally and in the Maghreb. This momentum of the SSE can be encouraged by the existence of ferments within the Algerian society that offers real predispositions or certain capabilities through its strong resilience, its ability to adapt and integrate exogenous elements, and especially its ability to integrate evolutionary processes. In the same approach, society carries with it strong organization and federation principles, pooling of resources and work force, but also its own resources valorization as modest as they are (territorial resources, human resources) particularly in the commons management. This significant social capital can be exploited and serve as a basis for consolidating and promoting SSE in Algeria (Ahmed Zaid, 2013).

The special logics of rent distribution, which are underway in Algeria, have seen the emergence of new forms of distribution produced by the public devices of social action and solidarity. These are part of the process of reducing social tensions and conflicts, and the instrumentalization of associations (very top-down). Nevertheless, from the point of view of the actors, they integrate the dynamics of self-mobilization

and their implication in the taking care of certain needs, according to frameworks and means identified by the public authorities. Evolving in an environment marked by deculturation and acculturation, they seem to move away from the analysis advocated by Polanyi. These logics appear to embody the principle of “counting on oneself”, because they are part of a global dynamic of “production of society” (Touraine, 1973) and its co-production, taken at a primary stage. They do not seem, in any case, to have sufficiently integrated the universal principles of the SSE. However, we can clearly deduce that this is certainly a form of construction of the social and solidarity economy, which fits well with the territorialized general interest and a limited lucrative dimension, straddling its institutional dimension and its cultural dimension, even voluntarism.

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