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Community forests have been studied extensively in rural contexts and South countries. This presentation will focus on community forest management specificities in a French peri-urban context. It will question and discuss the discourses defending community forest as a "common good".

In south-western France, La Teste-de-Buch forest users, at the foot of the Pilat Dune, are under the last 15th century customary law management in Europe. Use Rights take precedence over ownership Rights. This original management, named "baillettes and transactions", by user communities, allows a mix species maintenance, within Landes de Gascogne, forest of intensive maritime pines production. However, today the French government and land owners want to change the legal status of the forest for the benefit of wood production and putative tourist developments. Conflicts between owners and users is currently taking place on the Arcachon Bay. Within that context, new alliances are being formed between traditionally opposed groups, hunters and ecologists, inhabitants and walkers.

The forest is the heart of the debates. Tensions arise about its uses. Studying this social conflict allows to question the different forms of appropriation of the forest: tourist place, game reservoir, nourishing land, collection of dead wood, observatory of the fauna and flora. The forest appears to be a "common good" in the discourse of each actor. But discourses and practices do not always correspond to each other. Each actor implements differentiated tactics and strategies in order to maintain control over a forest with strong environmental amenities. Those initiatives question the definition of the forest as a "common good". We want to discuss the hypothesis that the forest is empirically taken as a "club good" in a critical approach to the work of French researchers Dardot and Laval on the revolution of the commons. In the current emerging criticism of globalization, the defense of "common goods" reflects a desire to acquire new practices, rights that are opposed to the privatization process.

The local community which exploits the forest of La Teste-de-Buch, can do so by considering the forest as a common good. However, this is a common good for the local community and not for the human community. Moreover, the common of humans is not that of flora and fauna. It is a question of scales and definitions of the common forest.

Managing a forest as an exclusive club asset can appear protective, for example when users restrict access to a privileged few. The movement to raise awareness of environmental issues in France is strengthening the attraction of city dwellers for forests. The challenge for residents is to control the number of people and their

behavior. The determination of the beneficiaries of the peri-urban forest takes precedence over the guarantee of the exercise of a right of access to nature. Only people who have lived in La Teste-de-Buch for at least ten years can be forest users. Some users install barriers, fences, and prohibition signs. This withdrawal is not specific to the wealthy classes but concerns all social strata.

In Cazaux, the village of a large air base, land pressure is very strong on the shores of the lake. The residents defend the forest, the prices of the houses climb, which create a process of gentrification. The speculation is no longer touristic or industrial but real estate. The community is formed according to a choice of residence which is based above all on economic capital.

The conflict in the forest of La Teste-de-Buch is part of the defense of the uses of the local environment against major projects to exploit natural resources for tourism or the timber industry. The temptation is great for the inhabitants to return to the more or less idealized model of forest management by the village unit. The survival of ancient customs such as inheritance rights and affouage are ambivalent. Some may represent vestiges of the practice of the common, but others turn out to be an obstacle to the constitution of a true common law.

Actors of the peri-urban forest environment affect uses and envisage responsibilities with the city. My research is to know whether the process of transforming the peri-urban forest as a club good will give rise to a secessionist movement able to propose a counter-model of common environmental management or if it is more a question of functional integration whereby forests become more dependent on the city.

My scientific research is based on an original comparison between three different peri-urban forest communities:

- La Teste-de-Buch, a heritage forest confronted with tourism and the forestry industry.
- The forest of the ZAD of Notre Dame des Landes which is managed according to alternative methods by a community of radical ecologists.
- The Monts d'Or forest in the affluent suburbs of Lyon, a recreational area for city dwellers.

In each of these three peri-urban territories, each community presents the forest as a common good in its discourse. But each time, the community sets up an access control system for those entitled to do it. The selection can be juridical, political and economic.

Rather than analyzing the peri-urban forest as a margin, it seemed relevant to me to read this space as the interface between anthropogenic and natural dynamics. I am carrying out statistical research work at the national level in order to identify the

physical, biological, social and economic characteristics and dynamics of the French peri-urban forest, which is not yet recognized as a category of territorial analysis. This research is based on an ongoing fieldwork, in the framework of a Phd Thesis supervised by Eric Charmes of the ENTPE RIVES laboratory and Romain Melot of the INRAE SADAPT laboratory.

Arthur Guérin-Turcq, 15/09/2021