

# Culture as a productive resource, international networks and local development

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## 1. CULTURES AND THE ECONOMY: A MUCH-DEBATED ARTICULATION

One feature shared by knowledge and culture today is the fact that they are widely thematised in economic literature and in discussion of regional development.<sup>1</sup> During the course of economic development over recent centuries, there have been numerous crisis and reconstitution phases. On each occasion they have raised the question of what basis, and from what 'objects' (deposits, soil, technologies and so on) can new innovative processes be triggered and subsequently, when they take place in line with the capitalist model, what new processes of accumulation will develop? Today, it would appear that knowledge, culture and art are all perceived as central 'objects' within economic development (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005). Aspects that bear witness to this are the rise of cultural industries, the dematerialisation of industrial assets – whose value increasingly lies in their symbolic and communication values – the development of new forms of tourism such as 'green' tourism and commercial leisure. They participate effectively and continuously towards constructing the economic value of regions and towards growth. Gaining an understanding of this phenomenon opens up rich possibilities for reflection on an academic level, where contributions linking 'economics' and 'culture' have multiplied over recent years (see, for example, James, Martin and Sunley 2007).

Culture can be distinguished from the other resources that are mobilised because of its intrinsic link to the societies and communities that produce it. If we acknowledge that economic relations do not exist independently of the social and cultural dimension, they do – on the one hand – 'emanate' from the social networks that constitute the basis thereof, and on the other hand 'dissolve' these networks by permitting other actors and markets to enter the arena with those that are purely at the forefront as a result of the tradition of exchange or because of

proximity. Society and culture thus appear as 'substrates' of economic factors while at the same time they are subject to modification by the economy. In this context, culture produces the knowledge and practices that are necessary in order to establish social links, rules, codes of conduct and the forms of language needed in order for exchanges to take place. Culture generates shared history and visions at varying social levels. Moreover, it is a source of creative inspiration. More directly, culture is shown by means of 'objects' (cultural heritage, know-how, traditions, artistic practices and so on) which will be integrated within goods and services (industrial, tourism, leisure and so on) in the form of a resource.

Although political economics as a discipline tends to consider culture as simply a production factor like any other, various social sciences (sociology, ethnology or geography) are seeing the growing merchandisation of culture as leading to the development of specific tensions within societies. For Boltanski and Chiapello (2005), the Fordist period was characterised by a 'spirit of capitalism' opposing the economic sphere – perceived above all as functionalist and illustrated by the industrial model of mass production – and that of the world of culture, which stressed the necessity for humanity of emancipating and going beyond the satisfaction of basic needs. Within this analytical framework, culture and knowledge are in opposition to economic issues since their value resides precisely in the emancipation from utilitarianism and from social exploitation. In this perspective, culture and knowledge can develop to the extent that the State provides them with their own resources that are not subject to economic factors.

The movement from culture as a substrate to culture as a resource is at the centre of current concerns and debates. For some, this movement brings with it the alienation of the cultural objects mobilised in this way and eventually their loss of meaning and thus an impoverishment of the societies that produce these objects. For others, the moment can, in certain cases, make it possible to maintain and renew these objects: turning all or part of them into commercial goods provides the actors involved with the necessary means resources necessary to ensure that they live on. In this second perspective, economy and culture are not necessarily opposed, but are articulated in a more complex way, and can even reinforce one another.

As suggested by Hirschman (1986) economic exchange is always 'both' a social relationship and cultural communication. Seen from this perspective, 'culture' is no longer a homogenising factor. We shall therefore speak of cultures in the plural in order to place emphasis on the way in which these practices take place and the intra or inter-cultural interactions that are constitutive aspects of territory.

Without wishing to focus too exclusively on one or another of these approaches, this contribution proposes to examine the articulation between economy and culture by identifying the role of the *milieux* (Camagni, Maillat and Matteaccioli 2004) and of territorial production systems in the evolution of this articulation. A specific character of cultural resources, as we have seen

above, is that they frequently stem from cultures that are attached to territories and constitutive aspects thereof. When reflecting on the economics of cultural resources, the question of ‘authenticity’ is one that rapidly arises. The commercial value of a cultural object – which is the result of an individual or collective form of expression – is ambiguous in that it implies a minimum of alignment in order for it to be communicated, understood, and thus evaluated within exchange. This aspect is enhanced in the case of cultural resources relating to cultural heritage. Even when their authenticity is not questioned, the relation between culture and economy remains considerable since the process of renewal/creation of these resources frequently remains linked to their territory of origin (for example, know-how, professions in the arts).

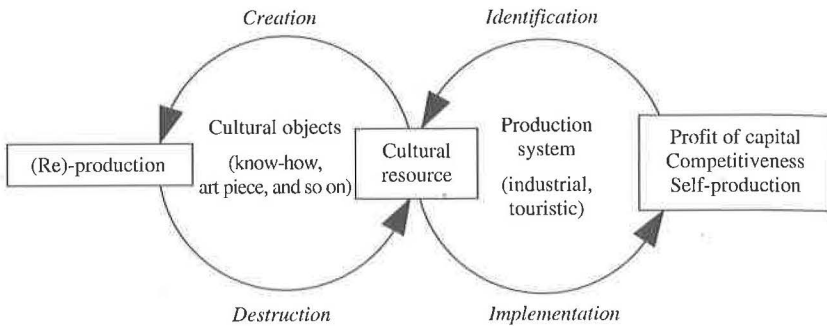
We will see that local *milieux* and territorial production systems are forms that favour the maintenance and renewal of cultural resources, being based on a proximity relation between the community producing the objects and the production system that exploits them in economic terms. *A priori*, the more this relation becomes distant, the greater the risks of the object becoming alienated (that is, the loss of the initial values). From another angle, any economic production that is successful on the market is led to expand its scope and thus to modify the social and territorial conditions of the production.

Thematising knowledge and culture would thus be part of a vast area of reflection on the relations between the economic sector (which periodically undergoes crisis and reconstitutes new possibilities for innovation and accumulation) and the rest of society. The current era appears to be marked by a tendency to ‘enrich’ economic exchange by providing it with an added cultural content that is also commercialised. In this context, today’s resources appear as an opportunity for regions capable of constructing them and making use of them. This capacity, however, also leads to some risks on which careful reflection is needed.

## 2. FROM CULTURAL ‘OBJECTS’ TO CULTURAL ‘RESOURCES’

In order to understand the relationship between the cultural objects/resources and the territory on a regional scale, we shall use the notion that resources constitute a relation between an object (cultural legacy, tradition, buildings, know-how, mineral, river and so on) and a production system<sup>2</sup> (tourism, culture, industry and so on) (Kebir 2004) (see Figure 24.1). From this perspective, cultural resources are all the objects of a cultural nature (knowledge, artefacts and so on) that can potentially serve a purpose, or be useful, within a production process. Within this approach, we again find types of know-how (skills, knowledge, historical traditions, history and so on) and artefacts (monuments, works of art and so on). The coordination methods (that is, legislation on the use of an item of cultural heritage, informal rules, conventions and so on) defining the modalities of using the resource are

not considered to be a resource. They concern institutions that permit or prevent collective action intended to constitute cultural objects as economic resources.



Source: Kebir and Crevoisier (2008).

Figure 24.1 Cultural resources as economic and extra-economic resources

This relation between object and production system is marked by the co-evolution of two 'entities': on the one hand, the cultural objects constituted by the processes of 'creation' (apprenticeship, collective experience, construction) and of destruction (oblivion, deterioration, wear and tear, destruction), and on the other, the production system<sup>3</sup> in which the actors will 'identify' certain objects as being a potential resource and will 'implement' them in the production of goods and services. Depending on the way in which these processes coevolve, the resource in question will either develop or lose substance.

The fact of using an object can lead to its destruction (such as mass visits to an archaeological site without it being protected). Implementing this resource can lead to apprenticeship-type effects (learning by doing), which in turn will renew the object. Technical development (development of the object) or market developments can render a resource obsolete and lead to a disjunction between the object and the production system. Know-how can disappear if the apprenticeship, transmission and renewal processes do not compensate the phenomena of oblivion and obsolescence. As an example, watchmaking know-how in the Arc of the Jura Mountains became considerably impoverished when quartz watches appeared on the market. The techniques used to manufacture mechanical watches became obsolete, the channels for training were abandoned, the machines destroyed and the practices partially forgotten. Nonetheless knowledge and skills were partially preserved due to museums in the region, watchmakers and other passionate individuals attached to their professions and to a certain idea of watches: they took care, outside the economic circuits, of some traces of the past (such as remarkable watches and machines). This heritage was

to constitute the driving force behind the renewal of watchmaking during the 1990s, with the triumphant return of the luxury mechanical watch. Without this territorial 'resistance' movement, which we shall term a 'community effort' (in the sense that it came from the community and not from the production system), the know-how would have disappeared.

The relation between object and production system is not established definitively. It evolves and constantly rearticulates according to the evolution of its components. This process is driven on the one hand by constraints regarding the reproduction of the object and the competitiveness of the production system, and on the other by the relations that each maintains with other systems (community, other production system and so on).

Cultural resources are particularly concerned by this last point, since they derive part of their value from their attachment to a community. It is in fact this 'extra-economic' attachment that constitutes the sign, the symbolic and communicational quality of the resource and that make it a source of economic value. The stronger the attachment, the more the articulation between the economic and non-economic values can be a source of tensions. So-called 'heritage' resources are a good illustration of this. As soon as a heritage dimension is attributed<sup>1</sup> to a cultural good, this becomes part of the common official heritage (common on a local, regional, national or worldwide level) and is given a value other than an economic one. The economic actors must then articulate the economic and non-economic values of the resource. For example, a building or an industrial site that is elevated to the rank of cultural heritage given its architectural or symbolic value in relation to a common history can no longer be used for economic purposes and transformed (the creation of a hotel, a cultural centre) except within the defined limits of an arbitration between conservation and operation (such as imposed norms regarding possible renovation work, need to respect the architectural style, impossibility of extending the building or constructing others nearby, restricted number of visitors).

The merchandisation of cultural objects raises the concern that they will become derailed, lose their authenticity, and consequently that their extra-economic value (in terms of identity and symbolism) will be destroyed. Underlying these fears, too, there is the risk of destroying the link between the producing community and the object thus mobilised. If communities no longer identify with an object, one could wonder what remains of the sign that was *a priori* so much admired. The more the link becomes distant, the more the object is derailed and deviates from its context, to become part of the 'global culture' that is constructed and diffused by the vast cultural industry via international networks. The phenomena of 'Disneyfication' or folklorisation are the direct expression of this simplification or rearrangement of cultural signs or messages.

Turning cultural goods into resources or their economic valorisation may, however, also produce beneficial effects on the resource, which is in fact frequently a necessary condition for maintaining or conserving it. For example,

conserving or valorising by means of tourism can go hand in hand, even if the tensions are numerous.

Beyond this case, which is now a frequent one, there are other situations in which the relations between culture and the economy can not only permit a cultural object to be conserved but also to be developed.

### 3. CULTURAL RESOURCES AND TERRITORY

The constitution and implementation of cultural resources can be understood by referring to their territory. Relations between the community or society from which they originate and the production system(s) mobilising them characterise territorial dynamics, with varying degrees of local anchoring and with diffusion scales whose scope varies in terms of extent and distance. Thus, the evolution of the cultural resource, its renewal or its disappearance, depends on the form of this link.

We shall tackle these questions using the approach of Braudel (1981–84, 1985),<sup>5</sup> who identifies three interdependent levels for economic functioning and its insertion within society: self-production, guided by the ‘use value’, the market organised around the ‘exchange value’, and finally ‘capitalism’, where the accumulation of capital drives production (Figure 24.2).

As with Braudel, these three levels are seen here as coexisting simultaneously in economic structures, even if historically, capitalism was the last of them to develop. It is therefore not a sequential model like that of Marx who saw capitalism as the successor to serfdom, but a series of complementary levels that together characterise the economic system. Capitalism can only grow if the lower levels are dynamic and if capitalism models them for its benefit. There are thus ascending and descending movements.

#### 3.1 Economic exchange and culture in self-production systems

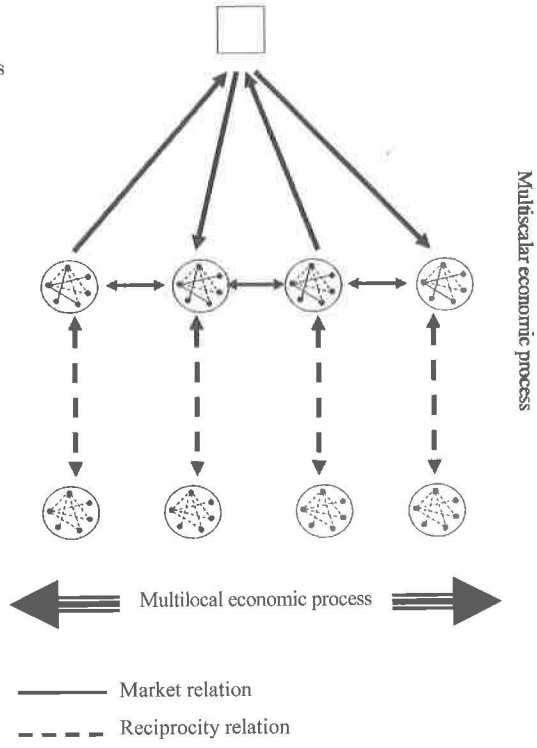
On a level of self-production and self-consumption, it is the ‘use value’ that will orient economic activity in order to permit the reproduction and renewal of the community. Reciprocity is the main coordinating institution for the activity. The monetary institution does not mediatise social relations. On this level, the economic and cultural dimensions of the exchanges come into play jointly, and can hardly be dissociated. Giving and receiving generates mutual commitments which constitute the framework of the community via reciprocity. Economic exchange and the social link are the two sides of a same coin: that of the renewal of the community.

On this level, economic exchange and the vernacular culture develop at a local scale whose degree of isolation varies. In fact, reciprocity develops within the context of interpersonal relationships. The specialisation of activities is

**CAPITALISM LEVEL**  
(economic exploitation and maintenance of cultural specificities of places from the top down)

**MARKET ECONOMY LEVEL**  
(production and exploitation of cultural specificity on the basis of both the local use value and the value of exchange with the 'elsewhere')

**SELF-PRODUCTION LEVEL**  
(cultural production on the basis of the local use value)



*Source:* Our elaboration based on Braudel's theory of economic organisation (Braudel 1985).

*Figure 24.2 Culture, economy and scales*

highly limited since the sole purpose of the economic activity is to satisfy basic needs and assure the reproduction of the community.

In more complex societies, the production of 'cultural objects' (education, research, so-called cultural activities, land development and so on) which are more varied and more numerous are organised via State institutions. If the use value is in principle what directs these activities, they are, however, financed by monetary transfers and develop within the framework of the public authorities' territory, that is a proximity space, an action and decision space with a border as its demarcation.

### 3.2 Market exchange and cultural resources

On the market level, the 'exchange value' engages activities in a process of specialisation and diversification in relation to one another. Beyond that, we see the specification of resources, a differentiation in the territorial offer,

and competition among spaces. ‘Money’ becomes the dominant institution, the standard for exchange, both linking the actors within production and consumption while permitting them to become engaged within a process of specialisation/specification. Monetary exchange is moreover characterised by certain balance, in the sense that service in kind and counter-service in money are equivalent in principle. There is thus no creation of ‘debts’, obligations, for one or the other to fulfil in future, as is the case with reciprocity.

The territories compete by means of differentiation, while together engaging in mercantile exchange. Here, the territory (the ‘us and them’, the ‘here and elsewhere’) is the basis that triggers the process of creating the difference: one that plays a decisive role in economic development. Here, economic exchange is also, and still, ‘a matter of cultural and social communication’. Producing, selling and buying is also a question of re-forging one’s position and identity.

The market level is expressed by forms of territorial organisation such as ‘industrial districts’ (IDs) or ‘innovative *milieux*’, and their production systems (‘clusters’), which function internally on the basis of both mercantile and non-mercantile relationships whose principal characteristic is embedding the economic aspect within local society. Exchanges with the exterior, at greater distance, are all of a monetary nature. These *milieux* are operators that on the one hand mobilise local specificities and on the other valorise them within exchanges with other actors and other *milieux*. For such regions, local identity and the specificity of the dominant economic activity are closely linked: the economic activities are the producers of local culture, and local specificity makes economic specialisation possible and strengthens it. The question is that of knowing the extent to which, and according to which modalities, the economic activity contributes to the reproduction and enrichment of knowledge and local culture, or on the contrary weakens it. These local cultural resources can thus become stronger if the local *milieux* are able to mobilise part of the money necessary in order to preserve the resources. As we shall see below, these resources can be sullied and decline if their quality and more particularly their authenticity are no longer the subject of attention.

Regions whose cultural identity is marked by specific economic activities are highly diverse. Mining regions, districts with an industrial tradition, agricultural, rural, and tourism regions and so on are marked on a cultural level by their productive vocation. Metropolises are characterised by a certain diversity of their prominent activities. Thus Los Angeles is not just Hollywood alone, nor is Paris exclusively a fashion centre, even though specific activities produce ‘cultural objects’ linked to a territory and participate widely in the local production of identity and ‘cultural objects’ (knowledge, know-how, characteristic urban landscape).

From a spatial point of view, we see an emerging mosaic of territories that are all involved in monetarised economic exchange. These regions progressively reinforce their reciprocal economic specialisations thanks to exchanges. The result is a strengthening of the specificity of the local identity which in turn makes it possible to give more depth to the economic specialisation or to renew it.

It is thus a space of regions that engage in relations via economic exchange, existing in a network of continuity that creates differentiation.

Today, the specialisation of spaces is increasing more and more. The hyper-mobility of goods, individuals and knowledge is leading to a dispersal of production industries over numerous sites that can be at a considerable distance from one another. This affects the identification of a place with a product or a technology. In fact, as we shall see below, economic exchanges are today the fruit of recompositions that call into question – in a selective way – certain cultural resources with historical origins.

### 3.3 Capitalism and de-socialised culture

At the third level – that of capitalism – ‘organisation’ takes over from the market. Exchange is marked by the absence of transparency (because of compartmentalisation or distance) between the producer and the consumer and by asymmetry, since the producer always enjoys a certain power on markets and on the spaces that harbour the resources. The main driving force in the organisation of production is the profit in relation to the invested capital. This in principle applies to the large cultural industry, where multinational corporations are able to juggle between various territories while valorising their specificities.

The compartmentalisation makes it possible to escape from prices being fixed by the market. The mastery – as exclusive as possible – of ‘distance’ relations has historically been a favoured means of implementing such economic relations (Braudel 1981–84).

Related to the cultural resources, mastering multilocal and international relations makes it possible to operate the territories’ cultural resources ‘from the top down’. Multinational corporations will mobilise cultural resources from specific places and integrate them within production and distributive chains at a world scale.

Cultural and territorial specificities are ‘instrumentalised’ and ‘decontextualised’. They are handled via their insertion within an accumulation process on a vast scale. The economic balance sheet of this interrelated space is no longer one that is produced at the scale of the region that has generated the resources (a scale that forces a certain balance between service and monetary flow). It is a balance established at a wider scale, permitting losses here or profits there. The essential difference between this and the level of mercantile exchange is that here, the flows of exchange in kind and/or of money among the various spaces are no longer necessarily balanced.

The capitalist level is thus characterised by the exploitation of a place’s cultural resources but with the specificity that the actors within the operation either are not stakeholders in the local society or are part of it and ‘at the same time’ part of other places. Multinationals can exploit these resources without being located in the region. Of course, most of the time, they will hold some branch, or at least some activity there. Nevertheless, the direct presence of the multinational is rarely

a question of survival for it. It can choose to close down that branch. Its location in such or such region is instrumental or, at least, is perceived as instrumental by other players. This results in a decoupling between the monetary flow and the cultural specificity. We should recall that at the market level, monetary exchange with other places was based on the cultural specificity and also 'strengthened it'. At the capitalism level, the identity between the economic exchange and the reproduction of cultural resources is no longer assured since one of the principal actors is either not part of local society or part of it, but with the suspicion of being there only for its own economic interests. Moreover, stripped of geographic context, the cultural expression becomes a 'shadow of the total experience' (Rifkin 2000, p. 253).

The mechanisms for producing knowledge and culture disappear. It is only the 'exploitation' of them that is essential, and for this reason their 'maintenance' is assured, notably by means of intellectual property law. The process of creating diversity and the process of exploiting diversity are thus dissociated. This raises the question of 'authenticity' since there is an absence of intersection between the processes: on the one hand, knowledge and culture as emanating from a local economic and social system inserted into the interplay of differentiating exchange, and on the other, reified knowledge and culture detached from the mechanisms of their production and enrichment.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the levelling of cultural differences among the various national markets was a condition for widening opportunities for standardised mass production. Fordism was characterised at the time by a 'de-culturation' of production, presented as being essentially functional.

Competition from low-cost production countries, but above all the necessity to innovate, led to a considerable rise in the 'cultural components' of production, and particularly within Western Europe, with a view to differentiating production and rendering it specific. Production was no longer functional and standard but also a form of social and cultural communication. Capitalism today has to a large extent integrated this order and, paradoxically, has succeeded extremely well in 'merchandising the difference' (Boltanski and Chiappello 2005). Local cultural resources will be mobilised and will participate in long-distance economic exchange.

This decontextualisation process will nevertheless transform the product and its accompanying cultural communication. Fashion, for instance, is not produced everywhere but above all in certain highly specific productive systems, generally metropolitan, where dynamics in this domain exist. Fashion sold by international chains in all European cities and elsewhere plays on cultural elements that are no longer attached to a place, or only partly, and in considerably stereotyped forms. World music or films produced by the major names in Hollywood are characterised by the use of cultural resources but which have been considerably re-formatted to permit their diffusion to wider markets.

This process of decontextualisation and re-formatting certainly brings with it certain suspicions regarding the authenticity of the cultural component of

the products and services. In fact, the cultural component is only effective if it is a communication, that is a link with something or someone else: a person, a community or even the spirit of a place. The overriding issue for cultural industries is thus one of maintaining – usually by means of intellectual property tools (marks, designs, royalties, patents, various quality labels) – a certain degree of personalisation by the producers (whether designers, actors, artists or even brands): a personalisation that is, of course, to a large extent illusory.

### **3.4 The dynamic of cultural resources between local innovative *milieux* and international-level accumulation**

Economic processes bring into play – simultaneously or on an alternating basis – these three phases within ascending or descending dynamics: certain regions are included at some point, then abandoned or ignored by the economic processes of exchange or accumulation.

During certain periods of history, capitalism reconfigures itself and seeks new products or services capable of reconstituting accumulation. These are relatively open periods during which the regional *milieux* can enter the scene in order to innovate and reposition themselves. During these periods formerly central regions are abandoned. Former industrial sites, the know-how, what they produced, all lose their economic value but not immediately their constitutive functions in the society and local culture.

As a result of this, the public authorities – usually together with various associative or private entities – proceed to operations intended to ‘create cultural heritage’ or more simply to ‘rehabilitate’ the regions.

We shall use one or two examples in order to gain a better understanding of how economic processes or those relating to local social dynamics may produce certain objects, and how ultimately the relation between those objects and the economic and cultural dynamics may change. More generally, the question is that of the forms of interaction between cultural and economic dynamics in society, and more particularly the interaction between the local scale and the international networks.

The case of the watchmaking industry in the Swiss area of the Jura Mountains is a typical example of the way in which a production system transformed itself and brought ‘cultural objects’ into play in a different way depending on the period. The Fordist period, because of standardisation and automation, led to a dequalification of the labour force. The end of that period moreover was one during which watchmaking museums were created, with their mission being to conserve know-how (restoration workshops, for example), documents and pieces from all periods. These ‘objects’ which had disappeared or were in the process of doing so were brought into a process of creation of cultural heritage. The end of the 1970s and the 1980s were marked by electronic watches and the importance of fashion. During this period, a few individuals with a passionate interest in watchmaking sought to bring the know-how and tradition of mechanical watches

back to life. To do so, they sifted through documents, mobilised individuals who had been trained during the 1930s, and gradually succeeded in making a market segment for luxury mechanical watches emerge. On a small scale at the outset, this market has developed in an extraordinary manner, to the point that it today represents nearly 80 per cent of the value of watch exports.

What happened? Success led to the creation of new firms, then buyouts of firms and investments on the part of large groups. The groups were either indigenous or from the exterior, and in particular active in the luxury goods industry. From a marketing point of view, the considerable expansion of the outlets took place by coupling products not with fashion but with exclusivity, with the notion of being unique, and with tradition. Faced with a risk of becoming too commonplace, we have seen – over recent years – a new wave of innovation, concerning a coupling between the sale of the product and a visit to the local museum for clients, set up by the production companies and the manufacturing workshops. It should be noted that these changes were above all brought in by local companies rather than the large groups, either local or from elsewhere. On a regional scale, the tourist activities *milieu* has established the name of ‘Watch Valley’, and two towns particularly involved in the watchmaking industry are seeking to have it included in the UNESCO list of World Cultural Heritage Sites after having restored and ‘recycled’ some of the buildings and the urban environment related to the old watchmaking cluster.

This dynamic shows how, at certain periods, the economic system ‘de-invests’ regions, thus creating industrial wastelands and leaving workers who possess know-how unemployed. From an identity point of view, these objects still constitute a focal point within the local socio-cultural dynamic. In the present case, an innovative *milieu* emerged and focused on transforming the objects that had become part of the cultural heritage, or even forgotten, into new economic resources. This is a moment when economic exchange with the ‘elsewhere’ becomes the driving force behind cultural revitalisation, and vice versa. Then, once success is achieved, major groups enter the market, imitating, buying up and perfecting the new practices. The door is open to an instrumentalisation of the cultural objects incorporated in the watchmaking product. Magazines throughout the world abound with publicity for Swiss mechanical watches. The largest watchmaking group has registered over 50 000 designs, thus proving that the control of the market through intellectual property is becoming dominant in relation to what is created.

Finally, the development of the Watch Valley is a new movement whose point of departure is the local *milieux*. The content of the cultural communication and the economic exchange is reworked with a direct contact between the buyer and the producer, in the workshops, but also by visits to the region, to the architecture, the urban dynamics and the museums.

In such a configuration, the cultural resource ‘progresses’, since it has found a new use that makes it evolve. If the concern is to preserve the object, it

nevertheless accommodates different ways of use and possible transformation: the former buildings are not simply restored but recycled and renovated, leading to a mixture of ancient and modern architecture. These projects go beyond the strict economic framework and have a scope that is cultural and specifically related to urban development. They are often driven by ‘expanded innovative *milieux*’ (Camagni, Maillat and Matteaccioli 2004; Peyrache-Gadeau 2007) that unite local actors (associations for the preservation of cultural heritage, real estate promoters, public actors) and articulate their expectations (safeguarding the building, financial interests, urban development, cultural activities). We are thus mainly situated at the first level of the economy, where the ‘use value’ takes precedence, where the aim is above all to respond to the collective needs for urban development, cultural activities and the enhancement of identity. The economic actors do not play a central role.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The case of watchmaking in the Jura region is exemplary, but it should not lead to a belief that ascendant dynamics are triggered automatically: this is far from being the case. It also reveals, however, how identity and symbolic dynamics make it possible to preserve objects from the first level: that of self-production and self-consumption. On a level of monetarised exchange with elsewhere, these objects can be mobilised and of course recycled, renovated and modernised in order to restore the cultural content of the economic production. This supposes the appearance of innovative *milieux*. Finally, the objects may be appropriated and widely instrumentalised by major corporations that do not usually participate, or do it only occasionally, in the dynamics of the local *milieux*.

Authenticity, that is the alignment between the cultural content of the product or service sold and the role of this same content in the identity of the local community, evolves according to periods and configurations of actors. Other examples would have shown us that at times authenticity disappears, as when cultural resources are overexploited and transformed into folklore, or when the local agents are not able to agree on how to preserve or renew them. Disneyfication is not exclusively the domain of large, hegemonic enterprises. A market economy that is not regulated by the local *milieux*, or that does not reach agreement around new projects, can be equally destructive.

#### NOTES

\* The authors wish to thank Valérie Angeon for her comments.

1. Camagni, Maillat and Matteaccioli (2004). For a recent example, see Lazzeretti (2003, 2004); Cooke and Lazzeretti (2008).

2. This approach to resources is in line with notably the institutionalist perspectives developed by Ayres (1943); Zimmermann (1951); Hunker (1964); De Gregori (1987); and with Raffestin (1980) and Bathelt and Glückler (2005).
3. The production system refers to 'all of the actors involved in identifying and implementing the resource with a view to the production of a good or a service (companies, research and training centres, public institutions). It also designates all the relations that these actors maintain within and beyond the system' (Kebir 2004, p. 28).
4. We stress that we are speaking of 'attributing', since it is a qualification given collectively and officially to an object, often by means of clearly-defined processes. This qualification is one that evolves and that is situated in space. What constitutes heritage today will not necessarily do so tomorrow, just as heritage in one place will not constitute heritage in another.
5. It is interesting to note that Braudel coordinated a large project on the history of the city of Prato. Becattini, who in 1979 published his first famous paper on the ID drawing on Prato, was invited by Braudel to edit the volume on the recent history, corresponding to the constitution, development and change of Prato as a textile ID. From his long introduction to this volume Becattini extracted his seminal work in 2000 (English version in Becattini 2001a).