

Governing Cultural Commons: The Case of Traditional Craftsmanship in France

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Abstract

Cultural heritage is not limited to material manifestations; indeed it also includes intangible, living and fragile expressions, such as oral traditions, performing arts, festive events, or the knowledge and skills necessary to produce traditional crafts. This paper focuses on the governance and safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship, which was recognized by the UNESCO Convention of 2003 as being part of intangible cultural heritage. Thus the aim of the research is not to help protect actual craft goods, but rather the skills and knowledge necessary for their ongoing production.

In particular, the paper describes the evolution of the concept of heritage towards intangible cultural heritage. Then it illustrates the importance of this heritage from an economic perspective and provides a precise definition of what craftsmanship is. On the basis of this definition, the notions of commons and of cultural commons are examined and three main questions lead the following study: First, can traditional craftsmanship be considered a cultural commons? Secondly, assuming that traditional craftsmanship is a cultural commons, what are the appropriate forms of governance of this intangible heritage expression? Finally, what are the main advantages of a common-based approach in the management of traditional craftsmanship?

The methodology adopted is based both on literature survey and fieldwork. About 40 interviews to artisans and 20 interviews to policy makers and organizations have been realized in the past two years. This method provided new research elements and stimulated innovative concrete ideas.

Craftsmanship, Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO Convention, cultural policy, cultural commons.

Introduction

Cultural heritage is a complex and dynamic concept, susceptible to change. In order to understand the dynamic of this evolution, imagine a cultural city tour of Paris. The first contact with the cultural heritage of the French capital will be through its ancient and famous buildings: Notre-Dame Cathedral, Sainte-Chapelle, the Eiffel Tower, the Louvre museum, and the Pompidou Centre with its modern and contemporary art collections. 27 million tourists¹ visited the city in 2009, especially attracted by its rich material cultural heritage: 70,8 million entrances were counted at the 55 main sites and monuments of Paris in 2008. Nevertheless, the heritage of the city is not limited to its monuments and cathedrals. Paris' heritage is also comprised of the manifestations of French material culture, such as its *haute cuisine* and its crafts productions. This heritage consists not only of the knowledge and skills used to build cathedrals, monuments and contemporary architecture, but also to create craft objects and art goods. It is made of dance, music and plays that take place in the numerous theaters of the city, as well as in its squares and streets. Walking through the streets of Paris, looking into its craft workshops, thinking about the people that have built its immovable and movable heritage, we start to perceive the complexity and reach of this heritage in all its forms. We discover a new heritage that is not tangible, less visible, and in continuous evolution. This intangible heritage and its multiple and complex forms, "*merit the same consideration as cathedrals and archaeological sites*"².

The field and the elements of heritage are evolving. Hence, it is necessary to rethink its models of protection, valorization, and safeguarding. These systems need to be rethought in terms of the specific characteristics of intangible heritage and of the needs of individuals, groups and communities that create, maintain and pass cultural heritage onto future generations.

My research, as laid out in this paper, focuses on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, and especially of traditional craftsmanship and the skills and knowledge necessary for ongoing craft production. In particular, I begin by following the evolution of the concept of heritage towards intangible cultural heritage. Then I articulate the importance of this heritage from an economic perspective and provide a precise definition of what craftsmanship is. On the basis of this definition, I examine the notions of commons and of cultural commons and I seek to answer three main questions: First, can traditional craftsmanship be considered a cultural commons? Secondly, assuming that traditional craftsmanship is a cultural commons, what are the appropriate forms of governance of this intangible heritage expression? Finally, what are the main advantages of a common-based approach in the management of traditional craftsmanship?

¹ Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris. 2010. *Le tourisme à Paris - chiffre clé 2009*. <http://asp.zone-secure.net/v2/index.jsp?id=1203/1515/7436&lng=fr> (accessed November 5, 2010).

² Brown, M.F. 2005. Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12: 41.

1. General Framework

1.1 *From Tangible toward Intangible Cultural Heritage*

For a long time cultural heritage was restricted to immovable heritage such as buildings and monuments of cultural, historical and artistic value inherited from the past. (Benhamou 2002, Greffe 2002). The concept then evolved to include a large range of movable goods whose preservation depends on their historical, artistic, social, symbolic, scientific, and technical dimensions (Bady 1984). However, the notion of heritage is constantly changing and by the 1970s, the growing interest in folkloric and popular manifestations began to shift attention towards the dematerialization of heritage. Therefore, it is important to comprehend the main trends of this evolution.

First, as recently pointed out by Nathalie Heinich (2009), the sphere of heritage evolved in four major directions: chronological (from ancient buildings and monuments to very recent architectural structures), topographical (from monuments towards landscapes, from rural to urban heritage), by category (from prestigious goods to industrial heritage, up to intangible heritage), and conceptual (from *unicum* to *typicum*). In this last case, the value of the heritage is no longer related to the uniqueness of the object but to its traditional link with a certain community and territory. As to the extension by category, after all the material expressions of the past had been included in the field of cultural heritage, the said concept has further been extended to its intangible manifestations, such as the knowledge and the skills needed to build cathedrals and rural houses, dances, performances and music, as well as festive events taking place in ancient villages.

Secondly, cultural heritage exceeds the boundaries of the material reality of buildings, monuments and goods and, as suggested by Loulanski (2006), its expansion follows three axes: *“from monuments to people, from objects to functions, and thus from preservation per se to purposeful preservation, sustainable use, and development”*³.

Finally, national and international legislation is adapting to, and in some cases even anticipating, this new dynamic of cultural heritage. The most significant example for said development can be found in the latest instruments adopted by UNESCO, which stress this passage of cultural heritage from monuments and collections of objects to traditions and living expressions inherited from our ancestors. In particular, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) includes among the multiple expressions of heritage also intangible ones, such as oral traditions. UNESCO adopted this Convention on October 17, 2003, and 132 Member States had already ratified it by September 29, 2010. The treaty represents the result of a long process of reasoning, discussion, and compromise started in the 70's with the aim to include in the sphere of heritage its most fragile expressions; the artistic expressions which embody the history and identity of a particular individual, groups of peoples or nation-states.

³ Loulanski, T. 2006. Revising the Concept for Cultural Heritage: The Argument for a Functional Approach. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, no: 208.

For the purposes of the Convention, intangible cultural heritage was defined as “*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills – including the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated with them – that communities, groups and individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage*” (Art. 2.1, UNESCO Convention 2003). It may become manifest in various domains, such as:

- oral expressions and traditions, comprising language as vehicle for the transmission of intangible cultural heritage;
- performing arts;
- social practices, rituals and festive events;
- knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- and traditional craftsmanship.

The importance of ICH does not lie in the cultural manifestation itself, but rather in the vitality of knowledge and skills that are passed on from one generation to the next. Thus, this new, dynamic and complex definition of cultural heritage becomes a major factor in developing new forms of governance within the field of ICH.

1.2 Methodology

In this article I seek to explore the concept of craftsmanship, its relation with the notion of *cultural commons* and the issues related to its governance. My research is comprised of data and results based both on background research (published and unpublished material) and fieldwork. On the one hand, a survey of subject literature allowed me to gain an understanding of the meaning of intangible cultural heritage and its components, the importance of traditional craftsmanship and the ways of creating, evolving and passing on those skills and knowledge. On the other hand, the fieldwork complemented the academic research by adding innovative elements and concrete ideas. Hence, I used both these methods to develop a new definition of traditional craftsmanship and to propose new ways of governing intangible cultural heritage.

During the past two years, I have conducted about 40 interviews with craftsmen and 20 interviews with policy makers, opinion leaders and organizations operating in the field of arts and crafts⁴. This extensive consultation included artisans from 10 regions of France: Paris-Isle-of-France, Auvergne, Picardy, Lower-Normandy, Upper-Normandy, Brittany, Lorraine, Limousine, Poitou-Charentes, and Provence-Alpes-Azur. The crafts activities identified and analyzed include: the weaving of Aubusson tapestries, the production of Limoges porcelain, the glove-making and leather production in Saint Junien, the glassmaking in Nancy, the restoration of timberframed houses (*colombage*) in Normandy and the thatched roofs in Auvergne.

⁴ The fieldwork was initiated using the methodology of inventorying ICH launched by the French Ministry for Culture and Communication in 2008. According to articles 11 and 12 of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, each State Party is required to start up a process of inventorying the elements of intangible cultural heritage present in their territory, and to implement apt safeguarding projects. The principal results of the French Inventory are accessible on the website of the *Mission Ethnologie*: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/dp/ethno_spici/invent_invent.htm (accessed November 3, 2010).

These crafts activities are strongly rooted in their territories and are associated with the traditional activity of the affiliated community and its history. Examples were selected based on the specific identifying characteristics of: a traditional manifestation, knowledge passed down through generations, and innovation in their ability to adapt to different needs as they arise.

2. Craftsmanship: An Economic Perspective

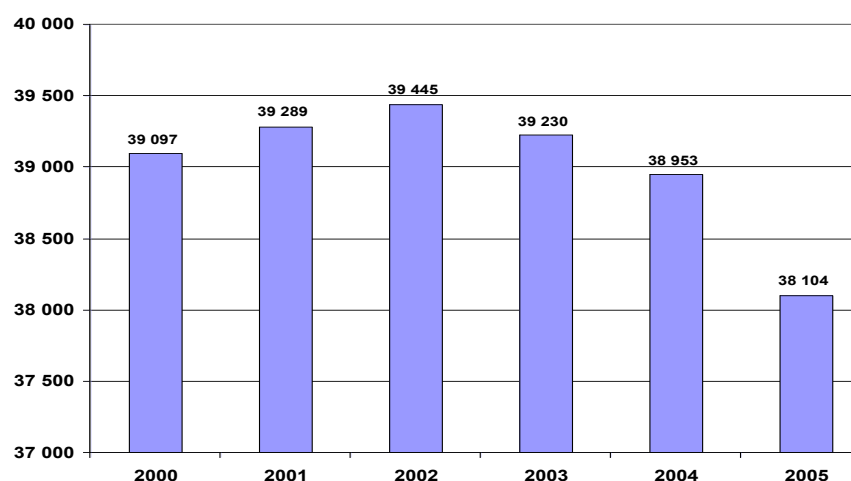
The UNESCO Convention underlines the need for protecting and safeguarding ICH. Before approaching the issue of how traditional craftsmanship could be more efficiently managed and safeguarded, I think it is important to understand why these skills and knowledge are important today. To do so, I stress here their contribution to development from an economic, cultural, and social perspective, as well as their contribution to sustainable development.

2.1 Traditional Craftsmanship and Economic Development

Traditional craftsmanship contributes to economic development. Firstly, as cultural industries, “*industries that combine the creation, production and commercialization of creative content that is tangible and intangible in nature*”⁵, crafts are strongly concerned with the phenomenon of creativity. Traditional craftsmanship can give new input to the production process of goods, and thus have an impact on creativity. Therefore, creativity has an impact on the aesthetic and symbolic dimension of goods, on innovation, productivity and on the quality of products, as well as on demand and competitiveness (Santagata 2009). Moreover, the crafts industry is linked to job creation, exports and revenues at the local, national and international level. Despite a lack of precise data in this field, the French labor force in the arts and crafts sector in 2006 was estimated at 43 200 workers and the number of enterprises at 37 000 (DECASPL 2008). As for the annual income of the sector, it was of roughly 3,5 billion Euros in 2005. Professionals working in this sector are rather young, with 70% under 44 years of age. Despite this data, the number of enterprises and workers has declined since 2003 (*Figure 1*), with negative consequences for the viability of traditional craftsmanship.

⁵ UNESCO. 2009. *Investing in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue - UNESCO World Report*, Paris: UNESCO Publishing: 261.

Figure 1 - Craft Enterprises in Decline Since 2003



Source: Insee-SIRENE, Insee-DGI, DCASPL 2008

Finally, this sphere of activities is also a source of tourist revenue. Its contribution is not limited to attracting tourists, but also becomes a catalyst for the development of further activities in the territory, including the restoration of material cultural heritage for which specific crafts skills and knowledge are required.

2.2 Traditional Craftsmanship and Social Development

Traditional craftsmanship contributes to cultural and social development. In general, heritage is recognized as a factor for creating identity, social cohesion, and reinforcement of cultural capital (Matarasso 2001). From this perspective, traditional craftsmanship is generally seen as the result of a long process of an accumulation of ideas, knowledge, identities and symbols in a specific territory. This cultural capital is built up and shared within the community and transmitted from one generation to the other (Scott 2000). It is therefore a strong factor for building cultural identity, allowing social cohesion, and developing creativity, besides being a component of economic growth.

2.3 Traditional Craftsmanship and Sustainable Development

Traditional craftsmanship contributes to sustainable development. In 1987 the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development as “*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*”⁶. Such early ideas were predominantly linked to environmental and ecological sustainability. The role of culture in this scenario has only much later been pointed out, in the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development (1995). Therein, culture and cultural policy begin to be considered as central factors for sustainable development.

⁶ World Commission Environment and Development. 1987. *Our common future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

In particular, traditional craftsmanship is a key component for this idea of growth since its practice contributes not only to “human capability expansion”, reinforcing cultural and human capital and social cohesion, but also to environmental sustainability. Indeed, crafts activities are based on skills and knowledge rooted in a territory that have had time to evolve throughout the centuries using local and natural resources, without exploiting and threatening them, over a long period of time.

2.4 Traditional Craftsmanship and Cultural Diversity

Traditional craftsmanship contributes to cultural diversity. As specified by the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions “*cultural diversity is a rich asset for individuals and societies. The protection, promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity are an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations*” (Art.2, para 6, UNESCO 2005). The protection of crafts practices responds to this objective by reason of the richness and multiplicity of skills and knowledge mobilized by crafts activities and of the variety of products created. Furthermore, those goods usually reflect the specific needs and aesthetic values of a community, and thus its cultural diversity.

All of these different perspectives state the importance of traditional craftsmanship and the necessity of safeguarding the traditional craftsmanship that is at risk of disappearing. Therefore, our objective is to find appropriate ways to protect and safeguard them. To do that we will first define what craftsmanship is followed by the role of the market, public institutions and community-based institutions in the process of safeguarding.

3. Defining Traditional Craftsmanship

Before I start reasoning about strategies of protection and valorization of such living heritage, I believe that it is important to define traditional craftsmanship in order to gain a better understanding of its peculiarities.

The sector of traditional crafts is very rich and varied. In France, an official list has been compiled comprising no less than 217 craft activities including, among others, activities in the fields of clothing, jeweler’s crafts, decorative arts, performing arts, musical instruments and household utensils. The skills and knowledge involved in creating craft objects are as varied as the items themselves. Consequently, it is hard to concur on a one, clear and shared definition of traditional craftsmanship.

Although a good many studies have already been carried out in this field, no single definition of traditional craftsmanship seems to be apt enough to include all the different and complex expressions of skills and knowledge. However, in his latest book *The Craftsman*, Richard Sennett (2008) proposes an interesting approach to such a definition: “*Craftsmanship may suggest a way of life that waned with the advent of industrial society [...]. Craftsmanship names an enduring, basic human*

*impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake*⁷. Moreover, the sociologist underlines the idea that there is a limit to human language in describing physical movements and conveying tacit knowledge and he cites one of Diderot's principal observations regarding his investigations among skilled workers in France: "*Among a thousand one will be lucky to find a dozen who are capable of explaining the tools or machinery they use, and the things they produce with any clarity*"⁸.

As for the adjective *traditional*, it does not refer to a certain idea of antiquity, but designates a strong link with a specific community (Vadi 2007). In this sense, traditional craftsmanship becomes heritage when it is recognized as such by the individuals, the groups and the communities that create, maintain and transmit it. The skills and knowledge that are inherited from the past live in the present in the body of craftsmen that hold them and are passed on to future generations. As expressions of intangible cultural heritage, traditional craftsmanship is strongly related to the space and time where it takes place, and it is continuously transformed and innovated upon. These cultural practices create a relation between past, present and future and they mark continuity (Wulf 2010).

Taking into account these ideas and the results of the fieldwork, I decided not to restrict myself by adopting a single definition of craftsmanship, but rather to describe the object of this research starting from its essential components. Therefore, my aim is to valorize the heterogeneity and vitality of craftsmanship without pushing it into the boundaries of a static definition. Consequently, I began by listing the principal and essential components of traditional craftsmanship, organized these elements into a graph and finally observed how the single elements could interact. The establishment of a relationship among those components is essential in order to reveal the craftsmanship that is the origin of each craft activity. Therefore, to conclude this section, I stress the role of each of the different actors that can be involved in the process of production, reproduction and transmission of traditional craftsmanship.

3.1 The Essential Components of Traditional Craftsmanship

The essential components of craftsmanship are described and analyzed on the base of the following pairs of categories:

- Tangible / intangible: on the one hand, the material resources necessary for the practice of crafts activities, on the other hand, skills, knowledge, community capital, and crafts history.
- Common / private: first of all, assets collectively owned, like social and cultural capital of the communities and the natural resources of the territory in which the activity is located, and secondly, knowledge, talent, tools, and materials that are the private property of the craftsman.

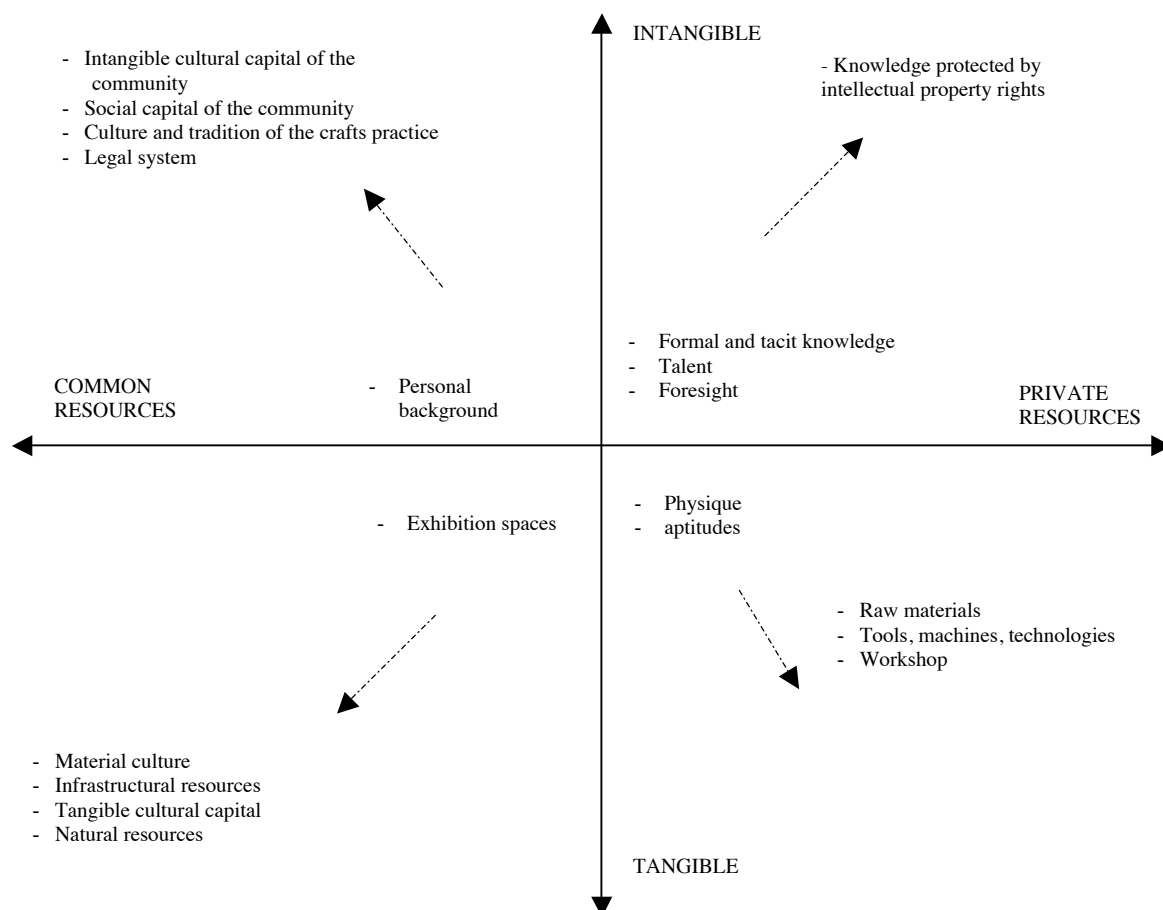
The two pairs (tangible / intangible and common / private) correspond to the axes of the graph (*Figure 2*) that follows, wherein I have organized all the identified components of craftsmanship. The craftsmanship effectively shows up when all those resources interact: the resources collectively owned interact with the private property

⁷ Sennett, R. 2008. *The Craftsman*. London: Penguin Books: 9.

⁸ Sennett, R. 2008. *The Craftsman*. London: Penguin Books: 94.

of the craftsman, and the tangible elements interact with the knowledge and the skills of the craftsman in the process of creation.

Figure 2 – The Structure of Traditional Craftsmanship



In the centre of graph, I have situated elements that are intrinsic to craftsmanship and are tightly linked to the actual holder of the skills and knowledge. Continuing along the arrows towards the edges of the graph, I have positioned more general resources that are less easily controlled by the craftsman and less directly related to the craft practice, but that are nonetheless vital for its existence and reproduction.

The upper left section of the graph comprises elements that are both intangible and commons. Those include intangible cultural capital⁹ and social capital, meaning social networks and relations existing between people and within communities

⁹ "Intangible cultural capital comprises artworks which exist in their pure form as public goods, such as music and literature, and the stock of inherited traditions, values, beliefs and so on which constitute the 'culture' of a group, whether the group is defined in national, regional, religious, ethnic or other terms. Furthermore, intangible cultural capital also exists in the cultural networks and relationships that support human activity, and in the diversity of cultural manifestations within communities: that is, in cultural 'ecosystems' and cultural diversity, paralleling similar concepts noted earlier in regard to natural capital". Throsby, D. 2002. Cultural capital. In *Handbook of Cultural Economics*. Ed. Ruth Towse, 168. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

(Putnam 2000). Social capital as shared knowledge, and patterns of interaction of a group, is created when individuals trust each other. If unused, social capital deteriorates rapidly (Ostrom 1994). This section comprehends also the history and culture of a certain craft activity in a specific community, for example the cultural history of Limoges porcelain produced in that city from the late 1700s on. Finally, the legal system of protection, conservation and valorization of skills and knowledge related to crafts practices falls into this category as well.

In the upper right section intangible and private components are located. Most of those elements are held by the craftsman, and constitute his human capital. These knowledge and skills are mobilized in the creation process. They are acquired by formal education and by experience, and cannot easily be transmitted. In particular, the talent and the foresight of the craftsman, meaning his ability to anticipate the reaction of raw materials to some external actions and conditions, is tightly related to a specific person and cannot be passed on to others. On the other hand, part of the craftsmen's knowledge is codified and could easily be shared within a large or restricted community. Nevertheless, its diffusion depends on the existence of intellectual property rights.

Even if craftsmanship is generally considered something intangible, my analysis shows that in many ways its practice is closely related to the existence of material components. Thus, I have positioned those tangible elements in the lower sections of graph: to the left, the shared resources of the area in which the crafts practice has been developed, *i.e.*, cultural, natural and infrastructural resources; to the right, all private material elements. Here I included the artisan's body, which allows him to execute certain physical movements, and the workshop wherein the craftsman works to transform raw materials by using tools, machines and new technologies.

3.2 The Actors of Production, Reproduction, and Transmission

This graph (*Figure 2*) is particularly useful as definition of craftsmanship and also as a diagnostic tool to identify the specific elements that make traditional craftsmanship fragile and that may contribute to the cause of the disappearance of intangible heritage. So far I have presented the elements in a static dimension. The system of knowledge and skills, of raw material and natural resources, of intangible elements and tools, as presented in *Figure 2*, subsumes all the components necessary to practice crafts activities and to produce both useful and aesthetic objects. If we cannot make them interact, each component stays isolated and craftsmanship will not develop. Consequently, to make all those elements interact dynamically, it is fundamental that we assume that specific actors exist: the actors of production, reproduction, and transmission.

I start with the actors of production, who are essentially those able to mobilize all elements of the system with the aim to produce craft objects whose value stems from both their beauty and utility. These include traditional craftsmen, artist-craftsmen and enterprises. On the one hand, there are craftsmen who work alone, control the entire process of production and are able to mobilize material resources as well as intangible elements. On the other hand, there are craft enterprises that organize their chain of production through employing skilled workers with particular physical abilities

and knowledge. The quality of the production process and of the final product depend on the virtuosity of the workers, their speed and agility, their control of tangible and intangible components and their capacity of creating and reasoning.

Subsequently, the actors of reproduction are not those directly involved in the production process, but rather are those that help to keep all the essential elements necessary for craftsmanship, as described earlier, alive and functioning. This group of actors includes international, national, local and community-based institutions, public and private organisms, associations, profit and non-profit organizations. Their function consists of developing appropriate legal systems, increasing the social capital of a certain community, improving human and cultural capital, protecting specific knowledge and inventions, providing apt opposite local and national infrastructure, governing local natural resources and cultural heritage, expanding and reinforcing existent markets, etc.

The actors of transmission, finally, are those who are supposed to transmit skills and knowledge from one generation to the next. They are represented, not only by expert craftsmen that master the practice and are able to train other workers, but also by education centers where craftsmanship is transmitted through theoretical and practice courses.

4. Traditional Craftsmanship as a Commons

The next step of my research introduces a new way of considering traditional craftsmanship, and more largely ICH, as that of a commons. I will start by clarifying the concept of commons, then I will explore a more specific form of commons, the cultural commons, and finally I will show how and why traditional craftsmanship could be considered as a cultural commons.

4.1 A Definition of Commons

Commons are resources shared by a group of people, with characters of high subtractability (or rivalry) and non-excludability. According to two principal attributes of goods, exclusion and subtractability, four categories of goods can be identified (*Figure 3*): private goods, club goods, public goods and CPRs. The first character, exclusion, refers to the possibility of preventing someone from using the good, while subtractability tests whether one person's consumption of the good affects another's consumption (Ostrom V. and Ostrom E. 1977, Ostrom, Gardner and Walker 1994).

Figure 3 - Types of Goods

		SUBTRACTABILITY	
		Low	High
EXCLUSION	Difficult	Public Goods Useful Knowledge Sunset	Common-Pool Resources Libraries Irrigation systems
	Easy	Toll or Club Goods Journal Subscriptions Day-care Centers	Private Goods Personal Computer Coffee

Source: Adapted from C. Hess and E. Ostrom 2007

In the lower part of *Figure 3*, purely private goods are characterized by facility of exclusion and high subtractability. They belong to a specific person and someone's use excludes another's use. If one person writes on his/her personal computer, no one can use it at the same time. On the other hand, club goods are non-rival but excludable goods. This means that only a limited and selected group of people can use the good, but within this group, one person's consumption does not diminish other's consumption.

In the upper part of the table (*Figure 3*), public goods are classified as non-excludable and non-rival (Samuelson 1954). Each individual's consumption of a public good does not subtract it from another individual's consumption. Public goods are one of the principal reasons for market failure, hence public intervention is necessary in the governance of such goods.

CPRs¹⁰ are natural or human-made facilities (or stocks) that create flows of usable resource units over time. CPRs are characterized by high rivalry and difficulty of exclusion: a) it is difficult and costly to develop institutions to exclude potential beneficiaries from them and b) each resource unit appropriated by one individual will not be available to others. The first characteristic refers to public goods, the second to private ones.

From a legal perspective, for a long time, the lack of understanding and distinction between public goods and common goods led to a shallow comprehension of the nature of those goods, and the development of inept legal systems and ways of governance (Lucarelli 2010). As a result, common goods were often treated as public goods. Nevertheless, the category of common goods was clearly present in the tradition of Roman law, which affirmed common goods, *res communes omnium*, were not appropriable and thus could not belong to individuals (Capogrossi Colognesi

¹⁰ As pointed out by E. Ostrom and C. Hess (2007), commons analysts have found it useful to differentiate between a commons as a resource or resource system and a commons as a property-rights regime. In the first case, we refer to common-pool resources (CPRs), shared resource systems that are types of economics goods, independent of particular property rights. In the second case, we talk about common property as a legal regime, a jointly owned set of rights. Hess C. and E. Ostrom, ed. 2007. *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons: From Theory to Practice*. Cambridge: The MIT Press: 5.

1988, Chardeaux 2006). However, since the Middle Ages, the limits drawn by the Roman law between *res communes* and *res publicae* became porous. The two notions started to be confused and not well distinguished (Lucarelli 2010).

From an economic perspective, Vincent Ostrom and Elinor Ostrom (1977) introduced a second attribute (subtractability) to the classic treatment of goods (Samuelson, 1954), where the classification was based only on one dimension, excludability, and two types of goods were defined: pure public goods and pure private goods. Their work led, not only to a new schema of types of goods, (*Figure 3*) but also to new management perspectives. In particular, the research conducted by Ostrom to define models of governance of CPRs, based on the principle of collaboration and community participation, has shown that in many cases, direct users of CPRs are able to develop more effective, efficient and sustainable management institutions (Ostrom 1990).

4.2 From Commons to Cultural Commons

The study of the commons has greatly evolved over the last twenty years. Although investigations initially focused on shared natural resources, since the mid-1990's a new research movement has emerged that is more concerned with information and the knowledge commons.

In their recent book, *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons*, Charlotte Hess and Elinor Ostrom (2007) clearly identify this new type of commons: the *knowledge commons*. While knowledge in its intangible forms (not the books, CDs, videos and other forms of capturing, but the knowledge itself as ideas, information and data), has often been seen as the classical example of a pure public good, analyzing it from a commons approach offers new and more challenging management perspectives. The main idea is that since a knowledge commons is a shared resource that is vulnerable to social dilemmas neither privatization nor open access, neither intellectual property rights nor public intervention, can be successful in its management. Hence, new ways of governance have to be explored. Thinking of knowledge as a commons is not traditional, but it permits us to think about knowledge, as well as other intangible and cultural resources, in a more holistic way. The commons approach takes into account all the elements involved in the production and dissemination of the knowledge commons, as if they were an ecosystem, and finds new ways of managing these CPRs while involving a multiplicity of actors.

Hess and Ostrom's research (2007) shows that the notion of commons is not static, it keeps evolving. While some traditional commons have been eliminated, new elements with commons characteristics have been identified and consequently included in this field (Bravo and Moor 2008). In particular, they raise the notion of *cultural commons* (Fiorentino, Friel, Marrelli and Santagata, 2010) which follows this need to include new elements in the framework of the commons. "Cultural commons" refers to "*cultures located in time and space – either physical or virtual - and shared and expressed by a socially cohesive community. A cultural commons is a system of intellectual resources available in a given geographical or virtual area. A cultural*

*commons could be thought of as the evolution of the more traditional concept of cultural district or cultural cluster*¹¹.

Cultural commons are characterized by low subtractability and difficulty of exclusion, like public goods. The act of using them does not exhaust the resource, rather on the contrary, the use of a cultural commons can encourage and become the source for new creative processes that help to maintain, transform, and pass on these CPRs.

4.3 Traditional Craftsmanship as a Cultural Commons?

Having explored both the definition of traditional craftsmanship and the idea of the cultural commons, I will now try to answer my first question: can traditional craftsmanship be considered a cultural commons? I will seek to respond by adopting two different approaches: analytical and holistic.

From an analytic perspective, the given definition of traditional craftsmanship (*Figure 2*) shows that those skills and knowledge are based on various elements. Some of those components are clearly CPRs: natural or human-made shared resources. For example, the production of traditional porcelain in Limoges is related to the natural reserve of kaolin, while the activity of Aubusson's tapestry weaver depends on the availability of wool and water, as well as on the museum's collections of tapestries that are a source of inspiration for present creators and prove the history of this activity and build the identity of the community. In the past, the local richness of those resources has influenced the implementation and the development of those activities, while today, their scarcity is one of the reasons that traditional craftsmanship is disappearing. Consequently, since traditional craftsmanship is made of elements that are CPRs, I can state that a commons approach to their governance can be envisioned and justified.

Furthermore, from a holistic perspective, traditional craftsmanship perfectly fits into the given definition of *cultural commons*. Traditional craftsmanship is located in time and space, it is set in a specific territory by reason of the presence and availability of apt physical, social and cultural capital. The system of traditional craftsmanship components has been able to evolve, transmitted from father to son, from one family to the other over generations, in the spirit of continuity. Traditional craftsmanship belongs to the community; held by specific members, it is not static but keeps transforming and innovating. The system of management also changes, as it adapts to new needs and contexts.

Determining the nature of traditional craftsmanship is crucial in order to analyze the effectiveness of management practices. Considering traditional craftsmanship as CPRs, and more precisely as cultural commons, increases the awareness that inadequate use may destroy them (Bollier 2007). Including traditional craftsmanship in this framework also provides new elements with which to convince policymakers and private and public institutions that alternative ways of governance can exist that are neither private nor public. Focusing on the idea of a commons helps people

¹¹ Fiorentino, P., M. Friel, M. Marrelli and W. Santagata. 2010. Cultural Commons and Cultural Communities: The case studies of Milan Designers and Italian Futurists Artists. *Ebla working paper 2*: 1.

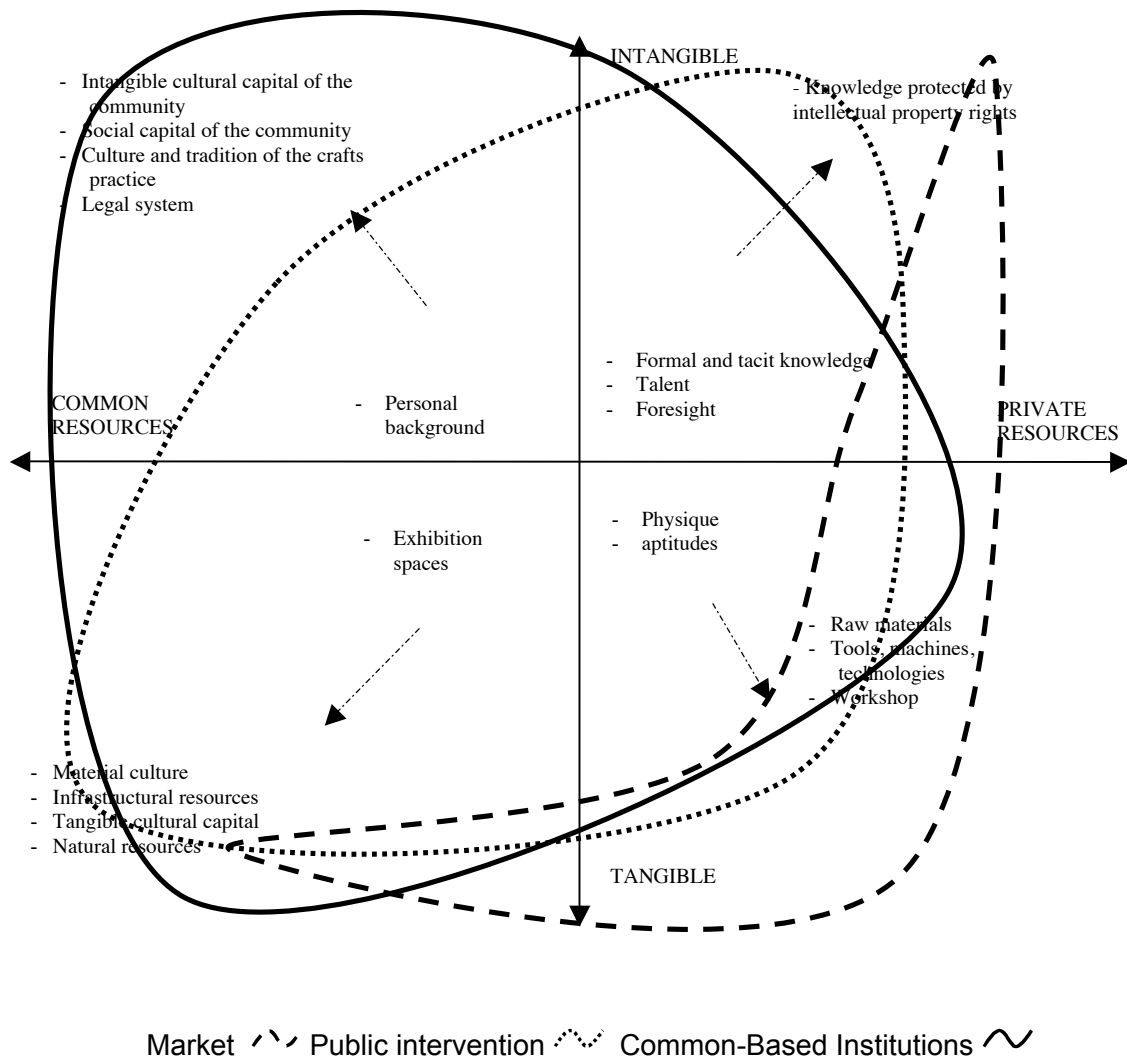
recognize that they are not only passive consumers, but that their active participation is needed for managing this resource (Kranich 2006).

In the next part of the paper, I will focus on the governance of traditional craftsmanship. To think of craftsmanship as a commons means first of all to consider it as a whole, in order to strengthen the interconnections among its essential elements. Then, it is necessary to rethink what systems of property and management would be most apt to both protect and pass these knowledge and skills on to future generations.

5. Governing Traditional Craftsmanship

In this last session of my paper, I will analyze three levels of cultural commons governance: the market, State intervention and finally the commons-based institution level. The following image (*Figure 4*) describes some of the results explained in the following paragraphs. It shows how the said levels of intervention are able to better control some of the components of traditional craftsmanship, in comparison to others. In particular, I emphasize that a commons approach has a more comprehensive capacity to control elements that are both tangible / intangible, and private / common resources.

Figure 4 - Governing Cultural Commons: Three Levels of Intervention



5.1 The Market Fails

The market approach to crafts management is the most direct one. The idea of *laissez faire*, to let the market, its rules and actors make use of traditional craftsmanship and then decide which craftsmanship merits are to be passed on and which others can be forgotten, shows some evident limits.

The history of various crafts activities demonstrates that when the demand of crafts goods is high and the production and supply chain function properly to create profits, then craftsmanship is easily transferred from one worker to the other. Additionally, enterprises can create, by themselves or by collaborating with other actors, training centers to educate new craftsmen and to carry out research to innovate the production processes and create new types of products. For example, in the case of tapestry production in Aubusson (Fadat 1987, ARC Essor 2005, Guinot R. 2009, Cominelli 2009), the skills and knowledge necessary for creating these exquisite tapestries have evolved throughout the centuries; adapting to different needs, social

habits, ways of living, and new technologies. The techniques of production, as well as the patterns of the tapestries, have constantly changed in order to reduce production costs and to open up new markets. The contribution of well-known artists have been essential in exploring new forms of decoration, valorizing craft products, increasing their aesthetic value, and contributing to their reputation. From 1864 onwards, training centers (like the School of Industrial Design that became in 1884 National School of Decorative Arts, and is now known as ENSA) have been created to transmit the fundamentals of these craft activities. Remarkable personalities like Lurçat (1892-1966) then dynamized the entire sector by working with local manufacturers and artists like Dalí, Picasso, or Léger. Since the 1970s, tapestry production in Aubusson has seen an important decline due not only to economic crises, but equally because of changing consumption habits and needs, and the competitiveness of low cost products. Craftsmanship started to become rare and new public policies were needed to avoid the disappearance of this intangible cultural heritage.

Furthermore, specific characteristics of craft goods and traditional craftsmanship determine the inadequacies of local and global private markets, in efficiently allocating resources in this sector.

On the demand side, the first reason of market failure (Frey 2003) is related to the existence of external benefits for firms and individuals not directly involved in the production and consumption of goods representing both an aesthetic and utility value. This means that such positive external effects may go to individuals and firms that don't pay for them. Secondly, another explanation of market failure is the lack of market demand. It signifies that even though people may consider the option of buying craft products based on the perceived importance of preserving such skills and knowledge, thereby sustaining traditional craftsmanship, in the end they don't spend enough money in this domain. Finally, craftsmanship, as shown in *Figure 2*, is based on elements that belong to the sphere of public goods (like museums and their collections of craft objects) and to the sphere of common goods (i.e. the local natural resources on which the production is based). Those characteristics generate further problems concerning exclusion and rivalry in consumption that the market by itself will not be able to solve.

On the supply side, additional factors can be enumerated to explain malfunctions in the market including: imperfect competition and difficulty in increasing labor productivity where an activity is based strictly on handwork and traditional processes of production. In this last case, technologies cannot be integrated to improve the quality of products and lower production costs.

Moreover, market failure is often related to property rights. As stated by Garrett Hardin (1968), the lack of control and of apt property rights let individuals overuse the commons' resources. This situation is well known as the tragedy of the commons. Less known though, is the opposite scenario of the tragedy of the anti-commons where an excessive system of intellectual property right and patents may cause the underuse of skills and knowledge related to craftsmanship. (Heller 1998).

Subsequently, since the market by itself cannot assure both the efficient allocation of resources in the crafts sector and the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship,

public support in this domain needs to be mobilized. Within the framework of the 2003 Convention, safeguarding ICH signifies “*measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage*” (art. 2.3, UNESCO 2003). Therefore, safeguarding focuses not only on preserving craft objects, but also on encouraging craftsmen to continue to produce such objects and to pass their skills and knowledge onto others.

5.2 Public Intervention

Government intervention has often been seen as the best solution to market failure. In fact, public policy can ensure the safeguarding of ICH elements justified by cultural and social reasons as well as purely economic ones. Cultural policies that safeguard traditional craftsmanship can be based on a range of measures, such as financial incentives, the reinforcement and creation of local and international markets, legal measures, intellectual property protection, copyright registration, and environmental protection. A cultural policy involves measures oriented to the development of new symbols, behaviors, values, and references for a community (Grefe and Pflieger 2009).

The French policy for safeguarding traditional craftsmanship focuses on three main axes: 1. identification and documentation; 2. promotion and enhancement; and 3. transmission.

First, the identification and documentation process has long been limited to folklore research carried out in the ethnography field. Since the French ratification of the UNESCO Convention in 2006, the Ministry of Culture and Communication assigned to the Ethnology Department the task of creating inventories of National Intangible Cultural Heritage. As indicated by the text of the Convention “*each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated*” (art. 12, UNESCO 2003). The creation of those inventories involved and still involves a multiplicity of partners and, in particular, the realization of the inventory dedicated to traditional craftsmanship was assigned to the Society for the Promotion of Arts and Crafts (SEMA)¹².

The Convention also establishes that State Parties can propose to inscribe some of the elements of the national inventories on one of the two lists defined by articles 16 and 17: the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Those lists should “*ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its*

¹² SEMA was created in 1976 with the mission to promote and to provide information on the French Arts and Crafts sector. It is a non-profit organization under the law of 1901, of recognized public interest, under the supervision of the French State Secretariat for the Ministry of Economy, Finance and Employment in charge of Companies and Foreign Trade. Since June 2010, SEMA officially became INMA, National Institut for Arts and Crafts (*Institut National des Métiers d'Art*). Website of INMA: <http://www.metiersdart-artisanat.com/index.php> (accessed November 23, 2010).

significance” (art. 16, UNESCO 2003). In particular, the second list was created to mobilize proper resources and actors into taking appropriate safeguarding measures for specific at risk heritage.. At the present time, France has inscribed eight elements on the Representative List and one on the List of Urgent Safeguarding. Among those elements, there are also some traditional craft practices like the craftsmanship of Alençon needle lace-making, the Aubusson tapestry, the *compagnonnage* (a network for on-the-job transmission of knowledge and identities), and the scribing tradition in French timber framing. While registers and documentation are important to foster the safeguarding process and to think about new ways of assuring the viability of this heritage, they have a modest role in the sense of an effective viability; theoretical and top-down approaches risk not reaching their objectives, and documentation does not concretely protect this heritage.

Secondly, concerning the axis of promotion and valorization of traditional craftsmanship, the scenario of existing measures is very rich and complex. We have already underlined that the system of intellectual property rights, copyright, patents, trademarks and trade secrets is not always appropriate for the protection of traditional craftsmanship. In fact, an excessive system of protection risks making people under utilize their know-how, and consider their craftsmanship as proprietary and secret.. The consequence is that craftsmanship is not passed on to others, and worst, it risks dying with its rights holder. Thus, other measures like the Controlled Designation of Origin (*Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée*) which is a French certification stating and guaranteeing the existence of a link between the product, a specific territory and a particular local know-how, seem to better fit the necessity of both protecting and sharing craftsmanship. This designation is assigned by the General Directorate for Competition Policy, Consumer Affairs and Fraud Control and cannot be used just by one enterprise to protect only its own products; craft goods that have obtained this distinction are the Porcelain of Limoges, the lace of Puy, and the Limoges enamels.

Another bestowed recognition for traditional craftsmanship is the Living Heritage Company Label (*Label Entreprise du Patrimoine Vivant*)¹³, set up by law in 2005. It is assigned by the French Ministry of the Economy, Industry and Employment to craft companies that possess an economic heritage composed of a rare, celebrated or ancestral know-how, that are limited to a specific geographical area. The aim of this designation is to foster the excellence of traditional and industrial skills of these small enterprises. Besides national and international recognition of their craftsmanship, enterprises that have obtained this label can benefit from some financial advantages including an apprenticeship tax credit (up to € 2 200 per apprentice), and a 15% creative tax credit on the costs of creation of new products. By April 2010, 770 French crafts enterprises had obtained this label (ISM 2010).

The valorization of French craftsmanship is also sustained by a complex system of museums. There are museums that possess important collections of craft goods that provide testimony as to the history and artistic importance of some craft practices in a territory. Ecomuseums¹⁴, are a specific network of museums developed in the 1970s by George Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine aimed at involving the community in the preservation process to protect not only the object but also the knowledge, the

¹³ Website of EPV: <http://www.patrimoine-vivant.com/en> (accessed November 23, 2010).

¹⁴ Website of FEMS: <http://www.fems.asso.fr/> (accessed November 23, 2010).

skills, and the values related to it. Moreover, museums contribute to the safeguarding of craftsmanship by mobilizing this know-how in the restorations of craft collections. The activity of restoration and the skills and knowledge required can be either integrated into the structure of the museum or externalized.

Finally, the objective of transmitting traditional craftsmanship is the most ambitious one. Formal and informal education are each necessary for passing on this intangible heritage to the next generation of users. Using this rationale, the French Government incentivizes and funds formal training courses, schools of fine arts and schools of applied arts. Furthermore, it sustains informal education and individual apprentices through the system of the Masters of Art (*Maîtres d'art*)¹⁵. The title of Master of Art is awarded to skilled professionals who master exceptional or rare know-how. The Minister of Culture and Communication created in 1994 the Art Crafts Council (*Conseil des métiers d'art*), that assigns this title every year. At present, 89 craftsmen have been named Masters of Art and have been made responsible to pass on their knowledge and skills to students in order to perpetuate and keep alive their craftsmanship.

The French government seems to be particularly attentive to the issues of the craft sector, as demonstrated by the request of the prime minister for a report on this subject in 2009 (Dumas 2009). This report tries to better understand the craft field and its needs and envisages twenty measures that aim to lead the evolution of the sector in the next few years. The research identifies three main goals for public support: innovation, awareness, and preservation. First, the objective of innovation concerns the evolution of craft techniques as well as the integration of new technologies into the production process. Design is considered an important factor of innovation and of creation of new models of goods. Secondly, raising awareness of the importance of crafts, at different levels can be improved through labels, exhibitions, television and the Internet. These, and other instruments, may support the knowledge of this little-known sector by a larger public. Thirdly, the preservation of this craftsmanship is fundamental as it is part of French Heritage; public commands and the title of Master of Art are just some of the actions that can be utilized to reinforce the valorization of preservation.

Despite the importance of this report to invent new strategies in this field, the planned actions do not really attempt to deeply explore original measures and cultural policy. In this sense, I believe that to be more innovative in defining a cultural policy for the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship, it is important to rethink the object itself. As showed in the previous graph (*Figure 2*), traditional craftsmanship constitutes elements that belong to the following categories: tangible / intangible and collective / private. This means that measures specifically oriented to help craftsmen and manufacturers, based on an individualistic approach, should be integrated by measures that seek to assure the preservation of more fragile and collective elements, such as the cultural capital of the communities and natural local resources.

New strategies should be developed to keep those elements alive and those strategies should evolve at local levels, to involve communities and individuals in the governance process. As Ostrom's analysis on Common Pool Resources shows

¹⁵ Website of Maîtres d'Art: <http://www.maitresdart.com/> (accessed November 23, 2010).

(Ostrom 1990, 1994, 2005), self-governing approaches should involve the citizens of a community and local level conception instead of at a national and international level. A new approach to cultural intangible heritage should thus focus on the importance, not only of individual producers, but rather on other local actors that may play a part in the creation of appropriate institutions and systems of governance.

5.3 The Third Approach: Common-Based Institutions

Up to now, I have presented the most widespread forms of governing intangible cultural heritage. Next, I will look at a third way of governance: the commons approach. I will finally seek to answer the last question presented at the beginning of my study concerning the advantages of a commons approach in the management of traditional craftsmanship.

The insight into a cultural commons provides a new framework for the governance of traditional craftsmanship, alternative both to private exploitation and to State intervention. Intellectual property rights, copyrights, patents, trademarks, and trade secrets allow their owner to control the use of intangible resources, contribute to remunerating the creator and incentivize new researches and creations (Brown 2005). Despite the apparent efficiency of these measures for the protection of intangible cultural heritage, in the specific case of traditional craftsmanship, they risk privatizing something that does not belong to a specific person, but rather to a community or a group of people.

Even if craftsmanship is held by individuals, these holders are not the only owners, because this cultural heritage is settled on knowledge, cultural capital and natural resources that have been accumulated, maintained and passed on through several generations. So far, Collective Intellectual Property Rights (CIPR), like Geographical Indications and Collective trademarks (Russo and Segre 2007), seems to be the more appropriate measure fitting the characteristics of traditional craftsmanship and the structure of their ownership. CIPR attributes the control and the ownership of these complex skills and knowledge to a community or a group of people. Therefore, this collectivity is enabled to defend its craftsmanship, as well as to use, maintain and transfer it. If CIPR seems to be a very suitable measure for the safeguarding of traditional craftsmanship, its practical functions presents some limits. In fact, to work properly, they have to be linked to something more precise than the craftsmanship, e.g. a production process, a brand, or a sale point.

For these reasons, I want to look for other concrete examples and ways of governing traditional craftsmanship. My preoccupation is to assure that all the identified components of craftsmanship, as presented in *Figure 2*, are preserved and transmitted, and handled as an ecosystem. In this sense, it is important that local actions arisen in the community are integrated into national policy, and thus individualistic perspectives into a cultural commons approach. To do so, I start by analyzing the case of safeguarding dry stone craftsmanship in the Vaucluse department of France.

Dry stone constructions characterize the rural landscape of many European countries. In the south of France, and more specifically in the Vaucluse department,

these constructions attest ways of living and working, and agriculture techniques of prior inhabitants. They are material witnesses of a complex system of skills and knowledge that today are under threat. Multiple reasons have contributed to make this craftsmanship rare including: the changing of needs and ways of life, the introduction of modern buildings and construction materials, and the definition of new economic priorities all of which have led to abandoned terrace cultivations made of dry stone walls. Even if this craftsmanship and its productions might seem outdated, several reports and experiences show their current importance in the planning of rural territories, both as human elements shaping landscape and creating identity as well as in valorizing the image of the territory and attracting tourists. Moreover, this craftsmanship is a pillar of sustainable development policy of the department since dry stone constructions respect the environment, use local materials, facilitate the ground drainage, and are less expensive and more durable than concrete constructions (CAPEB 2008, CMA 2009, Cominelli 2010).

Since the 1980s, people living in this department and in villages of dry stone constructions started to perceive that this heritage was at risk of disappearing. Thus, they created associations, school projects and summer workshop to make young people aware of this tangible and intangible heritage and to create occasions to let old villagers share their skills, knowledge, and experience. Furthermore, professionals of this sector understood the importance of developing common projects to promote this practice and created different associations. An example of knowledge transmission is the Association of Dry Stone Craft Constructors (*Artisans Bâisseurs en Pierres Sèches*)¹⁶, created in 2002. This organization gathers twelve professionals who share a passion for dry stone, the need to pass on the skills, knowledge and rules of their activity, respect for quality standards, and the will to keep decision and policy makers informed about this practice and its multiple uses. Another active association in the Vaucluse department is the Association of Wall Constructors of Provence (*Muraillers de Provence*).

These experiences have been fostered by the multiple initiatives of the Chamber of Trades and Crafts of Vaucluse. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts (*Chambres de Métiers et de l'Artisanat*, CMA)¹⁷ is a public organization active at local level, that provides services for craftsmen and craft enterprises. Since 1999, the CMA of Vaucluse has encouraged an active policy to sustain the dry stone sector. The CMA inventoried all dry stone craftsmen in France, created a network of partners at regional national and international level, and supported the publication of the book *Pierre sèche: guide des bonnes pratiques de construction de murs en soutènement*¹⁸ which formalized, in a clear and accessible way, the craftsmanship of artisans.

The joint activities of these local institutions led to the creation of a training course for dry stone professionals that was formally recognized by the responsible national commission (Committee CPNE) in 2010. This training project was developed by the Association of Dry Stone Craft Constructors, with the practical and formal support of other institutions. This last important result achieves the objective of perpetuating and safeguarding this intangible cultural heritage.

¹⁶ Website of the ABPS: <http://www.pierreseche.fr/> (accessed November 4, 2010).

¹⁷ Website of CMA Vaucluse : <http://www.cm-avignon.fr/> (accessed November 4, 2010).

¹⁸ *Dry Stone: A Guide of Good Practices to Built Retaining Walls*, translation of the author.

This case shows how a common-based approach can be sustainable and able to find new ways for revitalizing threatened craftsmanship. This perspective is interesting because it involves a multiplicity of actors with different interests and competencies. The heterogeneity of these actors helps to develop innovative actions and more ambitious challenging projects for the safeguarding and the transmission of traditional craftsmanship. It also showed that institutions can evolve and new actors may become involved. As presented, local institutions can acquire over time a knowledge that lets them better understand the needs of the sector and improve their management of intangible heritage. Institutions, as well as traditional craftsmanship, must be passed on to future generations, since they possess a rich and specific knowledge and have created a strong social capital.

This brief analysis showed the relevance and the advantages of fostering community-based solutions and institutions. A more detailed analysis should be further carried out to better understand these institutions and their operations, for example, as related to Ostrom's principles¹⁹ that describe CPR institutions (Ostrom 1994).

Conclusion

My study started by defining traditional craftsmanship and stressing its similarities with the idea of a cultural commons. Then, on the basis of these considerations, I presented different ways of governing this specific manifestation of intangible cultural heritage. The preliminary results discussed here need to be further developed through the analysis of more detailed cases, and by using more appropriate tools. Nevertheless, this research pointed out, on the one side the complexity of the object of this study, and on the other side the multiplicity of actors and measures that need to be undertaken to assure that it is safeguarded.

Furthermore, the use of the paradigm of a commons stressed the relation between ICH and the community of users and holders. The commons insight also provided a deeper understanding of the link between natural resources, heritage, and society. It helped to focus on the role of community-based institutions as central actors of the safeguarding process.

This perspective seems perfectly adapted to one of the main issues of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: the role of communities and groups of people. In its general statements, the Convention recognizes that *"communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity"* (UNESCO 2003). The involvement of the community is also stressed as necessary for the implementation of safeguarding

¹⁹ The eight design principles defined by Elinor Ostrom (1994) to describe robust CPR institutions are: clearly defined boundaries; congruence between appropriation rules and provision rules and local conditions; collective-choice arrangements (how individuals affected by operational rules can participate in modifying those rules); monitoring; graduated sanctions; conflict resolution mechanisms; minimal recognition of rights; and nested enterprises (how activities and enterprises are organized). Ostrom, E. 1994. "Neither Market nor State. Governance of Common-Pool Resources in the Twenty-First Century". Paper presented at the IFPRI Lecture Series, Washington D.C: 4-11.

measures (art. 11, UNESCO 2003), and for the development of specific educational and training programmes (art. 14, UNESCO 2003). Finally, article 15, underlines the responsibility of State Parties “*to ensure the widest possible participation of communities [...] and to involve them actively in [ICH] management*” (UNESCO 2003).

Thus, the common approach reclaims the participation of the community, in all its heterogeneous forms, with its rich skills and knowledge. In this framework, the market and State intervention are not adversaries. All of these actors operate in a synergic way, contributing to make governance processes efficient, effective, equitable, and sustainable with a common goal of safeguarding this complex intangible heritage that by nature doesn't have a specific owner, is extremely fragile and that we all can enjoy.

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