

**Nuclei of small business crafts, social capital
and territorial development in Algeria**

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Most of the time, the economic literature refers to an humanist and social conception of the local development which is considered as " a common representation, an awakening of the capacities of each, an expression of real democratization " (Denieuil 1999 : 2). Today, the local development combines a territorial approach (initiative of the local actors) with the movement arising from consequences of the globalization, from the devolution and from the territorialisation by the Governments of their public polity. More than ever, the stake is to know which role the civil society has to play thank to the local enterprises reation, the social and associative initiatives to face the exclusion. The local development paradigm wants containing: It aims at integrating the multiple dimensions of the development: economic, social, cultural, political, *etc.* He underlines the importance of social relationships, " as all the rules, the standards, the networks mobilized by the agents within the framework of their non trade exchanges " (Angeon and Callois, on 2004). That is why our analysis will lean on the notion of social capital (Bourdieu (1980), Coleman (1988), Putnam (1995), *etc.*), multi-form concept which allows to analyze the economic mechanisms by which the social factors influence the development. We shall thus analyze the economic mechanisms by which the social factors (informal exchanges, social networks, *etc.*) influence the territorial development.

The economic theory finally "rediscovers" the importance of factors like trust, social cohesion or nearness who can reduce the transaction costs. So, next to the market and the hierarchy, the cooperation (the associations, the networks, *etc.*) stands out as a mode of coordination of the economic activity (Favreau 2008, p. 75). Approaches of the social capital and the nearness constitute frames of analysis suited to the questions of territorial development (Angeon and *alii*, 2002). If social capital means the standards and the values which govern the collective action then it is also the expression of the territoriality of societies (Loudiyi and *alii*, 2004).

In Algeria, one of the most important challenges is today to mobilize the populations and the local authorities to make them work together (Donsimoni and Perret, 2008). The Algerian authorities - As the Brazilian authorities some years previously - wish to boost the small business crafts and to re-revitalize territories by creating small-sized enterprises *Nuclei*, groups of craftsmen which meet periodically around a councillor depending on a Chamber of the small business crafts (CAM) or from a Chamber of commerce and industry (CCI) to identify their common problems and together find solutions (common orders, common marketing, *etc.*).

The *Nucleus* approach is now set up in numerous countries: Brazil since 1991, Argentina and Uruguay since 1999, Sri Lanka since 2002, Algeria and Mozambique since 2006, Colombia, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Pakistan, South Africa since 2008. Brazil, whom experience is the most former, accounts today about 35 000 SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) concerned by this approach. In Algeria, although the implementation is recent, more than 1500 enterprises are already concerned. The CAM or the CCI involved in this *Nucleus* approach sign beforehand a convention of partnership proposed by GTZ¹-AAPOP² (German technical cooperation).

In the continuation of our previous researches (see Perret 2009 (a) and Perret 2009 (b)), the question which underlies this study is to know if the set up of the *Nucleus* approach is more successful in the urban regions or the countryside, the underprivileged regions or not, either in a more or less individualistic environment.

The first part of our work exposes, in the light of the multi-form concept of social capital, the evolution of the entrepreneurship logic in Algeria. The second part investigates the nature of the social tie. Finally the

¹ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ).

² Appui aux associations professionnelles, chambres et organisations patronales.

third part brings into light the nature of the ties and their differentiated impact on the territorial development.

I. The evolution of the entrepreneurs way of acting in the light of the social capital concept

In Algeria, the middle of the 80s knew a disengagement of the Gouvernement and " the private enterprise became a key stake and an inescapable alternative susceptible to find an innovative approach to value the existing potentialities while capitalizing the local human resources " (Nemiri-Yaici, 2006).

The 90s and the achievement of the market economy will see arising numerous supports for the new business start-up and for the consolidation of the private sector. All these evolutions transform " the former economic standards and, consequently, the behavior of the Algerian entrepreneur " (Melbouci, 2006).

I.1. The 90s evolutions

We can analyze the evolution of the entrepreneurial way of acting in Algeria into the light of the social capital concept.

Several definitions among the most famous can be useful to enlighten our research: that of Woolcok and Narayan (2000) (angle of the standards and networks), that of Coleman (1988), that of Putnam (1995) (theorization of the rational action centred on social determiners) and finally that of Lin (1995, 2001) (angle of the resources).

Two approaches can be distinguished: the reticular approach (Woolcok and Narayan, Putnam, Lin) which discuss the nature of the social capital which is a resource produced and valued within a network (it is a social wealth incorporated into the social order) and the functionalist approach (Coleman) which characterizes the social capital according to its effects.

Woolcok and Narayan (in 2000 in Loudiyi and *alii* 2006) define the social capital as all the standards and networks which facilitate the collective action. From this first definition release two dimensions of the social capital: the first one is connected to the standards and values (informal rules) which govern the interactions between agents and second one determines it by its structural characteristics. Social capital appoints then in this second acception as the formal frame within are established the relations between the economic agents. Social capital is then built of formal and informal institutions which facilitate the collective action.

Putnam (1995) defines him the social capital as the networks and the standards of reciprocity which are associated with it. The social capital has a value given for the individuals who belong to the network. The individual social capital is thus in a clear way a set of formal or informal relations which result from a strategy. The order of the market and the bureaucratic organization is then "annihilated" for the benefit of connections between the individuals based on trust and reciprocity (Boutillier and Uzunidis, 2006, 15-16).

Finally, Lin (in Angeon and Callois, 2004) defines the social capital as a potential wealth incorporated into the social order and which can be (but not inevitably) mobilized if necessary. This conception joins that adopted by Bourdieu (1980) who defines the social capital as " all the current or potential resources which are connected to the ownership of a long-lasting network of relations more or less institutionalized by interknowledge and by interrecognition ".

To Coleman (1988) the social capital is a resource incorporated into the interpersonal relations, a particular capital which makes possible the social action, it is at the root of the relations developed between the agents (capacity to make circulate the information, the existence of rules and penalties which are lead in a particular community, *etc.*). Social capital is characterized by its effects: it facilitates the action between individuals. Coleman also brings to light the existence of bridges between the micro and the macro (the private resources that an individual removes from the valuation of his social capital have repercussions at the macroeconomic level).

The international institutions underline the importance of this multi-form concept. The OECD attributes it an important place in the improvement of the social well-being. The World Bank recognizes its importance in the struggle against poverty because it fills the space left by institutions, pillars of the

economic growth. It brings a support to the informal economic relations based on mutual ties of trust and solidarity (Boutillier and Uzunidis, 2006, p. 94).

In the Algerian case, Melbouci (2006) distinguishes two periods: years [1962-1990] and years post 1990. The period [1962-1990] is characterized by an administered, stable and structured environment. During this period, the strategy used by the Algerian entrepreneur was focused on the accumulation of social capital which, following the definition of Boutillier and Uzunidis (1999), decomposes into a relations-capital, a knowledge-capital and a financial-capital.

In Algeria, because the entrepreneur was "badly considered" and also accused of membership in a class of "bourgeoisie exploiter" by the national charter of 1976 (Melbouci, 2006), the accumulation of financial-capital was not essential because the entrepreneur does not aimed at enlarging his business being afraid that it is nationalized. Beside that, the relation-capital (institutional and informal) is the base of any strategy of the Algerian entrepreneurs.

For Melbouci (2006) all these changes sharpened the entrepreneurial way of thinking: the entrepreneurs are crossed by a logic PIC (Perpetuity / Independence / Growth) in a logic CAP (Growth / Autonomy / Perpetuity) such as described by Marschenay. PIC are moved by a patrimonial logic whereas CAP are moved by a logic of valuation of the capital rather than the accumulation.

Since 1990, the creation of the SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprise) knew an ascending movement: 60 % of the SME existing in 2000 were created after 1994 (after the adoption of a new code of the investments dating October, 1993 and after the coming into force of the program of structural adjustment in May, 1994). Measures relative to the development of the investments are strengthened in 2001 and a new guidance law on the SMEs aimed at the promotion of the entrepreneurship (Assala, 2006) is set up. Today, the private sector prevails within the Algerian economy. So at 2006's end, private SMEs and the craft activities represented 99,8 % of the total of the SMEs.

I.2 Back of the State in the economic field

I.2.1 The dramatic increasing of the informal economy

At the same time, the Algerian informal economy is growing during decade 80 because of the specialization on hydrocarbons. Besides, in Algeria, a large part of the entrepreneurs use the traditional mechanisms of family financing and the informal economy is important in all sectors.

During the 90s the market, which is still characterized by a weak supply, engenders inflation and illicit business (*trabendo*). The itinerant trade, restricted in the 80s, proliferates (Adair, on 2002). Whereas the labor demand is reduced (in particular in public enterprises which tend to increase the importance of their non permanent wage-earners), we see a labor supply increasing and an occupational pluralism increasing (in particular for active persons having a stable job) (Adair, on 2002).

Even if the occupational pluralism is not precisely estimated, in 1996, among 2.866.000 permanent employees, 23 % declared to exercise a secondary activity, the income of which amounted approximately to 3 % of the average wage (Adair, on 2000). Since the 90s, a part of the youth which feels forgotten (the young unemployment rate is alarming today) and / or which is not motivated by the level of the average wage or which cannot find an employment turns to the informal and the *trabendo*.

At the end of the 90s, the *trabendo* phenomenon becomes very important and affects numerous sectors: the salesmen of low quality goods and/or counterfeiting of western brands sale their products openly and publicly. These salesmen are not exactly street hawkers because real permanent informal markets are born for some years (about 800 informal markets were counted in 2005 in Algeria (Bettache, 2005)) and that counterfeiting products can also be found in completely legal shops (Perret and Gharbi, 2008).

If as underlines it Marschenay (2004, p. 237), it's in set up of new business start-up that the entrepreneurship finds its most evident realization (Marschenay, 2004, p. 238) then the new business start-up even informal and small-sized is there also a signal. If the Algerians consumers almost naturally consume counterfeiting products without fear (Perret and Gharbi, on 2008), the authorities become aware of the danger of the dramatic development of the *trabendo* and the "easy money" it gets for the youth (forward danger on the human resources because young people are not incited to pursue their studies, etc.).

Recently things evolve, the country is rich in its natural resources and the government takes advantage of this to turn to the small structures, boost the small business sector and push the local development. If Algeria even struggles today in a difficult transition process, a requirement of change of governance appears. The problem of the Algerian authorities is then to push to the new formal business start-up or to try to formalize a part of the informal sector.

We shall use once more the notion of social capital, which can be finally encircled from various variables (normative variable, relational variable, cognitive variable and trust variable).

The association of these four variables is indispensable to the system stability because they intervene at various levels. The relational variable means the principle of reciprocity without which no exchange (formal or informal) is possible in a long-term. The cognitive variable insures the adaptation of the network in an evolutionary environment. The normative variable delivers to the individuals the codes to be respected to be allowed in the network. The trust variable concerns the reliability of the social system or the certainty that even in the absence of formal or informal penalties, standards of reciprocity or the "virtuous" behavior appear, whether it is close to institutions or to persons (friends, family, *etc.*). This variable contains on one hand the reliability of the system and on the other hand the trust spreads to the society and the institutions.

On what variables can the Algerian authorities play? At first, restore trust into institutions. It can pass by measures of accompaniment in the new business start-up (advice, training, access to the financing for micro-structures, *etc.*) and by reinvesting the economic field left aside during the decade of civil insecurity.

I.2.2. The *Nucleus* philosophy

It's considered that everytime the entrepreneurs have something in common it's possible to create a *Nucleus*. The most important is that the individuals can bring something: exchange on techniques, signing of grouped orders, *etc.* According to the Director of the CAM of Béjaïa-Bouira, a *Nucleus* network can be set up with six or seven craftsmen acting in the same sector or having common or close preoccupations and geographically closed. Other entrepreneurs can then adhere to the network until it reaches about twenty craftsmen (number considered maximum for the councillor to organize fruitful meetings). Two categories of *Nuclei* are identified: vertical *Nuclei* (of sector) and horizontal *Nuclei* (the participants are of the same sector and offer identical products or services: potters, jewellers, mechanics, plumbers, *etc.*). A *Nucleus* is a monofunctional multilateral (horizontal *Nucleus*) or multifunctional network (vertical *Nucleus*) coordinated by the councillor. This councillor is the heart of the *Nucleus*. AAPOP trains and accompanies him in the activities for the benefit of the *Nucleus* members. The *Nucleus* approach creates in fact a network of networks of small and medium-sized enterprises.

If our previous researches concerning jewelers and potters *Nuclei* in Tizi-Ouzou gave us encouraging results in particular in term of cooperation between craftsmen (exchanges on techniques, grouped purchases, *etc.* (see Perret 2009 (a) and on 2009 (b))) and in term of social capital creation it is not the case in every *Wilayas* which adopted the *Nucleus* approach. Its implementation Alger (*Wilaya* of) effectively seems not to know an easy starting up (Perret and Chibani, on 2009). According to Winfried Stitz, Director of the component 4 of the program DEVED, it is not so surprising because according to him Chambers situated in big cities and/or capitals meet more difficulties to implement this approach. We can then ask the question of the impact of the cognitive civil social capital (standards, values, faiths, *etc.*) on the success of this approach. Are the rural zones and/or where reigns less individualism more able to engender cooperative behavior between entrepreneurs?

II. The nature of the social tie

Our previous developments do not approach the subject of the nature or the intensity of the established ties, we have to analyse a more concrete apprehension of the social capital concept (Angeon and Callois, 2004).

II.1. The social capital different types

Collier (1998) distinguishes two interdependent types of social capital: the governmental social capital (governmental institutions or organizations or the public sector) and the civil social capital (organizations emanating from the civil society (non-trading organisations)). Uphoff (2000) differentiates the structural social capital (structures in which act the agents that is organizations) and the cognitive social capital (mental processes, values, standards, faiths *etc.* which predispose the agents to the cooperation.). These two visions of the social capital allow to draw up a typology of the concrete nature of the social capital in the style of Sirven (2000).

NATURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL	SOCIAL STRUCTURAL	SOCIAL COGNITIVE
SOCIAL CIVIL	Associations, NGO, <i>etc.</i>	Norms, values and faiths
SOCIAL GOUVERNEMENTAL	Government, <i>etc.</i>	Laws, political regime, <i>etc.</i>

The cognitive social capital may have an impact on the structural social capital as far as the faiths in certain values (democratic values for example) can push the agents to organise themselves in a formal way (associations, NGO *etc.*). The common rules represent a set of "invisible institutions" (cognitive civil social capital of the typology of Sirven (on 2000)) which facilitate the understanding between the agents (Angeon and *alii*, on 2006).

Can the culture condition the success of the *Nucleus* approach? In this questioning, a beginning of answer is brought to us by Rainer Müller-Glodde³'s ground.

- (i) According to him, in sub-Saharan Africa the other entrepreneurs are not necessarily seen as a "personal enemy". In Algeria, the small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) confirmed it.
- (ii) In sub-Saharan Africa and the Pacific islands, the entrepreneurs meet difficulties to accumulate capital because of their grant to big families. In other cultures the smaller family is able to protect itself against the wishes of the bigger family.
- (iii) Another difference between countries is the degree to which the entrepreneurs expect for solutions for their problems from the Government. In Latin America the expectations are not important; nobody expects any more from Government. In Sri Lanka it is high, in Algeria even higher. This may endanger the organizational development of the chambers because the entrepreneurs show less engagement to adopt them as their own institutions. In Sri Lanka and Algeria that can engender counterproductive behaviors because in that case, entrepreneurs do not appropriate *Nucleus* approach.
- (iv) Linked with this is the leadership in a culture. In Latin America, the experience shows that a leader appears naturally within *Nuclei* and that this leader can sometimes compensate "the weakness" of the councillor *Nucleus*. In Sri Lanka it is not the case and in Algeria the experience is still too recent to end formally.

What regional differences could explain the relative success of the implementation of the approach in Kabyle Wilayas? They are often considered by the inhabitants as "forgotten regions" by the central power in particular that of Tizi-Ouzou which is historically a region of contesting and organization of the inhabitants (associations, *etc.*). The civil structural social capital is globally important in Kabylia. Ancient social orders and community type, formerly adapted to geographical, economic and historic constraints, still inspire the current democratic movements. They contain several levels, among which *lâarvh* (the tribe) and the *jemaâ*, the "ancient assembly" (Lacoste-Dujardin, on 2001). From 1989, political parties and associations dramatically increase (Rulleau, on 2003). From there, an associative network has been created, particularly in Kabylia. Tizi-Ouzou accounted not less than 701 associations.

³ *Nucleus* international.

The nature of the ties between the agents was specified by the World Bank (2000) typology which distinguishes the bonding tie, the linking tie and the bridging tie.

The bonding ties unite individuals of identical status (horizontal ties) within the same community. If they characterize relations of community type, that is members with the same way of thinking, they are aimed towards a "relational closure" (Coleman, 1988), even can result in the discrimination. These ties can be the ones existing within a family, within a tribe, within an ethnic group, within a village, within a community of membership, within close friends, *etc.* To dread the importance of this type of ties indicators such as the size of families or the fact of being or "feel Kabyle" or not can be retained.

The linking tie characterize interactions between agents of different statuses. These ties are said vertical. These inter-groups ties require to be reaffirmed and are characterized by transactions of reciprocity which oblige in pursuit of the exchanges (Angeon and alii, on 2006). According to Angeon and *alii* the interactions frequency tends to result in the convergence of the representations.

And finally the bridging ties connect distant agents (geographical distance or the tie is not permanently activated).

The social bridging capital indicates a virtual network. The relations can be punctual, intermittent and the respected rules look like a convention without mutual commitment (Angeon and alii, on 2006). Indicators of these ties can be found in the percentage of emigrants of a given territory, the number of emigrated persons in a family, *etc.*

In case of temporary activation of a bridging tie, the logics of membership and or resemblance can bustle and continue only the time of the relation (Angeon and alii, on 2006). It will be for example when a person activates a tie outside the territory (an emigrant) to ask him(her) for a punctual technical or financial help for the realization of a project.

We can also think that the sociological characteristics (culture in general) have an impact on the governmental structural capital (dynamism of the local elected representatives, *etc.*). Angeon and *alii* (2006) so noticed in their study a possible analogy of the institutional behavior with that of the inhabitants: there where we observe a dense associative tissue, we notice a dynamism of the local elected representatives.

II.2. Relational and emotional capital

The "closed" ties (bonding ties) are the family ties, ethnic ties, *etc.* whereas the "opened" ties are the ones that we find between two colleagues, close friends, *etc.* The closure in family or ethnic networks limits the available resources in social capital and, damaging the development of the "opened" relations, can have negative effects (Bucolo on 2004: 71). The problem is to know from which level the emotional ties can become an obstacle.

Why in certain societies these ties are stronger than in others? According to Bucolo (on 2004: 71) the history, the culture, the socioeconomic and political conditioning determine "the intensity" of the networks. In cases of exclusion (for example regions disinherited in the mountains of Kabylia or other one), individuals, even inserted into "opened" ties cannot reach the positive effects of their social capital if this one is not valued or not taken into account (Bucolo on 2004: 72).

"Strong" ties between fellow men can then build up themselves (bonding tie) to face exclusion. Bucolo (on 2004: 72) supposes while at some point a network can increase the intensity of the emotional interrelations "because of a security reinforcement, of a self-defence or of identity research, *etc.*". In the ethnic networks, the ties tend to tighten this way.

We had shown in a previous research (Perret, 2009 (a)) that the *Nucleus* councillor is essential because he creates an organized nearness of relational essence between close entrepreneurs (geographically and/or who have "something" to share). The *Nucleus* councillors doubtless play a central role in the emergence of these practices of exchange because they are responsible for the development of relations of cooperation between entrepreneurs, for the establishment of a "reliable climate". In our case, the interorganizational trust is based on the interpersonal trust because its emergence depends on reliable relations the entrepreneurs establish during the meetings.

The homogeneity of a network facilitates the interaction of the "strong" ties and the lack of opportunity reduced the "weak" ties (Linen 1995: 692 in Bucolo 2004: 72). This situation can, according to Bucolo (2004: 72), generate networks turned to forms "survive together" as the autoproduction, community (and

why not Nuclei?) or on contrary to the compulsory renferments which stress the ill-being, the poverty, etc.

III. Nature of the ties and the impact on development

Have the non trade local coordinations an incidence on the economic development? Is a society where the "social tie" (Houard and Jacquemain, on 2006) is more intense better in term of collective results? Finally, can the social capital be considered as the collective good? To answer these questions involves to distinguish the mechanisms to which the coordinations between agents send back

III.1. Social capital and externalities

If according to Bourdieu, one of the fathers of the social capital, it represents a partially convertible individual resource into other types of capital and if for Coleman it may explain for example the school differences (facilitating), it's with Putnam that it becomes a possible explanation of the differences in term of regional development. According to Putnam, the social capital is not individual any more but collective. The mechanism passes by "the positive impact of the social ties on the reciprocity and the trust, which facilitates in a virtuous circle cooperation and development" (Houard and Jacquemain, on 2006: 43-44)

It is demonstrated that the local coordinations generate two types of positive externalities: the first one is connected with problems of information collection and circulation and the second one relates to the collective action (Angeon and *alii*, 2006). The "strong" ties of nearness between actors (local cohesion or modalities of coordination between actors) are then presented as an explanatory element discriminating the territorial development.

If bridging ties are sometimes considered as "weak" (by opposition to the "strong" ties of bonding and linking type), we can imagine that their activation has consequences on development because of the information circulation, the knowledges and the techniques circulation allowed by the ties between geographically remote agents. The knowledge transfers made during a punctual visit of a remote member (geographically and socially, an emigrant) of the family could be important and this type of ties is on the other hand not unimportant in term of financial transfers.

III.2. From the social capital to the spatial capital

According to Lévy (1994) every individual possesses a spatial capital, accumulable ressource, allowing him to take an advantage of the spatial dimension of the society. This capital can be divided into spatial capital of position connected to a place (housing environment, city, State, *etc.*) and a spatial capital of situation connected to an area (a space that the individual appropriates by the mobilities, by mastering the distances). Housing environment (land holdings, *etc.*) and movements (changes of residence, migratory mobility, *etc.*) are important elements of the spatial capital (Loudiyi and *alii*, 2004).

If the social capital is a set of interactions between localized actors, the spatial capital is interesting for the study of the social and spatial disparities. Any territory, even of limited spatial development, is constituted by material objects (roads, infrastructures, *etc.*) and stimulated by social networks (Debardieux, 2002 in Loudiyi and *alii*, 2004). The spatial configuration is the resultant of the organization of the actors who interact.

The *Nucleus* approach, creator of localized social capital, allows the craftsmen to diffuse - thanks to the CAM - their products at the national, even international level, or to look for more advantageous suppliers (Perret, 2009 (c)). It thus allows craftsmen to increase their spatial capital which also lies in the capacity to have access to certain places (the craft fairs, *etc.*) and certain more or less penetrable social circles because of the existence of economic, social or cultural barriers (Fournier, on 2008).

If we want to create and strengthen the social capital to engender a territorial development, it is necessary to locate all social capital categories which allow the social groups of a territory to master the future evolutions (Loudiyi and *alii*, 2004).

Conclusion

The territorialized approach of the development raises new questions: the role of the ties between the actors of the territory, the shape and the density of the spatial social capital. The *Nucleus* approach, a social innovation, can generate social capital and spatial capital.

We can think that the sociological characteristics (culture) have an impact on the governmental structural capital (dynamism of the local elected representatives, dynamism of the Director of the CAM, dynamism of the *Nucleus* councillor , *etc.*). The homogeneity of a network (for example all the persons of the network are Kabyle from such mountainous *daira*) facilitating the interaction of the "strong" ties and the lack of opportunity reducing the "weak" ties; we can think that two contradictory effects can arise.

It is possible that this situation engenders either reflexes of survival or a community confinement: following the example of Bucolo we can imagine that it facilitates networks shaped in "survive together" (autoproduction, community, *Nucleus*) or at the opposite it engenders isolation that stress the ill-being, the poverty, *etc.*

If it is demonstrated that there are differences in term of success, of setting-up of this approach between the rural or urban zones or between the zones of different culture then the cognitive civil social capital (standards, values, faiths, *etc.*) could have an impact on the success or not of this approach. The rural zones and/or zone where reign less individualism could be considered to engender more cooperative behaviors between entrepreneurs. On the contrary, in big cities, more individualistic, it would be more difficult to implement the *Nucleus* approach.

Some questions about the expectations towards the Government would however deserve to be later fathomed. In a context of distrust towards the Gouvernement, we can imagine that two opposite behaviors can arise. The *Nucleus* approach being leaned in a CAM, the craftsmen may have a reaction of distrust. On the contrary, in the case of region considering itself too much "given up by the central power", the joint representation of the *Nucleus* approach can be considered by some as a good alternative.

Finally, we can think that other factors⁴, in addition to those whom we analyzed in previous articles (see Perret, 2009), can also explain the failure or the success of the setting-up of the *Nucleus* approach : (i) the choice of the participating craftsmen, (ii) the emergence of a leader, (iii) the distance which separates them from the place of meeting (if the movements are too long or expensive, it seems that the craftsmen are faster discouraged) and (iv) the fact to live in cities which offer more opportunities (supply, distribution of products, *etc.*). At least, according to Müller-Glodde's experience, "the most important condition for successfully running *Nuclei* is: the entrepreneurs must "suffer". They must want to change something... the most difficult sectors are those in which all or most are academics (construction and architects sector in Brazil), because they have easily in mind: we know already everything. Or: we know better."

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⁴ We can think that diverse elements can condition the cooperation intensity: the specificity of its know-how; the degree of trust between the *Nucleus* members; the reputation of the members; the degree of interdependence between the partners (is it a vertical or an horizontal *Nucleus*?); the size of the network; the nearness of the *Nucleus* members.

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