ABSTRACT
Porter's recommendations for competitiveness clusters date back to the 1990s. They are part of an intellectual line that goes back to industrial districts Marshall. The aim was to deepen relation inter-industrial proximity, polarizing relations, the member organizations of competitiveness cluster and not the markets as a whole. In a succession of paradigms, the organization born global brings about a reform of Porter's approach. It introduces the contributions of remoteness, that elsewhere facilitating non-conformism, a reduction vulnerability, a construction an international reputation, expansion into new markets and simplicity for broad to access innovation.

KEYWORDS: Fast internationalization, born global, remoteness

JEL CLASSIFICATION: F23

1. INTRODUCTION
The terminology of organization "born global" is a recent introduction. Other expressions are also used, such as "fast and early internationalization", but based on close boundaries. It is a matter of characterizing firms or organizations that have a relationship with different parts of the world they are more complex than exporting firm, even if the most commonly used statistical criterion, namely more than 25% of international activity before the end a first three years activity, does not make it possible to distinguish clearly between a "firm born exporting" and a firm "born global". The term "global birth" was introduced from the observation a bimodal distribution for internationalization criteria. In 1993, the time that a new Australian company took for internationalization separated two types: companies took 27 years on average for that, and another group did it in two years mostly. The Australian study indicated that the phenomenon was encountered in all sectors, not just in the high-tech sectors. For new enterprise projects, "global" projects are generally larger initial size, and often account for about half of them in countries such as Belgium or Romania. This is an indicator of globalization: regions well integrated into intensive trade flows will have high rate start-up of enterprises “born global” and this rate will decrease for less well-integrated regions and with fewer connections to networks. OECD studies will confirm the global "average time" of internationalization is reduced by about half between 1980s and 1990s, a change that also affects SMEs, whereas the literature only took into account very large firms multinationals before. This focus is perpetuated in most theories of globalization, including of Ohmae, which envisages only enlargement situations from a large existing firm. A pioneering article (Oviatt & McDougall, 1994) indicates if the theoretical approaches organizations of remain relevant the "globalized" firms, but the phenomenon accelerating the internationalization is not explained in the set of analysis tools built since 1960s around multinational firms. This in turn weakens the foundations for a new, more appropriate theoretical framework to be sought. The old analytical tools, gathered in a paradigm

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elaborated by the University of Uppsala in 1970s, promoted a step-by-step, progressive and evolutionary internationalization of the firms. They drew on both theories international of trade and those management. Among tools, the OLI (Ownership-Location-Internalization) paradigm requires three conditions for an overseas establishment: the firm has a strategic advantage, the distant country has a localization advantage, the organizational costs are such the internal solution is mostly profitable. If the firm has only a strategic advantage, it can use a license sale for example; if it has this strategic advantage and internalization, it will develop a proprietary sales network; and finally, only if the situation meets the three conditions of OLI paradigm, then a direct investment abroad must be considered. These same stages are found in the Paradigm University of Uppsala (Johanson &Vahlne, 1977): first there are opportunistic exports, then use to an independent agent, then creation a sales subsidiary, and finally the production site in the foreign country. The implicit assumptions these approaches mean that internationalization seen as a long and delicate process of learning based on a psychological distance between countries which makes it possible to classify them in relation to the source country. This psychic distance can be reduced by experience. It is requested companies undertake internationalization from countries with a lower psychological distance. Ohmae's theory of globalization is already out of step with this Uppsala paradigm. She paints a portrait an equitable manager in a multisite situation. The manager arbitrates objectively within a group companies present in several parts of the world. However, at Ohmae, the relationship between globalization and innovation is thought through within the framework of inter-company agreements and enlargements. The "globalized" firms are a new variation the relationship present in the research studies determinants of innovation between globalization and innovative attitude. They are reflected an evolution in the statistics large of organizations that collect data on world trade. The initial statistical signature of these "global" firms is not that a technological shock linked to emergence of Internet, as it was registered before creation in 1999 of major platforms such as Alibaba specialized in industrial trade, and all sectors are affected. Statistically, it is indeed a progression of globalization it is recorded, progress that will be consolidated by the development platforms like Alibaba, itself multiplier firms "born global" (Evans & Schmalensee, 2017).

Three cases illustrate a definition the organization born global and present the stakes of this new relationship between globalization and innovation. First, a counterexample, that is, a firm remains in the Uppsala paradigm progressive of internationalization, Nutriset. Then the group Alibaba created by Jack Ma, emblematic actor the arrival of firms born global. And finally, an example of luxury pastries in the form firms born global, indicating the great generality in terms sector activity of this new type organizational behavior directly related to innovation and globalization.

2. CASE STUDIES

An example of the Uppsala paradigm: Nutriset

Nutriset is a Norman small and medium-sized company created in 1986. It specializes in nutritional intakes to combat malnutrition. In conjunction with the IRD (Research Institute for Development), it has developed a new approach the severe malnutrition, deployed in the field since 1998, which greatly reduces the mortality people for these diseases. The Plumpy'Nut product is then patented. Production remained concentrated for a long time in Normandy. The plant in Burkina Faso was opened in 2011 and the deployment network of producers, Plumpyfields, was imagined in 2005. Today, the network employs 500 people worldwide, which about 200 are in Normandy. Nutriset performs R & D, audit and quality control functions in the Plumpyfields network, which remains a fairly integrated structure around Nutriset. Malnutrition mainly concerns the Caribbean (Haiti), Africa and India. Plumpyfields and Nutriset provide for prevention and treatment of malnutrition in the Caribbean and Africa. Since the Customs Administration of India has taxed Nutriset products a very high rate, the presence in South Asia is limited to one unit the production. The groupings in favor breastfeeding play a role in Indian political competition and fiercely fight the Norman miracle
recipe, while clips for the "Grandibien" (commercial name of Plumpy'Nut in Niger) are present on African media. The calculation speed of internationalization Nutriset / Plumpyfields gives a low value, the firm created in 1986 only envisages in 2005 an expansion outside Normandy. The network group remains weakly established in Asia, but this is in line with the slow rate the internationalization of the Uppsala paradigm. The medical non-governmental organizations have been alarmed by questionable choice the slow diffusion, for example Médecins Sans Frontières in 2009. This claim concretely demonstrates the difference between the "global organizations" are the NGOs and the firm of the Uppsala paradigm to slow internationalization.

Framed 1: An example of the Uppsala paradigm
Alibaba, the emergence of a new paradigm
The Alibaba group was founded in 1999 by Jack Ma and 17 collaborators. Today it is one the giants of Net, with daily transactions that can exceed one billion dollars, and about 50,000 direct employees. After three years of operation, in 2002, the Alibaba inter-industry wholesale site exceeded one million registered users and found its financial balance. It corresponds well definition the firm born global. The group based in Hangzhou created the Chinese retail site Taobao in 2003, facing the competition of the EBay site. The Alibaba group is listed on the stock market in 2014, setting a record in the amount of investments for an introduction to securities market. The founder was an English teacher before 1999, and only wanted to create a family SME while sharing his taste for innovation. This pro-SME and pro-innovation credo is reflected in the Group's displayed philosophy around the ecosystem development program necessary for SMEs to flourish.

Framed 2: Alibaba Group
Succession of generations in luxury pastry
The case luxury of pastry is presented in the book by Ben Mahmoud-Jouini et al. (2015). It is an SME about 50 employees, managing 3 pastries in Paris, and having realized, before it is third year, two establishments in Miami and Tokyo. The two founders, a manager and a pastry chef, have had an international training course and are present in a big chocolate shows held in Tokyo. The original concept is a variant the model initiated by Pierre Hermé of luxury pastry-chocolate factory. Pierre Hermé is well established in Japan, and had a cautious internationalization strategy, with a restriction in the variety product of range in the locations. The "global nursery" tries to remove the restriction on variety and offer the whole range products, with a work the fresh products on the spot, however using bases pastry prepared in workshop. The internationalization takes place in a context saturation of certain cities (56 new boutiques devoted to chocolate in Paris between 2009 and 2013). The pioneer generation could remain in the paradigm Uppsala, skimming the settlements presenting the lesser difficulties. The new generation is in the position to benefit from experience the previous generation, but must find new implantations. In the case analyzed, the implantation in Tokyo is a success, not of Miami because the specificities of a sanitary regulatory approach the United States, neglected aspect during a rapid preparation of these different implantations.

Framed 3: Succession of generations in luxury Pastry
To summarize, following list of criteria fulfilled in order to be “global organization” can be proposed based on a European study Eurofound (2012):
1. The undertaking or organization shall be independent,
2. It has an internationalization dimension,
3. It is internationalized in least two different foreign countries,
4. It offers an innovative product or service,
5. It carries out more than 25% of its export activity in at least two years of the first five years of its existence. The size of reference region for measuring the rate external activity is a region German Länder type.
The two worlds of organizations born global

Studies on firms born global are now numerous, more than one thousand have been cataloged by a Swedish team (Andersson et al., 2015). They are usually an empirical nature, based on a Länder type region, and applying either a simplified criterion (dummy variable, 0 or 1 if the firm exceeds 25% export activity in the first three years) sophisticated, Eurofound type to select firms born global. Regardless the criterion, two main types of situations are easily distinguished, either low rates of firms born global or high values. Low rates, about 12% with a dummy variable, correspond to a local entrepreneurial rate higher than 50%; respectively, the local entrepreneurial rate less than 50% corresponds to high values of dummy variable firms the born global.

Figure 1. The two worlds of organizations born global

Source: authors

Annual data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) are presented in three groups of countries, factor economies, an intermediate group, and innovation economies, according to an increasing value of internationalization standard variable, "over 25% of the activity the start up to export" (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2017). A country like China as a whole is going to have indicators derived from averages of all Chinese regions that rank China in a factor economy. But the regional indicators are not homogeneous: mostly the Chinese regions only know a local entrepreneurship, except coastal regions which are very high values of companies born global. By using a well-defined criterion for interior regions, the distribution is bimodal, and it is more consistent to retain two typical situations, the entrepreneurship is predominantly local or not. When entrepreneurship is predominantly local, business creation is on average rather low. Overall, the density of newly born firms is well below the world average. For regions where there is a large number of firms, it can be distinguished according to the world average density of new firms born in the Triad countries, regions are most often still below this average, while in cities like Singapore, this rate is higher than the world average. In the European Union of 28 countries, 15 countries are in the triad rates, 4 countries have a majority local entrepreneurship (2013 data: Spain, Finland, Italy, United Kingdom), and 9 countries with a cosmopolitan creation of firms born globally (Luxembourg, Slovakia, Baltic countries, Romania, Portugal, Slovenia, Croatia).
The next three paragraphs detail some characteristics of organization born in the regions of local entrepreneurship majority (§2.1), then minority (§2.2), and a summary of elements common to all regions (§2.3).

**Firms born global in regions with a majority local entrepreneurship**

In these regions, the start-ups of new activities do little in the organizational form of firms born global. There is a positive correlation between proposing a new product and the rate of internationalization: regions where young firms offer more new products will have more organizations with rapid internationalization (see Figure 2). In regions where young firms are less numerous and mostly limited to local markets, global firms and innovation go hand in hand (see Figure 3).

**Figure 2. Density of new enterprises and rapid internationalization**

*Source:* authors after Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2017)

\[
y = 0.1451x + 0.7119 \\
R^2 = 0.2731
\]

**Figure 3. New products and rapid internationalization in local entrepreneurship regions**

*Source:* authors after Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2017)

\[
y = 1.5071x + 26.841 \\
R^2 = 0.1813
\]
In the global indicators, large subregions intervene to explain the classification of different continents. At the bottom list are Asia and Latin America, where on average the phenomenon of firms born global is the least present. The Chinese inland provinces, Indonesia, Malaysia for Asia, Brazil for Latin America have so few global firms compared to the rest world, it plunges the indicators of their continent respective.

A study of a Chinese interior province (Sichuan, on the edge of the Tibetan plateau) concludes that "an inadequate institutional environment" (Zhang et al., 2009). The contrast between Malaysia and Singapore, at the extremes of the GEM rankings, corroborates this view on these highly contrasted situations induced by public policies. An article on Brazil states that "traditional internationalizations have governmental and local resources", in contrast to Brazilian global firms, which can only exist through business partnerships or a strong integration into value chains sectors (Ferreira Ribeiro et al., 2014). The industries in Sichuan province are mainly large traditional exporting factories, whose foundation dates back to 1980s. The few firms born global are relatively recent creation and remain small. These firms born global have much more competence in internationalization than the traditional exporting firms. Public policy is a policy of development of these interior regions with infrastructure and voluntarist urbanization. The resources and skills needed to conduct internationalization remain particularly scarce in these Chinese regions (Zhang et al., 2009). Developing entrepreneurial skills for internationalization is the positive recommendation of these studies carried out in areas where global firms exist only because a few personalities, some partnerships a very strong cohesion resulting from inter-industrial relations or interorganizational.

**Firms born global in the open regions**

The criterion local of entrepreneurship above or below the majority (except for eight of the 70 countries in the EME sample) divides the regions according to the GEM denominations: that is, regions with a majority of new local entrepreneurs are in a factor-saving situation - for example, Algeria, which exports hydrocarbons, or Bangladesh, whose resources come from the textile-clothing sector alone, majority of new entrepreneurs have a non-zero outside activity correspond to innovation economies in the denomination EME. For saving factors, improving the variety of exported products can be important (see Figure 3).

The countries European Union, as well as Singapore, have highest rates of firms born global. Regions dominated by new local businesses have a significant share services to professionals (22.8% in 2013). The sectors that bring together the most new businesses in the open regions are consumer services (59.7% in 2013). Primary and secondary sectors, as well as logistics, remain an equal proportion on average in both types region. A study of Chilean start-ups confirms that they are in all sectors and at all technological levels. The factors accelerate Chile's internationalization are in descending order of importance: linking up with distant markets, belonging to Chilean network of internationalization support, agglomeration Santiago de Chile. In low-incidence continents of global firms, such as Latin America and Asia, the space business creation viewed in terms of internationalization is highly polarized: on the one hand, cities such as Singapore or Santiago the Chile, on the other, whole countries where local economic policies are of old and diverse design. The various sectors have different institutional solutions for property rights, but on a global scale, the polarization of large spaces is explained in monograph by concepts of public economy (a support agency specialized in accelerating internationalization), and political economy in a strategy inclusion of Chilean producers in markets the Northern Hemisphere (Cancino & Coronado, 2014).

In the Chinese coastal province of Zhejiang, global firms are SMEs active in foreign and domestic markets. There is sometimes a price gap, as well as late payments on the domestic market that encourage international development. The leaders of these SMEs do not perceive the "psychological distance" from other countries. They are experienced in foreign markets, and graduates of higher education. The Zhejiang region is China's 4th largest economic region, with more than 22% of
SMEs ranked among China's top 500 according to a competitiveness criterion (Mercier-Suissa & Lin, 2014).

In spaces with the highest rates of firms born globally, spatial disparities are mitigated. The term "city or creative class" is more appropriate for highly polarized spaces. The rates creations of global start-ups are rising, the differences between cities and between urbanized areas and the rest territory are decreasing. In this context, global start-up projects are larger than others, and thus the size effect is reverse of what is find, for example, in Chinese inland provinces, where global SMEs are a notch below the size of other exporting firms. For studies in European countries, "global" enterprise projects employ more labor from the start, favoring organizational growth in the face a short-term profitability and individual productivity. They are more innovation-oriented and have more trained leaders. The quality preparation of project is better for the organization's born global in the set of all the creations of company. The jobs created are good quality, the wage conditions are satisfactory.

Studies in European industrial sectors put forward an explanation rapid of internationalization through the socialization networks (importance the flows, alliances and inter-industrial relations) (Eurofound et al., 2012).

The explanations for a slowing down internationalization are in line with those lengthening of the beginning product cycle. The most intensive start-ups in Research may prove to be slower in internationalization, even if adaptations are to be expected

A convergence of organizational form

Do global companies have different characteristics in different parts of the world? Public policies are very diverse, but they are not included in the most studied determinants in literature on firms born global. On the contrary, entrepreneurial skills are placed forefront explanations of rapidly internationalizing phenomenon organization, regardless the region of study. Studies in regions with a polarized space with a city emerging from regions dominated by local entrepreneurship are however, that provide the most analysis an institutional and political environment. The literature in regions with a good density of organizations born global is much more accurate in the details the firm's internal procedures. However, comparisons only detect differences on external elements such as public policy, or focus on internal organizational aspects, which are rarely addressed in the literature of Latin America or Asia. The importance network, bonds of trust and informal alliances among entrepreneurs is emphasized throughout the literature (Andersson et al., 2015).

A fairly unified image the global organization emerged from these confrontations. There are positive operators of change scale, fast internationalization support agency, inter-professional trade sites, universities, large firms. The competence entrepreneur and the reliability of network are decisive. Factors external the organization play more in initial phase of growth, the internal factors in its sustainability in longer term (Efrat & Shoham, 2012).

3. THE ORGANIZATION BORN GLOBAL: A NEW PARADIGM

As soon as the Uppsala paradigm was established, it was noticed many companies did not follow the prescribed steps, such as selling first on the local market, waiting and then exporting. On the other hand, the theoretical determinations the Uppsala paradigm, those "psychic distance" between countries and cultures, appeared fragile. Communities the users, for example industrial goods, can bring together professionals with the same technical knowledge all over the world, so that "psychic distance" brings not a step-by-step process, but a policy which must be international to reach all potential customers. Empirical studies indicate width-related management (as in the example above), or at depth, whereas the Uppsala paradigm would require stepped management, ie diagonal progressing both in width and depth (Moore & Meschi, 2010).
The dynamic is rather a self-reinforcement of each strategy: the company chooses a strategy along an axis - or in width, the axis markets; or in depth, the axis of direct investment abroad - is reinforced in its strategy. The existence of two conventions means that the "diagonal strategy" proposed by the Uppsala paradigm is very unstable; any gap will make the company join a global strategy either in width or in depth (Moore & Meschi, 2010). Pure players provide examples of global organization with a broad strategy. The example of luxury pastries (see Box 3) is in-depth strategy convention: the pioneer Hermé traced a path through Paris and Tokyo, the novice who tries to move away from this path returns after an unsuccessful attempt in Miami. The Alibaba group (see Box 2) presents a strategic shift: the group had more present in the Chinese market due to the competition of EBay site, and to create the Taobao subsidiary (see Figure 5, trajectory of firms born as a whole).

More complex scenarios follow stages of expansion and consolidation. Internationalization follows a progression through large jumps in the times expansion. It consumes mostly human resources, with man-to-material ratios are not very capital intensive that is say mainly of men and few machines and infrastructures. Consolidation episodes are more capital intensive and managed in a progressive way.
The revision of the theoretical bases: intellectual rights, learning, intercultural distance

The example, the new management of malnutrition (see Box 1) indicates that a very defensive conception of intellectual rights does not always correspond to social utility. A letter in 2009 from the doctors (NGO Doctors Without Borders) to firm asked speed up the movement by updating its conception of protection innovation. Intellectual rights can be legally protected over long periods of time, such as the problem unavailability of a drug for a large number patients. Legal alternatives exist the most damaging forms of intellectual property protection, and their relevance is supported by the economic literature (Foray, 2013; Tirole, 2016; Croutzet & Lasserre, 2017). These legal alternatives are also defended by the promoters collaborative of economy (Novel & Riot, 2013).

The Uppsala paradigm is based on gradual learning in stages. Today, the behavior organizations is rather a generalization to many countries the same marketing technique (management in width), or a selection the establishments that concentrate investments (management in depth) ie by avoiding the stepwise learning system each time. The Uppsala paradigm prescribes changes in marketing techniques due to psychological remoteness of markets: it is not certain will lead to reducing uncertainty. It would be less risky by facilitating learning either to retain the same market or the same marketing technique, and that is what companies do. The organization values its own resources and know-how, either knowledge of a market or the technique marketing. The entrepreneur's initial competence in internationalization is decisive (Laghzaoui, 2009).

Difficulties requiring long learning are concentrated on the management and creation of high-tech firms. These are only a part of the global organizations, but this means that the greatest intercultural distance is due to technology. This calls into question the central notion "psychic distance" specific to Uppsala paradigm, favoring differences in norms, values and behaviors. The distance C.A.G.E.T. is a multicriterional redefinition of this "psychic" distance.

The five dimensions of the distance C.A.G.E.T. are:
1. Intercultural distance: differences in beliefs, values and norms between two regions concerned,
2. Administrative distance: Differences in regulatory approaches and conditions for companies. Some countries have a close administrative distance. For example, there is a significant gap with United States in health legislation for trades such as pastry making using fresh produce (see Box 3.3).


4. Economic distance: the difference in purchasing power in different countries.

5. Technology Distance: The difference in consumer preferences in technology, responsiveness to innovation, and accessibility to technology products and services across regions.

In the Uppsala paradigm, the only case envisaged is blocking factor stemming from a cultural factor. For organizations born global, can come from innovation, and other factors are detailed in the list C.A.G.E.T.

**An entrepreneurial paradigm of simplicity**

The history placing of Logan on the market makes the transition for Renault-Dacia-Nissan group a strategy of enlargement based on the adaptation a market strategy "born global". The entry level Logan vehicles make in the group about half the sales in the world. This mutation told by its protagonists in the contingent mode, not a deliberate strategy: the unexpected commercial success the Dacia vehicles has resulted in the reorganization of the group's strategy. About 1995, the group management is aware need to renew the vehicle sold on the small Romanian and Russian markets. An autonomous team is appointed to carry out this project, which take must account to limited budget the Romanian families. The modernization Romanian of factory allows to develop a range that is marketed today all over the world, with only minor local adaptations of vehicle types. In the renewal markets, vehicle types are moving towards sophistication due to competition. Reflecting on what would be a vehicle adapted to Romanian context, in a sense, the range, by proposing vehicle types for new users in emerging countries and for users who will prefer a new vehicle to a purchase on second hand market. The slogan of simplicity can be understood as a search for the diminishing technological of distance. The service or product has to be simple, that say a reduced distance with the consumer.

Several invariant themes appear in research on the determinants performance of the organization born global. Some are not specific to rapid internationalization, such as recommendations on building a network by establishing trust, and recruiting competent people. The difficulties associated with a period strong growth the organization are shared by firms born global, but are not specific them. Entrepreneurial and innovative content, on the other hand, is superior to all companies, and is already more specific character. The organization born global is rapid internationalization: it may be or not a part of collaborative economy, which can itself be a purely local organization. Thus, collaborative economics and global organization are two distinct concepts, even though they are often associated in the same organization.

The two themes seem to us the most recurrent and shared in the theoretical essays on the paradigm of organization born global are achievement and simplicity. The founder Alibaba, as well as the testimonies the introduction of the new entry-level in the Renault-Dacia-Nissan group also corroborate the pre-eminence these themes. In the realization, it is opportunities that are decisive. Whether it is for Alibaba, or for Dacia range, things really did not go as planned. These were opportunities that were decisive. The constraints have been transformed into development lines. The promoters rapid of internationalization did not have great competence in new technologies, or in international markets. A great deal of expertise leads rather to sophisticated developments. Entrepreneurs develop a simple idea with the means at their disposal. The less important uncertainty is people who have a buying decision and who may be concerned, for example, with the low reliability of older vehicles.
4. THE COLLABORATIVE ECONOMY AND THE ORGANIZATION BORN GLOBAL

Collaborative economics brings together forms of collaboration, today use applications available on the mobile phone and the Internet. These forms of collaboration can be divided into three groups: the collaborative practices themselves, the provision a good or a resource, and participatory finance. The Cochrane Collaboration, Wikipedia are examples, the first case, Blablacar, Airbnb, Uber of the second.

The Cochrane Collaboration
The Cochrane Collaboration was founded in 1993 by Iain Chalmers to provide synthetic information for obstetric practitioners on the best clinical trials. This non-profit organization has 32,000 collaborating doctors who ensure the quality of medical information. It was named after a Scottish epidemiologist, Archibald Cochrane (1909-1988), who was assigned to the wounded triage of the wounded during the Spanish Civil War and who first promoted a factual practice based on the best studies carried out. Each synthesis is carried out by a team according to common criteria to evaluate the research.

The term "collaboration" comes from the Latin language for joint work. In the example a Cochrane Collaboration, there is a community of contributors (the 32,000 physician writers) and a broad community of practitioners. Collaborative work can be done remotely. The situation is a very vast information, available on the Internet from search engines like Pubmed, while practitioners may need a fast and reliable response. It is a quality procedure in an overabundant information must be grouped, analyzed and prioritized in order to help decision-making.

Framed4: The Cochrane Collaboration
Collaborative economics can be purely local, on an intermediate scale, or combine in different ways from local to global coordination. For example, the Ushahidi site is a site for collecting testimonies about political violence in Kenya occurs during election periods. This collaborative site was able to indicate the extent violence in 2007 elections. The same earthquake relief situation can be based on a collaborative site rescue teams to coordinate the various sites for clearing the buried bodies and sites animated by relatives victims to contribute the rapid restoration of social life. In the first case, the system leads the players to arbitration and compensation: the teams will go in one place because needs. In the second case, there is a connection between natural persons who are remote from the earthquake and who are rescuing a group victims in a peer-to-peer relationship without arbitration or compensation from the system.

Creative destruction?
While the definition of collaborative economics has no intrinsic link with rapid internationalization, the Internet does provide for coordination a lower cost, and promotes new organizational forms, particularly born globally. Clay Shirky, a New York Times columnist on the future press, made a scandal in 2009 after a statement on a transition in the form creative destruction of the print media, which was severely affected by 2008 crisis. "Nothing will work", concluded Shirky, in the restructuring print media, the organizational forms of the industrial age are inevitably replaced by forms adapted to digital data. His book Cognitive Surplus: Creativity and Generosity in a Connected Age (Shirky, 2010) is a positive assessment of the collaborative economy: individuals use their free time a little better by becoming active creators and engaging in new forms collaborations. Only a tiny fraction leisure time now passes into creation, but this time was previously devoted to passive consumption of television programs. The world therefore tends, according to Clay Shirky, to become better, even if certain organizational forms cannot be maintained.

The statistics International Labor of Organization show the relative evolution salaries by trade group. Since 1985, airline pilots have always experienced an advantageous evolution of their
remuneration measured through a global index expressed in purchasing power parity, while the same index changes little for seafarers in the offshore fishery, hit by collapse of stocks due to overfishing, as was the case in Newfoundland in 1992. Among the occupational groups in the cultural and creative activities sectors, the overall average hourly compensation is the least dynamic for the communication trades. On the contrary, a positive development is observed for the remuneration of engineering professions in creative activities (see Figure 6). Among the media, the radio-television is out the game, but not the daily press. Journalists of the print media, or offshore fishermen belong to sectors activity where the difficulties seem fairly general in the world.

Figure 6. Overall average hourly wage in creative activities

Source: ILO (2017)

The changes in the Daily Press for the period after 2008 crisis are in line with Clay Shirky's prediction. The erosion sales and advertising resources for the print press is continuing in most countries, as they are moving to new digital entities. A small group, Schibsted, the local Norwegian press, is a good example of a strategy firm with a little anticipation, most press groups remaining very fixed in their defense paper. The Schibsted group first developed the free formula (title "20 minutes"), then the Peer à Pair ("The Good Corner") websites on the Taobao model, which did not expand outside China. Europe in 2011, the bankruptcy printed newspapers of classifieds led to dismantling the French group of the local press, Hersant.

It is a technological transition, which corresponds to patterns found in similar episodes. The growth of "pure players", blogs or sites like Médiapart created in 2008, is in line with Clay Shirky's prediction, they are new organizational forms asserting themselves.

The organizational forms of daily press go back to industrial period and to press boss Emile the Girardin. He invented the business plan "biface" (readers and advertisers), commercial advertising revenues lower to daily sale price per unit and thus reach a very large audience. This "biface" formula is taken up by the giants of Net, and thus the daily press is also victim mode of organization close to pure players, but with a communicating mud effect: erosion sales and advertising revenue is simultaneous in the daily press, while audiences and these same advertising revenues are transferred to digital media.

The remark globalization uses organizational forms invented the time of industrialization, and organizations of industrial era exhibit organizational similarities may be more severely affected by a technological transition, another organizational peculiarity in the field of the daily press, the news agency, which prefigures the collaborative economy. The news agencies have subscriptions come
from professionals. They collect local information, work it is and refer to newspapers. This system is now widespread in wiki applications, such as the Cochrane Collaboration or Wikipedia.

Collaborative economics and the dynamics of civic spirit
The 2004 tsunami in the Indian Ocean resulted in a wave global of generosity, which was also reflected in the growing number of humanitarian organizations, with a certain similarity the intensification of enterprises by young enterprises carried on the Net. Collaborative economics is an attempt to theorize this sensitive civic thrust in most forms of organizations. The political party is also an organizational form, and the dynamics Civic claimed by the collaborative economy are found to have to explain phenomena seem to reinforce it, like revolts of Arab Spring, but also unexpected reverses, such as the election Donald Trump as President of United States. Promoters of the collaborative economy argue on the Civic aspect of new economic forms from the transition technologies based on active consumer behaviors, which the consumer is both transmitter and receiver, in replacement of technologies based on passive consumption of a message delivered by one or more transmitters. The technological transition is from Radio-Television and its passive reception by consumers towards a creative activity in Internet networks.

Three types dynamics of the civic spirit and culture are proposed in different veins literature on globalization. The outlook is either downward and downward, rising, or a cycle civic of aspirations. Bearish literature dates back to Tocqueville. Democracy does not necessarily guarantee quality. The democratic procedure will be based on a taste a median consumer, which generates a strong repulsion in the theorists an elitist perception of culture. Industrialization, for example, cotton fabrics, creates a "loss the aura": cotton garments were highly prized by the upper classes the end eighteenth century; high price. Industrialization leads cotton fabrics which become cheap and widely used work clothes. The massification object leads a loss the aura, Tocquevillian theme will be taken up by Walter Benjamin in a famous essay on photography (Benjamin, 2013).

In Tocqueville's conception, the structure a preference is not modified by learning, a drop in quality is a direct result collective choice procedure. Industries have implemented quality procedures, and contemporary arts have often re-established a positive status for banality, so that criticism strictly conforming to Tocquevillian type is amended in a literature of the "spectacle society" eponymous work dates back to 1960s (Debord, 1967). A more recent synthesis is proposed by the Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa (2015). The commercial offer favors ease and contributes negative learning leading to frivolity and "degradation culture and spirit" (Vargas Llosa, 2015). A very close-knit artist, as a television show host, can easily illustrate bearish conjecture.

The Civic alters the Culture: Tocqueville
"In the aristocracies, the workers therefore work only for a very limited number of buyers, who are very difficult to satisfy. It is from the perfection of their labors the gain they expect is chiefly dependent. (...) Now (the workman) conceives there would be a more expeditious way of getting rich, it would be to sell them cheaply all. There are two ways of reducing the price a commodity. The first is to find better, shorter and more learned ways of producing. The second is to produce in greater quantity objects of a similar kind, but lesser value. (...) When there were only the rich who had watches, they were almost all excellent. They are scarcely mediocre, but everyone has them. Thus, democracy not tends directly the human mind towards useful arts, it carries artisans very rapidly, do many imperfect things, and the consumer to be satisfied with these things. (...) Consumers very rich and thin become rarer. In the fine arts, then, there is something analogous to what I have already shown when I have spoken the useful arts. They multiply their works and diminish the merit of each. Not being able to aim the great, one seeks the elegant and pretty; we tend not so much reality as to appearance "(Tocqueville, 1981)."
**Framed5: Tocqueville, the opposition between Democracy and Culture**

The question measuring the quality of culture is raised by Thomas Mann in 1914, which asked where to classify a civilization as the Aztec culture with its human hecatombs and cannibalism? From the debate between Culture and Civilization followed, it was retained and used Norbert Elias’ approach, linking this level of culture or civilization better self-control, a quality the social relations and to reduction the social violence (Elias, 1975). Peru only abolished the legal trade cut heads in 1959, while homicide remained the leading cause the death for adult males in several Peruvian regions. Today, after the Bright Path civil war in 1980s, Peru has a much lower level of social violence. The period globalization therefore corresponds rather an increase in the major cultural indicators, as long as one does not base oneself on the subjective impression of stupidity in front of a local television program or before a few works in an art exhibition contemporary. The conservative discourse of Vargas Llosa values traditional transgressions, such as bullfights. While the rate innovation in new Peruvian firms is in the low values of the world's ranking, classifying the Peruvian economy in a factor economy, in this case, as the world's largest producer of cocaine.

The second prospective hypothesis is the Ingelhart. Materialism has only one time, and post-materialism follows. The World Value Survey renews periodically a map the major cultural areas in the world, noting their respective developments. The Triad consists the most important areas for innovation (Asia-Pacific, Europe, and North America). The least favorable areas for innovation are also sub-regions of several cultural areas; quite close the center Inglehart crop map. In the sample studies of GEM countries, the countries with the lowest innovation rate among the new firms are divided into three parts of cultural area: Brazil with Peru and other small countries of America Central, a Russian area and some other countries of Central and South-East Asia (Malaysia), and some African countries or the Arabian Peninsula such as Algeria whose economy relies almost exclusively on a single natural resource. Globalization is concerned the organization large of economic movements, but the delimitation cultural areas is not moving. Factor economies only form a mosaic the scattered countries, highly specialized in exporting an abundant natural resource, and having no truly salient features: they are neither the most traditionalist nor the most individualistic, nor are they most in an economy survival.

![Figure 7. Structures of the Economy in the Cultural Mapping of Inglehart](source: authors after Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2017))
Neither on the side strong innovation, nor in its absence, there is a kind specialization of cultural areas. More than explanations a cultural type, it is economic policy choices to explain countries with different cultures are either factor economies or economies innovation. A step-by-step explanation does not work: it is not the one side of the countries, they are in survival and in quest for material growth, and then more spiritual concerns arise when the standard living exceeds a certain threshold. Traditionally, economically traditional zones are marked by an enrollment in global flows involves a large volume of natural resources or labor. The undeniable civil push the Arab Spring has met with many difficulties. However, the importance role of social networks has been consistent; confirming the hypothesis a link between uses a collaborative economy and a positive civic dynamic.

A final approach is a cycle. Hirschman introduced a cycle based on the alternation aspirations to private happiness, and civic engagement. These cycles are rather national, and therefore may be not synchronous in all parts of the world. This cycle could be translated into a system alternation two ruling parties, or in a rather regular succession the political crises whose rhythm maintains a distant link with, for example, a climate instability in the Sahelian zones (Abba et al., 2014).

5. AN ECONOMY OF REMOTENESS

A single psychic distance was the foundation of Uppsala paradigm. The literature C.A.G.E.T. (cultural, administrative, geographical, economic and technological distances). The approach has now been reformed: it is necessary to adapt the different dimensions and adapt to each one. Promoters of the global organization put forward slogan simplicity, in a context where activities upstream the product cycle more often require proximity, while the market is global.

The positive effects of proximity have attracted more attention than distance or a combination two. The demand for a systematic use remoteness in the classical European era (Pavel, 1996) is undoubtedly to be mitigated, more verified in the Grand Siècle in the performing arts in Caravaggio painting, seeking instead to bring works closer together daily life. The disappearance a wonderful "distant close" is deplored in the literature of "loss the aura" in the tradition Tocqueville and Walter Benjamin. The conceptualization economy of remoteness thus remains too summary: remoteness would have changed from an algebraic sign, in an earlier period, it would be necessary to add from the distant to increase the value, while from industrialization, this distant added would come to subtract from the value. Even in the parietal art and crafts Paleolithic, the question economy of distance was already posed. Glacial age societies had both short-distance and long-distance relationships, particularly for marital strategies. Some imaginations are linked commensality: the representations cave bears are taken on the spot, and sometimes even bear traces the animal's claws, as in the cave Chauvet Pont d'Arc. In other imaginaries, as in Lascaux, close elements are composed in a magical way.

Birth of the Unicorn

For the Aurignacian and Gravettian period, animal representations correspond well the local megafauna of time. For Lascaux, the representations megafauna undoubtedly include animals had exist more in the south, beyond the Pyrenees, the period being a glacial maximum. The enigmatic figure commonly called "the unicorn" on the left wall of the Hall Bulls is composed two most common animals the lawns of the periglacial zones, the rhinoceros (Coelodontaantiquitatis) and the butterfly (Parnassius Apollo). The heavy rhinoceros has the antennae and aureoles of the butterfly present today in Scandinavia and in the mountains. The banal scene, summary a very cold climate, takes on a magical dimension, and fits into an Elsewhere the animal representations of Lascaux.

For the men of the Grand Siècle European, proximity is religious, Caravaggio painting places Gospel in a daily setting, while unreality and infidelity are deliberated in all artistic arts and crafts.
The here below is out the celestial homeland, the worldly is only possible in proximity to God, or rejected in the social, historical or geographical distance (Pavel, 1996).

The economy of remoteness that brings the birth of the unicorn is a marvelous elsewhere where loved one finds himself transformed in the magic. Keeping cows beyond the mountains by a unicorn keeps a fantastic Elsewhere in accessibility. In the great sites Paleolithic, the animal series is sometimes declined from the Omega, from the last list, as the case in Lascaux. This last list is a composition from the nearby elements, a hallucinated summary the biotope. The original definition unicorn results from the operation of distancing with a close relative.

The initial thesis is a simple opposition between a contemporary era when the intra-world is overvalued, and a classical era where it is above all the distant gives value. It is probably possible to develop an economy distance, starting from combinations in the imaginary near and far. A first economy of remoteness comes from a extreme cold climatic, while the resources lose in diversity and quantity. An imaginary variety is conveyed by myths and wonderful tales, peddled a very long time the unicorns. Succeeding the historical times the epochs of Raison, that of competition of maritime civilizations, with a new economy of remoteness, but the proximity there remains very strongly valued since where the religious is located.

The benefits of remoteness

Evangelista (2005) indicates a local market is often less accessible than an international market: the local market can be very small, or very competitive, and the entrepreneur may encounter the hostility local authorities. The phenomenon congestion and surging real estate prices led the promoter "creative class", Richard Florida (2017) to advocate urban policies aimed at avoiding capture the wealth created by property owners. The same recommendation is made a basis an analysis of the situation in Silicon Valley and San Francisco agglomeration (Vicente, 2016). A table contributions of remoteness could be drawn from the experience clusters and the poles competitiveness (Vicente, 2016): "A close proximity generates conformism and can stifle the capacity for innovation. Strong organizational proximity can lead to bureaucratic rigidities. The same is too much true social embedding of innovations, which, it promotes trust, leads in turn a lack openness towards the other actors. Finally, too close institutional proximity (causes) locking effects blocking new technological dynamics ".

A table contributions of remoteness could be drawn from the experience clusters and poles competitiveness (Vicente, 2016).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTANCE</th>
<th>Too much proximity gives…</th>
<th>Contribution of remoteness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>conformity</td>
<td>Existence of an Elsewhere, support for non-conformism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>Bureaucratic rigidity, vulnerability to regulatory change</td>
<td>Reducing vulnerability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical</td>
<td>Lack of openness outside a territory</td>
<td>Building an international reputation as a refuge for quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Lack of social openness</td>
<td>New Markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Institutional lock</td>
<td>Simplicity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: authors
Porter’s recommendations on competitive clusters in 1990s were part of an intellectual lineage goes back the industrial districts of Marshall. The aim was to intensify inter-industrial relations by focusing on the internal relations member organizations of the competitiveness cluster and not the markets as a whole. In a succession paradigm, the organization born global brings about a reform the Porter’s approach. It introduces benefits a remoteness, that an Elsewhere facilitating non-conformism, reducing vulnerability, building an international reputation, expanding into new markets, and simplicity for broad access to innovation.

REFERENCES