

Track 4/ Institutional change and regional transitions

Regional Transition, Territorial Differentiation, Composition for sustainable trajectory

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Abstract: Abstract. The art to compose social transactions, environmental transactions have progressed with the explicit method of negotiation and mediation on the common project (Forester, 1999). Social knowledge and policy planning could progress when they specify how the different transactions can be combined so to reinforce the requirements of sustainability on a territory.

The construction of public policies have made possible to integrate these contradictory pressures inside a public policy who may stabilize the space of negotiation. The case of Venice Marghera demonstrated in the 1990 the social capability to articulate two levels of negotiation, between city council and polluting enterprises, between Unions, enterprise and National government on the stages a of depollution and new technic of refinery. The main analytical question intends to integrate the local public actions inside an articulated public policy (Crosta,1999)

The current process of sustainable transition is involved after 2015 in a new period with a diversity of local actions for sustainability. They have to be composed with parallel actions and policies, researching some convergence. In the french case of Loire Atlantic, we may identify three type of transitional territories, each one develop his own conception of ecological transitions.

Urban metropolis transition demonstrates his capacity of coordination on the economy of energy and management of risks inside a coordinate model of sustainable urban development. Municipal and institutional coordination are supporting the extension of urban environmental transactions

Countryside territories support the land protection but they require extended mobility, and are also reluctant to the economy of energy facing the gasoline struggle. Peripheral territory are struggling between precarious life styles, urban consumption and constraint of mobility.

At the regional level the coordination of action by explicit public politics, require more flexibility in a *federative combination* between differentiated territorial actions. Some conflicts emerge between urban and rural population, between stable and precarious population v workforce are developing at regional level. The institutional innovation have to be combined with their planning capacity so to support purposive trajectories of development.

Keywords: Sustainable pathways, Institutional Coordination, Community of Risks,



Introduction

§ I / Social cohesion and environmental policies

*Social cohesion has different meanings. The basic meaning details how to make groups and to cooperate on some basic tasks (so the group dynamic of Festinger. Social cohesion means that the functional interdependencies and solidarities are stronger than social and cultural cleavages (Coser). In State politics, social cohesion takes some normative and political meanings, claiming for a social order between social groups. In progressive area, social cohesion can be a resource and a goal so to initiate and frame a social welfare on consensual basis. In Europe, the politics of social cohesion means a list of transfer policies and funds for the declining region (zone 6 as Sicily, as Greece) facing the convergence of the European market. The key questions come on the interactions between national Welfare cohesion and European market cohesion.

**Environmental politics address the response inside a community of risks (in group/ out group/ type de connections). How to protect together, how to define the first short term solidarity before the institutions take the relay. Agenda 21 in Nantes case Social cohesion could prepare some new institutional arrangements, including the risks management, based on a common pool of resources (Ostrom, 1991). Some other sociological questions address the process where the social groups are included in the cohesive social order, in the mobilization for economic growth, the way they are concerned by the environmental politics (protection return, politics of cultural diversity). Social cohesion address different facets on the relations between social community and State organization. This notion requires more analytical development.*

The criteria of social cohesion in the politics of urban renewal (France and Europe)

The notion of social cohesion appears as *a sociological categories* with institutional, social and functional dimensions. We may recall and specify its relevance for the analysis of urban politics and the analysis of urban (Astengo). This category of social cohesion is currently developed on different repertoires : in - Economic restructuring as: market exchange, as logic of access and connexion. - in Welfare State constituency : as social solidarity, as logic of access and public support; - in Urban politics as social composition and urban solidarity. The redefinition of the Welfare State inside the economic restructuring (fordist, flexible) concerns the housing politics, the social politics, the urban politics; so result multiple definitions of urban politics. The city politics can be envisioned as a simultaneous arrangement of urban politics and social politics. The notion of social cohesion appears simultaneously as a criteria and as a political frame to evaluate and limit these political constituencies.

Governance and social cohesion : the institutional arrangements

Urban theories tend to connect directly the construction of governance with the arguments of social cohesion, by combining enlarged networking and flexible coordination. The diagnosis of social cohesion has to be experienced within the social differentiation inside the city and the metropolis. M Parkinson develops a more subtle argumentation, how the *competitiveness between cities* can be counterbalanced by



some social cohesion *“Employment is clearly a critical link between competitiveness and cohesion... However the overriding conclusion is that governance can make a significant if relatively marginal impact “..(Broddy, Parkinson, 2004). ”The main argument considers the urban system as a whole, as well as the broad patterns of urban change”*. But the enlargement of resources for the competitive sectors and professional do not conduct directly to the reduction of inequalities in housing market. So we have to consider the urban politics and the social politics who are counterbalancing: regulating the competitive sector.

Metropolitan governance, between competition and inequalities

During the 1990's, the trend to global cities is counterbalanced by some political constructions to contextualized the urban politics (Jessop, 2006, Crosta, 1999). So was elaborated a new analytical frames between urban societies, urban politics and system of governance. The theory of metropolitan exchange is connected with the requirements of market efficiency (Marin,). The rational choice preferences are supporting the differentiated development of urban services, the differentiation of middle classes (Dunleavy, Butler). The theory of coordination is connected with the contractualist approach of public action, but also with the paradoxes of contractualism connecting local joined actions and financial centralization. It induces different political and institutional solutions between the institutional fix (Jessop; 1999); the quango organization, the design of new democratic structure (Maggio). These dilemmas can be distributed between the levels of government.

The double structuration of government is sustained by his capacity to manage two levels of problems, the daily management and the global orientations. The first opposition between the direction setting and the steering government indicate the double requirement of problems inside metropolitan government (Thornley, Newman, 1997). It could be enlarged between the objective of modernization and the difficulty of social cohesion (Parkinson). But it has to deal with the cultural dimension of the steering government (materialist / post materialist) and the resources of economic modernization (high/ low) (Savitch, 1999). In addition, the differentiation of the urban systems (industrial, suburb, post industrial) restrain the unification of the urban economy and metropolitan cohesion inside the competitive governance. The community of risk facing climate could enhance the mutualisation of risks sustain new institutional arrangements.

***Models for social cohesion, and public choices framing**

- The social cohesion at the metropolitan level concerns other requirements such as the access to employment (depending from the urban economy), the access to public service, the access to city centre. It is not limited to the management of the Welfare State.

- the social cohesion at regional level between agro farming and ecology, between urban area, rural area and natural protection is enlarged by the conflicts of yellow jackets questioning the relation between transportation non policy and distribution of populations

These levels of social cohesion, correspond to the double enrolment of the social groups between a residential community and a metropolitan economy. The entry of urban analyzis, only by the area of excluded people tend to limit the frame. Other dimensions of social cohesion have to be taken in account such as the institutional dimension, the redistributive dimension, the European dimension. They introduced some other large debates



***Urban regimes; type of social cohesion and sustainable development trajectories**

Urban regime theory has been framed so to analyse the supports of local government and the construction of local politics (Stone, 1995). *The New state spaces* are involved in the politics of sustainable development. The politics of local state can be described as a specific arrangement of politics and institutions, on urban development, on sustainable development (Boyer, Brenner). This intermediary level of analysis contribute to analyse the urban regimes (Cl Stone) developed on specific issues as the urban sustainable development. It contributes also to frame the different social supports of an urban regime such as the network supports, the institutional clientelism, the elite coalition of interest. The working class areas are the objects of an addition of politics (economic restructuring, urban requalification, social cohesion, sustainable development).

Such an institutional regime analysis has been applied to describe and to characterize the trajectories of sustainable development in two french metropolis, such as Nantes metropolis and St Denis Plaine commune, not only as urban development, as urban social requalification but also as a combination of social requalification and sustainable development. In this view, the dichotomy between maintenance regime and growth regime need a new articulation. The stabilization of the economic regime as support and resources of political urban regimes requires also a clarification. The politics of sustainable development are questioning the standards of production in post fordist productions, and the combination of politics in urban development. The key question of urban regime is to combine economic interest, urban interest, political interest.

Different approaches of the urban regimes

Urban regime connotes the informal arrangements that surround and complement the formal modes / choices of government authorities between public and private orders. A regime involves a relatively stable group which accounts for the institutional resources that enable sustainable actors in making government democracy. Clarence Stone has defined *four different regimes* : *maintenance or caretakers regimes, development regimes concerned with changing land use, middle classes progressive regimes* which includes aims such as environmental protection, lower middle classes opportunity expansion regimes that emphasize human investment policy and widened access to employment and ownership.

Kathy Mossberger questions *the role of selective incentives* :_The three types of urban regimes (growth, maintenance, progressive) incorporate local dependence, selective incentives and purposive incentives. In this way the civic capacities can be extended to the Urban educational projects (Stone, 2003)._She recognizes two qualities of the theory of urban regimes : -To connect and interrelate the relations between actors and structure (as a structuration theory applied on urban affairs), to extend the formal and informal resources, civic and financial who shape the urban and metropolitan coalitions. But such an extension of urban networks of interest requires a formalization on the criteria explicating” the construction of power, the construction of politics. She concluded by the political assessment : “*The appeal of the regime frameworks has been its ability in use a political economy approach to synthesize structure and agency*” (Mossberger ‘(2001)

Transformative regulations

In contrast with the regime theories of the 1990’s, B Jessop develops a post regulation approach. His vision of integral economy such as Gramsci tends to envision the global determination by market, such as the American fordism of the 1930’s. His analysis underlines the effects of the social representation on the mediation inside the institutional analysis. This framework is supported by a specific analysis on the



dynamics inside the asian economies, such as state entrepreneurship in Singapour, as expert led economy in Japan, so to envision the change in the regulation systems; to connect more deeply the state development with the economic conditions. He criticises a static approach of regulation so to develop a transformative approach of regulation leading on accumulation regimes: He makes explicit the different dimensions of this reappraisal for transformative regulations inside accumulation regime : The Jessop's programme is leading on multiple and tense dimensions, the ideological and cultural basis of regulation, the cultural basis inside the historical compromise, the dynamic transformation inside regulative regime.

Social changes between industrial space, local state and sustainable development

The Large Urban Research Area (LUDA) questions the politics of sustainable requalification by focusing upon the working class territory with a special consideration on the industrial conversion by sustainable requalification. We describe how the policies of sustainable development are supported by the urban politics; as politic of district requalification (ie "politique de la ville"), with their social consequences. In this view, sustainable development is concerned by the issues of urban segregation and urban injustice (Harvey, 1996). We observe the progressive construction of the politics of sustainable development that incorporate the production process of goods and services. New models of industrial development have been suggested. These models imply new process in coordination and deliberation, promoting more integrated industrial space (for economy of scales, for risk management). So we can question the new relations between industrial politics and the politics of sustainable development.

We can formulate an hypothesis on the respective contribution of the state and local government in re-composing the industrial state:

* The state may actively support the politics of transportation, the politics of energy. A liberal state may accentuate the politics of industrial delocalisation and eventually support a regulation policy between social cohesion and industrial requalification¹ (such as the EEC policy).

* Local government may actively open the area of industrial requalification (restructuring, modernizing, complementing). It supports a key role in local arrangement and coordination between different politics (e.g. energy, transportation, industrial requalification, maintenance of industrial activity). It can supervise different actions (social requalification, sustainable development as inequalities containment).

***§ II /Sustainable development, Metropolitan agency and new institutional arrangements**

The discourses and implementation policy of sustainable development have been examined at the level of metropolis guided by the definition of the public actions for sustainable development (community groups, city hall, expert groups, city hall administrations). A socio historical approach of each locality set the different sequences of the local definition of sustainable development (as path dependency), the degree of convergence and coalitions between these actors and stakeholders (Sabatier, 1999), but also the institutional arrangements mobilizing different actors and coordinating different actors. Historical sequences of each metropolis can be described by a trajectory of urban development and sustainable development. The practices of social deliberation for sustainable development are developing on different place and different scales of decision. Community and district deliberation are supporting the issues of housing requalification, with economy of energy and consequences on household affordability. The environmental deliberation is envisioned as a response to the ecological mobilization (on space and water preservation, on risks assessment / and alert (Hajer, 2009).

Construction of sustainable policies and mobilization of institutions

The political construction of sustainable development (e.g. the Agenda 21, sustainable planning, risk management, ecological activism, and civic environmentalism) requires to articulate different interventions and implementations. So it involves a wide-ranging mobilization covering different institutions, actors and stakeholders. The global dimensions of climate change (International Group for Climate and Environment, Giec¹) involve the local actions of associations: NGOs and community groups of city and municipal administration (for practising the Agenda 21).

The role of metropolitan government (by common institutions) involves shaping different functions: a role of communication between associations, community groups, elected members and professionals. A policy of coordination by: networks, professionals, agencies and policy setup and implementation process. So results a new redefinition of the urban sustainability by the level of anticipation and social support. In this policy framework, we can question the mediatory role of metropolitan agencies that frame new mediations inside global /local relations.

The methodology for local observations proceeds by extensive questioning of the process including multi-actors (community groups, policy definition, and deliberation process). By initial approach, we can find out the typical organizational inquiry connecting the administration and the professional. By enlarging the inquiry to the phases of implementation process with the place of community group and deliberation process, we can formalize the social relations on the issues (such as urban politics coalition, sustainable definition) and overcoming the institutional cleavages and visions (Latour, 2006).

Metropolitan changes and institutional arrangements for sustainable development

The social and industrial territory of Plaine community located in the north of Paris (120.000 being employed out of 250.000 habitants) and Nantes Metropolis (500.000 habitants) have been transformed significantly since the late 1980s:, This area study shows much larger presence of working class composing of 30 to 40 per cent, a lot more younger population, and much larger immigrants. In this framework of industrial, urban and sustainable trajectories, we can specify the role of pluri-communal



institutions and the city *enhancement of structural actions* (requalification, public health, and environment). The social outcomes (territorial, institutional, politics, technical) of these political constructions can be clarified.

***In Nantes the implementation process of sustainable development is sustained by metropolitan reorganization (Communauté urbaine in 2001). The implementation of sustainable development policies (e.g. the Agenda 21, risk management, and energy politics) governs the elaboration of planning politics (scot). The Agenda 21 provides a framework for procedural actions in addition to other document of housing politics (PLH) of transportation. Therefore comes up some strong and continuous innovation (Agence Nationale pour les Economies d'énergie, such as ADEME), such as eco-quarters, requalification of Ile of Nantes) can be developed. The community of risk can be a base for mutual and collaborative actions supported by institutional arrangements.**

Urban and political options: Metropolitan Coordination and Deliberation

St Denis and Plaine Commune have made the choice of cities with high population density, politics of urban requalification, eco-requalification with more urban intensities (population density, transport, eco-cycle). The industrial territory of la Plaine combines services (such as logistic, research and residential areas in a middle class territory). The urban territory of Nantes Metropolis and the schema for Territorial Coordination (SCOT) have to control and to regulate the urban sprawl – the extension to the periphery where single home units are available– with the cost of transportation and energy consumption. In this reason, city with a higher population density and the redefinition of metropolis and regional function in a new urban centre (Ile de Nantes) are promoted. The debate over the Agenda 21 elaboration raises the issue of mobility and transportation, and the combination of temporalities.

Institutional combinations inside the metropolitan trajectories

Within the territorial and metropolitan transversal dimensions, a large thematic of sustainability (environment, risks management, energy) emerges. This gives rise to a thematic reorganization and new institutional arrangements for the institutional supports of public policy (Table 1). They promote the politic of “transversality” (the Agenda 21, SCOT) and they require some administrative and political coordination. The metropolis of Nantes presents public policy for sustainable development, combining the City Politics (“politique de la ville”), the Agenda 21, management of risks, and planning politics. But the conception on the socio-spatial development model is supported by the Agenda 21 before the planning document (SCOTⁱⁱ). An open debate on the peripheral model of development (urban sprawl, compact area, mode of public transportation) is raised. The mutual and interdependent combinations between urban metropolis and environmental transversal dimensions in the model of development require some new institutional arrangements in the definition of metropolis development.

Table 1: Metropolitan Urban Sustainable Politics as a combination of public politics

The Metropolis of Nantes (2007) combines the “politique de la ville + agenda 21 + Management of Risks.



Politics	Politic of environment	Management of Risks	Politic of energy	Politic of Transportation	Politic of Housing
Public “Service” Board	Office of Environment	Office Of Risks	Office for Energies and Sust Dev	Public Transportation Company	Mayor and Metropolitan Agency
Document of Reference	Athénée Programme Eco quartiers	SIG System Craoil	Energy Programme (PPAE)	Transportation Plan	Housing Local Programme
Specific Territory Of Actions	River bank of Loire Great Area Project (GPV)	Integrated Industrial Areas	Energy Networks (Housing council)	Metropolis Area	Housing District And Village
Political Elected Reference	Vice Mayor For Environment And DD	Mayor	Vice Mayor For Environment And DD	Vice Mayor For transportation	Vice Mayor for Urban Development

In this framework of urban exchange, coordination and institutional arrangements develop multiple processes of social deliberation (The Agenda 21, council of development, community council). However we have to distinguish the collective of deliberation as community issue and the collective of decision as coalition legitimating a public policy. This is only at the level of decisional community (Dahl) that can be stabilized with certain referential matrix (Sabatier, 1989). The referential of sustainable development is fixed on the shaping and the organization of urban sustainable transversality.

Redistribution of competences and instruments

Within the large institutional changes, the instruments and dispositives settled for the risk management contribute to the stabilization of a pluri-communal “reference” frameworks with their effects on municipal frames, with their outcomes on private actors (citizens, residents, enterprises). The official discourses and narratives insist on the continuity between private values and public values (partnership, development, mixed economy). But a policy viewpoint has to specify the adjustments cost, inside the redefinition of the urban structure (local planning and land values, politic of requalification, conversion of brownfield). They promote new economy of scales, some new external economy (Baumol, 1994). Therefore the types of conflict emerge in the management of risks (environmental conflicts, political conflict, conflict of coordination).

In the current conditions, we may recognize *two regimes of the management of risks*: A middle range vigilance focuses on the envisioned risks of the global warming, inside the documents of urban planning (water, urban sprawl and energy costs). The local surveillance by municipal institutions focuses on specific risks (industrial areas, flooding) and the responsive capacity of each municipal administration.

New formulas of coordination

The new metropolitan authorities are not only some conventional agencies, but also new institutions with territories and competencies. They can support collaborative networks between representatives and associations. So result multiple forms of coordination, not only administrative and functional coordinations, but also civic coordinations with joined elaboration. Sustainable development is mobilizing community groups, representative and institutions in an “ascendant” mobilization. It groups institutions and local actors by top / down programme. The links between pedagogy and mobilization give a specificity to the implementation of sustainable development.

Path dependency approach suggests that each step of sustainable development, requires some specific coordination of actions, and some social support by deliberation on the norms and the orientation (Pierson, 2001). The legitimation of the public action on sustainable development is in processes (Sabatier, 2004). So results some functional interpretation of deliberation, so to promote pedagogy. We have already quote how conventional institutions are sustaining lateral mobilization by networks, by pragmatic linking of particular interest (Beaumont and Nichols). This analytical scheme can be extended on metropolis institutions.



Table 2. Institutional Levels and Social Responsibilities on Risks : Multilevel State and Sustainability

Cities / Municipality	Hygienic and Safety	Vulnerable Area / Vulnerable Population	Reference of Mayor
New Urban Communities/ Metropolis Agencies	Community Management of Risks SCOT = Metropolitan Orientation Scheme Agenda 21, Climate Energy Plan (PCE)	Transversal Coordination Urban Project Territories Transformations	Communities Cultures Deliberation
Department / Province	Agenda 21 for public services Environmental Pedagogy, in school, with association, Communication, Animation Climate Energy Plan (PCE)	Communication Social Links Social Care	Segmentation Specific Population
Region	Great Risks, Seveso Risks Agro farming and Pollution Natural park protection Transportation modalities and distribution of population (SDAU)	Territorial Changes Prospective	Regional Politics and Sustainability conflicts



The social dimensions of sustainable development

The classical approach of sustainable development points to the fact that social inequality “are setting large constraints on the arrangement and on the policies of sustainable development (Harvey, 1996). Therefore, the territory of high risks is likely to be that of vulnerable population like flooding areas (observed in the 2004 flood of New Orleans in the USA) and industrial areas (Bullard). The activist approach of sustainable development pay attention to the appropriation of the thematic of sustainable development by local actors. Social issues can be mediated through by different social channels such as local associations, community groups and their environmental claims – e.g. territorial politics of each municipal administration.

Our analysis of path dependency process (Pierson, 2004) insists on the necessary social conditions for implementing, the actions and the politics of sustainable development, such as the social actors supporting initiative and animation for sustainable development. The behavioural changes concern the economy of energy, education and consumption, the changes of institutional norms (policies of energy and transportation). The ecological modernization of Metropolitan institutions (law SRU of 1998ⁱⁱⁱ) seems to precede the social and ecological adjustments, which depend on the territorial choices of municipal politics and the management of territorial change. Some new relations between the economy of scale and adjustment costs as the rescaling and the descaling of public politics are created (Brenner, 2004).

III / Two-levels of negotiation in Venice : Industrial policy and Sustainability policy

These results on the sustainable conversion of industrial sites in France can be compared, evaluated by the Italian process of requalification of industrial sites based on a dual process of political exchange and territorial coordination. This clarification of the urban regime at the metropolitan level (model of metropolitan governance) make explicit the political coordination between the urban model of development and the policy making in the industrial areas. These industrial changes implicate some new metropolitan reorganization (technopolis, quasi integration of industrial spaces, transportation logistics, training and flexibility of the industrial work force). The referential of sustainable development emerges inside the discourses of territorial change and the new requirement of sustainability.

The reconversion of the chemical activities of the port of Marghera, involves several collectives: (trade union, municipal, ecologist) and several levels of industrial relations (ecologist / elected officials, union / chemical industry). The dispersion of ecological activity groups fighting against industrial pollution (chemical) and for the preservation of the lagoon (natural environment, historical), is placed before the centrality of conflictual negotiations between contractors and employees on the modernization and preservation of jobs. The municipality of Venice Mestre provides a frame of reference for negotiations on environmental issues and the modernization of the port. Marghera's new plan in 1998 establishes a framework of reference and compromise between the diversification of the port's activities (tertiary tecnopolis tourism) and the continuity of certain chemical activities. Social demand passes through the unions. The environmental demand moves through the municipalities inside double level of negotiation



But the second stage of bargaining has moved up to a national level of negotiation so to establish a framework agreement between unions, companies and the central government. This February 1999 agreement links the maintenance of chemical activities with the preservation of certain environmental criteria on chemical discharges (discharges and water temperature). This addition of contractual agreements shows an example of an industrial and environmental partnership between municipalities and entrepreneurs seeking to promote a "common good", as a common asset between residents and employees of the industry. In Italy the partnership is conceived as a relay of territorial policies. It involves convening public and private actors to implement urban policy objectives. But the implementation of this policy remains problematic given the weakness of investment and coordination of public administrations (Perruli.). The 1998 framework agreement comes after the downsizing of the mechanical industry and oil. Large groups decentralize their production to other sites (Down Chimica, ENI) The actual result is a decline in the number of employees from 33 000 in 1998 to 13000 in 2005 with a diversification of activity on small businesses (Trifiro, 2008)

IV / Environmental conflicts in Nantes Region and shift in social cohesion

The current process of sustainable transition is involved after 2015 in a new period with a diversity of local actions for sustainability. They have to be composed with parallel actions and policies, researching some convergence. In the french case of Loire Atlantic, we may identify *three type of transitional territories*, each one develop his own conception of ecological transitions. Urban metropolis transition demonstrates his capacity of coordination on the economy of energy and management of risks inside a coordinate model of sustainable urban development. Municipal and institutional coordination are supporting the extension of urban environmental transactions (§ 2) *Countryside territories support the land protection but they require extended mobility*, and are also reluctant to the economy of energy facing the benzine struggle. Peripheral territory are struggling between precarious life styles, urban consumption and constraint of mobility.

1 / The refusal of eco tax in 2015

The ecological transition plan prepared by Minister of the Environment 2016 was based on the development of the eco-tax. This tax policy of road transport has met with strong resistance in 2014 2015. The organizer of roadblocks were based on truck drivers, self-employed, farmers Breton. The socio-economic issue concerns the final price of the goods, the free movement on the Brittany radial and the level of export of industrial agriculture. The rallies on the logo "red cap" which was based on Breton regionalism, associating a strong cultural identity as Breton regionalism and the intensive development of industrial agriculture. Hence the retreat of the government, as a deferred measure, canceled, not acceptable in July 2015. There remains the feeling of distrust facing the state and its ecological policies

2/ Contestation de Great Airport in ND Landes

The ND Landes airport project between Rennes and Nantes associates, the regional elected representatives of Angers Loire, Rennes and Nantes, The decision comes from an interregional conference with a scheme distributing the attractiveness, the accessibilities, the mobility. The challenge of the airport is the attractiveness of Nantes to new activities (airbus framework), the recovery of agricultural lands when Nantes Bouguenais airport face the pressure of urbanization. Ecological resistance is interpreted according to the theme of No growth, on the defense of bio diversity (Guerande,



Briere), on the defense of agriculture. The actions combine mass demonstrations of 10,000 people with a media dimension and land occupations (130 students, precarious housings), resulting in a heterogeneous coalition versus an explosive mix anti-government, anarchist for other forms of life (authoritarian)

The elected representative ecologists plays both the defense of nature and peri urban housing, the collaboration with sustainable development in Nantes metropolis the defense of the urban period against the intensive urban development, In January 2018, Macron Gvt Philippe, cancels the decision of the airport for budget savings (report) sustaining an alliance with environmentalists Ministers (Rugy, Hulot). Alliance between alternative ecologist and independent peasant are emerging. 60 precarious can cultivate agricultural land in a transitory way, under the argument of an agricultural laboratory of biodiversity. The new ecology focus on the defense of bio diversity, a new compromise between farming and organic agriculture. The pathways of transition could be very diverse between generations, with some blockages and large uncertainty of the strategy of sustainable urban/ rural development.

3/ Contestation of eco taxes in the periphery The conflict of yellow jackets between November 2018 and June 2019

The mobilization of the movement of the yellow jacket starts from a clear protest, even if it assume several causes. The mobilization refuses the increase of the eco tax (50 euros per ton) and its negative consequences on a high fuel prices. The high cost of peripheral mobility affects the monthly budget of precarious households. Media images expose the feeling of blocked lifestyles, a deep questioning on the constraints of the peripheral lifestyle (in dispersed rural area, especially in the central massif) and also lifestyle suburban, very far from the big cities (Meuse, South of France.) The analytical approach will be linking lifestyles and planning styles (Genestier 2019).

The process analysis of the mobilizations set up the aggregation of different audiences around the roundabouts, heterogeneous social recruitments between truck drivers, nurses and low-paid employees, retired peoples,, middle managers in the public service. Beside the independent professions resulting from the first mobilizations of the red cap are added the public of precariousness. After two months of explosive demonstration in the urban centers, the social demand, on the low wages on the precariousness tends to take precedence over the territorial claim of the peripheral way of life, the peri-urban autonomy, on the ecological claim. The government responds in December 2018 by measures concerning the precariousness of pension and very low wages (a year bonus)

The initiative of the great debate on the four themes (taxation environment mobility democracy) aims to curb the movement in the social and fiscal consensus. I intends to explore the deep reasons for this explosion of anger between rich city centers and poor areas, and possibly move the coding of the movement. Beside the aspiration of poor retired residents and precarious employees, there is a limitation of the ecological aspiration on the daily (eco gestures). The movement of yellow vests remains fixed on the wealth tax and the referendum of popular initiative (R.I.C.), on a direct political expression on the financial choices.

The viewpoint of planning notices the increased differentiation of the territories of lifestyles (suburban, peri urban, rural center). It can be diagnosed three territories of lifestyles and project. The current process of sustainable transition is involved after 2015 in a new period with a diversity of local actions for sustainability. They are composed with parallel actions and policies, researching some convergence. In the case of Loire Atlantic, we may identify three type of transitional territories, three community of issues, each one develops his own conception of ecological transitions.



V / Disjunctions and Conjunction framing / Regional Politics

Regional policies in France are based on several arbitrations, territorial conflicts and potential conflicts. The rural / urban conflict focus on densities and land pressure with regard to agricultural land (Hamman, 2012). They moves today on the conflict between rural agriculture / organic farming, on the protection of water resources.

a/ The regional policy of the Region des pays de Loire (3, 7 million inhabitants, 117 inhabitants KM² surface, 32000 KM²) is a selective policy oriented territories and agricultural enterprises. It assumes its orientation on a policy of agro diversity, on the defense facing coastal risks. The budget for biodiversity 2018/2012 amounts to 192 million euros over 5 years: 71 million from Europe. The regional policy of Region Pays de Loire proceeds on the continuity of the industrial agriculture (Mayenne with refusal of the eco tax) The State is engaged with 2.5 million euros and the Region up to 6.5 millions of euros in a joined State Region contract. Its goal is to restore confidence in the territory. -Environmental policy manages coastal risks raised after flooding incidents in the Charente Sea

b / Regional policy is less assured on the energy transition, on the renovation of buildings, on an indicative construction of rural mobility. The search for new renewable energies remains experimental (St Nazaire wind energy project, electrical car as experimental). Renewable energy production is expected to triple the rate of energy consumed in the territory of renewable origin by 2021 (today this rate is 8%) (€ 33 million - European funds € 9.5 million). The energy saving dispoitives is referred to the cities Nantes against Angers. The coordination of energy cycles is delegated to department with Plan Climat Energy (P. C. E). The energy building plan (€ 39 million with -€ 22 million European funds) to support the energy renovation of private housing The challenge is to renovate 100,000 housing units by 2021. Sustainable mobility covers 3 commitments (Region € 10m - European Funds € 25m)

c/ This uncertain policy has consequences in the heterogeneous mobilization of cities (Nantes, Angers St Nazaire, Laval). Regional mobility is contrasted between city policy and regional policy. It assumes a policy of privileged territories (agro) and territories at risk (forest and parks) without link between territories and development objectives. The mobilizations of yellow jacket highlight the weakness of regional policies on peripheral mobility, on energy savings to develop, (see regional consultation). it combines a peri-urban crisis and crisis of the regional development model . Regional politics mobilize differently the three identified territories of issues. Countryside territories support the land protection but they require extended mobility, and are also reluctant to the economy of energy facing the agsoline struggle. Peripheral territory are struggling between agro protection and Metropolis mobilization on sustainable development (§ 2). At this time they do not present autonomous politics of sustainability and development

At the regional level the coordination of action by explicit public politics, require more flexibility in a *federative combination* between differentiated territorial actions. Some conflicts emerge between urban and rural population, between stable and precarious population v workforce are developing at regional level. *The regional policy presents itself as a federation of causes, territories without clear objectives* Parallel paths of sustainable development could amplify the areas of conflict such as eco tax or a disjunctive synthesis with predations. The tension odevelops between the advanced energy transition in the cities like Nantes and Angers and the policy of bio diversity on the agricultural and peri-urban grounds (regional politic). The new compromise would come from the regulation of conflicts, promoting a sustainable regional welfare state.

* How to organize urban coordination and environmental coordination in transition plans and regional coordination ? The urban region is fractalized in diversity of trajectories (rural region °) The



stabilization of the policies of sustainable development requires a sustainable welfare state, protecting the populations, supporting the social solidarity on the eco taxes. We notice the crisis of financial incentives facing the social differentiation and spatial dispersion. We may evaluate this crisis of financial incentives in regard with the possibility of coordination of action and federalization of risks

VI/ Conclusion * :Multiscale governance between local State and national state

This paper has focus on the *new institutional arrangements set up at the regional and metropolitan levels on the rescaling of urban politics*; the development of the politics of social cohesion by requalification and gentrification; the new combination between urban politics and the policy of sustainable development. The local institutions and the local government play a specific role, so to adapt the actions of sustainable development by urban context and by social relevance. Metropolitan government has the specificity to coordinate the local actions, the public policies to modify the model of urban development in a more sustainable process. They develop a large influence by implementing some differentiated capabilities of actions.

The central State may keep a central role to impulse a rhythm and an agenda of modernization between sustainable development and industrial models. It may sustain or frame the role of metropolitan institution. The key issues concerns compromises between public norms, local mobilization and modernization of the eco-industrial models. In the current situation redefining the State authorities, experimenting the sustainable development policy, is not assumed the convergence of norms and rules between central state (by norms) and local state, with flexible coordination and autonomous institution. Different trajectories can be developed by coordination and deliberation.

Within this approach, we may compare the social outcomes in the production of the urban sustainabilities between national policies of the nation state and the policies of the local state:

- The politics of the nation state focuses upon the debates on the politics of energy, on transportation priority and economy of energy. Besides the media corporate debates, new eco technologies are envisioned.
- The politics of local state on sustainable development may articulate citizenship mobilizations on concrete issues, with open construction of these politics between public deliberation and social changes, the framing of alternative way of life (compact district, soft mobility). We may notice different urban solutions, different urban assemblages between contexts, between nature, social territories and institutional coordination.
- The regional area is leading the issues stakes on biodiversity, on agricultural land, on mobility politics

Table 3 Dual politics inside Climate Transition (Energy Transition, Biodiversity Politics)

	Energy Transition	Bio Diversity Politics
Dispostives	Energy system, autonomy and distribution	Territories and Eco systems
Behaviour	Information and autonomy of behaviour	Territorial attachment
Metropolis	New energy system Geothermy Public transport Multi modalités	Environmental politics Biotechnopolis
Periurban	Wind energy, solar energy Car consumption	Conflict rural land urbanization Bio farming and peri urban
Region	Innovation on new energy Pb/ extension, distribution	Agro ecology Coastal protection Park protection
Nations State	Coordination, Concentration Balance of energy system	Biodiversity mapping and rules of protection



*** New spaces of the state and sustainable development**

The local state (metropolitan agencies, regional state) may federate the local actions for sustainable development by networking and flexible coordination. It can give place to local communities and groups. The local coalition of power have to make their choices between the territorial based bureaucracy and the postmodern bureaucracy, with the social networks for environment (association, risk management).

Central State may keep a normative role in the construction and the protection of markets, such as the housing market, economy of energy, carbon balance and fiscal policy, eco technological innovation. We have framed how the normative dimension of a State keep a sense of responsibility in the risk management in a neo liberal State. This question concerns the relation between central state coalitions and the diverse plural local coalitions. This is the heuristic to analyse the urban and metropolitan trajectories and their institutional arrangement. How they change the local coordination and the norms of reference. The sociological analysis of urban sustainable trajectories may specify the purpose of social compromises and the place of deliberation inside these compromises”.

In a first approach, we notice some stability in the analysis of social compromises bounded around the urban politics and the environmental politics.. The participation on the urban politics and the politics of sustainability, is more sustaining some arrangements between urban middle classes and central elites (Beaumont and Nichols, 2007, Hajer, 2005). Environmental compromises are destabilized by the new sustainable development policy. Energy transition and biodiversity are two pathways of sustainable development, two types of institutional arrangements. The classic tools of land use and property planning must be combined with incentive policies that support energy policies (market, finance, taxes). These questions concern the new future stages of sustainable regional development.

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