

Case study report (Code FR6C)

Renewal of the local development policy: personal networking and inter-knowledge.

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Choice of the promising practice

We chose to question the issue of rural regeneration (taken in the sense of an answer to current issues - economic, environmental, societal including demographic - in a given territory and context) in connection with the issue of young people (generational renewal) and newcomers on a territory. We had to focus on a "promising practice" going toward "regeneration", allowing thereafter to give leads for public policy on rural development (rural regeneration). To identify such a promising practice, we started from our local contacts, from more general evaluative findings on local development in rural areas, and from the formulation of hypotheses, taking into account a first step of observation, work and exchange.

Current or past public policies on local development in rural areas in France, « pays » policies, LEADER programs, and even Regional Natural Park policies, have shown their limits even if these policies, driven by the public authorities, have produced local results and have contributed to local changes (Chevalier, 2010, 2014; Chevalier & Dedeire, 2014; Dumont, 2018; Jean et al., 2018) :

- on the one hand, they do not widely spread over the territory (for some of them, the RNP for example, this was not their vocation), have only rarely been sustained over time because factors such as: local leadership, funding, conflicts for the development and implementation of programs...
- and on the other hand, they have not necessarily taken into account these "regeneration" issues in all their dimensions, with sectorial programs, set up from an addition of projects, a catalogue « à la Prévert », allowing to satisfy each of the stakeholders (in particular each municipality). For instance, developing employment did not imply thinking on the environment issues, improving communications, bringing in new inhabitants was not related to the artificialization of the land, ...

Therefore, it was interesting to identify new development processes that would allow to overcome all or part of these limits, to go towards a rural regeneration.

Our contacts with local actors allowed us to progressively identify in a peripheral context, away from large agglomerations and major traffic axes, a "promising experience" which seemed to us to be part of the renewal of local development and to formulate hypotheses

for this renewal of rural local development, in connection with the young people and newcomers' issues:

- a process of networking based on institutional structures, but evolving towards an informal space of inter-knowledge
- Establishment of an intersectoral community of work and values based on shared meaning
- crossing between different networks, in particular between political and professional networks
- importance of the territorial dimension and of the existence and strengthening of a dense and lively network of medium-sized cities, small towns, town centres and villages.

The identification of this promising experience and the formulation of hypotheses were done progressively, in interaction with the director of the Mission Locale settled on the employment area of Granville, as long as meetings were held and work was carried out on the issue of services for people in the territory. In France, the Missions Locales (ML) are territorial organizations established by public policy, but have an associative nature, whose goal is the social and professional integration of young people in difficulty. Chaired by a representative of a municipality, they bring together on their board, representatives of local territorial authorities, representatives of the state, and representatives of organizations concerned with integration and employment.

Territorial context, Granville Terre et Mer, a territory that is part of the Manche department

Since our promising experience is focused on what is called local development starting from the sixties, we had to look at the territory in which it applies.

We started with the territory in which the ML operates, the Granville employment area (municipalities with strong economic relations or linked by significant commuting), which corresponds to an INSEE division and includes 48 municipalities. No structure aiming at global local development, territory project is at this scale. Only Granville Terre et Mer (GTM), community of municipalities which gathers 32 communes, has elaborated a "territory project", giving general development orientations.

During the exchanges with our local interlocutors, it became clear that the territorial reference is not the same for all of them, it can be the department (Latitude Manche for example), the Granville employment area (the Mission Locale), the South Manche (National Education), an intermunicipal space, Granville Terre et Mer, or a municipality space. Moreover, each of these interlocutors works on different scales for each of its actions and interventions, trying to adapt to local singularities (up to the communal level) when necessary, and also working on a larger scale, going beyond its territory of reference, if necessary. We will come back to the importance of this notion of territory, nor administrative, or formalized but identified on a case-by-case basis, in order to take into account the local reality, which goes beyond a simple demographic dimension: the commune of St Jean de Champs, 1400 inhabitants, a village that has developed through the establishment of housing estates, is not equivalent in many aspects to the commune of La Haye Pesnel, 1300 inhabitants, former chief town of the canton, and still now a centrality town, Bréville sur Mer, 800 inhabitants, a coastal municipality with a high proportion of second homes, has nothing to do with La Lucerne d'outremer, 800 inhabitants, close to La Haye Pesnel, with most of the houses inhabited all year round.

For this presentation of the context, we focused on the territory of the Granville Terre et Mer (GTM) inter-municipality, where all the interviewed actors are present and involved. Moreover, GTM, is a community of municipalities that does not undo the basic structuring of

the municipalities, and is the most recent territoriality with competences in local development and territorial projects.

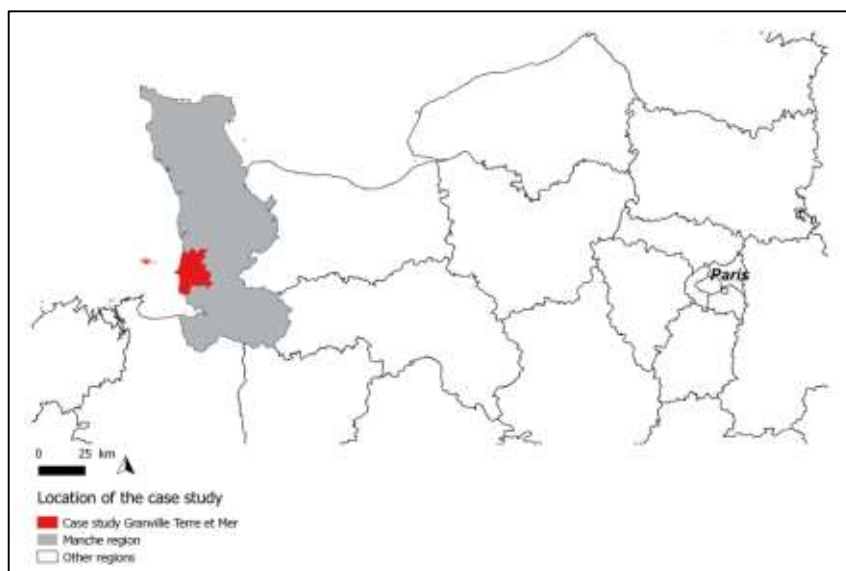


Figure 1: Location of the Granville Terre et Mer territory

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In the Manche department, a network of small towns, villages and town centres

Within Normandy region, the Manche is a peripheral department, far from the inhabited landscape of the metropolises, with a rather low density, 82hab/km². It is a territory that quickly goes from the full built-up area to the loose and extended built-up area. Therefore, there is a network of small and medium-sized towns linked to burghs, which are themselves linked together, around which villages and hamlets gravitate without ever constituting metropolises (Mathieu & Leblanc, 2020). The only large city in the Manche is Cherbourg, located in the north. By comparison, there is less population of the whole department is less than in the agglomeration of Rouen, the regional capital. Thus, even if the coastline is more urbanized, with a concentration of the population in the seaside municipalities and a greater degree of land artificialisation (notably with the construction of housing estates), the population of the Manche is mainly made up of small concentrations in a « village, small town, town » (village-bourg-ville) system with a scattered habitat and several dozen villages per commune (Mathieu & Leblanc, 2020). It implies a dense network of roads and

communication axes that take up the old communal roads and « sunken lanes ». This specificity of settlement is the legacy of the constituent of 1789-1793 which defined the communal mesh, but also that of a small industry, of importance in the eighteenth century with, in particular, glassmaking and metallurgy.

The territorial reform of 2015, however, disrupted local administrative structures (Mathieu & Leblanc, 2020) and complicated an already complicated administrative millefeuille: the cantons were replaced (although they continue to be the basis for agricultural statistics) by the communities of communes.

The inter-communality of Granville Terre et Mer (GTM), a community of communes

The community of communes Granville Terre et Mer was created in 2014. It is made up of 32 communes, resulting from the merger of 3 previous communities of communes. Different administrative divisions and areas overlap and intersect there, never on the same scale: the cantons, the employment area (the area in which the Mission Locale operates), the GTM, the SCOT, not to mention the department and then the region (see map, figure 2), and so the various professionals and elected officials work on different territorial scales.

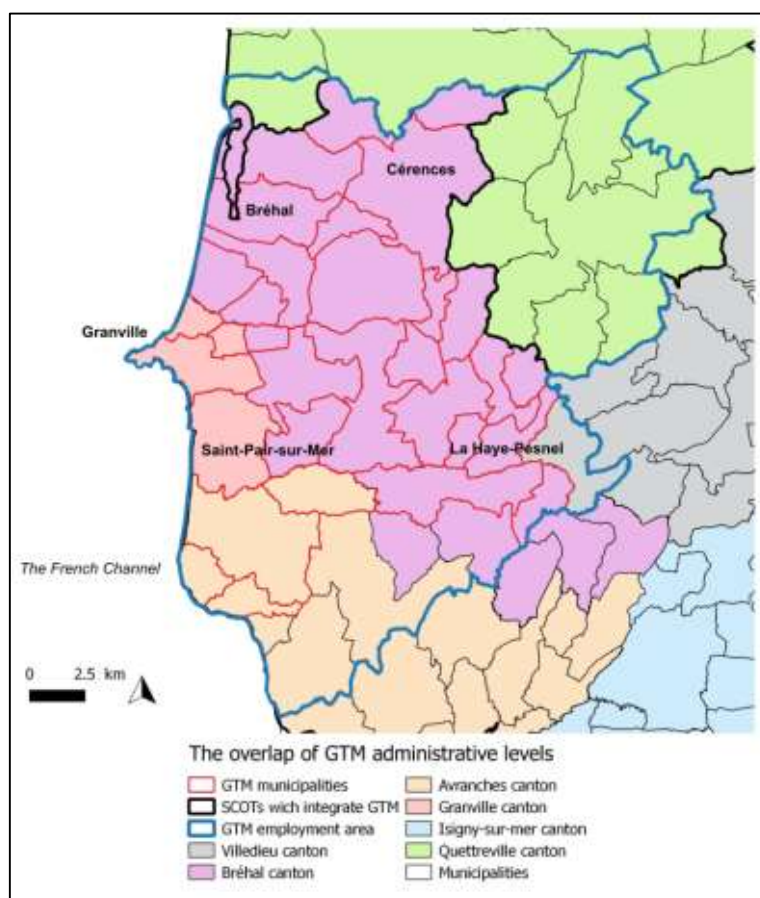


Figure 2: Organisation of administrative levels in GTM

© Camille Robert-Boeuf, 2021, sources: <https://www.data.gouv.fr/>

This inter-municipal territory (sum up 44,000 inhabitants) includes a medium-sized port city, Granville (12,600 inhabitants), with a national dimension (1st French fishing port for whelk), an international dimension (link with the Anglo-Norman Islands), surrounded by an urbanized area essentially made up of coastal municipalities, with a total population of 20,000 inhabitants, and a rural area, the hinterland. (cf figure 3). If the Manche department lost 0.1% of its population between 2012 and 2017, Granville Terre et Mer gained 0.1%, thanks to its positive migratory balance, its natural balance remaining negative (INSEE 2017). On GTM, the urban/rural boundary is very close to the city center. Starting from the urban center of Granville, the countryside begins as soon as the adjacent communes, outside the coastline.

For all people interviewed, the local rural development, the perspectives of regeneration, the adaptations, the balances are played out in this space, in the interactions between the

coast and its hinterland, between the medium-sized city, urban center of attractiveness, and the rural municipalities of the GTM territory.

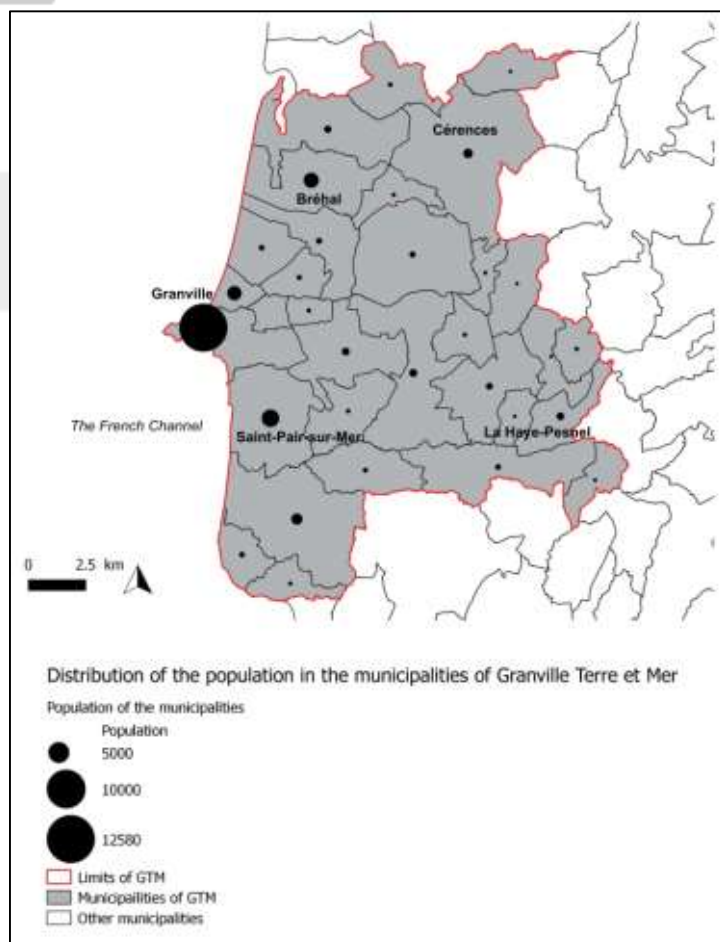


Figure 3: Distribution of the population of GTM

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GTM's population is ageing with more deaths than births, with also the arrival of young retirees, and thus an increase in the proportion of the population aged 60 and over (INSEE, 2017), higher than the departmental average.

In terms of population distribution, GTM follows the Manche settlement pattern with a dense network of highly interconnected towns and villages. If the population is globally balanced in the Manche without any large city, we notice in GTM a difference between the coastline where most of the more populated communes are concentrated and the hinterland.

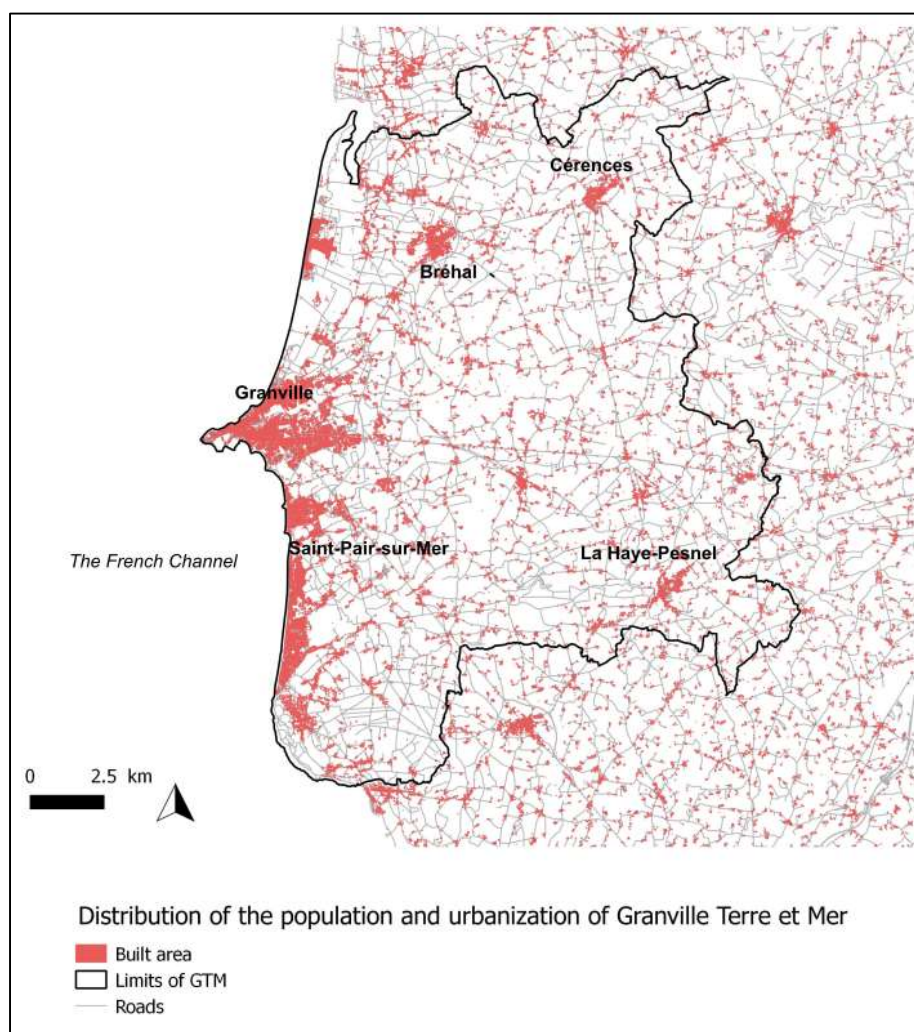


Figure 4: Distribution of settlement in GTM

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Agriculture and fishing: agricultural vocation, quality products, persistence and development of local supply, now also organic farming

The Manche department is a territory with a strong agricultural vocation (first French agricultural department), with a great variety of productions and farming systems, renowned for its protected designations of origin (PDO) and red labels, especially for dairy products (Madeline, 2020).

This agricultural situation can be explained first of all by its history. Since the 19th century and the arrival of the railroad in 1860, the department has experienced an economic boom

thanks to livestock and the production of milk that could be sold in Paris (Cornière, 2001). The qualities of the Cotentin breed of cattle, now disappeared in favor of the Normandy breed, allowed the Manche to become the first French department for cattle breeding and its products (milk and meat) in 1930 (Cornière, 2001).

The department retains in 2019 an agriculture turned towards dairy farming, representing the majority of cattle in the region (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer, 2019), with grass and cereal (corn) surfaces used for their feed. This trend is found in GTM, the 2 cantons concerned have a density of 10 to 15 suckler cows per 100ha of UAA (Ministère de l'agriculture, 2019).

The equine sector is also historically very present with the breeding of racehorses and saddle horses, especially in the east in the south of the department (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer, 2019) and therefore on the territory of GTM.

Market gardening is also well established, especially on the coastal municipalities and has red labels, for example the carrot of the sands" (Agreste, 2017), often with mixed farming systems market gardening, livestock. The vegetable areas present on these farms account for 10% of the vegetable areas of the Mont-Saint-Michel area, 13% for the Val de Saire and up to 15% for the West Coast (Agreste, 2017).

The overall situation of agricultural employment is in line with national dynamics: the number of farms, farmers and spouses or family workers is decreasing, while the number of agricultural employees is increasing slightly, without compensating for the decrease in farmers (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer, 2019). However, it should be noted, that the number of DJAs has been increasing since 2015, which reflects a certain dynamism and confirms the initial observations and interviews with young farmers who have set up in the GTM territory. The decrease in the number of farms and farmers, coupled with the decrease in UAA (especially near cities and in coastal municipalities), could lead to fears of difficulties for the future of the agricultural sector.

However, this would be to ignore the constant increase in organic surfaces, farms and processors (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer, 2019) and the development of short circuits. Actually, the Manche has a strong potential in terms of local food systems, as market sales are traditional and on-farm sales are growing, especially in small market gardening farms (Agreste, 2012). The landscape setting with the preservation

and reconstruction of a bocage with a very high density of hedges also shows a context conducive to the development of more environmentally friendly farming (Cleran & Lecaudey, 2019). These recent developments, confirm the analyses of the beginning of the 20th century on the rise in quality of the agricultural sector in the Manche département (Cornière, 2001) and allows us to foresee a more positive outlook than in other French rural regions.

In addition, the agricultural sector generates processing jobs in the agri-food industry, particularly in the canton of Granville (with a bakery and pasta industry).

Finally, the department has other activities: fishing and shellfish farming which is growing. These activities are important elements of the Manche economy. Granville has been a major fishing port for oyster shells, a port of high seas fishing. The city remains an important fishing center (about fifty boats). Shellfish farming is present on GTM, on the coastal municipalities north of Granville.

Small industry and SME, tourism

The Manche is characterized by the dynamism of an already old business set of SMEs, SMIs, very present in the rural network of small towns and town centers, which is still developing, since the number of business creations is increasing (INSEE, 2017). This business activities in the center and south of La Manche (and therefore in our study area) is based on a strong family entrepreneurship with a predominant place for agribusiness, as we have already mentioned above, but also crafts and small industry.

In 2015, 61.8% of GTM establishments were in the trade, transport or miscellaneous services sector, compared with 9% for agriculture, 9% for construction, 5.5% for industry and 14.7% for public administration, education, health and social work. In addition, 25.5% of these establishments were companies with 1 to 9 employees maximum.

Tourism is an important part of the economy in the Manche department: Latitude Manche¹ estimates that in 2019 tourism represented 6043 jobs and 3 million overnight stays in the department. The GTM territory, its coastal area is known for its seaside activities, boating

¹https://latitude-manche.fr/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/2020_memento_chiffres_cles_2019-Latitude_Manche.pdf

with the Granville marina and 17 professional structures for sailing and fishing at sea. GTM has a wide range of tourist accommodation, 14 hotels and 26 campsites.

This tourist attractiveness impacts the real estate market, since second homes and occasional housing have increased significantly between 1968 and 2017, rising from 15,882 to 44,282, and representing in 2017 14.9% of the housing supply (INSEE, 2017). It should be noted here that the number of vacant units is also increasing, from 11,031 to 25,120 for the same period. In 2017, vacant housing represented 8.5% of the department's housing units (INSEE, 2017).

Finally, GTM also aims to be attractive to businesses and individuals by developing digital coverage of the territory, particularly by encouraging the installation of fibre in the various municipalities, an installation that is currently underway.

Strong intergenerational and environmental challenges

The employment situation in the Manche and the GTM territory is relatively good, with an unemployment rate in 2020 of 7.3% in the Granville employment area, 5.3% in the Avranches employment area and 5.8% in the Saint-Lô employment area, which has been falling in recent years. The Manche is one of the departments least affected by unemployment in France, with sectors in tension.

Nevertheless, the populations of GTM have a lower level of education than in the metropolises, with a large share of the population having only the bachelor degree or a BEP/CAP (respectively 16.2% and 29%) or having no diploma (25.9%) (INSEE, 2017). These statistics indicate the presence of poorly trained populations, some of them precarious, which should not be ignored. The touristic attractiveness reinforces the ageing of the population, with retirees moving to the coastal communities in particular. The demographic and inter-generational challenge raises several questions: which services? For whom? What interactions between the young and elderly populations? What is the place of young people in a territory characterized by the arrival of retirees?

Finally, the coastal context and the environmental issues it underlies have an impact on the future of the GTM territory. The announced and already ongoing retreat of the coastline implies a long-term thinking on the development of the coastal municipalities and the

preservation of the coastal and marine environments that are so special. The coastal context therefore implies a specific planning and practice of the territory that goes hand in hand with taking into account global warming, which is contributing to the rise of sea level.

The link between the coast and its hinterland is also central from an environmental point of view. Central since the preservation of marine environments also depends on agricultural practices in the hinterland.

We thus go back the evolution of agriculture in the Manche department and in particular to the development of organic farming in the region, which can have a strong impact on the whole GTM territory.

The Manche offers a privileged context compared to other French rural areas. If there are inequalities, for example, with regard to young people's accessibility to the world of work or with regard to leisure and social activities (particularly between young people in coastal communities and large towns and those living in isolated rural areas), the general living environment is not in crisis as in some regions such as the Great East of France (Coquard, 2019).

It has been can be summed up by an interviewee:

"This territory has everything to be a laboratory of experience to show that things that are possible towards a new organization in rural, a new way of life in rural without being crushed by a metropolitan area, with the particularism of the coastline. This place can be a place of experimentation for cohabitation in rural areas, inventing new solidarities, intergenerational solidarities as well" (FR6C/Int.5).

Our approach and work methodology

During our investigations, we sought to:

- to identify what regeneration means on the territory from the point of view of the people and what were the issues at stake
- to better understand what are the ongoing processes and the networking
- to understand the conditions of the emergence of this practice, its origin and thus learn about people's backgrounds
- to identify the actors involved, in particular newcomers and non-newcomers, the extent and the exclusions of the functioning of the solidarity network
- to clarify the results, and how the network allows rural regeneration
- to identify limits and difficulties encountered
- to draw perspectives

Our approach started with an initial observation of the Mission Locale, and we established a working partnership with it first on the issue of young people in the territory (the dreams of young people, WP4), then on the issue of the functioning and networking of the local mission (WP5).

Our observation on the of the Mission Locale networking on its territory (employment area of Granville), from the data given by the local mission, was extended from near to far, (elected officials and professionals) with a particular attention given to GTM, as well as to entrepreneurs and farmers in link with or included in the observed networks.

Because of the objectives assigned to the Mission Locale, the social and professional integration of young people, our first axis focused on young people, especially young people in difficulty in the local dynamics, then from near to far extended to other issues related to the concept of rural regeneration, such as the environment, the ageing population, the arrival of new inhabitants, the housing, ...

Thus, were carried out:

- a presentation of the Ruralization program to the Mission Locale team (WP4, WP5)
- Surveys of the young people in link with the local mission according to the questionnaire provided in WP4, but also in-depth individual interviews, and also other young people such as young people in training, young people in employment

- involvement of the local mission in these youth survey (in particular in the context of telephone follow-ups with young people who have benefited from the services of the Mission Locale but were not in touch anymore)
- 2 exchange sessions (half a day each) with young people in difficulty followed by the local mission in "youth guarantee", on the theme: "Your relationship with the territory where you live, your place in this territory, your future projects".
- a meeting to discuss the results with the whole team of the Mission Locale
- « mental maps » drawn by each member of the Mission Locale's team outlining the working relationships of each one
- based on these mental maps and in connection with the Mission Locale, a list of people to be interviewed (elected officials, professionals) who are part of the network
- interviews with these people, and in the way, the list of people to be interviewed was extended to a much larger professional network and to the network of decision makers and local elected representatives
- in the end, 30 interviews, on average 2 hours each with elected officials, professionals, entrepreneurs and farmers with sometimes 2 meetings for key informants
- a first workshop of confrontation with 2 sessions of exchanges gathering professionals around the Mission Locale
- a second workshop based on the presentation of the first results with professionals and decision-makers, elected people

The follow up of the work is now planned with:

- the setting up of a working group
- a meeting with the professional network to deepen the links, go further in the networking and examine new opportunities
- a workshop with the elected people of GTM

These data from the exchanges were supplemented by reading documents related to local development in the territory, and/or produced by the Mission Locale or GTM.

The renewal of local development: networking driven by common values and the meaning given to action

A promising practice focused on the way of operating local development

Our working hypothesis concerns the processes that allow:

- to take into account the local issues in order to go toward rural regeneration
- to launch the implementation of a variety of concrete actions, which are themselves promising, within the classic institutional framework of an intercommunality in France.

These processes are not, as are the concrete actions resulting from them, identified a priori as a "practice": starting from the identification of a situation, we sought to specify the processes and ways of operating, then to evaluate their innovative and promising character, and thus to reveal "a promising practice" which is a way of operating that supports rural regeneration, while being in itself a regeneration of the operating mode.

Networking, working in partnership is currently common place, however the interviews, as well as the debates during the meetings organized with the local actors allowed on the one hand to clarify what is innovative and specific in this networking and on the other hand to verify the originalities, the dimension taken by the network or rather the networks, as well as their interest for rural regeneration.

The network of the professionals, of members of working teams has been analysed at first, and in a second time, because of the close and indispensable link with this first network, the network of the decision-makers and local elected people and representatives involved in the Local Mission and in GTM (many of them mayors). Indeed, the functional characteristics of these networks are a little bit different, even if they are not disjointed. The decision-makers, the local representatives (thus, the sphere of power) are first and foremost involved in orientations and decisions, whereas the professionals (included in working teams), while they may be involved in the decision-making process, are also doers, taking action and

implementing concrete measures. However, both have the capacity to change and to bring about change, with interrelations modes that can also bring about change.

The territory of analysis chosen (see context) was GTM, because it is the current territory of the local development project.

Solidarity-based, multidimensional networks of actors welded together by shared values and the meaning given to action: a "regeneration" of the work in partnership (network gathering mainly professionals)

Networking around the ML: a gradual implementation, resulting from the combination of a small-scale territorial organization (Granvillais employment area) and the commitment of a few actors

Working in partnership is one of the base of local missions, which focuses on the social and professional integration of young people. This partnership is most often exercised in a formal way, on the one hand through the board, which brings together the structures, institutions, and local authorities concerned, and on the other hand in the everyday action that aims to "put" young people in paths for training, housing, access to employment...

Such was the case of the Mission Locale du Bassin d'emploi Granvillais at its origin, but local representatives wished to establish a real policy for the integration of young people in the employment area.

Although, without the current professionals and elected officials being able to really situate the origin of this specific networking in time ("we have always worked like that", "it is historical and it is very strong here" -verbatim confrontation workshops) the institutional and formal partnerships have evolved towards a solidary network turned towards the regeneration of the territory thanks to the conjunction of several factors. Indeed, analysis of the interviews and debate during the confrontation workshops showed:

- first of all, the commitment and the meaning given to the work by some of the professionals in the Mission Locale itself and also in some institutions

- the possibilities of exchange, inter-knowledge and recognition of values and shared meaning between these people, outside the institutional framework (resulting from proximity and a relatively small territorial and demographic dimension)
- these values and shared meaning are of several types: humanistic and solidarity values, importance given to global issues such as environment, biodiversity,..., importance of the commitment in a work that has meaning for the people themselves (development of a territory, help to people -young people- in difficulty,...), globally a same perception of the issues at stake on the territory (a welcoming territory of solidarity, where it is good to live for all), with a focus on the social side.
- the setting up of a way of functioning based on solidary and an informal mode of functioning linked to this knowledge and inter-knowledge, i.e., sharing of ideas, initiatives, problems encountered, solicitation for solutions, launching of projects,
- the absence of power issues and of the need to assert the pre-eminence of one structure upon another (this may be linked to the distance of the head offices of some services/agencies based in the departmental chief town)
- the awareness of the complementarity of each other's competences and their capacity to make a difference for the actions planned, carried out, for the answers to be provided, etc.
- political support for initiatives resulting from this complicity with an explicit or tacit agreement, due, at least in part, to shared values, meaning and way of operating
- ease of interactions and collaborative work thanks to the Internet and also the physical and geographical proximity
- autonomy of people in their work

The analysis of the interviews clearly shows that there was no explicit launch of such an operating mode, nor were there any people promoting the implementation of this operating mode in a project process, with an organization chart and a definition of the relationships to be set up. The issue of possible conflicts to be solved did not arise either, as nothing was formalized, imposed, described, with objectives to be reached in terms of network functioning.

Once the process has been launched, membership results of each person's own willingness, and not of any obligation or institutional position. What really matters, the motivations, is

what is meaningful for each person in its work, linked to a base of common and shared values.

The development and the sustainability of this particular networking

We can assume that this working method was established first around the most direct partners of the Mission Locale in its objectives of social and professional integration of young people in difficulty, and then spread more widely as the Mission rooted its action in a territorial dimension with the consideration of local issues, beyond the ordinary follow up of young people and the application of measures directly linked to the public policies launched by the State.

Today, the partners we met cannot imagine working in any other way. Those who arrived most recently in their jobs say that they discovered this way of working as soon as they took up their job, with a welcome and openness that allowed them to integrate quickly the network way of operating. They chose to accept this openness when "on the same wave length", with then, during the exchanges, sharing of knowledge, orientations, values and analyses. Entry into the network is done by cooptation, so to speak. The role of recruitment by decision-makers is very important here: in order to truly choose to enter this particular network, the recruited people must share the same values and the same commitment.

It was striking to note the convergence of the discourses around this networking in solidarity. The actors interviewed individually spontaneously referred to this way of operating. They insisted as well on its interest, its efficiency, a certain simplicity that results from it, as on its specific character to the territory: "*We do not find this elsewhere*" (Verbatim workshops); "*it is particular to Granville, many actors are pushed to work together and once the network is created, it becomes systematic*" (FR6C/Int.2); "*It is an innovative way of working that bears fruit, it is a mold in which we all fit, for some it has been a long time*" (FR6C/Int.2).

"The particularity compared to other colleagues is the network. Between the municipalities, the operational people work together, they want to work together and they do everything for it: put everyone around the table whatever the sector, health, tourism, economy, ... It's mainly eagerness, and we also need it. So, we need to have intelligent and in line people in front of us too. The ML knows us, knows that we can help, have information. And that's one

of the keys. Before, when I was somewhere else, I didn't have this notion, but I have it even more now. In the end, it goes well, we tell each other things, we talk, there is information. In other territories, this kind of networking is not done" (FR6C/Int.7)

This discourse, which was very strong during the interviews, was reinforced during the workshops to discuss the initial results with the network of professional actors linked to the Mission Locale, some of whom had not yet been heard, with an emphasis on what makes sense in the work of these professionals and arouses commitment: the future of these young people in the territory. It is also important to underline the visible empathy of the professionals for these young people, an empathy that was claimed.

Our perception of the nature of the networking was also reinforced during these workshops by the observation of the participants' behavior: organization of the room putting all the participants on an equal footing, even if the Mission Locale invited, no formalism in the exchanges, possibility for each one to speak, each one with his or her contributions, without fearing or expecting judgment, freedom of tone, whatever the structure of origin, strong involvement of all in the debates, listening, often approvals and interventions in the form of complements more than opposition, with always a constructive aspect of the exchanges.

The sustainability of the operating mode was thus supported on the one hand by the opening of the network to professionals from all sectors. It was also supported on the other hand by the recognized pivotal role of the local mission concerning interventions related the young public, and gave it, through the different personalities of its team and their skills, the capacity to mobilize this multidisciplinary network, at the crossroads of the institutions and informal relationships.

People involved in the networking around the local mission

Our study first focused on the thematic entry point of the Mission Locale, i.e. the integration of young people in difficulty in Granville employment area, around which, for each of the members of the Local Mission team, a network was created that allowed them to work on all the aspects of the social and professional integration of young people, taking into account local and territorial issues. The close circle of people (study of mental maps and interviews) includes many overlaps between the different members of the local mission's team, but with

particularities linked to the tasks assigned to each person and also to their territory of intervention.

Indeed, in addition to the ML St Nicolas headquarters on the outskirts of Granville (formerly a municipality which was then integrated in the municipality of Granville), offices are open part time in Bréhal, Cérences, Villedieu les Poeles, Sartilly. The offices setting up is also significant of the networking method that allows to answer the needs of the rural part of the territory and the specific needs attached to the various places : the knowledge of local situations, the identification of young people who do not come to the Mission Locale headquarters, knowledge shared with other local actors and then with the mayors, led to the organization of decentralized offices to get as close as possible to rural and isolated young people in order to reach them. Thus, it is not the decision-makers, i.e mayors who were at the origin of such an action, but rather a shared knowledge in the field, of professionals, which then leads to the realization of the action, with the involvement of the mayors.

The network described by the local mission team includes people (and therefore structures, sometimes associations) working in the various fields of local development: employment and the economic world, training, orientation, social aspects, housing, health, health, culture, sports and leisure, environment, social and solidarity economy, information technology and communication.

The network is centred on the actors who are most often present in the town of Granville or even in its immediate vicinity *"we are in a place with other structures"* (FR6C/Int.3). Granville plays its role as a medium-sized town, as an urban centre: *"At some point, we have to move to a more urban location with a minimum of kilometres to cover from the rural area"* (FR6C/Int.3). If most of the network's actors are present in Granville in one way or another, they may work in different territories, also outside the ML intervention area: Granville Terre et Mer, Sud Manche, department, or be based in adjacent territories (Coutances Mer et Bocage, Mont St Michel Normandie agglomeration community). They all have the feeling of a necessary involvement either in relation to their sector of intervention, or in relation to their territory of intervention or both.

The network developed and continues its growth according to projects that come to life, to prerogatives of each other, to complementarities, to specificities that allow to work better

together. And then it is the convergence of values between people, seen from the angle of complementary skills, that strengthens operational links: *"I always contact this person, whatever the project, because he or she will always have something to contribute, even if at first I don't see what it is"*. (FR6C/Int.2)

"Alone we will pull one string, but all together we will do quite a lot" (FR6C/Int.7).

Around a person of this interdisciplinary solidarity network, a number of people form a "close circle" with whom affinities (values, commitment) are the greatest. Of course, the close circle for each person is not exactly the same, but with important overlaps. It can be considered as the supporting core of this transdisciplinary solidarity network.

The "close circle" of each person also depends on his or her hierarchical position, the level of decision-making, and the relationship to the action that this entails: the close circle of a department head or director is not the same as the one of a project manager, even if they are part of the network which may include decision-makers and local politicians.

If many profiles, and trainings, are represented in this network, with also some entrepreneurs involved in associations, the sectors of agriculture and fishing are missing, even if these sectors are known. There are several reasons for this:

- young people from farming families are not listed as young people in difficulty *"they are recognized as workers, given their socio-economic origin, and do not have difficulty finding a job, a profile valued by employers"* (FR6C/Int.3), they register their course in agricultural networks and structures (agricultural schools, whatever the level)
- projects related to agriculture or fishing, ... go through professional networks other than the local networks which are not or little requested
- professional projects of the young people follow up by the ML doesn't concern these sectors, and even they know that these sectors can bring seasonal employment (tides, or market gardening), the young people are unmotivated

The absence of this link is deplored by some professionals because of the project opportunities, development, actions, which could result from it. However, this aspect is not ignored, there is a knowledge of these sectors and some projects in progress could lead to openings in this field: implementation of the PAT for example, establishment of a Dior rose garden in La Haye Pesnel, ...

Implications, mobilizations with variable geometry according to the actions, the projects, the territory

However, this solidarity way of networking does not imply the mobilization of all at any time for any action, which would make it perfectly inoperative. Because of inter-knowledge that emerges from the solidarity network, each one knows who he/she can count on for this or that action, according to his/her skills, knowledge, positioning, including for the search of new contacts. *"The people are doors to other actors that I know little or less, with whom they put me in touch". "They are mini groups that are organized according to themes, implicit groups"* (FR6C/Int.3).

Mobilization and Use of the network are thus of several orders, and different dimensions:

* According to the level of intervention:

- a specific response to be given to a person, to find an answer in a particular field related to social and professional integration (housing, training, etc.): Instead of official contacts, which may be made through the hierarchy, the network works through bilateral exchanges with each of the interlocutors concerned

- implementation of a public policy: the mobilization concerns the targeted sector with bilateral exchanges, knowledge sharing but also more formal meetings

- creation of new answers, projects in a particular field: the prep work is based on exchanges between a small group of people, with sharing of information, knowledge and points of view before mobilization on a larger scale and exploration of possible avenues in different fields

* According to the territory, according to the places, with two sub-groups on the territory:

- Granville and surrounding urban and coastal communities

- small towns and town centres, each with their own specificities, their own issues ("it is not the same thing in Cérences with a more assertive working-class culture, small industry and in La Haye Pesnel")

* But also, with the possibility to impulse dynamics on another scale, with adjacent territories, or even at the departmental level, taking into account the links with people and structures at these levels.

Of course, there is an intersection of these entries: according to the level of intervention and according to the territory, in order to adapt the actions to the places. In the urban centre, where the actors are, the work is more easily done with present structures, associations, and the non-market sector. In the small towns, the relationships are established more directly between the social sector and the production sector, the mutual aid relationship is more present. And finally, this network is in contact with the decision-makers, and in particular the elected representatives, mayors, who are themselves in constant interaction: all of them emphasize that in order to be able to lead the informal professional to concrete actions, it needs the endorsement, the tacit agreement, the support of the decision-makers, institutional support, which then also mobilizes the financial means necessary for the action, most often within the frameworks of the public policies in force (cf. 3.5).

Various profiles in the network and place of newcomers

Several profiles cross the network, with different backgrounds, training and age categories, showing the openness of the network and underlining that its roots are other than backgrounds and age categories. There is a possibility of integration in the network, when people arrive in the jobs: newcomers as well as those who come back to the territory, bring a renewal that is permanently put in perspective with the detailed knowledge of the territory, of the places, of the inhabitants, the past held by the "old" and the local people. Each one bringing in his contribution in a complementarity way to the elaboration of adapted and innovative answers, projects. Of course, some are more dynamic than others, because of their professional position, their training, their experience, their commitment: but each in his own place, for example, the "newcomers" could not stimulate new ideas based on their previous experience without the detailed knowledge of the territory and of the inhabitants of the "locals". And the locals have also new ideas!

These various profiles are:

- Young or middle-aged newcomers, with a high level of education, whose career path come through the territory. These people first came to the territory following a recruitment on a local job offer, to which they also chose to respond according to factors related to the location: wish for some to find a rural atmosphere (as opposed to life in a metropolis), living

environment and quality of life were important. Their sectors of training are quite diverse, more or less directly related to the positions held: social sciences, territorial management, geography and urban planning, etc.

Their reactions to networking are unanimous: *"when you feel part of a whole, when people include you in their thinking, when people call you, ... it's very rewarding"* (FR6C/Int.2)

"It is linked to issues of value and experience, to pragmatic issues, each one does not have the answers alone, and then we became buddies" "These are very personal relationships based on the experience of each one". "Here, it is the actors who, by virtue of their training or otherwise, apply these working methods, and it is not everyone. It's part of the autonomy in the work" (FR6C/Int.2).

These newcomers do not necessarily think they will always stay in the territory: some think they will have to move, for various reasons. Many remain mobile.

- Young and not so young people, who have always stayed in the region (except for their studies), with an intermediate level of training, relative to the sector in which they were recruited. *"I have a bit of a mentality: I was born here, I'm staying here."* (FR6C/Int.10). *These people share the network approach: "The network is just personality, do people want to open up to something else, to work collectively in the interest of all. That's what I advocate"* (FR6C/Int.10).

- People with diverse backgrounds, who came back to the territory, with an intermediate or high level of education. Most of them recognize the quality of life on the territory, sometimes after a period of rejection, and come back when there is an opportunity for employment or activity, to settle there, permanently or not. Their background (education, experience, different living places) has also made them sensitive to the question of meaning. *"Born in Granville, I appreciated the quality of life, I left for my studies, I lived elsewhere, I came back, I will leave again"* (FR6C/Int.17) *"How can we make sense of our daily work? The teams are sensitive to this and we are heard"* (FR6C/Int.9).

The common denominators with emphasis put most in the one or the other, are:

- training and personal background, commitment: *"I come from a rural environment where we were encouraged at a very young age to participate in local associations which had a very important territorial dimension"* (FR6C/Int.1), *"I have always liked group work"* (FR6C/Int.1), *"if a work is not thought in a collaborative way, something will be missing"* (FR6C/Int.2),

- the interest in transversality and in the territorial approach "*I did not want to restrict myself to a type of person because they are linked to what happens around*". (FR6C/Int.1)

But not all of them fit into this mode of operating, even if it is open from the start. The reasons may be the issues of values, a different conception of work.

It should be emphasized that these discourses are in line with the current trend of many young people (cf. youth survey WP4) who, at the end of their studies, and also of less young people during their career, are reconsidering their relationship with work and are in demand for meaningfulness, meaningfulness in relation to current societal and environmental issues. The described network mode of operating on a territory allows each person to go beyond an individual approach, to feel recognized both from a professional and personal point of view, and to be comforted in its commitments, which can be applied in the professional life.

In practice, what does this networking mean: examples of some inter-sectoral actions, linked to the regeneration of the territory

A few examples show how territorial, environmental and societal issues may be taken into account, participating in the regeneration of the territory, with links between the coastal urbanized pole and the rural municipalities of GTM.

Giving young people housing possibilities in small towns and city centres: setting up of "foyers soleil"

The Young Workers' Home (FJT) is a structure that meets the needs of housing for young people in Granville, with the proposal of services such as catering, follow up by a presence of educators and animation, today with an eco-responsibility project. The young people are from 16 to 30 years old, students or apprentices without means of transportation, some young migrants are welcomed. "*Granville is a bubble, the young people are very well supervised with the associations, they feel at ease, they stay*" (FR6C/Int.8). "*We are lucky to have a network that works in Granville, we all work with young people on a daily basis*" (FR6C/Int.8).

The Mission Locale has identified housing needs for young people in smaller towns for apprentices and young people who have found their first job and cannot find housing. The

ML, in collaboration with the FJT, has launched a project to create decentralized FJT units in three municipalities: Villedieu (9 bedrooms), La Haye Pesnel (9 bedrooms) and Bréhal (6 bedrooms), thus providing a service for young people that allows them to access employment and makes it easier for SME's to recruit apprentices in these municipalities or nearby. The creation of these "foyers soleil" was supported by the municipalities, eager to be more attractive to young people.

The FJT is now also present in these municipalities, not only with adapted housing for the young people, but also with follow up of these young people and a link with the network : professionals who are in organizations such as training centres, local Mission, employers, local PME's, educational and training centres, the ASE (for unaccompanied minors), the CAF (family allowances), OSE (work and integration), the associations Emmaus, Port d'attache, and les Mots Bleus (for migrants), ...The network, originally focused only on Granville, is now mobilized in the rural little town centres, with the implementation of housing adapted to the needs, this contributes to the rural regeneration of the territory.

Currently, there is the issue of the saturation of the FJT accommodation, in connection with the pressure on housing and rentals, and therefore still unanswered requests.

To develop new initiatives and jobs to meet the needs of the elderly: the silver days

The rate of the elderly population in the whole territory of Granville Terre et Mer is higher than the national average. However, the organization of services is complex, the knowledge of needs, their consideration and the prospective on the implementation of initiatives must be developed, as well as the awareness of the economic perspectives.

The Normandy region organizes every year, in a different department, the silver day, a one-day trade show that allows regional and national actors of the silver economy to meet. Granville has decided to host Silver Day in 2019, as this event is an opportunity to mobilize the sector's players. The silver economy is there to provide answers to needs, promote inter-generational, test different products, make known the social needs.

For the silver days, the choice of actors, employees of different structures were made to work in a collaborative way, without injunction of a hierarchy. A GTM project manager, in charge of the organization, contacted the people of the network, first of all the Herbiers

(accommodation for still autonomous elderly people), to consider something wider than the professional fair. Ideas emerged, and gradually other people were involved and participate in the elaboration of a more global project, each contributing from his skills and positioning: involvement of the elderly, with a show purpose, idea of an intergenerational fashion show (local designer, doing sewing workshops for people in difficulty), involvement of young people in difficulty (via the Mission Locale), commitment of the CLIC (local information and coordination centres for elderly people), ... All these people sit around a table, the project started to take shape: the silver day were set up with also a general public event on technical aids, with an event in the evening, gathering companies, politicians, elderly people and with a festive end (intergenerational parade elderly and young people). The professional event organised with the region took place the next day.

Once the main lines have been established between the technicians, they mobilized their respective decision makers (the departmental council, the mayor of Granville, the president of GTM, the president of the ML, the president of the Regional Council, ...) with go between technical and political decision makers. The meetings are then held with 8/9 different institutions, and several various departments in each institution.

The networking went on in parallel, developing additional new ideas: Granville digital is involved and envisions a silver hackathon (put people in a room, give them a problem, and in 48 hours, give a technological answer to this problem) from the statement of needs of the elderly. The program finally also includes a conference on ageing well, given by a researcher focused on the subject.

Finally, instead of a seminar with 3 round tables, a structuring, coherent event took place, touching all aspects, technological innovation, study on ageing well, festive event, self-esteem for young people in difficulty, ... in order to highlight the subject in different ways.

These silver days directly mobilized about 3,000 people, the networking strengthening the local impact, highlighting the sector, contributing to the structuring around the issue, to give a fresh look at ageing and intergenerational, strengthening links between different people and institutions.

The network allowed such a building, which in return has strengthened the working habits, through a new experience of working together.

Raising awareness of young people in difficulty to local and more global environmental issues, in link with opportunities of activities and employment: the school of transition

The Mission Locale's initial idea is to make young people in difficulty aware of the ecological transition and green jobs that offer employment opportunities and business development in the area, starting with a learning module: short internship of a week or 15 days where the young people are in complete immersion.

In connection with the social services of the Granville municipality and GTM, 3 themes were defined: the agenda 21 and the economic project of GTM around short circuits and food; eco-construction and the renovation of buildings; the management of green spaces and natural environments.

The PEP des Oyats centre, a holiday centre of a popular education movement (located in the little town of Bréhal, near the sea) which hosts discovery classes, was contacted and responded very positively, since they are looking to open up to wider audiences than tourists and schoolchildren.

The pedagogical project was based on practical pedagogy, “to do or to do with”. The young people had to set up a project such as organizing a day of waste collection, ... during the week. The idea is also that young people discover the territory, reconnect with nature whereas they do not move around much.

A test was launched with the network's mobilization of interlocutors complementary to the PEP which ensured interventions on the discovery of the coastal environment, of wild plants and cooking from the collected plants. Several actors participated: artisan baker, organic market gardener, farmer in eco-grazing, activity of maintenance and repair of the bicycles, ... These people (who are in the networks) agreed with the approach to help the young people. One of the important points of the project implementation was the discussion around ecology, the idea of green jobs, which is not limited to waste recycling, pruning, landscaping, ... but open to perspectives such as clothing from recycled materials, florist (seasonal flowers), ...

Decision-makers, local elected representative, the emergence of a territorial solidarity-based network (on GTM), links with the professional network and rural regeneration

Depending on their function, the professionals have regular links with elected politicians or decision-makers, whether they sit on the board of their structure or are their line managers. Some of these decision-makers, heads of associations, managers or even elected officials could have been included by some people of the working teams in their professional network, given the closeness and the personal relationships established, beyond the function.

The members of the professional network underline the necessity for the projects to get the agreement of these decision-makers, all the more so as actions envisaged within the professional network require financial means. The functioning and the orientations taken from this other point of view, have therefore an incidence on the concretisation of the actions planned by the professional network. The combination of the 2 being essential, it was interesting to see the functioning at this level, if it entered the framework of the promising practice, and if it has links with the issue of rural regeneration.

We focused our interviews on the board of the ML and on GTM, the structure in charge of the territorial project, and more particularly on the people designated by the professional network. We then proceeded from one to the next, with each of the interviewees indicating people to meet (included in his network). The interviews conducted with these decision-makers, mainly mayors, show the emergence of a networking based similarly on common values and convergent analyses concerning the GTM territory, complicity and a wish to work in an open and horizontal way, with each of the communes being given their rightful place, whether they are urban, coastal or rural. This evolution is linked to the emergence of a new generation of local politicians, following the last municipal elections: *"we have changed times, we have changed generation, our way of working is linked to local networking"* (FR6C/Int.23).

GTM: a structure recently (2012) set up, prior step to a common work between "Terre et Mer " (Land and Sea).

GTM is the result of the merger of 3 pre-existing inter municipalities, at the request of the state. Previously, there was no development link between the rural municipalities and the urban area of Granville. Starting from 2012, there has been a progressive but strong change of the relations between the city and the surrounding rural municipalities, even if for some local rural elected officials this could have been experienced as a trauma, especially for those who considered themselves "masters of the game". Some years later a consensus was reached about the new structure:

"Granville Terre et Mer, it makes sense. It was either that or we died all alone in our corner, or we tried to live with the coast and Granville" (FR6C/Int.26).

"GTM, I think it is strategic, things in proximity, these things at another level, we must find the right adjustment (FR6C/Int.25).

Shared values underlie the functioning of elected officials in the GTM territory

A generation renewal took place during the last elections (2020), factor of rearrangement and evolution in the functioning, with now shared stakes, in particular regarding the environment with a majority of elected representatives adhering to the inter municipal approach. The scale of the GTM intercommunality remains modest, there is inter-knowledge and proximity between the elected people, many are of the same generation, from the territory *"we have all lived a little together"* (FR6C/Int.23) *"I have friends elected on other communes, it creates change, we find ourselves members of GTM on the same wavelength"* (FR6C/Int.29). The relationship between Granville and the other municipalities has calmed down. This ease of dialogue is the result of the renewal of the elected officials, whose values are common to many. *"We are not yet in total confidence, but, already, the majority is in a network of common values"* (FR6C/Int.23).

- commitment, general interest, humanism

The people we met share first of all a commitment to the general interest, which is expressed in particular by the time devoted to the functions they hold, and a high level of availability. This commitment is recognized, even by more distant elected officials: *"We are*

not in the business of numbers, we are in the issue of people" (FR6C/Int.22) "The notion of general interest, I received it as an inheritance ... to be concerned about the situation of others, of the greatest number, to succeed in projects in this respect ... brings me a real satisfaction and I am convinced that one does not succeed alone" (FR6C/Int.23) "I invested myself because to criticize, you have to get involved, to do better" (FR6C/Int.29).

- collective work

A collective work genesis took place before the elections, between a few elected officials in order to prepare the post-election work, to exchange on the common base, and to foresee the integration of major orientations in the municipal campaigns.

The organization of the community council was then set up with a willingness of balance on the territory, and parity "a territorial representation, balanced, rural/urban, coastal hinterland, men/women" and the attribution of the delegations according to the competences, without taking into account the geographical localization inside the GTM. For example, a rural mayor has delegate competencies related to the coastline as the person responsible for bathing water quality. *"This renews the ways of thinking, this variety and richness goes hand in hand with a renewal of generations"* (FR6C/Int.23).

The collective work is also facilitated by a collaborative vision of the work, linked to usual work on computer, work by email exchanges or social networks, with the wish to set up an intranet.

- taking into account the environment and the quality of the territory (developing and preserving)

The ecological transition is now included as a cross-cutting element, which questions the territorial project, which will therefore be revisited with, in particular:

- Economic development: consensus on the objective of targeting SMEs/SMIs
- tourism development: no mass tourism objective
- the quality of life for all inhabitants, young, active, elderly: common mobility, the PAT (Territorial Food Plan)
- the preservation of agricultural surfaces (PLUI in progress)

However, the level of consideration given to the environment varies according to sensitivities.

Networking in the GTM territory

With the new generation of elected officials, a different way of operating has been advocated for GTM with the construction of a collective work which did not exist before. Actually, GTM was considered to be at the service of each of the municipalities, which has led to conflicts. *"Currently, relations are soothed and the conditions for dialogue do exist »* (FR6C/Int.23); *"Goodwill and a willingness to work together are essential"* (FR6C/Int.27).

If the networking is already implemented around a core group of people, linked by inter-knowledge and common values, the enlargement of this operating way is emerging, with a necessary time of appropriation, both in the municipalities themselves and at the level of the GTM and of the Mission Locale board. Time after elections was marked by the Covid, a factor to which all had to face in their respective functions.

A fluent and enlarged networking in GTM will be based on the writing of a "governance pact", work carried out by a group of elected officials with 2 main axes:

- a go between flow of information between the municipalities and GTM, avoiding a top-down system and allowing mayors to raise local issues
- time for dialogue

What is at stake with this networking is highlighted, with an issue of meaningfulness treated on the scale of the territory. The aim is to extend this way of working to the whole territory, beyond the already constituted network, in a spirit of openness.

Variety of profiles? The newcomers in the renewal of the functioning

There are no real newcomers in this network of local elected officials: some local adaptation and integration in the local society is requested to be part of a municipal team.

However, 3 profiles can be identified:

- people who have always stayed in the area
- people who left for a more or less long time and then came back to settle locally in their place of origin or in a nearby municipality, depending on job opportunities or business development
- people from elsewhere, former newcomers, who have known the territory of Granville Terre et Mer, often during vacation stays, and who have settled as their main residence in one of the municipalities of GTM, for several years now.

The driving force in the renewal of the functioning is first of all the change of generation, the way of consider the role of the politician: *"it is necessary to listen ... animation of a working group ... co-written text, on line, so that each one can amend it, ... implementation of a collective approach, there is a need to consult, otherwise we will have understood nothing "* (FR6C/Int.27); *"what is at stake is the way of working, ... We need a more open democracy, the elected representatives must be attentive, if we give people the means to participate, we must listen to them"* (FR6C/Int.28).

Then the willingness of this new generation to reintegrate cross-cutting issues in the development programs, even if the written territorial project remains very classic in the catalogue of the development strategy displayed (which dates from the previous team in charge) will renew the way the projects are considered.

The link between the networks of decision-makers/local representatives and professionals: a necessary element for projects' effectiveness

Local representatives and decision-makers emphasize the importance of a trust relationship with the network of professionals, or at least their contacts in the professional teams. *"On a day-to-day basis, it is the professionals who work, (...), we must support and promote the employees"* (FR6C/Int.22); *"I have the impression of having elected people who listen, and who also want to make things happen"* (since the renewal of the elected officials) (FR6C/Int1).

The distribution of roles is clearly established on both sides:

"We form pairs in which, with this new generation of local representatives the responsibilities are clearly established: it is the local representatives who decides, the technician does not replace the elected official" (FR6C/Int.27).

"I always involve the president in decisions, even if the local representatives tell me that I don't have to consult with them on this kind of subject" (FR6C/Int.1).

"In small municipalities, I go through the mayors, who act as an interface" (FR6C/Int.2) *"My director and I have the same fibre, she goes to the front, acts as an interface with the local representatives, and removes institutional obstacles"* (FR6C/Int.2).

This clarity in functions, this trust relationship and the following support allows to move from the design of a cross sectoral action by the professional network to its implementation, with all the necessary mobilizations. It is indeed the feeling of being "on the same wavelength", of a certain convergence in the values and the analysis of what is at stake, also between professionals and local representatives that authorizes an autonomy in the elaboration of actions and projects.

Of course, this is not totally coincidental: the recruitments are made by the management teams (elected officials in particular). *"X brought dynamism, competence, the desire to work on projects, ... it's a meeting, we are in the human aspect"* (FR6C/Int.22).

Networking and proximity are factors of efficiency:

"Here there is the idea that nobody is a number. The connection is immediate. You have to keep this proximity, this networking, to help, which the big cities cannot do. This is something that is strong here, the companies all know each other, the local representatives are close by, we see them on the market. So we move fast, it's a strength" (FR6C/Int.17).

The regeneration of the territory seen by the interviewed actors (professionals, local representatives, entrepreneurs, farmers), key issues

There are two key points for the actors interviewed, whether they are professionals or decision-makers:

- not to "spoil" what makes the quality of life on the territory,
- to preserve or move towards "balance" from a social, environmental, economic and cultural point of view.

"If we develop too much, we will break what people have come to look for... Our marketing positioning is based on the sea and preserved spaces, ... echoes the new expectations of tourists and workers" (FR6C/Int.5).

"We must not go too far, the Manche succeed to get the most out of the game, has not concreted its entire coastline, it is an opportunity " (FR6C/Int.25).

"The territory has a difficult equation to solve: preserve and develop" (FR6C/Int.23).

"Regeneration can correspond to what is happening, there are a lot of newcomers, there are new demands" (FR6C/Int.2).

"We want to keep this territory preserved, this nature, and at the same time, we want to bring in people" (FR6C/Int.7).

The rural for the actors of the territory: exchanges, a necessary balance between the more urbanized coastline (Mer) and the hinterland (Terre)

Most of the local representatives interviewed, whether from small rural communities or urban coastal communities, as well as professionals, emphasize the need for this balance, or at least the need to take into account territorial specificities, asserting the need for complementarity in various areas - housing, production, tourism, etc. - in connection with the adaptation of the territory.

"The territory (of GTM) has been able to modernize, to adapt, unlike other territories, perhaps it is concentrated on Granville, the rural is a point of vigilance" (FR6C/Int.27).

"Here rurality is linked to the coastline, which is more highlighted in terms of life and attractiveness. There is the idea of combining the two, with a hybrid territory, land and sea, it is merged, we see that for example with the sheep of présalé, with the havens" (FR6C/Int.5).

"There is complementarity between land and sea, historically the land is nourishing, with go-betweens, the inhabitants are very attracted by Granville, we must seek a balance" (FR6C/Int.25).

"The living well together must find its full expression with a redistribution of wealth between the coast and the hinterland, we must find a balance throughout the territory ... we must not break the existing network which is a wealth of the territory. To regroup everything in Granville would not make sense... We must recognize the different scales, recognize the role of centrality of Bréhal, La Haye Pesnel, Cérences, all these functions must be shared to bring solidary and collective answers" (FR6C/Int.23).

This sought-after balance comes from the preserved network of small towns, village centres, villages, with both shops and SME/SMI activities and which, from the point of view of the actors, should be reinforced: it is one of the assets of the territory for the quality of life and the arrival of new inhabitants, for the regeneration on GTM. On the other hand, there is an attachment to the rurality as it exists now, to a development which does not transform it radically either by an important arrival of new inhabitants or by an arrival of big companies with industrial character:

"Is the goal of rurality is to get out of rurality? There is a limit to development. Going from a village of 500 inhabitants to 800, 1000, does that mean that it should go to 3,000?" (FR6C/Int.3).

"It is not necessary to grow, I fought for not growing. ... The population is stable in the commune. What is the point of the rural communes increasing their population? The population must be in relation with the services provided locally and by the neighbouring municipalities" (FR6C/Int.26).

Rural regeneration: environmental issue, quality of life related to the environment

The quality of the environment is taken for granted or under improvement, as far as agricultural land is concerned. The focus is more on density, tourist frequentation likely to affect the natural environment.

Agriculture is not particularly questioned: the comparison with other regions, those of intensive cereal production, leads to think that the bocage in the rural communes of GTM has nevertheless been preserved. The comparison with the region Bretagne also leads to a certain satisfaction: the coast does not suffer from annual proliferation of green algae due to agriculture. Because of a non so intensive agriculture, because of improvements in the way and now organic conversions? There is trust in the evolutions in the way: reasoned agriculture, reduction of pesticides, that follows its course, regulation toward standards more respectful for the environment, number of animals regulated according to the surface of exploitation (for the spreading), trend to autonomy of the exploitation for the animal food, local experiments for alternative methods, culture with no ploughing, ..., work on water quality, ecophyto training... Several elements are however raised for rural regeneration, mostly by the farmers: replanting of hedges, adaptation to the climatic evolutions by reducing consumption of water and change in the cultures (less greedy in water, the irrigation not being a local practice for the corn in particular). However, the quality of the sea water is not always good, questions can arise not only on the agricultural side but also on the shellfish farming side (FR6C/Int.18).

The issue of the coastline is mentioned: on the one hand, to find ways to limit the intrusion of the sea and the erosion of the dunes during the tides, and on the other hand, to foresee solutions for the activities and inhabited areas that will be submerged at some point, the total protection of these areas not being at the agenda.

In the background, the issue of climate change is therefore posed both through the changes that it entails for agriculture, tourism, the coastline, and to try to limit carbon emissions, and at the scale of the territory to change behaviour.

Rural regeneration: issues about settlement, housing, population, mobility “we need new workers, young people”

Based on the shared observation of an ageing population, and a slight demographic decline, the issue of the place of young people arises, especially since there is a lack of working force in these sectors. To attract or to keep new, young, active population is part of the necessary adaptations. *"It is necessary to give more space to the youth on the territory. There are not many things for young people, the cultural orientations are not focused on young people, there is nothing on current music. We don't show them that we can do things, that we are interested in them. The regeneration passes by that, to say to the young people: you have all your place, there are things for you and work for you"* (FR6C/Int.5). If a balance of population between young and old is advocated, it is also mentioned for the territory, with the issue of how many people the territory can accommodate: *"Regeneration is the balance of the population on the territory. Granville must not become the retirement home of the Manche... we can only work together, rural and coastal urban... we must think about the housing"* (FR6C/Int.27); *"We need to attract people. Where do we put the cursor?"* (FR6C/Int.22); *"Bringing people in? Renewal means asking the question: what are we doing about the economy? Bring in more and more businesses? With aggressive development? This is a real question. Shouldn't we do more but differently, accelerate the digitalization of businesses? ... And where do we put them? Do we increase housing? Do we densify?"* (FR6C/Int.28).

At the same time, the adaptation of the territory to ageing population, which particularly affects the GTM territory, is a challenge that requires a regeneration of public action to take into account the needs of this population category, needs that generate activity and employment, with improvements of the qualification of the territory in this field (social aspects, health, housing...).

With the arrival of new populations, with the ageing of the population, with the tourist activity, the issues of habitat, housing, and mobility are crucial while the tensions are strong in real estate, with an increase in prices on the coastal and urban zone, in particular under the pressure of secondary residences and new arrivals (from urban areas with more financial means). Wishing a house with a garden, young working people have to move to the small

rural towns or villages around (up to 10/15km) to find a house, often in a housing estate (which implies car commuting for work and activities), whereas banning development of such housing estates would be an objective.

"It would be necessary to accompany the regeneration of the housing trajectories, to redeploy the population in the rural territories, to ensure the social and generational mix, ... rurality has assets when we come back to the fundamental needs: housing and food" (FR6C/Int.27).

Rural regeneration: what about the economy, employment, agriculture, tourism

The issue is to find this necessary balance between economic development and preservation. If all share this idea of balance, it is not the same for all, some lean towards more preservation, others for more activity.

"Preserve and develop, ... if we must preserve natural resources, we must not put them under a bell for the sake of protection... We can however produce. It is essential to feed the population, to develop real activities in line with nature, fishing and agriculture, we can go on a balanced production, an economic activity, we have tourist and human activities that must develop, we need wealth also for a renewal of population and for the young population to come on the territory" (FR6C/Int.23).

As far as employment is concerned, the challenges are those of matching the jobs (some of which are in short supply) with the wishes of young people. There are training issues, issue on the image of the jobs, and on the level of remuneration and working conditions for some jobs.

The regeneration of local agriculture may be considered: stronger evolution towards an environmentally friendly agriculture is mentioned, including in traditional farming systems, but also the short circuits (local food - PAT project) with more installations, while the major difficulty is the pressure on land.

For tourism, it is considered that there is still space for development with an organization and an offer that would allow a greater diffusion on the hinterland and a spreading in time, also taking advantage of climatic changes (moderate heat waves).

"In 2020, we did the best year, even with the Covid. And then we saw the limits. We promise preserved spaces and there were many people. And there is a real desire to make a measured tourism, reasoned. To avoid doing what is happening at Mont St Michel: the worst and what should not be done anymore. There is this environmental dimension so as not to overload our coastline, it will be necessary to build but perhaps in a different way " (FR 6C/Int.7).

Renewal of the local development approach through the issues raised?

First of all, the territory is not considered as needing "regeneration" but as needing "adaptation". The people interviewed underline that the territory has already been able to adapt, the notion of decline does not apply to the territory, it is not in danger, contrary to what the term regeneration implies. *"Granville is a good place to live, I wouldn't say regeneration, I would say impulse, trigger"* (FR6C/Int.25). *"There is not so much a need for renewal on GTM but for updating. We can't say that it was that bad and that we have to start from scratch. You have to start from what has been done, update it. I don't know what to think about the term regeneration. It would be to consider that what has been done before is not valid. This is not a fair way of seeing things. The copy can be revised but it is necessary to be based on what was done before"* (FR6C/Int.2).

However, points of vigilance and several issues are mentioned, with the need to carry out actions, to take decisions in order to either improve, to bend, to correct existing situations or trends, to take into account new issues (the environment in particular) or to prevent drifts, considered as harmful for the future of the territory.

If the issues raised around the term regeneration remain, in the end, very classic, they are related to the renewal of local development:

- firstly, the dimension advocated for development: no denaturation (no change of their nature, their characteristics) of the rural municipalities by the arrival of too many people, or of activities of industrial type, or of mass tourism.
- the emphasis placed on the interconnection of the development axes, the transversality with the complexity that this entails: the balances mentioned are articulated, with common guidelines linked to values (particularly humanism and environment)

- the attention paid to adapting to the specificity of each place, municipality with the corollary of a concrete knowledge of each place, of its specificities.

Impact of the studied networking: towards a renewal of local development by taking into account local issues for “rural regeneration”?

Impact

The values shared by the network of the new generation of local representatives take into account issues that are part of the regeneration of the GTM territory, are transversal to the axes of development and give meaningful orientations. If this is not a radical transformation of the territorial project, it introduces orientations that give a new meaning to the action, with transversalities: the concern for the environment is intended to be taken into account in all areas of intervention, in connection with the quality of life (housing, mobility, businesses, agriculture and food, tourism, ...), with the issue of population balances, with the place of young people, both newcomers and locals, and also with social needs. We observe a discourse aiming at a multisectoral approach integrating the environment, the social, the economic and for a part the cultural.

What about the transition to concrete action? At this stage, the local representatives in place since June 2020 are partly in the process of setting up their working methods (extension of the network) and taking up their functions, and are thinking on the competences they have just taken over. However, axes, guidelines and actions are emerging and are even being implemented, also in reaction to current events, with a transversal focus on territorial balance and taking into account the specificities of each municipality, village and town centre.

"As far as the vision of GTM is concerned, there may have been errors on certain projects and a desire for homogenization at all costs, whereas there are different wealth according to areas, and there must be an ability to differentiate projects according to the area... Are we able to make a big deal of it and of providing differentiated answers?" (FR6C/Int.27).

Some examples of concrete steps taken toward rural regeneration

- opening of the territory to active newcomers: awareness of the cross cutting issues, housing, mobility, employment, and willingness to take them all into account, also with specificities of the local places
- housing, habitat: the setting up is underway with the elaboration of the PLUI (inter-municipal local urban development plan) with the willingness to restrict the number of new housing estate (aiming to limit artificialisation of the soil), to study their distribution on the territory, to envisage solutions concerning social housing, densification, to allow the arrival of young people in social housing, to guarantee social and generational mix, to find a balance between tourist and year-round rentals, ...
- distribute the tourist pressure on the territory: thus, better involve the hinterland in the tourist offer, and set up means for the management of sensitive points. Following the over-visitation of the Chausey Islands in the summer of 2020, a steering committee for the environment on Chausey has been set up, with the objective of controlling the number of visitors (regulation of flows in conjunction with the maritime shuttle companies, for instance)
- land use, development of local food: the issue of the preservation of agricultural areas is on the agenda, there was support for the installation of farmers in market gardening (a test area has opened at the Lucerne d'Outremer); a PAT is launched with the mobilization of collective catering, of all local producers (including conventional agriculture, and fishermen) and local product processing, with the prospect of an organization in short circuits for collective catering and development of local processing.
- mobility, transports services and alternatives to the car: GTM took the mobility competence with objectives of free shuttles, for all but in particular young people and old people, for territorial equity, "We are the only ones who can take into account the local specificities with a true ambition of solidarity and equity... (We must) propose a real ambitious policy to move towards the ecological and energy transition by getting out of dependence on the individual car and autolism". (From local newspaper: Terre et Mer le mag, June 21). Drafting is underway for interconnected possibilities with à la carte services, regular public transport, bicycle rentals, car sharing, etc.

The environment, the quality of life, the consideration of the needs of the population, in particular the fragile populations, are also an underlying key in all the actions carried out by

the professional network, in connection with the network of decision-makers and local representatives, with different balances between different axes of "regeneration of the territory" depending on the projects and the origin of these projects. The change in the political network brings support to the professional network and facilitates the implementations. *"There is a real evolution between the time I arrived and today, environment was irrelevant in economic projects, the angle was production/consumption. There is now a real awareness of these shared issues"* (FR6C/Int.2). In each of the projects, whatever the scale or the orientation, there is a small step toward regeneration based on the specificity of the places, on shared knowledge, on opportunities, thus joining the idea of adaptation to the contexts of each area, each municipality, with differentiated answers. *"Everything that is built is small stuff, finding operational means, the rural, we are there"* (FR6C/Int.3)

Some examples of concrete steps taken toward rural regeneration:

- implementation of a project linked to innovation and environment, with the installation of sensors to monitor the filling of waste garbage cans in order to optimize the waste service round, with the involvement of a local start-up, and the digital local incubator
- support for a project by 2 young women whose objective is to set up a bulk drive (activity creation in link with environmental orientation)
- setting up of shared gardens as a collective project to reinforce the social link and allow self-production
- project of shared inclusive housing, with a part in independent residence for the elderly, with also apartments adapted for disabled people and young couples in first accession, with thus an intergenerational dimension.
- a living lab project for the elderly, with the setting up of user groups that could test innovations made by the territory, and also test answers concerning mobility in GTM
- promotion of the home help and care givers professions, collective work around these professions, in order to find personnel to meet the demand, opportunity for young people looking for work, development of the silver economy and the qualification of the territory in this field.

Perspectives

The perspectives are, on the basis of the current networks and their reinforcement, to increase the number, variety and importance of the actions carried out in a cross sectoral approach for rural regeneration, as it is understood on the territory. The change of generation of the local representatives in charge can allow it, through the values they advocate and the meaningfulness they are looking for, also because the values and meaningfulness are shared by the professional network.

The future outcomes are all the more positive because they are based on a fairly general evolution of mentalities regarding environmental issues, regarding the relationship with natural spaces, toward a positive representation of the countryside, an evolution accelerated by the health crisis due to COVID.

The limits could come in particular from:

- the balance and arbitrations between preservation and development may generate conflicts. For example, a decision must soon be made concerning the extension of the exploitation of a quarry, which would encroach on agricultural land.
- the difficulty for GTM to weigh on the land pressure, the prices of rental or purchase, second homes, ... The local representatives are not the only decision makers on social housing either. A whole part of the regeneration is linked to the balances of population, to the place of young people: the solutions will have to be imagined, on the basis of the existing policies, as much for the social issues, than for the balance between tourism and long term renting, and also the mobilization of vacant houses or apartments.
- the mentalities that need to evolve, since currently conformism prevails in terms of housing preferences "the Grail is the house with a garden". The housing trajectories should be rethought.
- the lack of control over land for allocation to agriculture which is dependent on the choices of the SAFER and CDOA (structure for regulation of access to land): a focus on short circuits and environmentally friendly production will only be achieved through instruments such as the PAT, test areas, and the land reserves of the municipalities

- the capacity to integrate farmers, fishermen and shellfish farmers into the project, going beyond the current network of organic producers or short circuits, which is already envisaged via the PAT,
- the lack of understanding of the issues by a part of the population: education from an early age plays a fundamental role in raising awareness of the environment, its fragility and the behaviour to adopt, the notion of alterity (welcoming of newcomers, intergenerational cohabitation, place of young people, ...), habitat trajectories

The impact of COVID on trends and issues in the GTM territory: a wave of newcomers

Covid has accelerated the demand for territories with medium-sized cities. The Manche department, with its network of small town centres, answers to this demand (as many rural territories in France) and to a target group of newcomers in their forties who look for schools, doctors, social life, and sports clubs. Currently in the Manche department, 200 families are in the process of settling, mainly from the Paris region. The covid speeds up the process, people come to settle as soon as possible.

Thus, the covid has accentuated the pressure on housing, sometimes with the purchase of residences by catalogue, in connection with telecommuting. Everywhere, in every municipality, the rapid sale of all the housing on the market - even those that had difficulty finding takers – is highlighted, with, a shortage of house supply, and an increase in costs. This boom in the real estate market has also resulted in a significant demand for renovation and restoration work.

As for local employment, it has not really suffered, there has been no significant local increase in unemployment, insofar as the set of local SMEs and SMIs is diversified. Most have held up well, although there has been an impact on seasonal employment.

As in other regions, the covid has allowed the strengthening and development of short food circuits with the adaptation of farmers to the situation.

It also seems to have an impact on tourist demand, more oriented towards nature and the countryside, and therefore a new appetite for the wished orientations of GTM, i.e., the balance of the tourist offer between the coast and the hinterland.

The question arises as to how long this movement will last: what proportion will stay, possibly full-time, in telecommuting or in new activities, what proportion will be in dual residence, what proportion will return to a second home, what proportion will leave? Should the flow of arrivals be supported, directed or limited? What means should be used to achieve the wished balance in terms of population, the place of young people, knowing that these new arrivals are more likely to be in the 40+ age group or retired.

The answers to these questions will strongly depend on the implementation of policies aimed at rural regeneration, in all their complexity, therefore relying on the achievements of this renewal of local development with networking, interconnection, in the different sectors: employment, mobility, housing, digital network, environment, ... and for the different categories of populations.

What is the potential for replicability of such a process of renewal of local development in a rural area?

This renewal of development is emerging at a very particular time, which is that of an awareness of the impact of global warming, a search for meaningfulness beyond remuneration also in the workplace, and an acceleration (because of the COVID-19 pandemic) of the image's reversal of the countryside and the city, with an evolution in the content of the notion of quality of life, associated to the characteristics of the countryside and no longer with the amenities offered by the city.

Modernity is played out in an idealized way of life, with either a double belonging, a double residence, country and city, made possible by telecommuting, either a settlement in a rural territory, with services in proximity.

The conditions linked to the territorial context

The interviewed people underline several aspects of the territorial context, which condition the emergence of the networks studied.

- In the first place, a relatively small area, both geographically and in terms of population, where however the professionals and institutions are present, in which meetings and inter-knowledge are possible and easy.
- The presence of a fine mesh of small towns, village centres, villages, still alive, is pointed out as essential to renewal: if such a mesh did not exist, or no longer exist, it would have to be (re)created to establish the necessary balances in the perspective of adaptations, regeneration. The fine level of this network participates to the knowledge of the territory, of the local specificities, for "tailor-made" actions, with also the mayor who knows his population well and plays an interface role between the municipal dimension and the services, institutions, and participants of the GTM inter-municipality.

The conditions linked to the decision-makers, mainly the local representatives

- a conception of work that leads to a collective, the shared willingness to dialogue, to work together, to co-construct and therefore to operate as horizontally as possible, allowed by

the use of Internet, e-mails, platforms, social networks, etc., with also the wish to go beyond the initial "core" of inter-knowledge and to associate as widely as possible

- issues at stake shared, fundamental issues on which a first core group of local representatives bases its actions and program
- an awareness of the interactions and transversalities between the different aspects of development and of the resulting complexity
- the inter-knowledge allowed by the territorial dimension
- a commitment to serve the general interest, beyond personal ambitions and power issues, humanist values
- diversity of profiles (locals, person who came back, newcomers, different origins and branches of activity)

Conditions related to the professionals

- search for meaningfulness in the professional activity, necessary for a commitment that goes beyond the work contract
- sharing of values, also carried in the professional activity
- inter-knowledge and presence on the territory, made possible by the territorial dimension
- autonomy in the work resulting from the trust granted by the hierarchy or the political leaders
- absence of rivalries due to institutional positioning or power issues
- diversity of backgrounds and profiles generating complementarities (newcomers, locals, various sectors, ...)

In short, how to create such networks leads to the question of what pathways lead to these ways of operating, this new style of work. The analysis of the interviews during which each person described their pathway shows a crossroads between training, education and personal experiences: training issues from the beginning of schooling are mentioned, training and education that include participation in associative movements, collective work, reflection on society, learning related to life skills, regardless of the training pathway chosen.

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Annex 1. The List of interviews

Code	Gender	Role	Place and date of	Other information
FR6C/Int.1	Female	Key informant, Actor involved, newcomer	Granville – 15/12/2020 - 10/02/2021	ML - professional
FR6C/Int.2	Male	Key informant, Actor involved, newcomer	St Pair – 29/12/2020 - 11/01/2021	GTM - Professional
FR6C/Int. 3	Male	Actor involved, local, came back	Granville – 22/12/2020 – 23/02/2021	ML - Professional
FR6C/Int.4	Male	Key informant,	Avranches – 18/02	Administration
FR6C/Int.5	Male	Key informant	St Lo – 20/01	Lattitude Manche Professional
FR6C/Int. 6	Female	Actor involved newcomer	Granville – 08/02	ML - Professional
FR6C/Int.7	Male	Actor involved, newcomer	Granville – 14/01	Lattitude Manche - Professional
FR6C/Int.8	Female	Actor involved	Granville – 12/01	FJT - Professional
FR6C/Int.9	Female	Actor involved, local	Granville – 13/01	Granville - Professional
FR6C/Int. 10	Female	Actor involved	Granville – 18/02	GTM - Professional
FR6C/Int. 11	Female	Actor involved, newcomer	Granville – 13/01	GTM - Professional
FR6C/Int. 12	Female	Actor involved newcomer	Granville – 22/03	GTM - Professional
FR6C/Int. 13	Female	Actor involved newcomer	Granville – 18/02	Administration
FR6C/Int. 14	Male	Actor involved	Avranches – 15/01	Professional
FR6C/Int. 15	Female	Actor involved	Granville – 14/01	ML Professional
FR6C/Int.16	Female	Actor involved, key person social network	Granville - 14/01	NGO
FR6C/Int. 17	Male	Actor involved, local, came back, entrepreneur	Granville – 3/02	NGO
FR6C/Int.18	Female	Actor involved, local, came back	Bréhal – 15/02	NGO
FR6C/Int.19	Male	Local entrepreneur, farmer, local	St Pair – 17/02	
FR6C/Int.20	Female	Locale entrepreneur, farmer organisation, local	Coudeville – 18/03	
FR6C/Int.21	Female	Local entrepreneur, local, came back	Granville – 15/01	
FR6C/Int. 22	Male	Key informant, local, politician, actor involved	Granville – 12/01 – 2/02	ML local representative
FR6C/Int. 23	Male	Key informant, local, politician, actor involved	Granville – 11/03 -	GTM
FR6C/Int.24	Male	Actor involved, local, politician, farmer,	St Plancher – 3/01 – 17/02	Rural municipality near Granville
FR6C/Int.25	Female	Politician, newcomer,	Equilly – 27/01	Rural municipality
FR6C/Int.26	Male	Key informant, local, politician, actor involved	La Lucerne d'outremer – 18/01	Rural municipality
FR6C/Int.27	Female	Key informant, politician, actor involved, newcomer	Donville - 03/3	Littoral municipality

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FR6C/Int.28	Male	Actor involved, politician, local	Donville – 12/02	Rural municipality near Granville – NGO - GTM
FR6C/Int. 29	Male	Actor involved, politician, local, farmer	St Pair – 13/03	Organic farmer
FR6C/Int. 30	Male	Actor involved, local came back	Granville – 26/11/2020	Professional

Table 1. Interviews