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Euralens An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former Mining Basin?

Cyril Blondel

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Cyril Blondel. Euralens An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former Mining Basin?. [Research Report] Case study no 17/33, Université du Luxembourg; University of Eastern Finland; Commission européenne. 2019. halshs-02560329

HAL Id: halshs-02560329

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Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



View of the mining basin from the highest slag heap in Europe, Loos-en-Gohelle (62)

Case Study Report
Euralens
An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former
Mining Basin?
France

Author: Cyril Blondel

Report Information

Title:	Case Study Report: Euralens. An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former Mining Basin? France (RELOCAL Deliverable 6.2)
Author:	Cyril Blondel
Contributions from:	Estelle Evrard, Elizabeth Brooks, Birte Nienaber, Sarolta Németh
Version:	Final
Date of Publication:	29.03.2019
Dissemination level:	Public

Project Information

Project Acronym	RELOCAL
Project Full title:	Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development
Grant Agreement:	727097
Project Duration:	48 months
Project coordinator:	UEF

Bibliographic Information

Blondel C (2019) *Euralens. An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former Mining Basin? France*. RELOCAL Case Study N° 17/33. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.

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Abbreviations

AMO	Project Management Assistant (<i>Assistance à Maitrise d’Ouvrage</i>)
AULA	Urbanism Agency of Artois (<i>Agence d’Urbanisme de l’Artois</i>)
CA	Agglomeration Community (<i>Communauté d’Agglomération</i>)
CABBALR	Agglomeration Community Béthune Bruay Artois Lys Romane
CAHC	Agglomeration Community Hénin-Beaumont Carvin
CALL	Agglomeration Community Lens Liévin
CD62	Departmental Council of Pas-de-Calais (62 nd department of France)
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ERBM	Commitment to a Renewal of the Mining Basin
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FN	National Front (now RN National Rally)
IBA	Universal Exhibition in Architecture and Urbanism (<i>Internationale Bauausstellungen</i>)
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
MEL	European Metropolis of Lille
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PCF	French Communist Party
PMA	Metropolitan Pole of Artois
PS	Socialist Party
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Executive Summary

Background

The Pas-de-Calais mining basin is a predominantly urban conurbation of approximately 650,000 inhabitants, situated in the North of France, about 35 km south of Lille and at a reasonable distance of Paris, London and Brussels. The territory have been facing since the end of the mining activity in the 1980s an alarming socio-economic situation, ranked last in France for most of the indicators.

Against this background, local and regional actors have created in 2009 a local association, Euralens, in order to use the implementation of the antenna of the Louvre in Lens as a catalyst for territorial development. The association has today two main missions: to prepare and to facilitate the emergence of a metropolis institution; to foster local development by supporting innovative local initiatives through a label process.

Findings

Created in 2009 at the regional level, Euralens is neither a classical (in France) top-down State intervention nor a genuine bottom-up local initiative. The association has taken a rising importance in the organisation of the territory, favouring the cooperation between local authorities, but also between institutional stakeholders at different levels, the civil society and private actors. Doing so, it gives the Pas-de-Calais mining basin a clearer and louder voice. The recent creation of a specific state policy towards the Mining Basin is a good example of such an assertion and demonstrates the clear redistributive impact of Euralens for the benefit of the locality in the national space. On the question of the distribution of territorial engineering, another accomplishment of Euralens is its the capacity to mobilise external national and international expertise to imagine with local stakeholders policies supporting social and territorial development.

Outlook

However, the effort seems still insufficient over time. The enormous environmental impact of mining activity as well as the deep social impact of the collapse of this activity have let the territory dry. Albeit positive, the action of Euralens is relatively modest in comparison to the extent of the needs. At the social level in particular, the rebuilding of individuals trust is a long-term policy that deserves more attention. Too often, Euralens disregard the social and the procedural dimensions of injustice. It does not pay sufficient attention to the integration of the civil society to the decision-making in a time of democratic crisis. Yet, symbols, power balance, transparency should be cornerstones of Euralens action in the territory in order to better exemplify change in the locality.

Acknowledgements

The author of this report would like to particularly thank Euralens for their great cooperation and their support during the almost 2 years of field research. We also thank Culture Commune and Porte Mine for having agreed to host me for periods of 7 weeks and 2 weeks in 2018. We thank also the 62 people who agreed to be interviewed. Special thanks go to the artist Magali Mougel, with whom I shared a residence for 6 weeks. Special thanks also go to the Social Action Centre of Harnes for having let me participate in several of their activities. A final thank you goes to the Cité des Provinces inhabitants for the great amount of time they shared with us.

Source of cover photo: Euralens

1. Introduction

Euralens, the case study presented here, defines itself as a “forum of actors of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin¹” (Euralens website, 2019). It covers a territory of 650,000 inhabitants situated in the North of France between Lille and Paris. In formal terms, it is an association that includes both politicians and public officers of institutions (1) and of public agencies (2), members of civil society (3) and business actors (4). The main originality of Euralens is indeed its very nature: not being an institution *per se*, it has no direct power of decision-making. Nevertheless, because it gathers together all the main public and private actors in the territory, it constitutes itself as a crucial governance tool, attracting more and more local, national and international attention.

Created in 2009, its objective was (and still is) to use the implementation of the antenna of the Louvre in Lens as a catalyst for territorial development: “We use a big project both to improve spatial planning and to change mentalities” (Jean-Louis Subileau, head of the urbanism agency assisting Euralens). To do so, Euralens presents itself as a “local projects incubator” (a) and a “metropolisation laboratory” (b) (Euralens website, 2019). To “incubate” local projects (a), Euralens has set up a labelling process, reproducing the approach developed by the IBA² Emscher Park in the Ruhr region (Germany). Through this, Euralens seeks to identify, support and catalyse “exemplary projects” that are contributing to “the ecological and social transformation of the territory” (*ibid.*). The contribution of Euralens to the “metropolisation” of the territory occurs mainly through two channels. Observing the high degree of fragmentation of the territory, Euralens constitutes itself as a large forum crossing political divisions in order to encourage cooperation. Furthermore, due to the relatively small size of the agglomeration communities, territorial engineering has remained weak. Not only did the territory not have a large and shared territorial strategy at that time; it also was not capable of communicating and valorising existing territorial initiatives. To tackle this issue, Euralens, supported by two private agencies involved in urbanism and landscape, has established a list of priorities, broken down into annual thematic forums. The aim of this was (and still is) to create new territorial dynamics defined and put into action by the local actors together.

Thus, if spatial justice or even fighting inequalities are not mentioned as such, local development is formulated as the main target of Euralens. The association is not only promoted as a tool for concrete change; its very existence is presented as a demonstration that the territory is changing.

This last aspect is crucial. As it names still indicates today, since the eighteenth century the territory has been almost exclusively developed around coal mining. From the 1970s to the end of the 1980s, the progressive but total collapse of this activity provoked a crisis still visible today. The locality often collects the weakest social, economic, health or education indicators in France. Lately, the territory has attracted national and international attention during municipal and parliamentary elections. Indeed, the four parliamentary representatives elected in the former mining basin are all members of the National Front, including their leader Marine Le Pen. They have campaigned heavily on immigration and social exclusion issues. Those three elements (industrial past, poverty and far-right policies) contribute to giving to the territory a bad reputation at the national level these days.

¹ In this report, when we refer to the mining basin, we mean the former Pas-de-Calais mining basin.

² For *Internationale Bauausstellungen* in German, which means *Universal Exhibition in Architecture and Urbanism*

For those reasons (but not only those), the territory has been under the scrutiny of the French state. During the presidencies of Hollande and then Macron, the state has decided to formulate special state assistance by implementing an interministerial delegation called ERBM, for Commitment to a Renewal of the Mining Basin. Its mandate concerns firstly the renovation of outdated former mining community (today social housing) neighbourhoods. Before the ERBM, the North and the Pas-de-Calais mining basin local authorities organised themselves to apply to UNESCO. Successfully, since this historical territory was recognised in 2012 as a remarkable cultural landscape, part of the UNESCO World Heritage list. Although Euralens was (and is) not directly founded by the European Cohesion Policy, its strategic orientations are well in line with European, national and regional approaches of territorial development for the mining basin. Choosing Euralens as a RELOCAL Case Study is no coincidence. The originality of its governance makes of it a very promising investigation as regards WP3 RELOCAL research questions: to what extent does what seems to be a less institutionalised, less top-down approach to local development allow better consideration to be taken of spatial injustices in the Pas-de-Calais mining basin? Being in the hands of local actors, targeting explicitly the holders of already existing local initiatives, it also questions the autonomy of the territory, i.e. its capacity to organise its territorial development by itself (WP7). Last but not least, since Euralens' first objective is to change the perception of the territory, it also concerns the WP4 research question directly. The question is: for whom? Or to put it differently, does Euralens manage to change the perception of injustice by local actors as much as it changes the external image of the territory?

2. Methodological Reflection

Research in the mining basin started in June 2017 during the RELOCAL pilot phase. We did one week of fieldwork in the North and the Pas-de-Calais region, visiting and interviewing a few people whom we selected for their broad perspective, in the region of Dunkerque, in Lille and in the Pas-de-Calais mining basin. We chose the latter for our case study because it seemed to fit better with RELOCAL research questions and also because the stakeholders we met appeared very interested in the research and willing to cooperate with us.

From January until November 2018, we developed a mostly ethnographic field research approach³ based on multiple methods. Firstly, I, Cyril Blondel, lived in the territory for 9 weeks⁴. The first place of residence was a shared artist-researcher residence with the contemporary theatre writer Magali Mougel in the house of artists⁵, an Euralens-labelled initiative. The house is situated in the Cité des Provinces, a former mining neighbourhood with a bad reputation, registered on the UNESCO list (as part of site 63). During the second, two-week residence, the researcher was alone in the house of the “somewhere else” project, another Euralens initiative. The house is situated in the Cité 12/14 in Lens, also considered a problematic area and registered on the UNESCO list (site 63). The object of those two residences (RES)⁶ was to get to know the territory, to be as close as possible to the inhabitants in order to better grasp their perceptions of injustice but also of the public action developed to fight against it.

During this time of residence, I, Cyril Blondel, (with the support of Estelle Evrard for 17 interviews) interviewed 62 individuals, some of them several times, which makes in total 70 semi-directed interviews (see Annex 8.1.1). We contacted them through a classical snowball method. Aside from interviews, 18 participatory observations (PO)⁷ were carried out in 2018 and 2019. We participated in several Euralens meetings⁸ to better understand their action and their organisation. We attended meetings that had been jointly organised by Euralens with other important actors in the locality (e.g. PMA, Louvre-Lens museum), to better grasp the governance of the locality. On the top of that, we participated in social and cultural events organised by several project leaders under the Euralens label (e.g. Porte Mine, Culture Commune), but also by associations that did not receive the label (BookKafé, House of Exchanges). We also conducted participatory observation in the Social Action Centre of Harnes in order to gain a better understanding of social issues in the locality. Additionally, we did several guided tours of the locality (GT), some that we organised ourselves with local artists, and some were mainstream tourist tours that we registered on.

We chose to develop this wide-ranging methodology for several reasons. Firstly, no member of the UL team was familiar with the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region. The residence time appears to us to be a good way to get introduced to the locality, its inhabitants and its main challenges. This regular presence helped us to build a certain legitimacy, which during the second part of 2018, facilitated our participation in numerous Euralens (and partners) meetings. Because the locality is under considerable scrutiny by local, national

³ We also made use of second-hand data maps and analyses provided by AULA and Euralens.

⁴ One week per month from January to July, plus one week in October and one in November 2018.

⁵ During this residence, Magali Mougel and Cyril Blondel organised a two-week workshop for 6 students doing an MA in Arts at the University of Artois (MA); see Annex 8.1.2.

⁶ The material collected during this residence is labelled RES in this report. See Annex 8.1.2.

⁷ Labelled PO in this report. See Annex 8.1.2 for more information.

⁸ That will be presented more extensively later: general assembly, label meeting, quality circle.

and even European cultural producers⁹, we had to prove our genuine interest in order to negotiate our access to the field. During the last weeks of fieldwork, we decided to concentrate our attention on policies and actions that were similar but parallel to Euralens. By means of this sidestep, we were hoping to be better able to understand and differentiate the Euralens contribution in the local context.

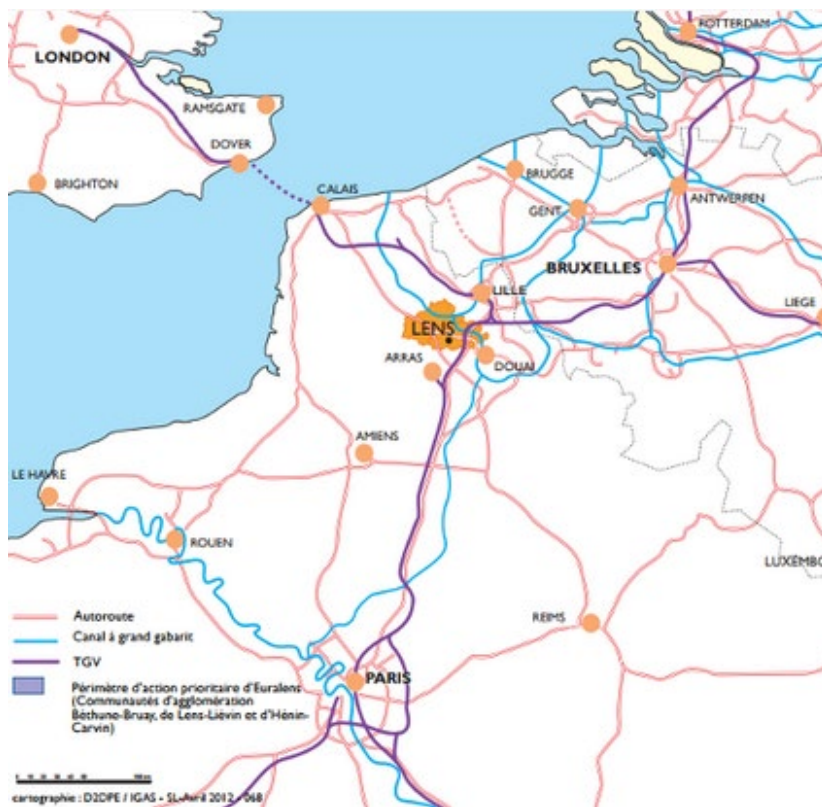
⁹ As defined by Wacquant (2007), i.e. researchers, journalists and politicians.

3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Name of Case Study Area	Pas-de-Calais mining basin / Euralens / Metropolitan Pole of Artois ¹⁰
Size	997 km ²
Total population (2016)	643.835
Population density (2016)	646 inh./km ²
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context	Disadvantaged within a transition region
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat)	Intermediate
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	FR12
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	FR1

Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of the area (Source)



3.1.1 A territory at “the crossroads of Europe” or an internal periphery?

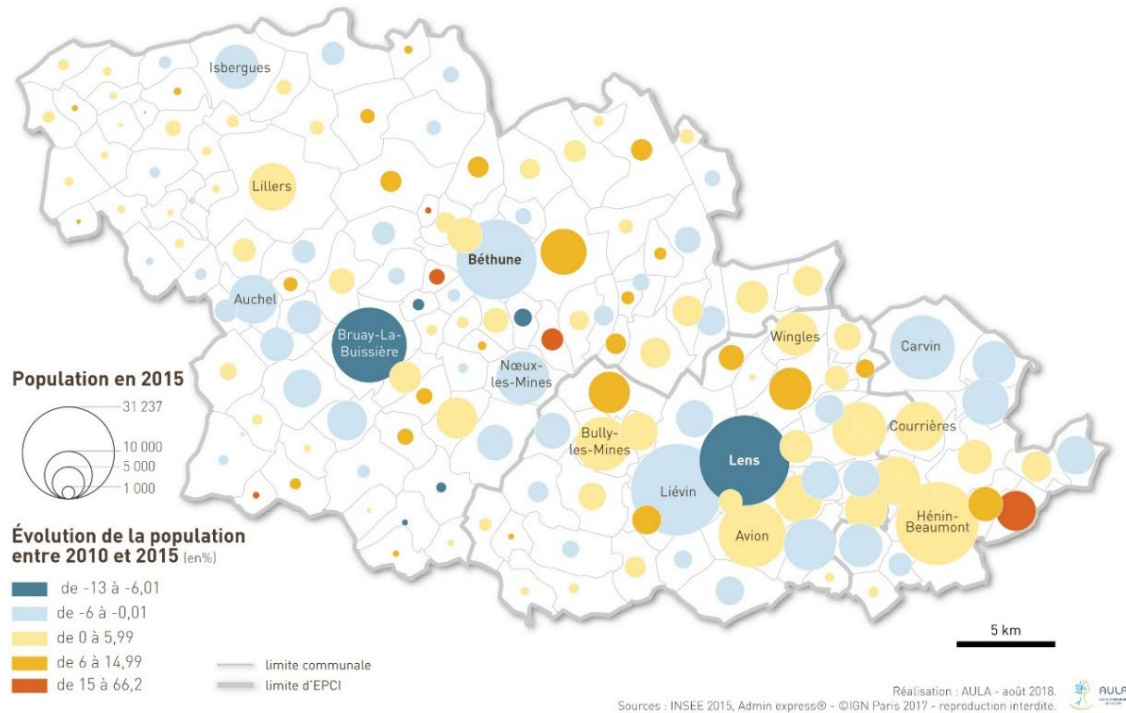
Lens is situated:
25 km from Lille
140km from Brussels
200 km from Paris
210 km from London
320 km from Amsterdam
340 km from Cologne

¹⁰ Euralens (legal status = association with no specific competence) is a forum of actors covering more or less the territory of the Pas-de-Calais Mining Basin. The Metropolitan Pole of Artois (legal status: association with no specific competence) covers the same perimeter, works in cooperation with Euralens and is supposed to prefigure a future Urban Community (legal status: local institution with decentralised competences). In this report, we will concentrate on the Euralens action on the perimeter of the Pas-de-Calais Mining Basin, but some of the maps might mention the Metropolitan Pole of Artois, which has the same perimeter.

Map 1: Euralens, “centre of the Euroregion Bruxelles-London-Paris”

Source: Euralens website

As part of contemporary territorial communication, the Euralens website presents the Pas-de-Calais former mining basin as a strategic location situated at the crossroads between important European capitals (Paris/London/Brussels). At the institutional level, the Pas-de-Calais mining basin corresponds to the territories of three agglomeration communities: Hénin-Beaumont Carvin (CAHC), Lens Liévin (CALL) and Béthune-Bruay la Buissière Artois Lys Romane (CABBALR). The locality is part of the Pas-de Calais department, itself part of the Hauts-de-France region.



Map 2: Evolution of the population between 2010 and 2015 in the mining basin

Altogether, the mining basin territory is a predominantly urban conurbation which had approximately 646,000 inhabitants in 2015¹¹. The population is spread out in a succession of small and medium-sized towns, with density declining from east to west¹². The main towns are Lens and Liévin (about 30,000 inhabitants each), Béthune and Hénin-Beaumont (25,000 each) as well as Bruay-la-Buissière (22.000).

Despite one of the most vigorous birth rates in France, the territory has slowly been losing population for the last three decades, mainly because of emigration. As Figure 3 in Annex 8.3.2 shows, this situation is quite striking in the French and regional contexts, both of which show rather strong population growth over the same period in comparison.

The Pas-de-Calais mining basin is the southern neighbour of the European metropolis of Lille, which counts 1.2 million inhabitants (6th largest in France), which represents a major source of jobs for the locality¹³. Nevertheless, a recent study on the participation of French metropolises in the development of their surroundings categorises the Lille metropolis as “self-centred” (France Stratégie, 2017). This means that despite the proximity, Lille’s

¹¹ Source: INSEE, French National Statistics Office

¹² See Map 7 and Figure 4, Annex 8.3.2.

¹³ See Annex 8.3.2., Map 6 and Annex 8.3.1., map 5.

economic growth so far seems not so profitable to the neighbouring territories, in particular to the mining basin.

3.1.2 A local history centred on the mining activity legacy

The Pas-de-Calais mining basin narratives usually concentrate on its recent history. For instance, the website of Euralens highlights three historical milestones¹⁴: (1) “From rural to industrial”, (2) “From shock to reconstruction”, (3) “From black to green”(Euralens, 2019).

(1) The first period starts at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It focuses on two central aspects: firstly, the history of the modernisation of the territory through the intensification of agriculture; then, the beginning of the mining activity.

The predominance of these two centuries of activity in the narrative of the locality may be explained by several factors, all connected to the extraordinary mutation it has created locally. In terms of population, the territory that used to be a quite rural area turned, in a few decades, into one of the most densely populated territories in France, with new inhabitants coming mainly from other regions of France (GT, 2018). This change was also very visible in the landscape. Following the gradual discoveries of coal deposits, the territory was reorganised around pits (usually private concessions). This specific territory organisation was recognised by the UNESCO in 2012 (after the activity has ceased) as part of World Heritage, a “testimony to the quest to create model workers’ cities from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1960s and further illustrates a significant period in the history of industrial Europe”(UNESCO, 2019)¹⁵. Most of those mining neighbourhoods¹⁶ were almost autonomous territories, as the industrial managers organised (and controlled) all aspects of the workers’ everyday life (GT, 2018).



Photo 1: A Polish family in front of their house, Cité de la Chapelle, Oignies.

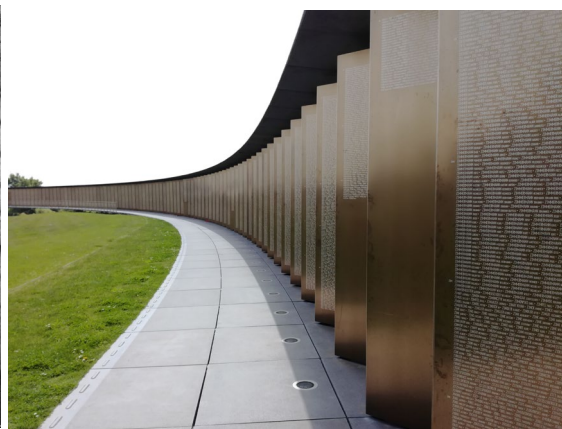


Photo 2: The ring of memory in Notre-Dame-de-Lorette.

Source Photo 1: Historical mining centre of Lewarde – Source Photo 2: Cyril Blondel.

(2) The second period refers directly to the First World War, as the Pas-de-Calais mining basin was one of the places subject to the most intensive battles, in particular the struggle to control the coal mining industry. In 1918, the territory had been almost entirely destroyed. To rebuild it, new populations were drafted in again, this time France drew mainly from traditional French countries of immigration: Poland, Italy, Maghreb. This is very visible in the south of the locality today, where one can find cemeteries recording all

¹⁴ That correspond to the three elements most of the interviewees mentioned.

¹⁵ See photos 7 and 9, Annex 8.3.3

¹⁶ *Cités minières* in French.

former belligerents¹⁷, but also the “ring of memory”, a peace symbol gathering together all the names of the 579,606 casualties from 1914-1918 in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, regardless of their nationality. This *dark tourism* constitutes today a significant asset of the region¹⁸.

(3) The third significant period runs from the aftermath of the Second World War until today. The mining companies became nationalised as “*Charbonnages de France*” in 1946. At that time, the activity was modernised, as it was still considered a national priority that would contribute to France’s post-WW2 recovery. Despite this effort, the extraction of coal in Nord-Pas-de-Calais became less and less profitable, and the activity started to decrease from the 1960s until 1990 and the closing of the last pit, the 9/9 bis in Oignies. The former mining basin has been bled dry, as almost all its economy, its social and its political life was organised around mining (GT, 2018).

The end of mining also affected the landscape. ‘Nature’ is reconquering most of the former abandoned mining sites when these latter are not dismantled or remaining material is not reused (Euralens, 2019). Only at the beginning of the 2000s did the view of the mining legacy begin to change, with several new public policies that we describe in part 4. Michel Devigne, a landscaper working on the mining basin, describes this change as a “transition from a black archipelago to a green archipelago”.

3.1.3 A socio-economic portrait: between bad reputation and glimpses of hope

For numerous people inside and outside the territory, the Pas-de-Calais mining basin is a territory that performs poorly at the socio-economic level. The collection of maps presented in Annex 8.3.2 tends to confirm this reputation.

The unemployment rate in 2015 was higher than 15% in the biggest municipalities of the territory, even higher than 25% in Lens and Liévin, the two biggest cities, in comparison to a 10.4% rate observed in France during the same period (see map 11). Other indicators show the same trend. Between 25% and 30% of the inhabitants of Béthune, Bruay-la-Buissière and Hénin-Beaumont live below the poverty line. This percentage is higher than 30% in Lens and Liévin, which represents more than double the French average (about 14%) (map 12). The median income in the mining basin is one of the lowest in the Hauts-de-France region, this latter itself being the poorest French region (map 13). This poverty is concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, mostly the former mining villages composed mainly of social housing. Between 50% and 70% of the population of Lens, Liévin and Bruay-la-Buissière live in social housing (with the French average being about 16%) (map 10). Those cities are also the ones facing the most important decreases in population and a weak housing market¹⁹ (map 9).

Nevertheless, some recent positive trends can be observed. For instance, since 2010, more jobs have been created than were lost in the east of the department around Hénin-Beaumont (map 9). One may add that the territory remains one of the youngest in France.

¹⁷ For instance the “world’s largest French military cemetery” Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, the German war cemetery of St-Laurent Blangy, or the Canadian National Vimy memorial.

¹⁸ See the following website for more information: <https://www.history-pas-de-calais.com/first-world-war/museums-and-visitor-centres/>

¹⁹ See also photo 13, Annex 8.3.3.



Photo 3: One occupied house in an almost abandoned mining neighbourhood in Auchel
Source: Hadrien Herrault, October 2018.

3.2 The Locality with regard to Dimensions 1 & 2

3.2.1 A history of injustice

The former mining basin of the Pas-de-Calais possesses a strong but double-edged “social image”²⁰ in France: an ancient “hard-working” “land of solidarity” that is connected to its “mining mythology”, that turned into a “racist”, “uneducated”, “no jobs, no future” “periphery” (RES, 2018). This mostly external stereotype of the region has had an impact on the way the inhabitants describe themselves, simultaneously showing their pride and their low self-esteem.

Indeed, the mining history of the territory is very present: in the public space where former mining elements are rendered part of city/region/State/UNESCO²¹ heritage; in a large majority of the interviewees’ discourses (inhabitants and political leaders alike), these latter were very keen to “explain” the mining past of the region to the “foreigners” that we were. What we want to underline here is that the mining history has been chosen as the main discourse produced in the territory, at the expense of other powerful historical material that is present (such as the WWI history).

The double-edged social image is in fact a story of spatial injustice, or at least is very much presented as such. One of the most common discourses that we heard about the region is that the local inhabitants feel abandoned, betrayed by the French state:

“...the mining basin territory has always been here to help France to become stronger. The people here have done one of the hardest jobs ever for that without complaining. After WWII, we even agreed to work more and for free in order to help the country to recover faster. When the mining industry collapsed, the French state was not here to help us in return. Today, the French state has forgotten us and all the efforts that we made for France. This I find it very unfair.” (H1, 2018).

We will see that in the next part, this widely shared territorial perception of injustice is very politicised, in particular outwardly by local leaders when negotiating with the region, and more importantly with the state, for help for the Pas-de-Calais former mining basin. Nevertheless, this story, as we say, also carries strong negative elements. Whilst not

²⁰ Conceptualised here as the analysis of the social production of stereotyped discourses, symbols representing groups and territories, and the way they are publicly perceived, described and politicised (Avanza and Laferté, 2005; Chamboredon *et al.*, 1985).

²¹ See Annex 8.3.3, photos 9, 12 and 14.

denying the social and economic difficulties of the locality as shown in 3.1, we want to focus here on the discursive aspect of stigmatisation²².

Unsurprisingly, the comments accompanying our regular travels to Pas-de-Calais were more or less exclusively mocking the territory and its inhabitants. More surprisingly to us, a vast majority of the inhabitants, politicians and civil servants were producing the same kinds of discourse. Thus, the “bad” social image of the locality is reproduced as much externally as internally. This is what Madina Tlostanova calls the self-colonisation syndrome, the reproduction of the stigma by the stigmatised themselves²³. Few inhabitants express their concern about this:

“You know I’m proud of being from here, of our history and everything, probably because this is the only thing I know... We have the reputation of being nice [... and] humble people. What I am not comfortable with is that this supposed humility is often used against us, to humiliate us. See for instance the movie “Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis”²⁴; it is very much based on the clichés about the region and still people mock us for those clichés. I don’t like this movie” (H3, 2018).

The point here is that this negative image is incapacitating local inhabitants. For instance, one of the NGO leaders that we met in February 2018 said:

“The problem is not that there are no jobs. The main problem is that the people think that there are no jobs for them [insisting on the two last words]. Let’s take the new three-star hotel that will soon open in front of the Louvre-Lens museum. When I was talking with the inhabitants of Cité 9 [the neighbourhood in front of the museum], they were telling me: *those jobs are not for us! Maybe just the cleaning jobs. But all the other jobs, the more interesting ones, the ones you earn more money from, they are not for us. We are too stupid for those.*” (N5b, 2018)

This discourse is in line with the description of the inhabitants given by the social workers we met. They underlined the enormous “lack of confidence of the people”: “the people here are not lazy social benefits abusers as they are often described in the national media. They are mainly people who are willing to work but damaged by life. They feel they are not adapted to the modern world” (P5, P6, 2018).

In relation to that, several of the interviewed people describe the local people as trapped: “Where would they go? They have no means to go anywhere” (AR2, 2018); “Young people here are afraid to leave the mining basin, they are afraid of what is outside here” (P11, 2018). For some, this is because of “a lack of ambition” (P28, 2018). If this perception of youth immobility is at least partially untrue²⁵, the Pas-de-Calais mining basin is experiencing a classic brain drain phenomenon; those who stay constitute a more fragile “trapped” population.

The “highly fragmented place” narrative is yet another story that has been repeated to us in various interviews. On the basis of our interviews with inhabitants and our own personal observations, this assertion requires further nuancing. If the toponymy of the place still refers to the mining history in many places, for a long time now the people have seemed to cross those imagined borders. They express a strong attachment to “their

²² We refer here to “territorial stigmatisation” as defined by Wacquant (Wacquant *et al.*, 2014; Wacquant, 2007).

²³ Here we use work on European peripheries to apply it to internal European peripheries such as the Pas-de-Calais mining basin, see: (Tlostanova, 2015, 2012; Blondel, undated).

²⁴ Translated as “Welcome to the Sticks” in English.

²⁵ The Pas-de-Calais department has for decades had one of the most negative net migration rates in France (-0.3% per year between 2008 and 2013, for instance). A third of this outgoing population is aged between 18 and 24, and is mostly the most educated (INSEE, 2016).

place”, this one being as much their Cité as their city, as the mining basin as a whole (RES; 2018). Thus, the feeling of belonging is still very much attached to the locality, but a quite flexible one that goes from the immediate neighbourhood to the entire former mining basin region that still provides a strong social image locally.

In fact, the spatial boundaries are today more perpetuated by the local politicians than by the inhabitants. Those latter are the real agents of identity promotion. Although the former mining concessions do not correspond to actual municipal boundaries, they are perceived by some as manipulating the “municipality belonging” in their own political interest (N7, 2018). What is at stake is politics and the share of power: the Socialist Party and the Communist Party are fighting each other (and now increasingly the National Front), each one claiming that they are the best to “protect” “their” people and to “fight social inequalities” as the mining societies used to do before (N9, N13, 2018). Alongside this, the right and centre-right parties offer an alternative narrative that consists in symbolically breaking with the past by rejecting the “mining basin” terminology to qualify the territory (PO, 2018). Thus, the diverging perceptions of spatial injustice are very much at the centre of the public debate in the locality. We will see in the next part that they constitute both the main justification for public action and the main argument to demonstrate its failure.

3.2.2 Development and cohesion as controversies

In relation to the analytical dimension 1, we will start this part with stakeholders’ (inhabitants, civil servants, civil society) perceptions of policy choices and impact. From the inhabitants’ point of view, the French state is often presented as having conducted a “too capitalistic policy” during recent decades (H3, 2018). Since the locality used to provide strong support for the Communist Party, and then very strong support for the Socialist Party²⁶, Hollande’s actions in particular have been the object of criticism. This latter was judged as “economically too much to the right” and his actions were presented to us several times as a “betrayal” (H2, 2018).

In that respect, voting for the National Front²⁷ does not appear to be taboo anymore. At the last general elections for the French national assembly, four out of five of the parliamentary members elected in the locality were members of the far right, including Marine Le Pen²⁸. For the national elections, “they did not campaign” underlined one of the interviewees: “We never saw any of them in the street, just political posters everywhere” (H3, 2018). As the below picture of two political posters shows, their strategy is mainly oriented against the classical rejection of immigration combined with promises to fight social relegation (“humiliation” as it is written on the poster).



Photo 4: Two political posters for the Front National in the Cité des Provinces, Lens. The first one targets “fiscal evasion”, “discrimination” and “humiliation of the weakest”; the second one targets “massive immigration”.

Source: Cyril Blondel, April 2018.

²⁶One of the most powerful federations in France in terms of number of adherents.

²⁷ Although Marine Le Pen has changed the name of the party to “National Rally”, all the interviewees referred to it as the “National Front”, its former appellation.

²⁸ See Annex 8.4.1. for a quick view of local politics (in particular table 3).

The FN subject was quite often debated in my presence, as if the inhabitants felt the need to justify this change in the region:

“You know, I feel somehow ashamed and proud that the FN is strong in our region. Ashamed because I don’t support their extremist ideas. Proud because I know the elite in Paris have started to look at us again. They are worried about us, and this is good because I want them to be worried and not happy about the situation (...) I am not happy about the situation in the mining basin. It is time to do something!” (RES, 2018)

Most of the local politicians that I met said they feel “concerned” about this distrust and dissatisfaction towards the classical political parties and their action. However, some seem to hope that the inhabitants are more angry with the state but not with the local politicians. According to them, the “democratic crisis” would concern mainly the state and the European level²⁹ (P20, P22, P30, 2018). This feeling is partly confirmed by this interviewee: “I have nothing against Sylvain [Robert, the mayor of Lens]. He is a good lad. I don’t know if the municipality does enough for us. But at least he gives me the impression that he honestly tries his best. It is just that at his level, he is unable to do enough for us” (H3, 2018).

This quote also demonstrates that the capacity of local politicians to do something to re-develop the locality is in question. And this constitutes precisely one of the angles of attack taken by the FN locally. The far-right party has made strong progress during the last local elections in 2014 and 2015³⁰. In his PhD, Arnaud Huc argues that the vote for the National Front in Pas-de-Calais is based on social motives, in contrast to a “bourgeois” FN vote in the south of France³¹ (Huc 2017). This was confirmed during our fieldwork. The main elements “justifying” the FN vote at the local level, according to people interviewed, were “corruption”, the “political incapacity to fight inequalities” and “the absence of a development plan for the region to replace mining” (RES, 2018).

For several decades after the gradual ending of mining, the municipalities were in the hands of ageing leftist men who considered themselves the “incarnation” of “their” municipality; some of them “were confusing the municipality’s money with their own” (N9, 2018).

The FN does not appear to be presenting a clearer development plan for the region. But they embody a “change in power” (RES, 2018). In Hénin-Beaumont (the only municipality in which the FN is in charge), the far-right party is very dedicated to proving itself as the best party to fight social inequalities:

“I can see the strategy of the FN on an everyday basis in Hénin-Beaumont. (...) they [are] tilling the field, knocking at each door, listening to all the problems of the people willing to speak with them. (...). This is their way of saying: *look, we care about you, really, not like the other corrupt men in charge.* (P29, 2018).

Sylvain Crépon identifies this “campaigner networking” in Hénin-Beaumont as one of the key factors in FN’s success (Crépon, 2012).

²⁹ In 2014, the National Front was the leading party in the European elections, and is very strong in the north of France (33.6% in the north-west electoral district against 24.9% for France as a whole).

³⁰ In 2014, the FN was the third party at the national level (approximately 7% of the votes at the national level) but in the Pas-de-Calais, the FN managed to win the Hénin-Beaumont municipality. In the 2015 departmental elections, the National Front was first in Pas-de-Calais with approximately 41% of the votes in the second round, but the Socialist Party kept the department (when the FN was only the third party at the national level, with an average of about 22% in the second round).

³¹ He also claims that both are also based on racist claims to a certain extent (Huc, 2017).

In the second part of this section, we will see that the claim that the Left Party in power in the locality in recent decades had no development plan seems quite severe. The question here in this locality, as in many other places in Europe, seems to be more about the democratisation of public action (i.e. procedural justice) than the public action itself (which most of the time aims more at distributive justice³²), but we will examine that more in the next part.

Louvre-Lens museum opened, and in which the mining basin was included in the UNESCO World Heritage list. At the regional level, the Nord-Pas-de-Calais made the popular American researcher Jeremy Rifkin its special advisor, adopting locally the concept of a “third industrial revolution”, pushing the region into “ecological, energetic and digital transition”³³. A year later, in November 2013, the region adopted a prospective approach to make the territory “resilient” in 2040.

This regional vision has found some echo locally. In fact, another significant architect of this change at the regional level, together with Daniel Percheron, was the Vice-President of the region, Jean-François Caron³⁵, who was and still is the local Green mayor of Loos-en-Gohelle, a small municipality situated in the mining basin. This short chronology highlights more concrete and significant steps in the development trajectory of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin towards an environmental and cultural transition, a mutation from black to green.

What is important to highlight here is that all those visible “steps” are the results of years of strong political debates between:

- **the local**, i.e. the mayors of municipalities often disagreeing one with the other, and the associations created at the local scale, e.g. the *mining basin mission* created in order to prepare the UNESCO application, or *Euralens* created in order to prepare the arrival of the Louvre-Lens museum on the territory;
- **the regional**, under the leadership of Daniel Percheron, that has been the initiator of most of the public actions underlined here. For example, the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region applied first as the whole region to welcome the Louvre-Lens museum and then discussed internally with local territories to decide upon which territory would need it the most;
- **the national**, under different forms, e.g. the (inter-)Ministerial attention (Culture, Cohesion and Planning Ministries in particular) devoted to the regions through the

Some significant dates

2000 Creation of the mining basin mission following the mining basin standing conference.

2004 The French State chooses Lens as the site for the new Louvre museum satellite.

2009 Creation of Euralens, a forum of local actors to prepare the opening of the Louvre-Lens museum.

2012 Inclusion of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais mining basin on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

2012 Opening of the Louvre-Lens museum.

2012 Euralens issues a strategic plan to support the creation of the “Chain of Parks”, an environmental and leisure redevelopment of the mining basin.

2018 Launch of the “Commitment for a Renewal of the Mining Basin” (ERBM³⁴), an interministerial French state mission for a new development of the locality.

³² See RELOCAL WP1 report and also Morange and Quentin, 2018; Bret, 2018.

³³ See: <https://www.latribune.fr/regions/nord-pas-de-calais/20121017trib000725428/conseillee-par-rifkin-la-region-nord-pas-de-calais-se-reve-en-pionniere-d-une-nouvelle-economie.html>

³⁴ ERBM in French is *Engagement pour le Renouveau du Bassin Minier*.

³⁵ He is the only Green Party mayor in the Pas-de-Calais.

commissioning of reports, the direct intervention of devolved state services at the regional and departmental levels (Prefecture, Sub-prefecture, Departmental Directorates), which recently resulted in the creation of the *ERBM*³⁶.

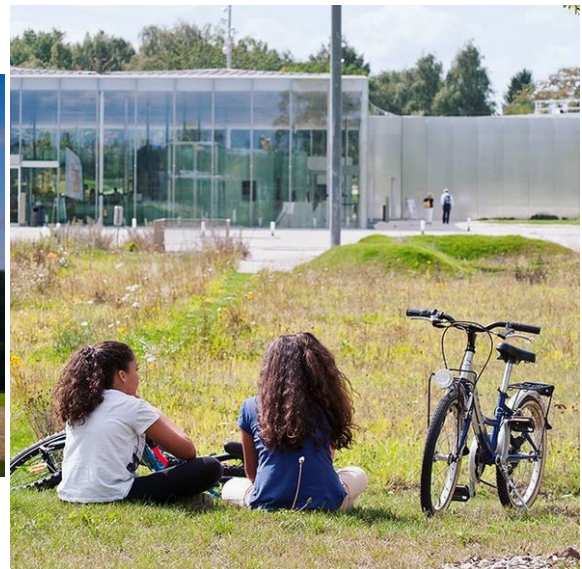
- **the international:** the UNESCO, the EU under ERDF and ESF financial support for most of the actions previously mentioned;
- **the interterritorial**³⁷, such as Daniel Percheron, this latter holding a political mandate at every scale for more than two decades³⁸.

The rationale behind those major development interventions is connected to the distributive dimension of spatial justice: all those gestures are a way of compensating the locality's misfortunes following the collapse of the mining industry. Those are the regional and the state answers to the very strong perception of injustice expressed locally (as seen in the previous section), to the feeling that the locality has been abandoned after the end of the state-owned mining industry. For instance, one of the interviewees claims: "The Louvre Lens museum is a strong signal. It materialises change (...). It symbolically tells the people that more things are possible than forbidden" (P11, 2018).

The question here is: how come, with such strong interventions, the locality inhabitants still express strong dissatisfaction, in particular with the state? First, as the aforementioned interviewee states: "Changing perceptions, affecting people's trust in themselves take time. So we both need the public institutions to be active, to sustain their efforts, because what has been done, the Louvre-Lens, the UNESCO is not enough; but we also need to be patient to see the concrete social results of such a change" (P11, 2018). In addition to this observation, we will try to gain a better understanding of public action in the locality by focusing on one of them: Euralens. It seems to us that a crucial aspect of spatial injustice has been insufficiently addressed so far, namely its procedural dimension, i.e. the association of the inhabitants of the territory to the narrative (and the realisation) of its transformation. And we chose to focus on Euralens specifically because this forum of actors as it defines itself is supposed to address this issue.



Photo 5: Fosse N°11-19 à Loos-en-Gohelle.
Copyright: Hubert Bouvet, Région Nord-Pas de Calais, 2012.
Photo 6: Two young girls in the Louvre-Lens museum park.
Source: Louvre-Lens Instagram.



³⁶ This follows the *Subileau* report "prefiguring a national interest partnership for the Nord and Pas-de-Calais mining basin" in response to an interministerial "mission statement".

³⁷ As defined by Martin Vanier (Vanier, 2008).

³⁸ Indeed, Percheron has also been elected in the locality as city councillor for Liévin between 1977 and 2011, and he was a senator for Pas-de-Calais between 1983 and 2017.

4. An Action in the Spotlight: Euralens

4.1 A “local project incubator” and a “metropolisation laboratory”?



Figure 1: The Euralens logo, subtitled “at the heart of a new metropolis”
Copyright: Euralens.

The action we chose to analyse in the context of the RELOCAL research is named “**Euralens**”. On its website, Euralens describes itself (and is described by most of the interviewees that we met) as **a forum of actors in the Pas-de-Calais mining basin**. A closer look at the list of members³⁹ shows the details of this assembly:

- The funding members are all intermediate local and regional authorities: the three agglomerations (CALL, CAHC, CABBALR), and to a smaller extent the Pas-de-Calais department, the Hauts-de-France region and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Artois Hauts-de-France;
- It also includes most of the important state-funded and locally-funded public institutions of the territory in several fields: transport (SNCF, local federation of transport), culture (Louvre-Lens museum), trade (unions and chambers of commerce), tourism (public agencies), health (hospital), education (high schools and university), real estate, etc.
- Other members include the non-profit organisations and associations, whether they are tools of the public institutions (e.g. the mining basin mission that is in charge of the UNESCO label, the Artois Metropolitan Pole, the urbanism agency, etc.) or grassroots members;
- The private (and semi-private) sector, represented by some important businesses: banking, telecoms, sport, health, (social) housing companies;
- The labelled initiative holders.

The main originality of Euralens is its very nature: not being an institution *per se*, it has no direct power of decision-making. Nevertheless, because it gathers together all the main public and private actors in the territory, and in the absence of an urban community⁴⁰, it constitutes itself as a crucial governance tool. The Euralens team is rather small: 4 permanent jobs. Hence, two renowned⁴¹ landscape architect and urban planning firms, the “fabrique de la ville” led by Jean-Louis Subileau and MDP led by Michel Devigne, support it. They are the two **AMO** of Euralens⁴².

Euralens is a non-profit organisation that was created in 2009 with the aim of using the implementation of the satellite of the Louvre in Lens as a catalyst of economic, social and cultural development of the territory. It refers – and contributes – to the locality grammar

³⁹ See Annex 8.4.2, table 4.

⁴⁰ In France, this is increasingly the level of action for strategic planning at the locality level at the expense of the lower level (municipality) and of the upper level (department).

⁴¹ Both have won the French Urban Planning Grand Prix. The two firms are based in Paris and in recent decades they have conducted projects at the international level.

⁴² They will be referred to as such in the rest of the document. AMO means *Assistance à Maitrise d’Ouvrage* in French, which can be translated as Project Management Assistant.

mentioned before. As its website sums up: “The transition from the black archipelago to the green archipelago, as shown in its very logo, takes inspiration from great European examples [mainly Bilbao and Emscher Park] that manage the transformation of industrial legacy into culture and innovation”⁴³. To achieve such a goal, Euralens has set up itself as a “local project incubator” and a “metropolisation laboratory”.

In practice, three general assemblies of about 150 people are organised each year to decide upon common plans. In 2013, Euralens produced a territorial assessment that was summed up in a development plan for the mining basin, articulated around five axes⁴⁴. Since 2014, Euralens has also produced 13 additional strategic documents⁴⁵ on topics decided by the General Assembly. The constitution of the Artois Metropolitan Pole (PMA) in 2014 is one Euralens achievement on the “metropolisation laboratory” side, as the PMA is supposed to be the prefiguration of a future Urban Community at the scale of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin.

On the side of the local project incubator objective, Euralens has also set up a local initiatives labelling process which will constitute the last point developed in this section. Inspired by the Emscher Park IBA process, the Euralens label aims to “support the emergence and the strengthening of high-quality environmental, architectural, social and cultural initiatives that contribute to building a collective identity in a sustainable metropolis”⁴⁶. To this collection of trendy keywords, Euralens adds two criteria: exemplarity, and orientation towards local development.

The label principles are quite simple to grasp and the criteria for evaluation quite broad⁴⁷. That is “on purpose”, according to the Euralens team members. One of them emphasises that the “thematic forums presented before provide references for a common local definition of such terms” (N4b, 2018). They represent a locally-produced shared knowledge.

Any local initiative holder can apply for the Euralens label by completing the provided form. The process is on a voluntary basis, which means local initiative holders (local institutions, private actors, associations) may apply for the Euralens label. The project then enters the evaluation chain as described on the next page, and should demonstrate that it meets the objectives. If selected, they sign a support agreement with Euralens, through which they commit themselves to respecting these objectives; in exchange, they benefit from the administrative support and the visibility conferred by Euralens. Because, it focuses both on procedural (by aiming at integrating local development actors in formal territorial policy forums) and distributive (by aiming at supporting local development) aspects of injustice, the Euralens labelling process is the action that we shall analyse more thoroughly in the next sections. Its contribution at those two levels will be questioned.

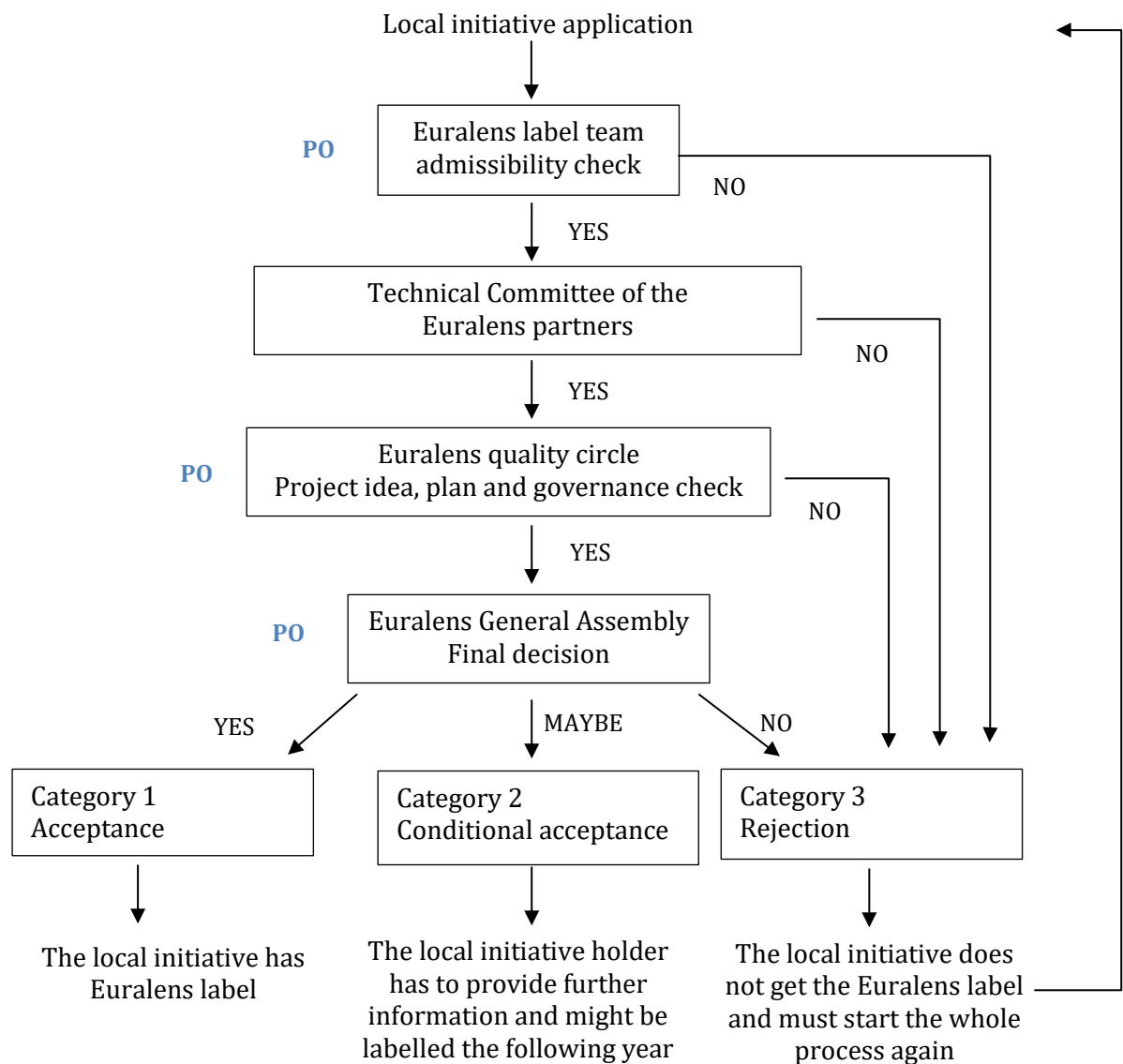
⁴³ Euralens internal document, 2018.

⁴⁴ See 8.4.2. for the list of the axes.

⁴⁵ See 8.4.2. for the list of the documents, all available on the internet.

⁴⁶ Euralens internal document: What is the Euralens label?

⁴⁷ See annex 8.4.3



PO: Participatory Observation by UNILUX team

Figure 2: The Euralens labelling process

Source: Euralens, 2018, realised by Cyril Blondel, 2019

4.2 The Action with regard to Dimensions 3-5

In this part, we will focus on the Euralens action in general and on one Euralens policy in particular: the labelling process. We will rely on empirical material collected mainly through interviews and participatory observations. We analysed in particular 4 initiatives labelled by Euralens, as presented in Annex 8.4.4.

4.2.1 A (locally) innovative government tool, (still) with bad habits

“Euralens would not exist if a proper adapted territorial governance tool were already in place in this region” (N13, 2018).

This first quote is a good illustration of the main accomplishment and the main limitation of Euralens’ action in the mining basin. A majority of the interviewees have described a territory undermined by political divisions, between political parties, inside the same political party, and even between personalities. For some, the consequences are tragic: “Acting like this, the territory is reproducing its own peripherality” (A1, 2018).

A quick look at the **distribution of power** – here, official responsibilities – in recent times shows a tradition of political lineages: “Here, politicians are still in the Middle Ages, each one of them at the head of what he thinks to be his own barony, in perpetual competition with the neighbouring baronies” (N9, 2018). This conception of power also affects the **mode of leadership**: “As soon as someone is responsible for something, the neighbour is jealous and wants some kind of power too. [They] rarely serve the common good, they serve their own interest” (*ibid.*). Several interviewees explain this by the local history: “The territory has been externally run for two centuries by private companies and then by the state” (A1). Some explain it by the urban form, which is actually a result of the mining activity: “In comparison to most French metropolitan areas, there is no big city that can position itself as the main centre of the urban area” (*ibid.*).

What seems more significant to us is that the political cooperation at the level of the locality seems particularly weak. This relates directly to another issue emphasised by the majority of the interviewees: the role of the state. And most of them complain about it. For some, the state is not sufficiently present, albeit very much needed: “In this territory, we need a *Jacobin* state⁴⁸, because only the state has the capacity to look at the bigger picture and impose a more collaborative approach of territorial development on local politicians” (N15, 2018). Other interviewees question the state’s capability, targeting in particular two state-devolved instruments in the mining basin, the assistant prefect in Lens and the new state political tool for the mining basin, the ERBM: “When you meet the assistant prefect or the ERBM leader, you can clearly see there is a mistake in the casting. They have no charisma, no leadership abilities and anyway they do not care very much. (N10, 2018)” Our own interviews with several state representatives demonstrate the state’s lack of means (very limited human and financial resources) and the absence of political will in assuming the *Jacobin* position that some request. The “Hauts-de-France” region also appears to be “out of the game⁴⁹” (N9, 2018). For some, it relates to the change of leadership: “The shift from a regional leader who was very favourable to the territory, such as Daniel Percheron, to a new leader not from the mining basin and from a different

⁴⁸This term refers to the French revolution and these days describes supporters of a technocratic and centralised exercise of power by the state. It is often opposed to a more decentralised exercise of power, being territory-based (e.g. regionalism) or community-based (e.g. communitarianism).

⁴⁹ And our personal impossibility of meeting a civil servant or a regional politician who would agree to discuss the mining basin with us during our fieldwork is probably another demonstration of that.

political party cannot be a good thing for the mining basin. And unsurprisingly, it is not.” (*Ibid.*). For some, it is more due to a recent regional recombination: “This is what you get when you merge two poor regions such as Picardie and Nord-Pas-de-Calais” (N10, 2018). This tendency to expect the upper level to take charge of the responsibility for the territorial development has been quite common in France for a long time, in particular because of its history of a centralised exercise of power. What seems implicit in those positions presented above is the expression of a regret that the state is not (anymore?) **legitimate** and capable of leading local public action. The state is still perceived as being in the best position to guarantee better distributive justice, to which the mining basin stakeholders aspire since the territory is one of the less developed, and would clearly benefit from such an intervention.

Some voices heard during the fieldwork, albeit less numerous, also express their regret that no local leader has emerged in recent times to develop a coherent local policy (N9, 2018). Another interviewee thinks that the best option would be to merge the two biggest cities of the territory: “If one merges Lens and Liévin, we would eventually have a **legitimate** mayor that could rule the locality with less contestation” (N15, 2018).

Although they express support for a local and not a national leader, those ideas express the same royalist conception of the **distribution of power**: the need for one (male) leader would be the only possibility for a real territorial development plan to emerge.

In this context, Euralens is, albeit imperfect and chaotic, still an existing expression of an alternative vision: “With Euralens, the idea is not to create a territorial strategy out of nothing, but to create the conditions for the territory to create one of its own by itself” (A1, 2018). Moreover, this territorial strategy would not be an expression of one enlightened leader, but a shared vision constructed together by local actors: “Euralens aims at creating a relationship between local actors and tries to demonstrate that all would win by working together, by cooperating” (N15, 2018).

To that extent, Euralens appears as a very pragmatic answer to the absence of a metropolitan administration:

- In response to the absence of an institution, Euralens positions itself as a forum of actors that is supposed to be even better than what a conurbation would offer, since it integrates a more plural group of people into the process, i.e. not only politicians and civil servants but also civil society and private actors;
- In response to the absence of territorial engineering, Euralens is standing in, in cooperation with the two AMO and the *quality circle*, and has been supporting the creation of the PMA.
- In response to the absence of territorial strategy, Euralens has decided to go with the lowest common denominator, the Chain of Parks plan that is today the first territorial vision, based on the green archipelago idea, held at the scale of the mining basin.

In the presentation of Euralens in the previous section, we saw that the strategic reflections that Euralens has developed in the last seven years has often been developed in cooperation with local civil society through the forums. The quality circle principle based on the participation of prominent local, French and European personalities seems at a first glance to stimulate the exchange of best practice, as our participatory observations allowed us to confirm. During our participation in the general assemblies of Euralens, we witnessed a lively debate between a large number of local people (more than 200 in March 2018, for instance). And the fact that all this was done in the context of a politically highly fragmented locality that we presented at the beginning of this section appears to be a major accomplishment for Euralens and justifies the genuine interest it has provoked at the national and at the European levels recently.

Nevertheless, it seems to us that several issues are still perceptible and constitute as many possibilities for future improvements (see part 5). First of all, if Euralens appears as a real tool for improving a more shared **decision-making capacity**, it does seem to change the **distribution of power** and the **mode of leadership** so much.

The leader of Euralens since its creation has always been a politician: firstly Daniel Percheron (2009-2016), the former leader of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region, and then Sylvain Robert (2016 onwards), the current mayor of Lens and the current president of CALL. In other words, although Euralens positions itself as a forum of actors, it seems that its leader must be a (male) local politician and not a civil society member, for instance. More importantly, during the general assembly which we attended, there were present the Euralens president Sylvain Robert, positioned as chair of the meeting, other important local political leaders (main cities, department and region representatives), a state representative (ERBM or Assistant Prefect) (PO, 2018). Who holds the power, whose speech is more important, is thus symbolically represented: those are (almost exclusively male) politicians. And even if most of the them are part of the *new* co-opted generation of local political leaders who to some extent have taken power in the last decade⁵⁰, their former mentors⁵¹ are present in the room and monopolise the discussion: "This is always like that, we have no choice but to cope with the old local dinosaurs" (N4b, 2018). All this gives the impression that the power is confiscated by a little political club that is not really willing to share it with the others.

Moreover, our one-year observation of the functioning of Euralens on a daily basis tends to demonstrate that most of the decisions are still taken in close little political circles, in particular between heads of cabinet and heads of services, sometimes with the AMO, and always in close relation to the politicians they serve. Rather than offering a clearly distinct practice of power, most of the time Euralens actually reproduces the old patterns. For instance, no local association nor inhabitants' representative is part of the quality circle, as if they could not produce expert **knowledge** on their own territory.

We do not argue here that the inhabitants or the association leaders would be more **legitimate** than elected politicians or usually well-intentioned civil servants, but they would not be less so either. Besides, several recent researchers have demonstrated the validity and the value of inhabitants and civil society **knowledge** in the spatial planning processes at any stage of territorial project work (before, during, after) (Deboulet and Nez, 2013; Bailleul, 2009). At a time when the representative democracy model is highly questioned, in particular at the moment in France with the yellow vest crisis, in a locality where the National Front scores a high level of support, seemingly connected with a lack of trust in the way political decisions are taken, Euralens does not yet seem to embody a real alternative at this level.

⁵⁰ Laurent Duporge is mayor of Liévin (since 2013), member of the department council (since 2004) and its Vice-president (since 2017); Sylvain Robert is mayor of Lens (since 2013), president of CALL (since 2014) and president of Euralens (since 2016) ; Christophe Pilch is mayor of Courrière (since 2003) and president of CAHC (since 2017). Alan Wacheux, who used to be the mayor of Bruay-la-Buissière (1999-2017) is still president of CABBALR (since 2002) and president of the PMA (since 2017).

⁵¹ For instance, the following were present at the general assemblies in 2018: Daniel Percheron, previously mentioned; Jean-Pierre Kucheida, former mayor of Liévin (1981-2013) and former French MP for the Pas-de-Calais (1986-2012).

4.2.2 Incomplete achievements on procedural justice

To a certain extent, the point we have just tried to make may be nuanced. Indeed, few of the local society representatives and inhabitants have expressed discontent towards their local politicians and the way they exercise power at the local level. The general trend previously discussed in this report (see part 3.2) is also valid in regard to the way Euralens is perceived. First of all, most of the inhabitants do not know Euralens, but more importantly most of them do not seem willing to know more about Euralens or any other intermediate institution: “I don’t know what happens at the upper [supra-municipal] level and I must admit I do not care very much. But I trust the people to do the best. I don’t think I would be of much help on territorial strategy. What do I know about that?” (H3, 2018). Almost the same goes for the civil society leaders. If they usually have a political opinion on political leaders, they do not ask for their own voice to be more represented or more taken into account in the Euralens governance system. Quite the opposite in fact; most of the interviewees that have obtained the label indicate that the most valuable aspect of it is that it has facilitated the contacts with the “important people”. Two interviewees reported that they were in capacity to directly ask for help to the heads of the agglomeration (one the technical head of services, one the political leader) when they were facing a significant problem (N2a, N18, 2018). In both situations, this direct contact has been vital for the survival of their initiative. However, we must immediately emphasise that the very same interviewees (and others) at the same time express very strong frustration at “the system”, but they just do not direct this criticism towards Euralens in particular, as if the latter were not part of the former.

Recent critical research has already described such “**opacity**” in most of the newly intermediate forms of French institutions⁵² that have emerged through recent decentralisation. The general evolution towards a more oligarchic and elitist form of political competition influences the mode of production of public policy:

“The mayors and local politicians are not by nature the last shield against the crisis of representative democracy. The local politician’s democracy that emerged from decentralisation has subordinated the local policy to territorial rather than social, consensual rather than contradictory, negotiated rather than deliberated considerations (...) This spirit of consensus that dominates in these closed structures of power diminishes political differences and leads to a confiscation of the debate in favour of increasing technicality of public action” (Desage and Guéranger, 2018).

Nevertheless, for Hélène Reignier, this local policy practice is much the same as any other kind of policy: “The “intercommunalité” level, no more (but maybe no less either) than any other government level, reaches an ideal level of democratic functioning based on perfect and pure publicisation” (Reigner, 2011)⁵³. To that extent, Euralens is not an exception. Nevertheless, because it poses itself as an innovative form of territorial governance, it might be regrettable that it does not seek to provide a new form of engagement towards public action at the local level, a new way of making policy more **accountable**, and more **autonomous**.

In relation to that last point, let us recall that we are using the first part of the description of **autonomy** used in the RELOCAL context. It is defined as the “power of initiative” (Clark, 1984) or the “government by the people” (Ladner *et al.*, 2016; Scharpf, 1999). In other words, it is the capacity of the locality or of the local policy to integrate the locally-driven action, making and adapting its own agenda to include them. Such a perspective allows us to sum up two conclusions here: the Euralens labelling process encourages the power of

⁵² Called in French *intercommunalités*, which means “association of municipalities”.

⁵³ See also Reigner *et al.*, 2010; Reigner, 2007.

initiative by its very existence, since it supports local initiative holders to formulate what can be originally just an idea into a project that could be developed in the interests of the community. And several interviewees state that this push has been helpful (N2a, N19, 2018). Moreover, because the eligibility criteria are (at least partly) based on discussions conducted within the Euralens forums, the Euralens label is based on principles defined by the local initiative holders themselves. Nevertheless, because the local initiative holders are not then part of the evaluation process, this process cannot be associated with government by the people, since the people taking decisions are all part of a same small institutional (technical and political) circle that is still closed to the citizens and civil society.

Desage and Guéranger make the following claim: “Decentralisation is not more democratic because it supposedly would make the political decision closer to the citizen or because it would mechanically enhance proximity. But new forms and new spaces of democracy already exist or emerge (...) and others need to be invented” (Desage and Guéranger, 2018). It echoes most of the comments heard around participation during the fieldwork. On the one hand, several civil servants and politicians complain about the **participation** processes that do not work: “Nobody comes”; “they do not understand what they are asked and their answers are not appropriate” (P8, P22, P27, 2018). Besides, as we saw previously, most of the inhabitants are now convinced of what has been repeated to them several times, that their opinion would be neither valid nor valuable (H3, 2018). However, and it is at the same time paradoxical and probably vain as it is now, **participation** processes are still organised because they are made compulsory by law, in the planning legislation.

For a few of the interviewees, the problem does not come from the citizens but from the way **participation** is conceived and organised. P16 rejects the unfair trial to citizens’ involvement:

“It is too easy to say that *we ought to set up a real **participatory** approach* but in the end not do it, by pretending that *we do not know how to do it*; as much as it is too easy to say that *we should not organise **participation** because anyway inhabitants know nothing and it is just a waste of time.*”

According to him, and in line with Desage and Guéranger (Desage and Guéranger, 2011), public action must be reinvented. One of the first issues is the way political decisions are taken, in closed circles (as we described in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), reuniting only heads of services: “But heads of services, they do not know everything. They actually know a great deal about their middle-class habits but they know very little about the others. And since they are all the same, they usually agree with one another” (P16, 2018). As we indicated before, a way to change this would probably be to open circles of decision-making to representatives of civil society. Through the organisation of forums, Euralens has taken the first step in a process of democratisation of public action at the local level, using the **flexibility** of its structure to involve civil society. But so far, it has not stepped up to change the decision-making process towards a really **participative** one, and not only a consultative form of democracy.

Another limitation that P16 points out is the “methodology of public action”: “Do we really listen? And do we really want to listen? I think we do not have the right answer simply because we do not ask the right questions.” This desire to stick to its own (institutional) kind in the way of making public policy is problematic because it produces projects that refuse to engage with people’s aspirations.

It seems to us that it participates in the reproduction of several problems that the interviewees have listed. Firstly, because the public action is centred on policymakers and not on “policy receivers”, it is much more adapted to the needs of the former than to the aspirations of the latter. In our context, this is for instance very visible through the multiplication of similar policies developed by local institutions that seek (1) to

demonstrate their own success, (2) to justify their existence in a context of institutional reorganisation, (3) to prove the necessity of their jobs in the context of a fusion of services, and (4) to claim their political validity in a context of high political volatility.

In 2012, Euralens developed its own label to support local initiatives contributing to local development at the scale of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin. In 2014, the Foundation of France⁵⁴ has developed a programme called “Mine d’idées” at the scale of the CAHC and the CALL⁵⁵. Its objective is to support local initiatives that facilitate the involvement of inhabitants in the life of their territories, to encourage new solidarities, new cooperation between local actors (F2, 2018)⁵⁶. The Pas-de-Calais department has also developed a *Social and Solidarity Economy* (ESS) mission. Its main objective is to support the transformation of individual or collective initiatives based on cooperative economy into levers of territorial development. All those policies may be seen as successful to a certain extent, supporting and labelling about a hundred projects altogether, albeit quite often the same in reality.

What is noticeable at first sight is that the objectives are quite similar: all seek to support local initiatives in favour of local development. Euralens is maybe more institution-oriented as it allows the application of projects developed by local public institutions, while the two others are exclusively oriented towards civil society-based actions. Another slight difference is the territorial coverage of the three policies, the “Mine d’idées” coverage being more limited but fully included in the Euralens label, itself more limited but fully included in the Pas-de-Calais coverage. Another difference between the three is that the Foundation of France is a private actor, while Euralens is an association and the department a public institution. Euralens does not provide financial support, while the other two do, and all provide technical support. Euralens and the Pas-de-Calais ESS programme organise meetings between the local initiative holders in order to encourage horizontal contact and the sharing of best practice, while the Foundation of France does not. And this could continue forever. Those three policies are at the same time (very) similar and (slightly) different.

What is the problem with that? One may say that more policies also signifies more possible technical and financial support from the point of view of the local initiative holders. And this is indeed something that most of them have emphasised. In particular, if they are not selected by one, they still have a chance to apply to the other. Nevertheless, the downside of it, and all the initiatives-holders have highlighted this, is that this multiplication of schemes means a multiplication of administrative work, that “arrives on top of the regional, national and European administrative burden” (N20, 2018). Moreover, those three policies are rather small, both in terms of funding and in terms of the technical support that they could provide. In terms of efficiency of public action, this scattering of human and financial resources is questionable, especially as the success of the three policies has created jealousies between institutions and politicians, to the extent that other territories, other scales want to reproduce (even more!) such a policy of support for local initiatives⁵⁷.

From the side of the policy recipients, this would probably lead to a multiplication of applications, whereas most of the interviewees already confirm that they dedicate most of

⁵⁴ The Foundation of France (*Fondation de France*) is an independent and private administrative agency established by the French government in 1969 to stimulate private philanthropy that supports educational, health, scientific, cultural, social projects helping people in need.

⁵⁵ Which means approximatively 2/3 of the territory of Euralens, since it excludes the last Communauté d’Agglomération, CABBALR, centred on Béthune and Bruay-la-Buissière.

⁵⁶ See also the dedicated website: <https://www.fondationdefrance.org/fr/mine-didees>

⁵⁷ During our fieldwork, there were informal discussions to create an ESS policy at the scale of CABBALR and CALL, and a label policy at the scale of the ERBM.

their working time to it, at the expense of action itself. However, it is quite unlikely that it would open more funding to them, since the same public institutions are directly or indirectly funding most of those policies. To put it differently, let us raise now the question of **autonomy** and its second aspect, i.e. the “power of immunity” (Clark, 1984), or the “government for the people” (Ladner *et al.*, 2016; Scharpf, 1999). By that, we mean the legal and financial capacity of the local actor to organise by itself. From this perspective, whether applied at the scale of the initiative or at the scale of the institution in charge of the policy, this dispersal does not reinforce the power of immunity: quite the contrary. Still connected to this matter of immunity, the second problem that this system of decision-making does not solve is the power relation. Because the decisions are not transparent, it leaves the door open to any abuse. A closer look at the composition of the technical committee of Euralens partners reveals an overrepresentation of (old white) men. On the other side, the local initiative holders that we interviewed were quite often young women. When it seems that the chance for initiatives to be recognised are, as we described before, higher if you decide to make contact and publicize them through face-to-face meetings, this power imbalance creates a pretty uncomfortable situation, as several interviewees have indicated to us⁵⁸. In this context, the gender balance and age balance of those committees are criteria that are not respected by Euralens, but that are often pointed in the feminist literature as possible gatekeepers for better **accountability**. Again, this composition is not so much the responsibility of Euralens, as it mirrors a still very patriarchal territory in which almost all the seats of technical and political decision-making are occupied by (old white) men. Nevertheless, again, this is inconsistent with Euralens’ claim to be a laboratory of future local government, as it definitely insufficiently reflects the diversity of the locality.

Besides, the interviewees also indicated to us that the multiple public schemes they need to apply to in order to fund their local initiative multiply the situation of power imbalance. And because the locality does not offer an **accountable** and **transparent** decision-making process, they are left in a situation in which they have to face the high volatility of public **engagement**. Despite being the locus of encounters and negotiations for local actors of the locality, Euralens is still not a place of real debates and shared deliberations that would permit the development of more consistent local public action, the “perfect and pure publicisation” mocked by Reigner and hoped for by Desage and Guéranger. But is such a thing achievable?

4.2.3 The insufficient attention paid to civil society and its (place) knowledge

Following immediately the last idea expressed in the analytical dimension 4, it seems important to underline the fact that the question of **organisational learning** in the context of Euralens is not so problematic, because it is precisely the main strength of this action.

Indeed, Euralens, through the different committees that it established, is precisely contributing to horizontal **learning**. During our participatory observations of meetings, or during more informal chats between Euralens team members and other actors, we witnessed a very significant level of work by Euralens to facilitate the communication and the cooperation between political and technical representatives of the different institutions. It is difficult to determine if the mining basin is a more fragmented territory, as most of the interviewees have claimed, but we did indeed witness the usual competition that has already been well described in France (Desage and Guéranger, 2011). We have already mentioned the competition between the territories at the same level, for instance

⁵⁸ For this more delicate issue, we will not quote any interviewee voluntarily.

between the mayor of Lens (and its civil servants) and the mayor of Liévin (and its civil servants), or between the Agglomeration Communities (CALL, CAHC; CABBALR) together with the department, for example on the support for local initiatives. On this matter, in February 2019 Euralens is organising an initial meeting dedicated to the possibility of a common mapping of local initiatives supported by the Euralens label and/or the ESS mission of the department Pas-de-Calais and/or the Foundation of France. This meeting is included in the club of the label, which is the meeting of the initiative holders supported by the Euralens label. This recently developed tool is also promoting sharing of experiences between initiative holders, but also with Euralens' institutional members. As we have already mentioned, this aspect is one of the most valorised aspects of the label, and corresponds to some kind of **organisational and individual learning**.

We may hypothesise that the **flexibility** and the **adaptability** of Euralens is probably the reason why such a club exists in the first place, because it is very much the essence of Euralens. Furthermore, the attention they have given to our RELOCAL research (which does not seem to be isolated, as they also opened their doors during our observation time to other researchers with different questions coming from different disciplines) demonstrates another kind of **flexibility** and **learning**. One may even suppose that this idea of inviting the Foundation of France and the department ESS mission to the February Euralens club meeting, two actors they admit to not having met so much before we spoke about them, might be the result of our influence. What we want to underline through this is that the Euralens members we met are at the same time very conscious of the limits of its action and at the same time continually willing to improve it (PO, 2018). This **flexibility** is very much in the DNA of Euralens. The openness they showed towards us is in line with the openness of its structure and its way of working. Euralens is a forum of actors that any local actor, including stakeholders of neighbouring territories⁵⁹, including also private actors, members of civil society or just individuals, may join (N15, 2018). They also transform what may initially appear to be a weakness, namely the very small number of permanent employees (4), into a strength, as the two AMO, Jean-Louis Subileau and Michel Devigne, firms which have received landscape and urban planning awards⁶⁰, bring valuable **knowledge** to a territory that is precisely particularly lacking in territorial engineering (N9, N13, 2018). Together, they have developed a clear territorial strategy "from black to green" that is well aligned with the upper-level regional Third Industrial Revolution objective and with the lower-level transition strategy developed by Loos-en-Gohelle, for instance, as we already saw in part 2.

Taking note of the prudence of local institutions towards cooperation at the intermediate level that Euralens and the PMA represent, their two leaders have decided to **engage** with the only consensual document they had: the Chain of Parks strategy. Using the pretext of its revision almost as a Trojan horse, they again mobilised the support of their two AMO, but also of other landscape and urban planning firms, in order to raise the ambition of the planning objectives the document contains, but also to conduct a larger territorial governance review that overcomes the range of such a non-legally binding document (PO, 2018). To that extent, it seems Euralens develops action based on a sharp, **place-based knowledge** of institutional habits. The contribution of Euralens' action to improving procedural justice is undisputable.

The Euralens initiative holders that we have analysed seem to build their action upon another kind of **place knowledge**. They usually direct their work towards the immediate neighbours of the house in which they have set up their activity. The choice of their localisation is anything but a coincidence. For instance, the association *Porte Mine* is

⁵⁹ Lille, Douai and Arras representatives for instance participate in Euralens general assemblies.

⁶⁰ Both have won the France Urbanism Grand Prize.

developing a project called “somewhere else” based in the Cité 12/14 in Lens, a half-abandoned former mining neighbourhood inhabited by a population that faces a difficult socio-economic situation. The same goes for the solidarity garage and the Culture Commune-SIA initiative in the Cité des Provinces.

What we witnessed there is that those three associations have managed to create a dialogue with some highly marginalised inhabitants, through a wide but regular range of activities⁶¹. In the Cité 12/14, the “somewhere else” project aims at renovating a former mining engineer’s house – a former symbol of power and still one of the biggest buildings in the neighbourhood – into a building that would at the same time be a local food restaurant, a youth hostel and a socio-cultural neighbourhood centre. During our observation period, the project had just begun a few months previously. The association “Porte Mine” decided to use the reconstruction period in order to bond with the local inhabitants through pop-up events inside and outside the house, but also handicraft and art workshops. They even invited the neighbours to participate in the restoration and the pre-planning of the house itself, for instance by constructing outdoor furniture (PO, 2018). The solidarity garage, the house of citizens and artists of Culture Commune and Pop School were also leading a project with concrete socio-economic objectives: repairing cars by and for the poorest inhabitants of the mining basin for the first; the social and cultural stimulation of heating renovation for the second; and webmaster training for unemployed inhabitants of the mining basin for the third. When asked what was the most significant accomplishment of those initiatives, all the beneficiaries that we met started with the same initial comment:

“I was at my place, all day long in front of my computer. Maybe Pop School will help me to find a job, we will see. Actually, I do not really need it as I already earn enough money by playing poker on the internet (...) But I was alone, and what Pop School already managed for me is that it broke my isolation. I want to do something, and I am already doing things again. I made new friends here and we are supporting each other through that.”
(H2)

“You know, the house of artists of citizens is important for us. Nothing happens here and nobody really cares about us, not even ourselves. They brought culture to us and those events are some of the best fun I had in my life.” (PO, 2018)

During our successive periods of residence, we often met the same group of inhabitants, composed essentially in three cases of unemployed middle-aged women. The solidarity garage was quite the opposite, as it was mainly composed of young unemployed men. Undeniably, those people belong to groups that are the centre of the development policies. And undeniably, only a little part of the neighbouring inhabitants regularly come to the activities organised for them. Larger groups come for more exceptional and larger events. Nevertheless, all four initiatives seem to us to be of great significance in a locality such as that of Euralens. The comments of social and cultural workers (N2b, P3, P4, P6, P7, 2018), whether or not they are associated directly with those events, are that the breaking of isolation is the first and probably the most difficult step towards a reconnection to active life: “What we hope is that they will regain trust; trust in themselves because they know things, they are able to do things... but also trust in their neighbours. Because this is the absence of trust, the fear cultivated by TV that make the National Front so strong here.” (N2c, 2008).

⁶¹ See photos 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, and Annex 8.3.3.

This constitutes also some form of **place-based knowledge**. The local associations' stakeholders know the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods in which the initiatives they have designed are based. They know their everyday problems.

At this level, Euralens entrusts some of those local initiative holders to support them in organising forums, in particular the most recent ones about participation and youth. Nevertheless, we hypothesise that by not integrating them into decision-making processes, Euralens has lost a form of social **knowledge**, which is just as important a **place-based knowledge** as any other form. The democratisation of Euralens through its real opening to civil society and inhabitants is not simply a question of **accountability** and **transparency**, as we developed in the preceding section. One may hypothesise that the public action works better by mobilising the **social knowledge of the place** of those who inhabit it. This last question is as much a question of procedural as of distributive justice.

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

5.1 Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

Promotors	Inhibitors
Euralens is the first place in the locality where a coordination between local authorities actually happens.	Insufficient transparency in the decision-making, which makes abuses and corruption possible.
Euralens is a forum open to a wide diversity of actors, not only institutional actors but also civil society, private actors, individuals.	Insufficient share of power : the lead positions, the final word, the most important symbols of power are still in the hands of political and institutional actors and not sufficiently open to civil society, the private actors, and the labelled initiatives holders.
The Euralens label is an exemplary and successful policy that valorises local initiatives.	Thematically in particular, Euralens does not integrate enough actors in charge of social policy in comparison to specialists in planning and economy.
The Euralens organisation, by integrating high quality external expertise (in particular the quality circle and AMO) that is merged with local knowledge , contributes to improving local territorial development strategies.	Insufficient share of power : the lead positions are still in the hands of (old) white men: Euralens should set more of an example on gender balance and age balance.
All the Euralens policies (local forums, label, quality circle) integrate territorial communication in order to change the local narrative (as much for the inhabitants as for the external actors), which seems to us a very crucial point for tackling the symbolic and discursive dimension of spatial injustice .	Euralens might focus a bit too much on big names, not enough on the locality's inhabitants. Consequently, the initiative is maybe better known in high circles than at the local level. The 2019 Odyssey programme we did integrate in the present report aims to prove to the inhabitants through events that the locality has changed. This one-shot celebration does not (and should not?) replace day-to-day information and inclusion of the inhabitants in the changes in the territory.
Euralens is a flexible structure that is able to adapt its policy to the opportunities (e.g. Chain of Parks) in order to push a more long-term agenda (the elaboration of a larger territorial strategy and the construction of a metropolitan institution).	In relation to the previous point, Euralens is not exemplary in terms of participation of citizens in the policy-making here by setting up a truly participatory process in all their policies. They can also make real participation the long-term objective of Euralens, and define a new strategy on participation to inspire the local institutions.
Euralens is a structure open to review that is engaged in national strategic review and international research on local development.	

Table 2: Main promoters and inhibitors of procedural and distributive justice from a place-based perspective.

5.2 Competences and capacities of stakeholders

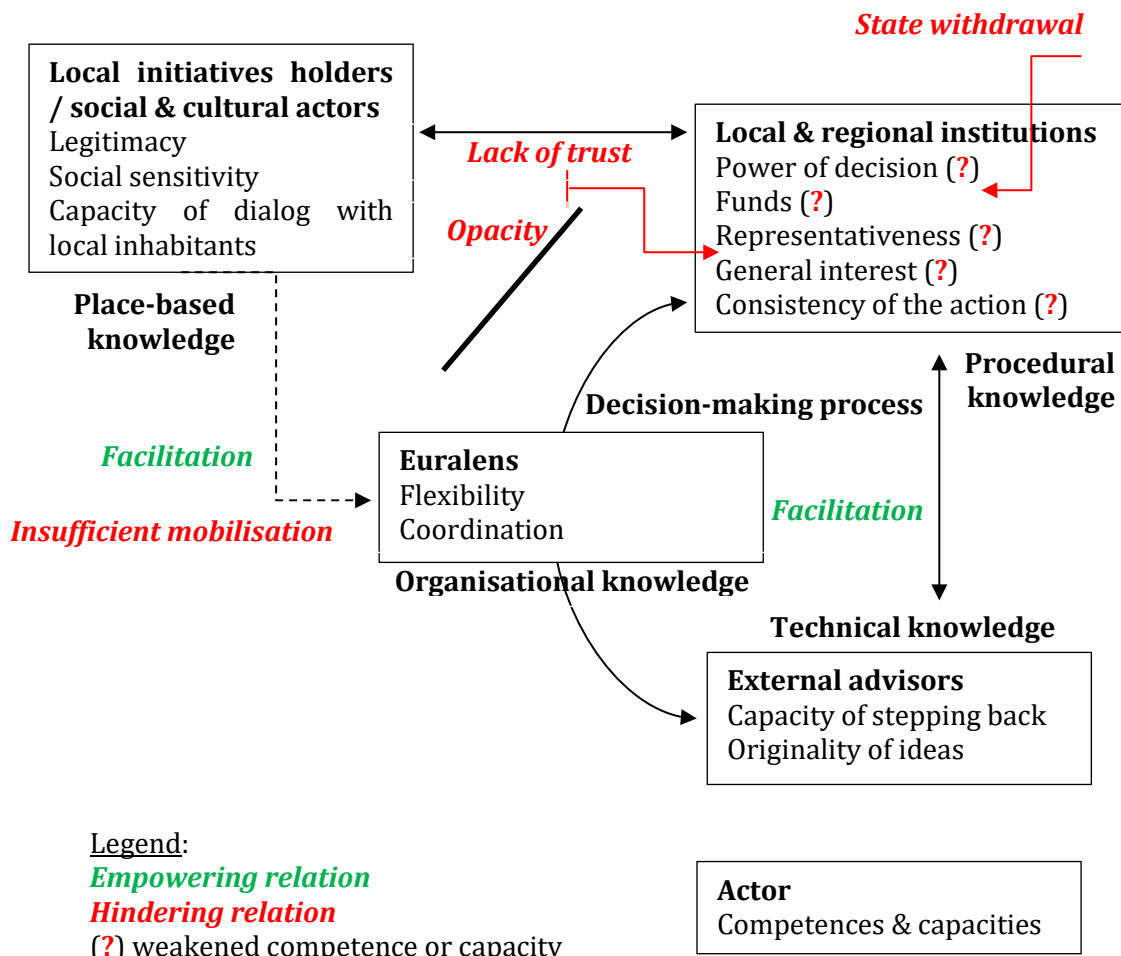


Figure 3: Euralens, an incomplete justice-maker?
Source: Cyril Blondel, 2019

5.3 Connecting Euralens to procedural and distributive justice

As we have seen in this report, the Euralens label policy is one of several policies developed at different scales by a range of public and private actors. We explored two of them in this report, the Pas-de-Calais ESS mission and the Foundation of France *Mine of ideas* policy. Albeit quite similar and all covering the mining basin, at least in part, those policies are very weakly coordinated. Moreover, during our fieldwork several other mining basin institutions mentioned their intention to replicate this policy at their own level. It seems particularly contradictory for the agglomeration communities, since they are the main funders of Euralens and consequently the main funders of the Euralens label policy, not to mention that representatives of the three Agglomeration Communities are members of the Euralens Technical Committee. The result is that it creates confusion and an administrative burden for initiative holders. At the same time, it reduces the efficiency of the territorial development action in the locality, since the public and private resources – funds and technical support – are scattered between each of them. A possible improvement here would be to reverse the logic behind the local development policy, to base it less on the institutions' short-term political gains (probably illusory) and more on the experiences of the local initiative holders. The long-term objective is what we

can assume to be the common goal of both the institutions and the local initiative holders: to allow those latter to develop an economically viable and, as importantly, a socially and environmentally sustainable project that contributes to the territory's transition. This starting point would then probably lead to a complete rethink not so much of each policy and the goals, but certainly their coordination, their focus and their efficiency.

We could imagine that this new perspective would lead to a step-by-step pathway along which each institution – but also private actors and previous successful project leaders – would support the applicant from the development of the initial idea to the consolidation and the flourishing of its activity. This coordination would probably call for the creation of a single, window-based procedure, along which the applicant would sometimes benefit from the common support of two or more policies, while sometimes only being on one single path. For instance, the Pas-de-Calais department ESS mission appears to us to be the most qualified to support and accompany the first steps of the project, from the initial idea to its more concrete construction. This would go hand in hand with more informal empowerment between initiative holders that already exist, and is already supported by the department and Euralens alike. The Euralens label may then come afterwards⁶², more as a reward for innovative actions, according to a commonly accepted definition of innovation that revalorises in particular social innovation, a dimension that so far has often been underestimated. For this, again, it seems important that “successful” managers of labelled projects, and more broadly members of the local associations and socio-economic workers, are integrated in each step of the procedure (support, evaluation, etc.). Indeed, behind the efficiency of public action, the integration of civil society into the decision-making process is also a question of representation, of democratisation of public action. It was in fact a strong symbol to manage to attract international experts to work on Euralens territory in the *quality circle*, in order to illustrate that the locality is actually worthy of international interest. However, it is now at least as important to send a strong signal to the territory's civil society by also valorising their **knowledge** and integrating them into all decision-making circles. This might be even a demonstration, by example, that public action is becoming more just. What seems at first glance to be a move in favour of procedural justice might also contribute to distributive justice, as the rebuilding of inhabitants' trust, in themselves and in their locality, is a key starting point to the redevelopment of the area. At the end, this **autonomous** turn, in the sense of a government by the place for the place, would serve to broaden the horizons of the people of the mining basin, and raise (their own and others') aspirations.

On the top of this, more attention should be paid to two specific moments/scales: before and after; lower and upper. By before/lower, we mean here prospecting for (and even the cultivation of) localised⁶³ and grassroots ideas. By after/upper, we imagine that the single window-based procedure may be constructed in such a way that it includes the possibility of regional/national/European/private funding applications, in order to prepare the initiative holders for the existence and the possibility of such cohesion and territorial development policies. This would not mean that all would ultimately have to and would go through all those applications, but that the possibility of that is raised.

⁶² It could also be split into two categories, between the “most promising” projects and those which have already proved to be the most valuable for local development according to a list of pre-defined criteria.

⁶³ We prefer here “localised”, meaning developed in the territory but not necessarily locally based, as external ideas then developed inside and in relation to the territory may also contribute to local development (as in the case of Pop School, in the list of projects studied in this research).

6. Conclusion

What has Euralens achieved so far in terms of distributive and procedural justice?

In this report, we have painted a positive but still contrasted picture.

On the one hand, Euralens' contribution is significant. In terms of distributive justice, the development of such an initiative in one of the most peripheral French territories is already an accomplishment. By bringing international experts to work on the territorial strategy of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin, Euralens addresses the unfair distribution of territorial engineering that nowadays tends to be sucked up by bigger metropolises. By concentrating significant efforts towards changing the image of the territory externally and (also to a certain extent) internally, Euralens directly addresses the discursive dimension of peripherality, one major and often forgotten dimension of distributive injustice. By using the leverage effect of the arrival of a major item of infrastructure such as the Louvre-Lens on the territory, Euralens' intention is also to use a concrete act of the redistribution from the French state, today mostly funded by the Hauts-De-France region, to revitalise the territory.

In terms of procedural justice, Euralens' achievements are no less significant, and may even be even perceived as a genuine place-based process. As we saw, its way of working is based on general assemblies and forums gathering local actors from the locality, public, private and civil society together, to decide upon the territorial strategy. In doing so, it contributes to greatly improving the climate of cooperation at the supra-local level, which no other action has managed to achieve in this locality. Moreover, some more specific policy, such as the Euralens label, contributes to supporting local initiatives by facilitating their concretisation through technical, administrative and organisational support.

On the other hand, Euralens has not so far managed to really challenge bad governance practices such as power imbalances, unfair representation of women, young people, and more largely of citizens in the construction of public action and strategies. What is done on one side, through forums for instance, is still too separate from the real decision-making circles to which the members of the groups mentioned before do not have access. To a certain extent, one may say that Euralens very much depends on the context from which it has emerged, and the underrepresentation of women in most of the positions of power in Euralens is directly related to their underrepresentation in the territory. Nevertheless, this appears to us to be a lazy excuse. Women are present in the territories; for instance, many of the Euralens-labelled initiatives have been developed by associations led by strong young women. They could be easily be more associated with Euralens' decision-making circles, and more largely to the local decision-making processes. On this aspect, the action's contribution to the distribution of opportunities seems incomplete.

More generally, it seems to us that the use of incapacitating/**delegitimising** discourses in the locality is both an easy/lazy excuse for not calling into question the development policies and a strategy to minimise the responsibility of the men in charge for their lack of success. By incapacitating discourses, we mean discourses undermining territorial groups or individuals by using shaming stereotypes: "There is no good leader here"; "This policy does not work because of the inhabitants of the mining basin. They are too stupid. This is the real problem"; "This woman in charge is too emotional, that is why we do not support her anymore" (PO: 2018). This strategy of "blaming the victims" to make them the only people responsible for their "own problems" has been described in other difficult contexts, for example by Thomas Bürk in former East Germany (Bürk, 2013). It amounts to explaining the difficult situation of the locality and its inhabitants by their own supposed limitations, and consequently to justifying and eventually reproducing power imbalances. This simplifying paradigm is problematic because it only focuses on the impact of the policies on the recipients, and forgets to include in the discussion the producers of those policies as a possible factor to (at least partly) understand the reproduction of distributive

and procedural injustices. The fight against them in Euralens implies rethinking local development indicators, by integrating more experienced-based data (rather than only quantitative data), to better understand social and spatial inequalities. It also implies rethinking the governance system, by changing the perspective and getting out of the producer-receiver trap in order to imagine a new way to co-construct (which means as much define and implement) local development strategies and policy.

Euralens maybe a good place for such an experimentation because of its high **flexibility** and ambition. And precisely for the same reason, the new laboratory of tomorrow's local development seems quite transferable, as the most important factors we just discussed are relative to procedures and positionality.

7. References

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8. Annexes

8.1 Information about the methodology

8.1.1 List of interviewees

	Organisation / title	Date, place	Code	Interviewer(s)
1	Firm / Architect	19.06.2017, Dunkerque	F1	CB + EE
2	Public institution, region (European funds) / civil servant	21.06.2017, Lille	P1	CB + EE
3	Association, agglomeration (heritage) / territorial strategies director	22.06.2017, Oignies	N1	CB + EE
4	Association, agglomeration (culture) / socio-cultural mediator	22.06.2017, Loos-en-Gohelle 23.01.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle 05.02.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	N2a N2b N2c	CB + EE CB CB
5	Association, agglomeration (planning) / communication officer	22.06.2017, Lens 12.04.2018, Lens	N3a N3b	CB CB + EE
6	Association, agglomeration (planning) / local development officer	22.06.2017, Lens 06.02.2018, Lens	N4a N4b	CB CB
7	Association, municipality (social) / director	22.06.2017, Lens 05.02.2018, Lens 08.02.2018, Lens	N5a N5b N5c	CB + EE CB CB
8	Association, region (environment) / communication officer	22.06.2017 Loos-en-Gohelle	N6	CB + EE
9	Public institution, department (planning & social) / director	22.06.2017, Lille	P2	CB + EE
10	Independent / Artist	23.01.2018, Lens	AR1	CB
11	Association, local & international (culture) / Artistic director	08.02.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	N7- AR2	CB
12	Association, local & international (culture) / Production manager	08.02.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	N8	CB
13	Public institution, municipality (social)/ social mediator	09.02.2018, Harnes	P3	CB
14	Public institution, municipality (social)/ director	09.02.2018, Harnes	P4	CB
15	Association, agglomeration (planning) / Vice-director	20.03.2018, Béthune	N9	CB
16	Public institution, municipality (social)/ social mediator	20.03.2018, Harnes	P5	CB
17	Public institution, municipality (social)/ social mediator	20.03.2018, Harnes	P6	CB
18	Public institution, municipality (social)/ social mediator	20.03.2018, Harnes	P7	CB
19	Public institution, municipality (politics) / director	22.03.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	P8	CB
20	Public institution, region (social housing) / regional director	09.04.2018, Oignies	P9	CB + EE
21	Public institution, region (social housing) / housing officer	09.04.2018, Oignies	P10	CB + EE
22	Public institution, university (education) / head of institute + NGO, municipality (social) / chairwoman	09.04.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	P11- N10	CB + EE
23	Public institution, state (development) / Delegate in the agglomeration	09.04.2018, Lens	P12	CB + EE
24	Association, agglomeration (culture)/ director	10.04.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	N11	CB + EE
25	Public institution, agglomeration agency (social housing) / civil servant	11.04.2018, Lens	P13	CB + EE
26	Association, agglomeration (planning) / local development officer	12.04.2018, Lens 15.11.2018, Lens	N12a N12b	CB + EE CB
27	Association, agglomeration (planning) / director	12.04.2018, Lens	N13	CB + EE
28	Public institution, agglomeration (tourism) /	14.05.2018, Lens	P14	CB

	director			
29	Public agency, agglomeration (planning) / director	15.05.2018, Lens	A1	CB
30	Inhabitant (participation) / president of council of inhabitants	15.05.2018, Lens	H1	CB
31	Association, agglomeration (heritage) / director	16.05.2018, Liévin	N14	CB
32	Public institution, state (planning) / civil servant in the departmental agency	17.05.2018, Arras	P15	CB
33	Public institution, department (social economy) / civil servant	19.05.2018, Arras	P16	CB
34	Public agency; state (planning) / civil servant	04.06.2018, Paris	P17	CB
35	Public institution, state ministry (planning & environment) / civil servant	05.06.2018, Paris	P18	CB +EE
36	Public institution, municipality / head of service	11.06.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	P19	CB
37	Public institution, municipality / politician	11.06.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle 15.10.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	P20a P20b	CB CB
38	Public institution, state (culture) / director	12.06.2018, Lens	P21	CB
39	Public institution, municipality / politician	13.06.2018, Lens	P22	CB
40	Association, agglomeration (planning) / director	13.06.2018, Lens	N15	CB
41	Public institution, state (culture) / vice-director	14.06.2018, Lens	P23	CB
42	Public institution, agglomeration (culture) – civil servant	14.06.2018, Lens	P24	CB
43	Association, agglomeration (environment) / local development officer	14.06.2018, Loos-en-Gohelle	N16	CB
44	NGO, region (local development) / programme officer	15.06.2018, Lens	F2	CB
45	Local association, municipality (local development) / director	16.07.2018, Arras	N17	CB
46	Public institution, state (culture) / head of the mediation office	16.07.2018, Lens	P25	CB
47	Firm / Architect	17.07.2018, Bruay-la Buissière	F3	CB
48	Local association, municipality (local development) / director	17.07.2018, Bruay-la Buissière	N18	CB
49	Firm / CEO	18.07.2018, Libercourt	F4	CB
50	Firm (urbanism) / director	19.07.2018, Lens	F5	CB
51	Public institution, region (social housing) / director	15.10.2018, Noyelles-sous-Lens	P26	CB
52	Public institution, agglomeration / Head of service	16.10.2018, Lens	P27	CB
53	Inhabitant	17.10.2018, Lens	H2	CB
54	Firm (education) / programme officer	17.10.2018, Lens	F6	CB
55	Local association, agglomeration (local development) / head of association	17.10.2018, Lens	N19	CB
56	Inhabitant	18.10.2018, Lens	H3	CB
57	Public institution, state / head of State local delegation	18.10.2018, Lens	P28	CB
58	Public institution, secondary school (education) / director	13.11.2018, Hénin-Beaumont	P29	CB
59	Public institution, agglomeration (politics) / Head of agglomeration	13.11.2018, Hénin-Beaumont	P30	CB
60	Public institution, agglomeration (politics) / head of cabinet	13.11.2018, Hénin-Beaumont	P31	CB
61	Public institution, agglomeration (culture) / civil servant	15.11.2018, Lens	P32	CB
62	NGO, agglomeration (local development) / head of association	16.11.2018, Bruay-la Buissière	N20	CB

Type of stakeholders

F = Firms, Private actors (100% private)

PI = Public Institutions (100% public)

N = NGO (no financial interest) - In France, most of the time, associations under the 1901 law.

A = Agencies (profit-oriented, at least partially public-funded) - In France, most of the time “syndicat mixte” ou “société d’économie mixte”

H = inHabitant

AR = ARTist

Interviewers

CB = Cyril Blondel

EE = Estelle Evrard

All interviews were face-to-face.

8.1.2 Other tools

Method	Hosts	Description	Place, time	Stakeholders (type, number)	Purpose
Residence (9 weeks) RES	Culture Commune (cultural association)	The principle of residence in this is an initiative that has the Euralens label	House of the artists and the citizens, Cité des Provinces, Lens, 7 weeks 22-26.01.18, 05-09.02.18 19-23.03.18 09-13.04.18 14-19.05.18 11-15.06.18 16-20.07.18	Residence with the theatre writer Magali Mougel;	To grasp an idea of what it is to live in the mining basin; to discuss my perception with an artist; to give RELOCAL some visibility.
	Porte Mine (local association)	The <i>Autre Part</i> initiative that has the Euralens label	House of the project, Cité 12/14, Lens, 15-19.10.18 12-16.11.18	Local inhabitants; Porte Mine employees (3)	
Participatory observation (16) PO 1 st part	Culture Commune	Open house to inhabitants	House of the artists and the citizens, Cité des Provinces, Lens 24.01.18, 07.02.18, 21.03.18, 11.04.18, 16.05.18, 13.06.18, 18.07.18	Inhabitants (20), Artists invited (1 to 3), Culture Commune Socio-cultural mediators (1 to 3)	To informally discuss with local inhabitants and socio-cultural mediators about their perceptions of spatial injustice.
	University of Artois, IUT of Lens	Workshop on the perception of their environment with the collective of artists “faux Amis”	06.02.18	Artists (3), University employee in charge (1), students (6)	To informally discuss with artists and students about their perceptions of spatial injustice.
	Culture Commune (Cultural association)	Seminar on socio-cultural mediation	Loos-en-Gohelle, Fabrique théâtrale of Culture Commune, 08.02.18	Artists, Culture Commune employees, socio-cultural mediators of different cultural associations (30)	To better understand how culture is used as a local development tool in the Pas-de-Calais mining basin.
	CCAS (Municipal)	“Ecole des consommateurs”	Harnes, CCAS office, 22.03.18	Inhabitants (8), social mediator	To better understand inhabitants’

	Centre for Social Action)	Seminar to support local inhabitants in creating their own initiatives		(2)	perception of injustice but also the possibility/difficulty of implementing action to combat it.
Participatory observation (16) PO 2 nd part	Culture Commune (Cultural association)	Seminar on Youth and Culture	Loos-en-Gohelle, Fabrique théâtrale of Culture Commune, 22.03.18	Inhabitants (15), Artists (5), Culture Commune employees (10), socio.cultural mediators from other associations (20)	To better understand the difficulty of youth.
	Euralens	General Assembly	Lens, Agglomeration Community meeting room, 30.03.18	Euralens members (300)	To observe Euralens in action
	Porte Mine	Kick-off of the <i>Faux-Amis</i> exhibition on perception of their environment by IUT students	House of the project, Cité 12/14, Lens, 10.04.18	Inhabitants and IUT students (100), visitors (25)	To informally discuss with artists and students about their perceptions of spatial injustice.
	Porte Mine	Workshop with inhabitants on "how to build furniture with renewable materials"	House of the project, Cité 12/14, Lens, 18.05.18	Inhabitants (20), association employees (3)	To better understand the work of the association with the inhabitants.
	Culture Commune	"Ici et là dans la cite", street art festival organised with the local population of impoverished neighbourhoods	Grenay and Loos-en-Gohelle, Cité 5 et Cité 11, 19.05.2018	Local inhabitants, Culture Commune employees, artists, visitors (300)	To better understand the contribution of culture on local development.
	Loos-en-Gohelle municipality	"Loos, ville-pilote": inter-municipality meeting with the city of Malaunay around energy and ecology transition best practices	City Hall, Loos-en-Gohelle, 11.06.2018	Politicians, local administration, civil society of the two cities (50)	To better grasp the importance of Loos-en-Gohelle model of transition city and to measure its contribution to the way local development is perceived in the mining basin.
	Pas-de-Calais department (public institution), social solidarity unit	Citizens' initiatives help desk	Arras, Cultural, citizens' and social café "rat perché"	Initiatives holders, interested citizens, local administration in charge of supporting local initiatives (80)	To see the support of the Department for local initiatives in action, and to better understand its potential complementarity with Euralens policy.
	Culture Commune	Constellation imaginaire, street art festival	Lens, Cité des provinces, 16.06.18	Local inhabitants, Culture Commune employees,	To better understand the contribution of culture to local development.

				artists, visitors (500)	
	Metropolitan Pole of Artois	Meeting about the “Chain of Parks” strategic planning	Lens, Maison syndicale, 19.07.18	PMA and Euralens employees (5), private advisors (10), agglomeration communities’ employees (10)	To observe the contribution of Euralens in the design of strategies of local development.
	Euralens	Euralens Label meeting 2018	Lens, Maison syndicale, 13.09.18	local authorities (20) + Euralens (2)	To analyse Euralens action that is at the centre of this case study.
Participatory observation (16) PO 3 rd part	Euralens	Euralens quality circle annual workshop (visit + meeting) on the “revitalisation of the medium-sized cities of the territory”	Béthune, BooKKafé, Liévin meeting room, 21.11.18	External international experts in urbanism (15) + local experts (10) + local authorities (20) + Euralens (2)	To better understand Euralens actions.
	Association House of exchanges	“Do it yourself” workshop	Béthune, house of associations	Inhabitants (5), House of exchanges (2)	To observe one social initiative in action
	Fabrique de la ville (urbanist agency assisting Euralens)	Euralens quality circle x Louvre-Lens Museum Workshop on the elaboration of a new Scientific and Cultural Plan entitled “a new geography of the Louvre-Lens Museum”	Paris, Fabrique de la ville, 24.02.18	Experts, Euralens and Louvre-Lens museum employees (15)	To observe and to participate in the writing of the new scientific and cultural strategy of the Louvre-Lens Museum.
	Louvre-Lens Museum		Lens, Louvre-Lens, 13.02.18	Experts, Euralens and Louvre-Lens museum employees (15)	
Guided tours (6) GT	CPIE Chaîne des Terrils	Presentation of local history and actual ecological reconversion of the place	Twin slag heaps, Loos-en-Gohelle, 22.01.18	Artist, Culture Commune employees, inhabitants	To informally discuss with local inhabitants and socio-cultural mediators about ecology, landscape, and heritage as local development tools.
	Artistic Company HVDZ	Visit of places that symbolise the mining basin	Mining basin, 21.03.18 (Bruay-la-Buissière, Auchel, Béthune)	Artists (2)	To informally discuss with local artists about perceptions of spatial injustice.
	Museum of the Mine	Guided visit with two local guides	Harnes, 10.04.18	Students (8), EE	To better understand the local heritage.
	Lens-liévin touristic office: “the Louvre-Lens and its local environment”	Guided visit with one local guide	Louvre-Lens Museum, Lens Cité 9, Lens city centre, 16.05.2018		To better understand the relation between the Louvre-Lens museum and local development.
	Artistic Company HVDZ	Visit to places that symbolise the mining basin	Mining basin, 12.06.18 (WWI German cemetery St Laurent-Blangy, Grenay)	Artists (3)	To informally discuss with local artists about perceptions of spatial injustice.
	WWI Canadian	Guided visit with	Vimy, Notre-dame-		To better understand

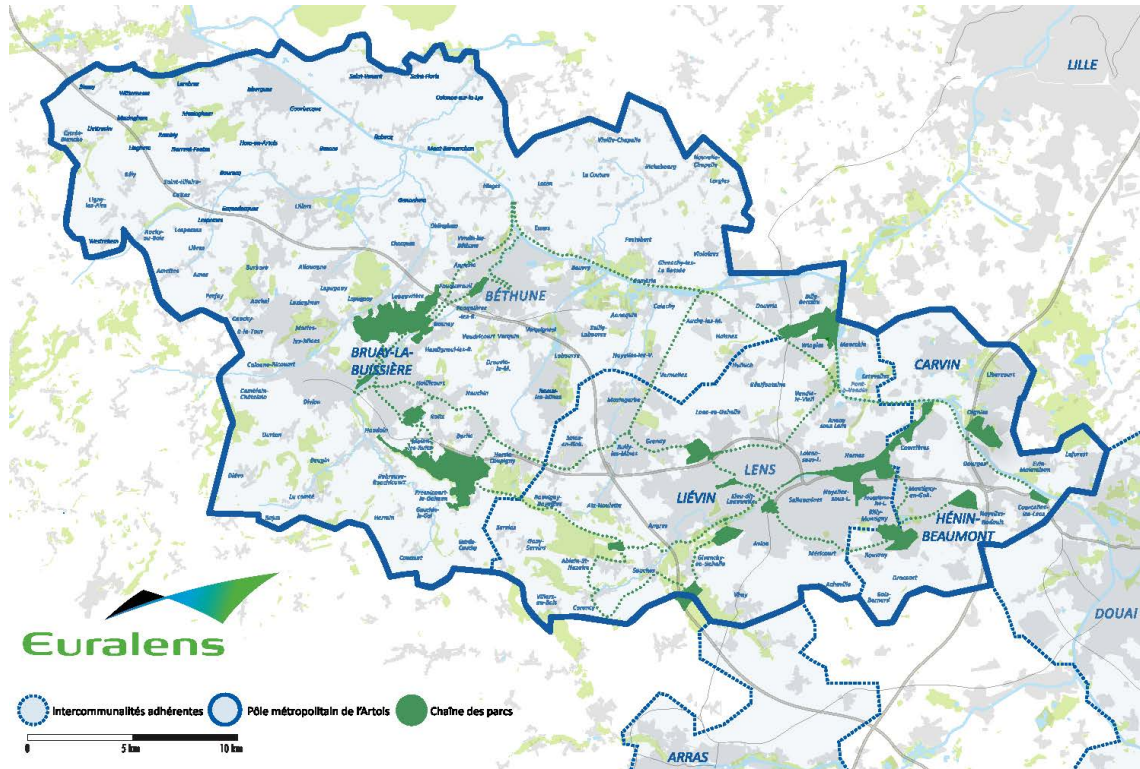
	memorial + WWI memorial the ring of remembrance	a local guide	de-Lorette, 16.06.2018		the local heritage
Crossed fieldwork CF	Cyril Blondel	1-day tour of the mining basin	Auchel, Bruay-la-Buissère, Béthune, Lens, 16.10.18	Hadrien Herrault, researcher in geography on inequalities in Northern Ireland	To cross my own perspective with that of another non-RELOCAL geographer working on similar issues.
MA students in Arts workshop (6) WO	University of Artois	2-week writing workshop in collaboration with an artist	Cité des Provinces, Lens, 19-23.03.18, 09-13.04.18	Students (6), Artist (1), University employees in charge (2)	To mix geography and art methodology in order to describe perceptions of a territory.

8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table (based only on face-to-face interviews)

Stakeholders			Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Description	Type	Number		
Local politicians	PI	3	Municipality and agglomeration	Better understanding of the political situation
Local administration	PI	9	Municipality and agglomeration	Better understanding of the political organisation
Private foundations, private businesses, firms	F	6	Mining basin, agglomeration, municipality	Better understanding of the role of private actors in local development
Local development agencies / associations	A N PI	1 10 2	Mining basin, agglomeration	Better understanding of the local development strategies
Municipal associations		0		<i>Most of the associations have been included elsewhere in the table</i>
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	N	6	Municipality, agglomeration	Better understanding of the bottom-up local initiatives to fight injustice
Other local community stakeholders		0		
Local state offices/representations	PI	2	Department, mining basin	Better understanding of the role of the state in strategies of local development
Regional state offices/representations	PI	1	Region	
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment	PI	1	State	
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)	PI	1	State	
Primary and secondary educational institutions	PI	1	Agglomeration	Better understanding of the importance of education in the local development strategies
Colleges and universities	PI	1	Region	
Social, social housing and health care institutions	PI	8	Municipality, region	Better understanding of the importance of the social in the local development strategies
Cultural, heritage and artistic institutions and associations	PI N AR	3 6 2		Better understanding of the role of culture and heritage in the local development strategies
Media		0		
Inhabitant	H	3		Better understanding of the local perception of injustice

8.3 Map(s) and Photos

8.3.1 Geographical extent of the case



Map 3: The perimeter of Euralens
Source: Euralens, 2018

UNE SITUATION UNIQUE

un territoire

...situé à moins de 40 km de...

la 6ème Métropole de France

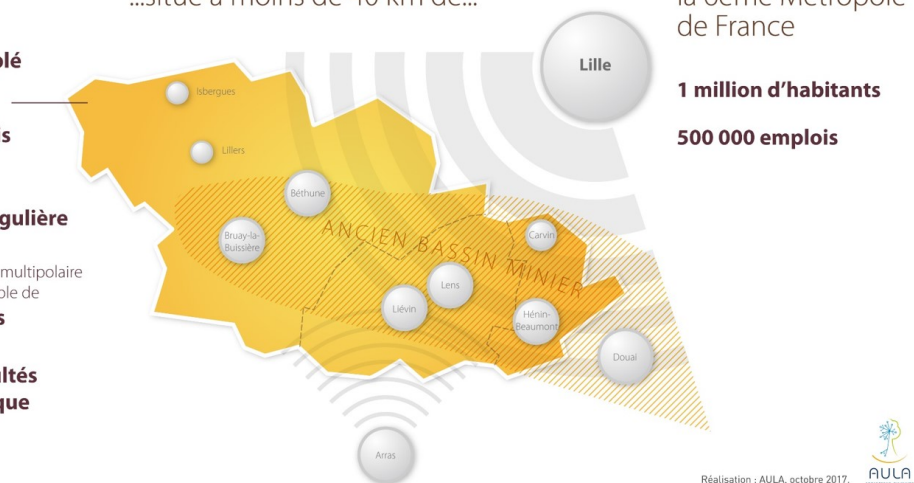
fortement peuplé
(650 000 habitants)

bassin d'emplois
(200 000 emplois)

une histoire singulière

une structure urbaine multipolaire
centrée sur un ensemble de
villes moyennes

**de fortes difficultés
socio-économique**



Map 4: The geographical context of the Pas-de-Calais mining basin.
Source: AULA, 2017

8.3.2 Other maps/figures needed to understand the main text

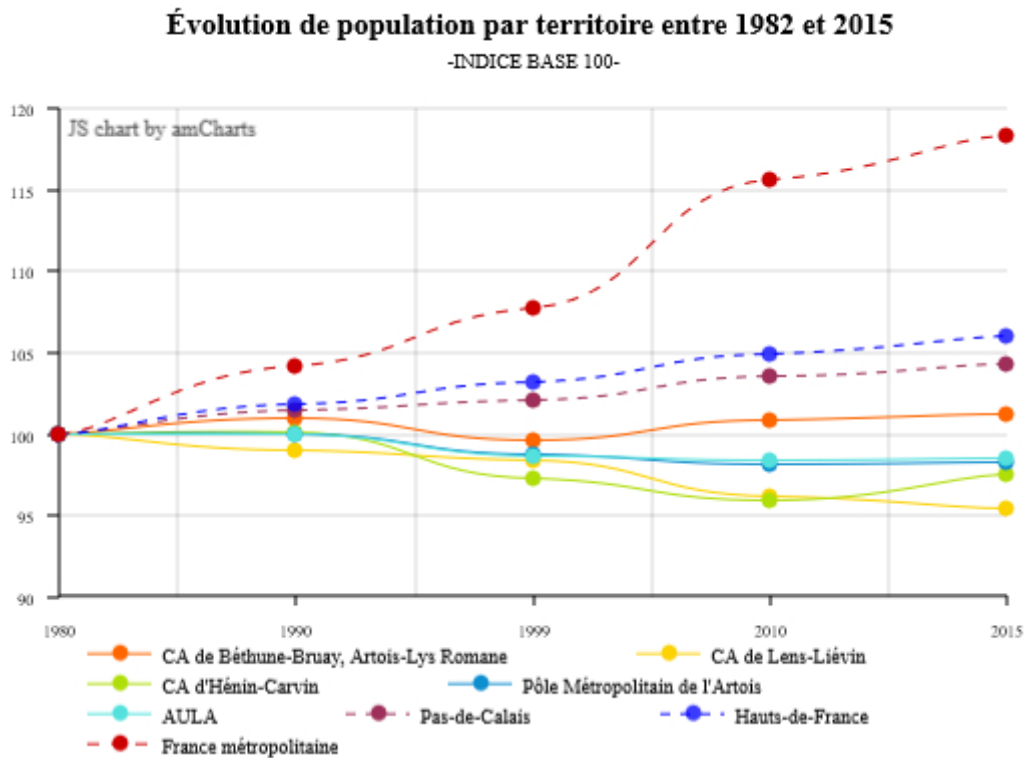
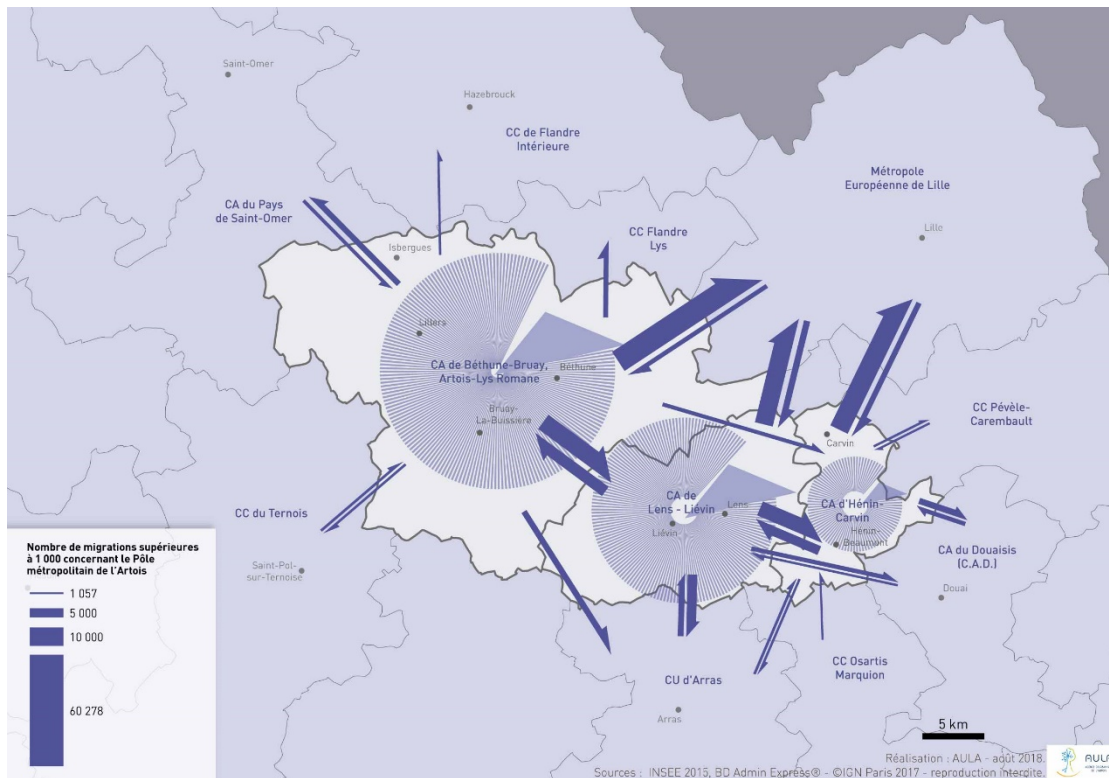
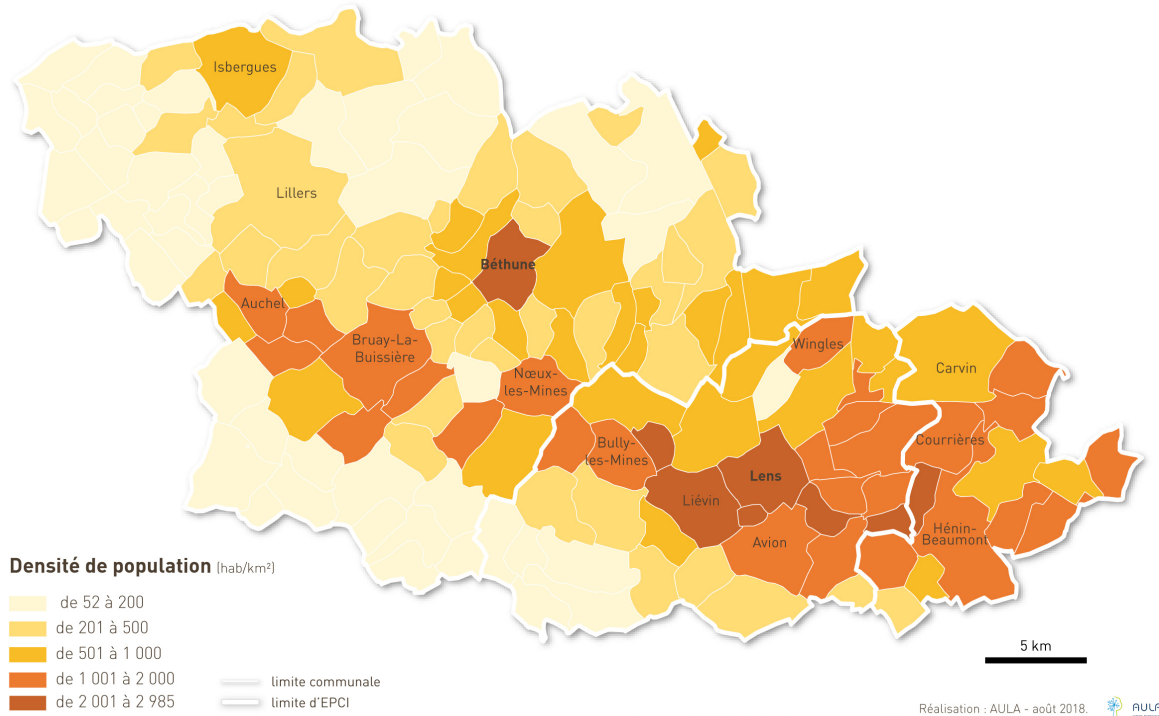


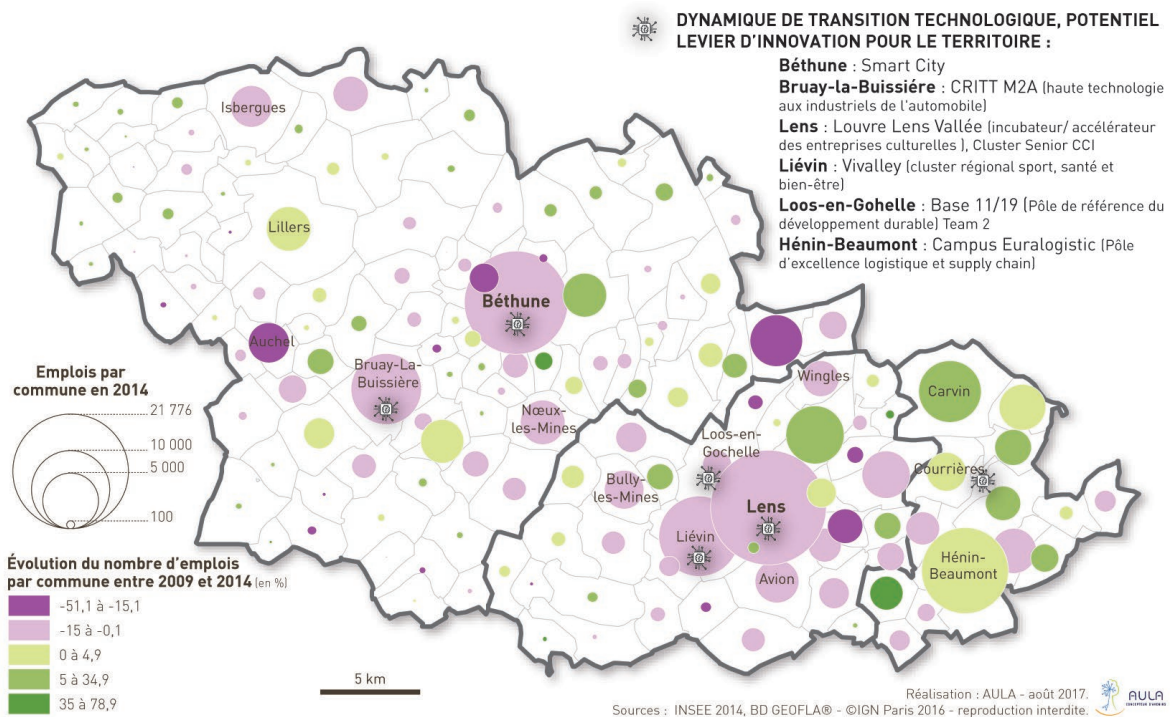
Figure 4: Evolution of the population in the mining basin in comparison to the French context. In this figure, Pas-de-Calais mining basin = AULA. Source: AULA, 2018.



Map 5: Commuting within the mining basin and with surrounding territories. Source: AULA, 2018.

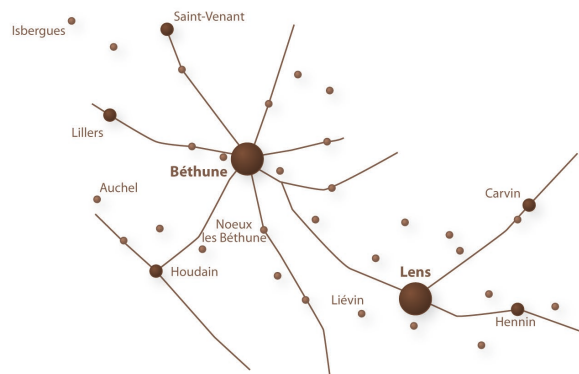


Map 6: Density of population in the Pas-de-Calais mining basin.
Source. AULA, 2018.



Map 7: Evolution of the number of jobs by municipality facing the potential for technological transition in the mining basin.
Source: AULA, 2018.

ÉVOLUTION DE LA STRUCTURATION URBAINE DES TERRITOIRES DU SCOT DE L'ARTOIS ET DU SCOT LENS-LIÉVIN-HÉNIN-CARVIN



À L'ORIGINE un territoire rural

- un ensemble de villages et de bourgs
- 2 villes centres



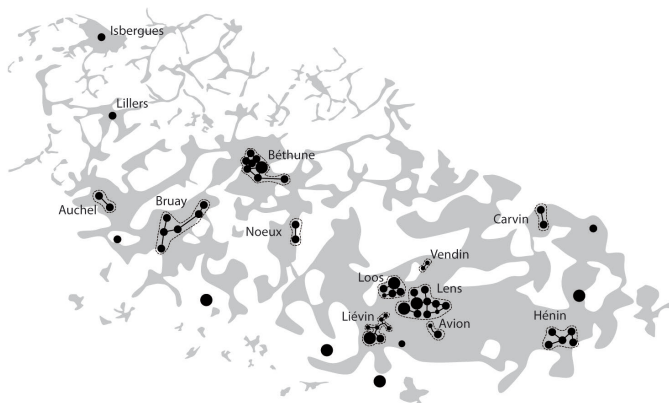
SUR LA PARTIE CENTRALE DU TERRITOIRE, LE DÉVELOPPEMENT MINIER

impose sa propre organisation

focalisée sur l'exploitation de la ressource minière



SUR LES PARTIES NORD ET SUD, LES BOURGS RURAUX POURSUIVENT LEUR DÉVELOPPEMENT



AUJOUR'HUI

la crise de l'activité minière sur une partie du territoire et l'étalement urbain ont laissé une **structuration urbaine étalée**, peu lisible et consommatrice de foncier, qui s'étend :

en nappe dans l'ancien bassin minier



en **linéaire** le long des voiries dans les parties plus rurales



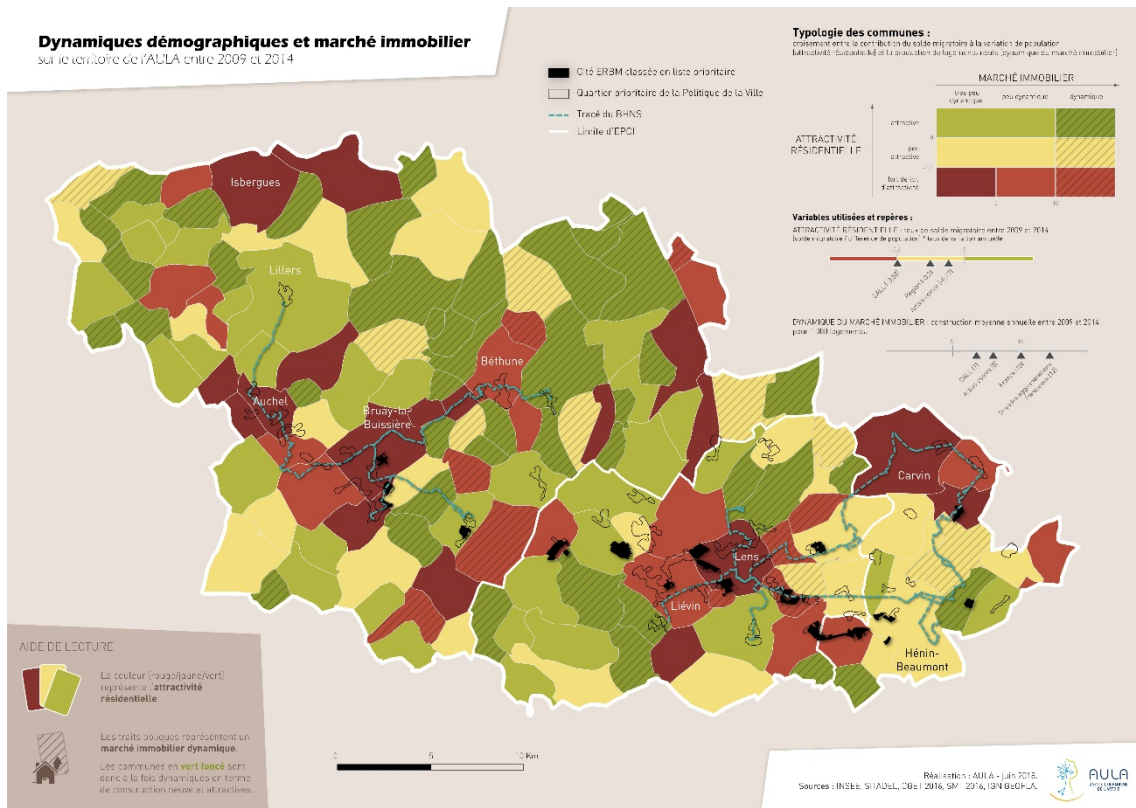
mais où **s'esquissent des polarités**



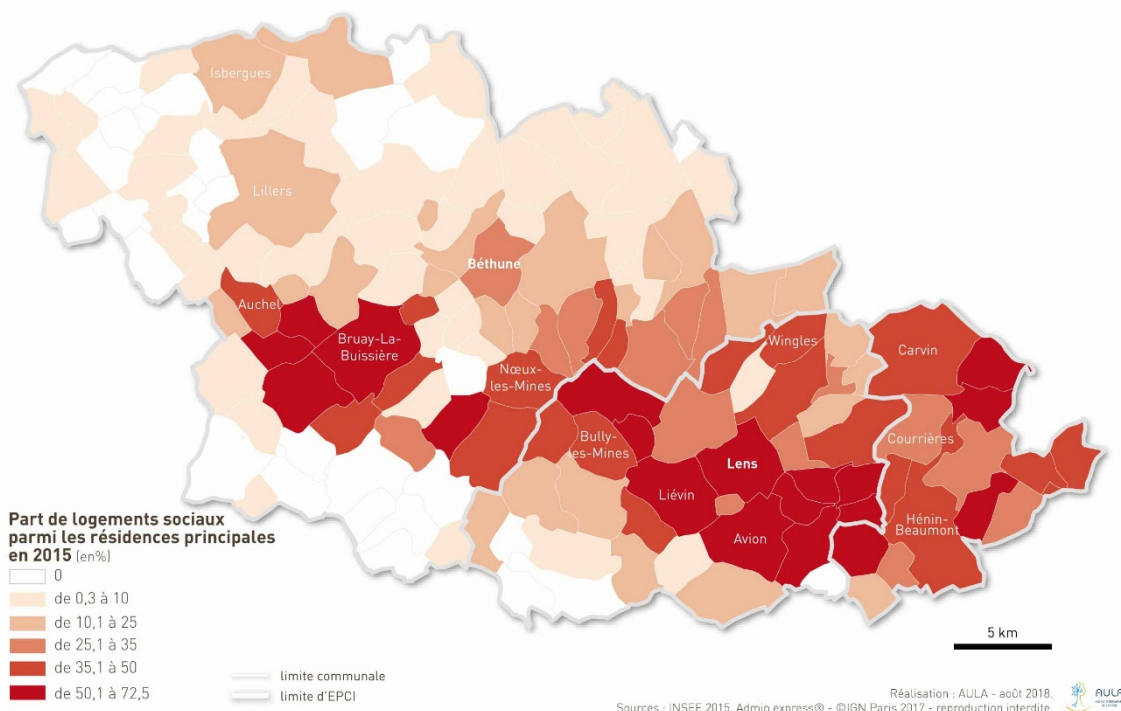
concentration de fonctions urbaines majeures

Réalisation : AULA 2017.

Figure 5: Evolution of the mining basin's urban organisation in the three last centuries.
Source: AULA, 2018.

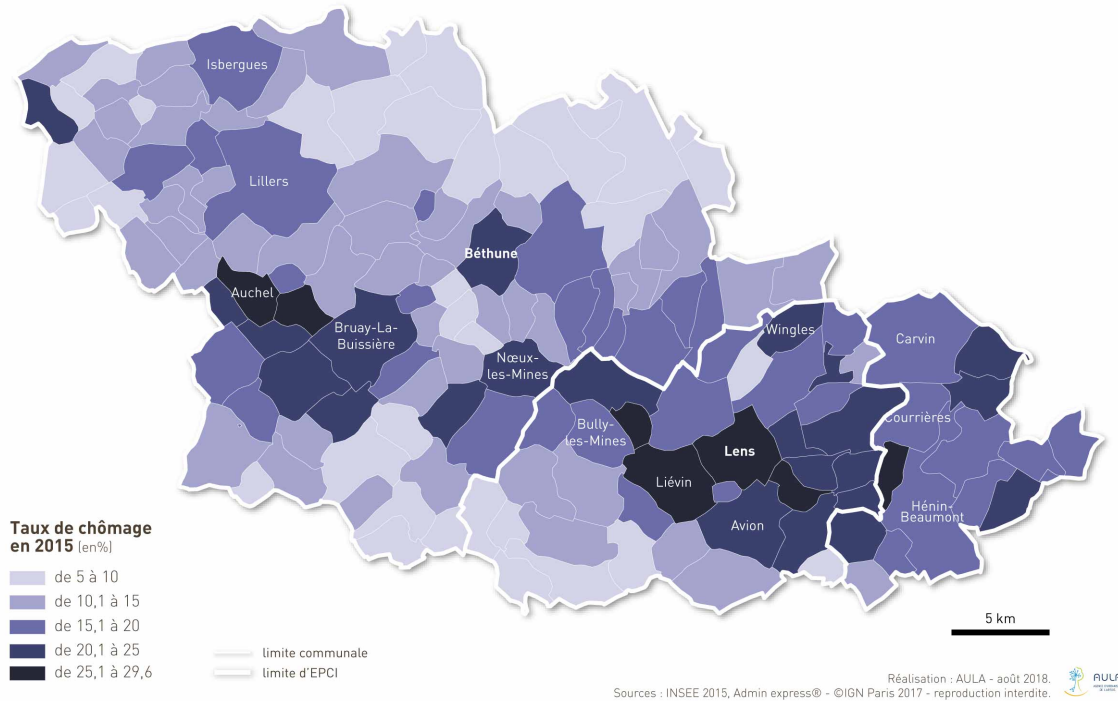


Map 8: Population and real estate market dynamics in the mining basin.
Source: AULA, 2018.



Map 9: Proportion of social housing among primary residences by municipality in 2015 in the mining basin.
Source: AULA, 2018.

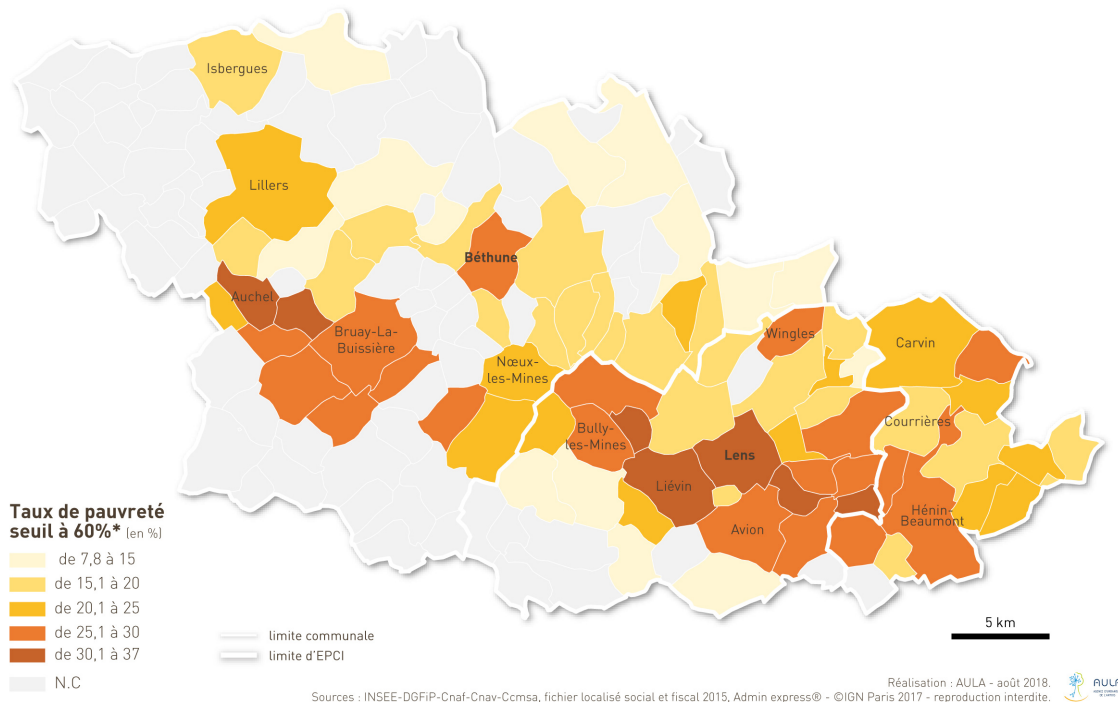
French national proportion in 2015: 15.7%.



Map 10: Unemployment rate in 2015 in the mining basin.

Source: AULA, 2018.

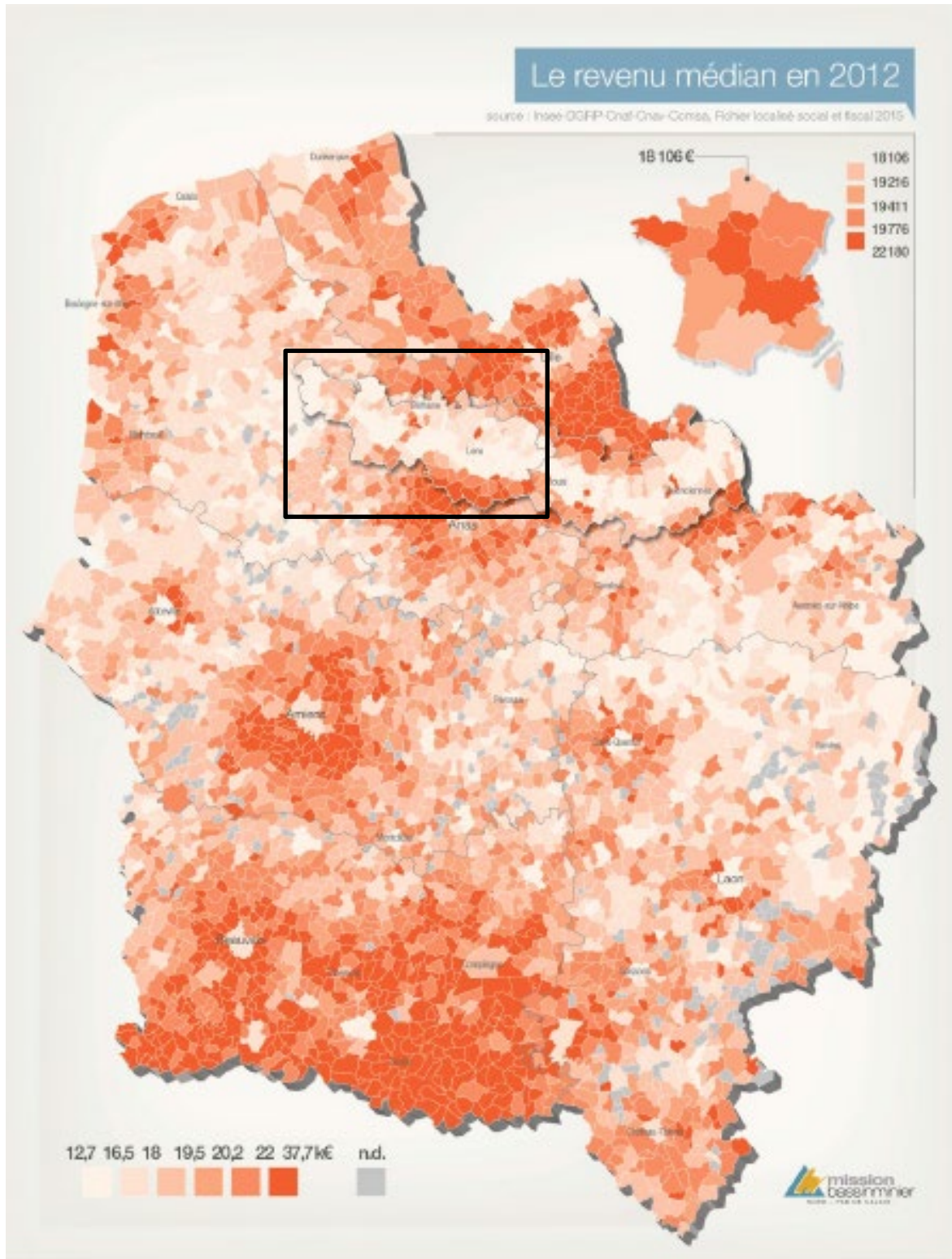
National unemployment rate in France in 2015: 10.4%.



Map 11: Poverty rate (60% threshold) in the mining basin in 2015.

Source: AULA, 2018.

National poverty rate (60% threshold) in France in 2015: 14.3%.



Map 12: Median income in the Hauts-de-France region in 2012.
Source: Mission Bassin Minier, 2016.

8.3.3 Additional photos of the Case Study



Preceding page, from top to bottom, from left to right:

Photo 7: A winter view of the twin slag heaps of Loos-en-Gohelle

Photo 8: A spring view of the slag heaps

Photo 9: A UNESCO plaque in the Cité des Provinces, Lens

Photo 10: A board providing information about the ongoing renovation works in the cité 12/14, Lens

Photo 11: An almost abandoned street in the Cité 12/14 in front of the hospital, Lens

Photo 12: The newly renovated *cité des electriciens*, Bruay-la-Buissière

Photo 13: An almost abandoned street in the Cité 12/14 near the church, Lens

Source: Cyril Blondel, 2018.

Next page, from top to bottom, from left to right:

Photo 14: The school and mining museum in Harnes

Photo 15: An exhibition by architecture students in the “Somewhere else” house (Euralens-labelled project)

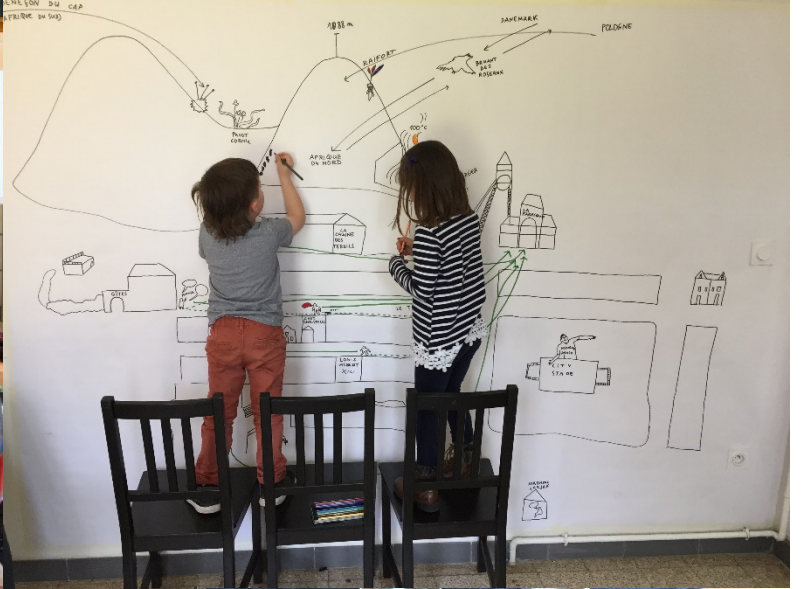
Photo 16: Pop school (Euralens-labelled project)

Photo 17: Two children drawing in the “house of artists and citizens”, Cité des Provinces (Euralens-labelled project)

Photo 18: “Somewhere else” (Euralens-labelled project)

Photo 19: A badge campaign to save the BooKKafé

Source: Estelle Evrard (photos 9, 10, 12), Euralens (11, 13), BooKKafé (14).

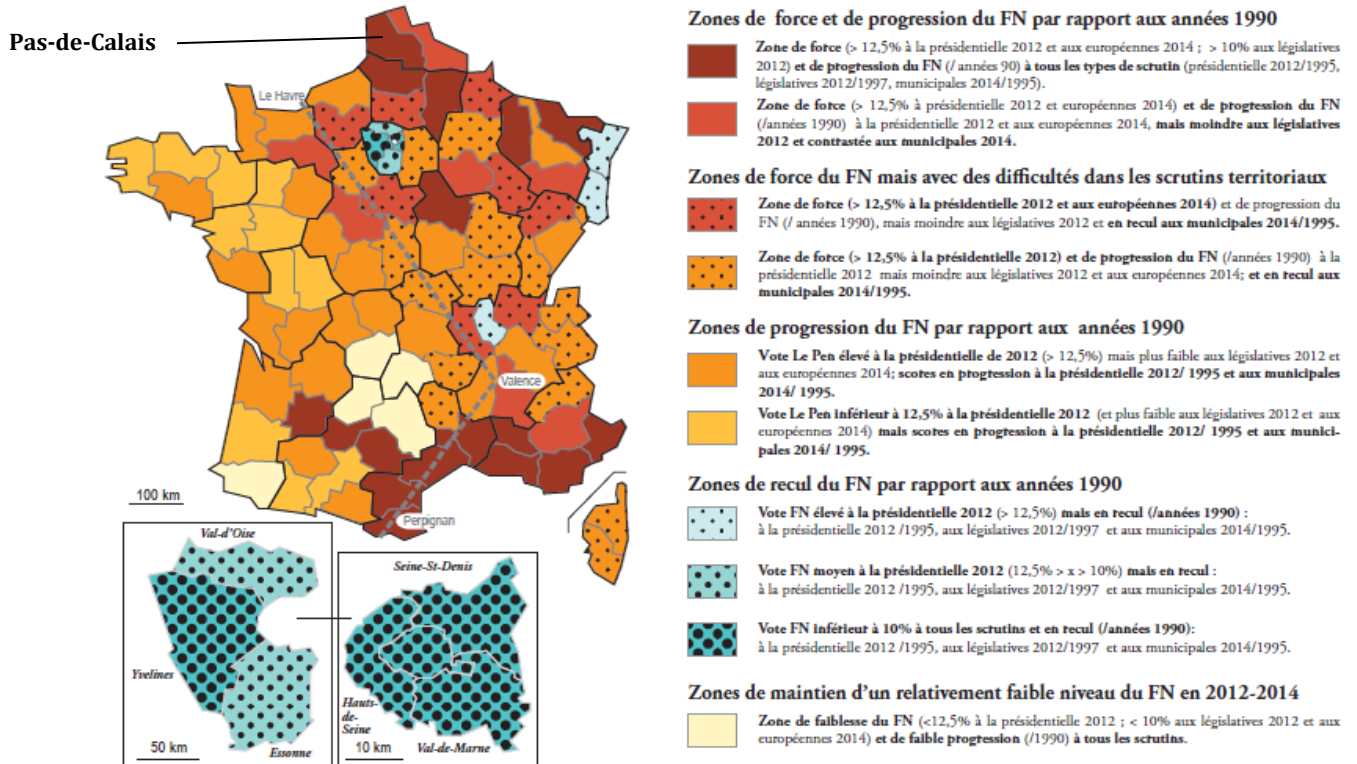


8.4 Additional information

8.4.1 An overview of the mining basin local politics

Le renouveau contrasté du vote FN-RBM : plusieurs types de situation en 2012-2014 par rapport aux années 1990

Cette représentation cartographique propose une typologie du vote FN-RBM qui prend en compte le niveau des scores obtenus (en % des inscrits) aux différents scrutins de la période 2012-2014 et leur évolution par rapport aux années 1990. Il s'agit d'une synthèse, à l'échelle de la France, des données présentées dans les planches 1, 3 et 5)



Map 13: Evolution of the FN vote between 1990 and 2012-2014.

Source: Alidières, Bernard, 2014, « Trois décennies de vote Front National », *Working Atlas*, Institut Français de Géopolitique, p. 31.

The departments in red (and without dots) are the territories in which the FN have progressed the most in all the elections (national and local) between 1990 and 2014. The Pas-de-Calais is one of them. As many dissident voices have already emphasised, the high score of the FN and the higher rate of “socially marginalised” people in Pas-de-Calais does not mean that the poor vote for the FN or that the peripheral territories vote for Le Pen (Charmes *et al.*, 2013). The sociology of the FN vote is more complex, as shown for instance by this last map. The periurban/peripheral territories (as the Pas-de-Calais is usually described) that vote more for the FN are not less socially mixed and less tolerant than the metropolises, as many researchers have demonstrated since then (*ibid.*). But the feeling of injustice is often higher than elsewhere (Hancock *et al.*, 2016).

Scale	Term	Position	Name	Political Party	European Affiliation
France National leaders	2017-2022	President	Emmanuel Macron	LREM	ALDE
		Prime Minister	Edouard Philippe	LREM-MoDem alliance	ALDE
National Assembly Representatives for the mining basin in the Pas-de-Calais department	2017-2022	Deputy of the 3 rd constituency (main cities: Lens / Avion)	José Evrard	RN	ENF
		Deputy of the 9 th constituency (main city: Béthune)	Marguerite Deprez-Audebert	MoDem	ALDE
		Deputy of the 10 th constituency (main city: Bruay-la-Buissière)	Ludovic Pajot	RN	ENF
		Deputy of the 11 th constituency (main cities: Hénin-Beaumont / Carvin)	Marine Le Pen	RN	ENF
		Deputy of the 12 th constituency (main city: Liévin)	Bruno Bilde	RN	ENF
Hauts-de-France region	2015-2021	President	Xavier Bertrand	Miscellaneous right	EPP
Pas-de-Calais department	2015-2021	President	Jean-Claude Leroy	PS	S&D
Lens-Liévin agglomeration	2014-2020	President	Sylvain Robert	PS	S&D
Hénin-Beaumont Carvin agglomeration		President	Christophe Pilch	PS	S&D
Béthune-Bruay agglomeration		President	Alain Wacheux	PS	S&D
Main municipalities of CALL	2014-2020	Mayor of Lens	Sylvain Robert	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Liévin	Laurent Duporge	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Avion	Jean-marc Tellier	PCF	GUE/NGL
		Mayor of Bully-les-Mines	François Lemaire	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Harnes	Philippe Duquesnoy	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Méricourt	Bernard Baude	PCF	GUE/NGL
		Mayor of Salaumines	Christian Pedowski	PCF	GUE/NGL
Mayor of Loos-en-Gohelle	Jean-François Caron	EELV	Greens/EFA		
Main municipalities of CAHC	2014-2020	Mayor of Hénin- Beaumont	Steeve Briois	RN	ENF
		Mayor of Carvin	Philippe Kemel	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Courrières	Christophe Pilch	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Montigny-en- Gohelle	Bruno Yard	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Oignies	Fabienne Dupuis	PS	S&D
Main municipalities of CABBLR	2014-2020	Mayor of Béthune	Olivier Gacquère	UDI	ALDE
		Mayor of Bruay-la- Buissière	Olivier Switaj	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Noeux-les-Mines	Jacques Villedary	PS	S&D
		Mayor of Auchel	Richard Jarrett	Miscellaneous right	EPP
		Mayor of Lillers	Pascal Barrois	PCF	GUE/NGL

Table 3: Main political leaders in the mining basin from the national to the local

French parties (as appearing at the French National Assembly):

LREM: La République en Marche / The Republic on the Move

RN: Rassemblement National / National Rally

PS: Parti Socialiste / Socialist Party

PCF: Parti Communiste Français / French Communist Party

LR: Les Républicains / The Republican

DVD: Right Party

MoDem: Mouvement Démocrate / Democratic Movement

European Parties (as appearing in the European Parliament):

ALDE: Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe

ENF: Europe of Nations and Freedom

EPP: European People's Party

S&D: Socialists and Democrats

GUE/NGL: European United Left–Nordic Green Left

Greens/EFA: Greens / European Free Alliance

8.4.2 Euralens at a glance

Financing members	
Urban Community Lens-Liévin Urban Community Hénin-Carvin Urban Community Béthune-Bruay-Lys-Romane Region Hauts de France Department Pas-de-Calais Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Artois Hauts-de-France	
Active members	
Local authorities (37) Urban Community Arras Urban Community Douaisis 35 municipalities	Local public institution (decentralised, financed or co-financed by local authorities) Local Chamber of Crafts and Trades of the Hauts-de-France region Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Hauts-de-France Local tourism agency, Lens-Liévin Regional tourist agency, Hauts-de-France Arena Stadium Liévin Louvre-Lens Valley SIZIAF, Federation of industries Artois Flandres House for Jobs Departmental Park of Olhain Federation of municipalities for spatial and environment planning of Wingles Federation for the transport Artois Gohelle
Public institutions (state and locally devolved state services) Louvre Museum Louvre-Lens Museum Caisse des Dépôts Hauts de France (state financial institution) SNCF (national rail company) University of Artois Hospital of Lens EPF Hauts-de-France (real estate state agency) CDC Habitat (housing state agency) GRDF (energy) EDF (energy)	Associations Metropolitan Pole of Artois (PMA) Mining Basin Mission Urbanism agency of Artois (AULA) Culture Community (theatre) Louvre-Lens Valley, cultural and digital pole The <i>active life</i> association Lille metropolitan development and urbanism agency ACOM, Association of French mining municipalities Groupe ANHAC, association of clinics and other health institutions CESER Hauts-de-France, association of the representatives of civil society
Private actors RC Lens football club ⁶⁴ (sport) Groupe Artemis- Pinault collection (art) Veolia (energy) Enedis (energy) Caisse d'Epargne (bank) Crédit agricole (bank) Orange (telecommunications) Dalkia (energy)	Social housing companies (public, private, mix) Pas-de-Calais Habitat (EPIC) ICF Habitat (SNCF social housing company) Maisons & Cités (SA HLM) SIA Habitat (social company for housing) Logifim (SARL)
Supporting members	
High schools (17) 4 collèges and 13 lycées	Associations (16)
Labelled initiatives (7)	Individuals (3)

Table 4: List and typology of the Euralens members

⁶⁴ Both a private actor and an association.

> The 5 axes of the Euralens development plan

1/ *Euralens, industrial metropolis*, centred on the plastics industry and logistical clusters;

2/ *Smart housing*, centred on 4 clusters: eco-transition (CD2E), energy performance (Ekwation), Smart housing building (HBI) and the elderly cluster;

3/ *Food and well-being*, with 3 clusters: AGROE (to support the agri-food SME transition towards sustainability), Adrianor (innovation centre) and Sport technopolis Vivalley;

4/ *Culture and digital economy*, supported by the Louvre-Lens valley and the Heritage and art crafts institute (IMAP);

5/ *Tourism and services economy*, centred on 3 clusters (2 of which have already been mentioned): the elderly cluster, Vivalley, and ALL Around the Louvre-Lens.

> Livrets Euralens

- [Livret Euralens n°1 - Cadre de référence pour les projets urbains éco-responsable](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°2 - Louvre-Lens Chiffres clés et impacts 2014](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°3 - Quelle dimension métropolitaine pour la Base 11/19 ?](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°4 - Dynamique territoriale Euralens et élaboration du futur SCoT](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°5 - La Chaîne des parcs](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°6 - Forum Économie & Formation](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°7 - Louvre-Lens Chiffres clés et impacts 2015](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°8 - Forum Culture & Tourisme](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°9 - Forum Participation des habitants](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°10 - Louvre-Lens Chiffres clés et impacts 2016](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°11 - Quel devenir pour le site actuel de l'hôpital de Lens ?](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°12 - Louvre-Lens, 5 ans ! Chiffres clés et impacts 2012 - 2017](#)
- [Livret Euralens n°13 - Forum Énergie](#)

The Euralens strategic documents are of three kinds. Firstly, every year, Euralens does what it has been created for, i.e. supporting and evaluating the installation of the Louvre-Lens museum on the territory. The two main arguments are that the museum has welcomed more visitors than planned, but also, as one interviewee said, that: “a museum cannot save a territory alone” (P21, 2018). Secondly, Euralens, assisted by its two AMO, publishes spatial planning recommendations on a specific theme. They are either preconfigurations of future planning documents (some are enforceable as the Territorial Cohesion Plan, some not as the eco-responsible urbanism Plan, some might be one day as the Chain of Parks plan) or project-centred reflections on strategic infrastructure (e.g. the 11/19 base⁶⁵ or the Lens Hospital). For some of those documents, Euralens and the two firms work in collaboration with a third entity, the Euralens “quality circle”, a reunion of international experts invited every year to visit and advise Euralens on a chosen theme⁶⁶. The quality circle has for instance participated in the three underlined documents in this paragraph. Thirdly, Euralens also initiates participative forums that mobilise not only experts, the two AMO but also civil society and the inhabitants⁶⁷.

⁶⁵ Situated in Loos-en-Gohelle on the site of a former mining pit, the base positions itself as a centre of excellence on the issues of sustainable development and culture.

⁶⁶ For the list of the members, see <https://www.euralens.org/old-pages/qui-sommes-nous/cercle-de-qualite.html>

⁶⁷ They consist of a series of workshops organised in different places in the territory on one targeted subject: Economy and Education in 2014, Culture and Tourism in 2015, Participation of Inhabitants in 2016, Energy in 2017, Youth and Citizens’ Engagement in 2018. As we can see, three of them

8.4.3 The Euralens label

> List of label publications

- Cahier du label Euralens [2017](#)
- Cahier du label Euralens [2016](#)
- Cahier du label Euralens [2015](#)
- Cahier du label Euralens [2014](#)
- Cahier du label Euralens [2013](#)

The Euralens label principles

Reciprocal commitments

Labelled [recognised] projects may request technical advice from Euralens members and its AMO on project operationalisation, management, communication and networking. Members are also invited to join the Euralens Club meetings that allow them to exchange best practice and advice. In return, the recognised initiatives commit themselves to respect the Euralens convention which sums up the previously quoted objectives. The label does not come with funding.

What kind of projects?

Labelled projects may be related to numerous fields: culture, heritage valorisation, economic development, research and education, touristic development, social cohesion, health. They can also be different in nature: spatial planning or economic projects, events, collaborative or grassroots initiatives.

What is the evaluation grid?

The evaluation is based on 7 criteria:

1. Territorial Cohesion of Euralens and empowerment of inhabitants
2. Environmental excellence
3. Architectural, urban and landscape excellence
4. Heritage valorisation
5. Participation of inhabitants and local stakeholders in the project-making
6. Contribution to economic development of the locality
7. Innovation and exemplarity

Since 2012, more than 100 initiative holders have applied, of which 5 have obtained the label (2017 figures). As the map below shows, 19 are in the category of Culture and Tourism, 17 are in the category of Economy and Education, 13 in the Eco-responsible City, 6 in the Chain of Parks⁶⁸, this latter being the last one to be introduced, which explains the smaller number of recognised projects. A quick look at the map below shows a concentration of the projects in Lens-Liévin agglomeration, which is the most populated area of the territory, but also where the Euralens base is situated.

are connected to the strategic development axes listed by Euralens. The 2017 Energy forum resulted in a “roadmap for energetic transition in the Artois Metropolitan Pole”.

⁶⁸ See the Euralens website for the list of labelled projects

Carte des labels Euralens 2017

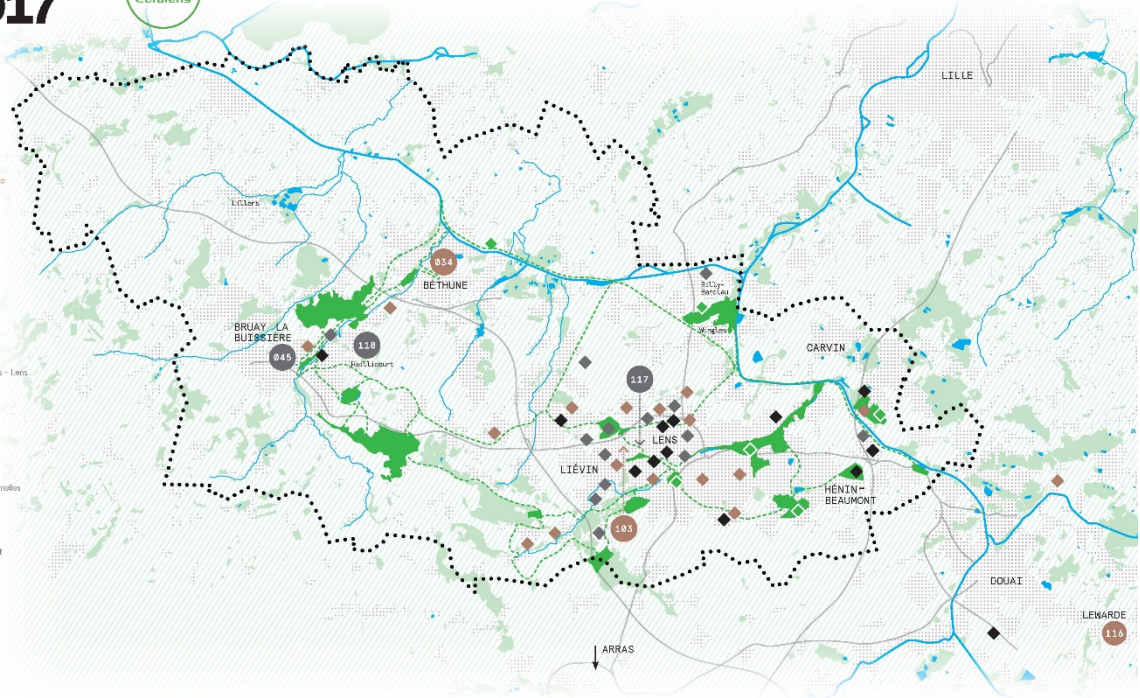


PROJETS LABELLISÉS EURALENS ENTRE 2013 ET 2016

- ◆ Valorisation du territoire contemporain - Salaurins
- ◆ Site de l'Élysée - Oignies
- ◆ Focuse culture "Les Cars" - Valenciennes
- ◆ L'Odyssée de la culture - Lens
- ◆ C'roul'ou - l'association du développement durable - Loos en Gohelle
- ◆ Cité des Techniciens - Bruay-la-Buissière
- ◆ Mise en tourisme des paysages culturels construits sur le territoire - Béthune-Grain
- ◆ Art'loos entre Douai et Râves
- ◆ Ploze - l'association culturelle des offices de tourisme - Lens
- ◆ Sites commémoratifs de la Grande Guerre - Souchez et Adèle Saint-Victoire
- ◆ Gites de l'École polytechnique - Lens
- ◆ Gonnelle Test - Loos en Gohelle
- ◆ Arts de L'après en St-Maur - Lens
- ◆ Résidence d'art de l'Institut Cobocconi - Lens
- ◆ M'adatt'age - écosystème - Creaux
- ◆ Autre part, coopérative culturelle, sportive et sociale - Lens
- ◆ Base TUR - Loos en Gohelle
- ◆ L'œuvre Lens Vallée, la Pôle - minime culturel en ses Connes TIC Days - Lens
- ◆ Campus Eco-énergétique sur le Plateau de M'compo et Datt'3 - Douges
- ◆ Hélios-Bes-Auxois et Oignies
- ◆ Cluster Senior - Territoire ou Pôle Métropolitain de Arras
- ◆ Salon International des métiers d'arts et Institut des Métiers d'Art et du Patrimoine - Lens
- ◆ Développement de la filière bois régionale - la micro-écologie - Crouchy en Gohelle
- ◆ Béral, Lycée du Travail Millénaire - Lens
- ◆ Coopérative d'Utilisation de Matière Agricole "La Verboosclue" - Vermelles
- ◆ Centre de Formation Professionnelle de Saint-Barthe - Loos en Gohelle
- ◆ Parc des Lignes d'Art - Paroisses et sa stratégie éco-responsable - Douai
- ◆ Viva esp, le cluster sport, santé et bien-être - Liévin
- ◆ Bouquet de services des boîtes pro aux entreprises - Hémin-Beaumont
- ◆ Le Garage scolaire du Bassin minier - Lens
- ◆ POP School - Lens
- ◆ CMI Bruno - Douges
- ◆ Lens contrôlé
- ◆ Eie - Creaux - Creaux
- ◆ Fok Formation de la Cité 9 - Lens
- ◆ Focuse galerie - Douai
- ◆ Nouveau Centre - esp'afar - Lens
- ◆ Pôle d'équipement Minoua de Loos - Hémin
- ◆ Quartier des carrières de Arras la Bassière
- ◆ Énergie par du Réseau - Douai et St-Vaast
- ◆ Aménagement des espaces publics autour du Loterie - Lens, Liévin
- ◆ Pôle d'énergie métropolitain de Sainte-Henriette - Noyelles Godault, Hémin, Joss'font et Douges
- ◆ Habitat social Cook-Capelin dans la Cité du 1271 - Lens
- ◆ Parc de l'Art - Hémin-Beaumont, Douai et Roubaix
- ◆ Parc Souches-Aul - Courrières, Hamels, Lison sous Lens et Noyelles sous Lens
- ◆ Parc de la Glacière - Aulnoy
- ◆ Focusement sport éco - Bassin minier - Territoire du Pôle Métropolitain de Arras
- ◆ Développement des activités de tourisme Fluvial et Riveaux - Béthune-Grain
- ◆ Base VIT/VIC - Béthune-Grain

LES 6 PROJETS LABELLISÉS EN 2017

- 118 La Banque, centre d'art contemporain à Béthune (PAGE 18)
- 119 Campus des métiers et des qualifications des Travaux Publics à Bruay-la-Buissière (PAGE 20)
- 120 Rénovation artistique à la Cité des Provinces de Lens (PAGE 22)
- 121 Centre Historique Minier de Lewarde (PAGE 24)
- 122 Wezart, réseau social de la création artistique locale (PAGE 26)
- 123 Les Vignes d'Heilicourt (PAGE 28)



- ◆ Chaînes des parcs
- ◆ Culture & tourisme
- ◆ Économie & formation
- ◆ Ville éco-responsable
- ◆ EPCI
- ◆ Liaisons chaîne des parcs
- ◆ Réseau routier
- ◆ La Chaîne des parcs
- ◆ Milieu agricole
- ◆ Milieu naturel
- ◆ Milieu urbanistique

Map 14: The Euralens labelled initiatives 2013-2017.

8.4.4 The four Euralens labelled initiatives analysed in this report

Name	Holder	Category	Annual cost	Funds	Place	Description
Pop School	Pop School Social private firm	Economy and education	193,000 € / year	45% CALL, 55% EU	Lens, Maison syndicale	Private school that offers free short-term (6 months) training to unemployed local people for them to become web developers and community managers.
Somewhere else	Local association <i>Porte Mine</i>	Culture and tourism	1,000,000 € for renovation of the house	45% CALL, 55% EU	Lens and Loos-en-Gohelle, Cité 12/14	Renovation of a former engineer's house to transform it into a local food restaurant, youth hostel and cultural centre in order to encourage local development and meetings between local inhabitants and tourists around cultural activities.
Cultural and social assistance to heating renovation in a UNESCO-protected area	Cultural Association Culture Community + Social housing company SIA	Culture and tourism	n.d.	n.d.	Lens, Cité des Provinces	In a UNESCO-protected mining neighbourhood, the project is a joint venture of a neighbouring national theatre and a social housing company, to support the inhabitants in the heating renovation of their homes.
Mining basin solidary garage	Local association <i>A future for all</i>	Economy and education	320,000 € / year	n.d.		The garage employs local people and offers cheap repairs to low income inhabitants of the mining basin, addressing at the same time employment and mobility problems.

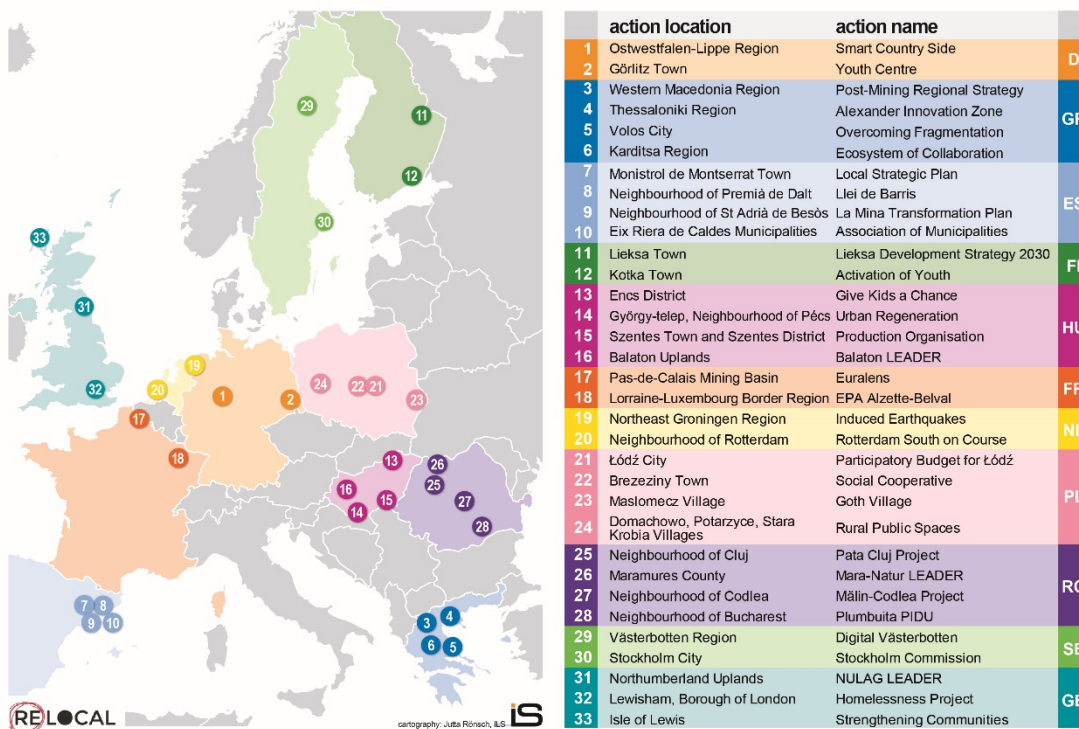
Table 5: Zoom on 4 initiatives that obtained the Euralens label.
Source: Euralens

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project ‘**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**’ –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies in 13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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