

CHAPTER 11

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC-SOCIAL AND SOLIDARITY ECONOMY PARTNERSHIPS (PSSEPS) IN THE FRENCH REGIONS AFTER THE HAMON AND NOTRÉ LAWS

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Part of *New perspectives in the co-production of
public policies, public services and common goods*
by Philippe BANCE, Marie J. BOUCHARD &
Dorothea GREILING (eds), 2022

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CIRIEC activities, publications and researches are realized with the support of the University of Liège, the Walloon-Brussels Federation, the Walloon Region and the Belgian National Lottery.



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BANCE, Philippe and CHASSY, Angélique. “Comparative analysis of Public-Social and Solidarity Economy Partnerships (PSSEPs) in the French Regions after the Hamon and NOTRÉ Laws / Chapter 11”. In: BANCE, Philippe, BOUCHARD, Marie-J. and GREILING, Dorothea (eds). *New perspectives in the co-production of public policies, public services and common goods*. Liège: CIRIEC, 2022. (CIRIEC Studies Series; 3), pp. 227-257. <https://doi.org/10.25518/ciriec.css3chap11>

This publication is indexed and available in [RePEc](#)

Comparative analysis of Public-Social and Solidarity Economy Partnerships (PSSEPs) in the French Regions after the Hamon and NOTRé Laws /

Chapter 11

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Abstract

France has faced for several decades, with the rising of new public management, profound transformations in the ways of implementing its collective action. Two recently adopted laws are likely to play a major role in this regard by encouraging the development of partnerships between the public sector and social and solidarity economy organizations (PSSEOs). The Hamon law of 2014 did bring recognition and national legitimacy to the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) while advocating for the latter a change of scale; the NOTRé law of 2015 redefines the competences and attributions of the different levels of public government by strengthening the role of the regions in the implementation of territorial development strategies. Regional public authorities are thus increasingly relying on social and solidarity economy organizations (SSEOs) to carry out collective action. The aim of this contribution is to analyze the differentiated effects that may result from recent reforms.

We carried out an empirical study with a view to interregional comparison. We interviewed the representatives of large structures (public and SSE) in two regions (Grand-Est and Normandy) to understand similarities and differences of approaches on four topics: two of them refer to the characteristics and effects of the Hamon law (economic perspective; the citizen dimension in the SSE); two others to the NOTRé law (the influence of actors in the co-construction of regional public action; its territorial anchoring).

Our textual analysis thus shows that the current territorial and partnership dynamics give rise to a differentiation in France of regional policies and PSSEPs. These results could lead to the emergence of different regional models, cause a yardstick competition between these models, and have a strong influence in future on the process of creative destruction of collective action.

Keywords: Social and Solidarity Economy, public policies, Hamon's law, NOTRé law, Regions, Governance, Ecosystem

JEL-Codes: L31, L38, O35, P31

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Introduction

Through their projects, experiments, innovations and contributions to territorial ecosystems, Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) organisations are creating growing interest from public authorities throughout the world. Their specificities as hybrid organisations (Powell, 1987), non-profit or not-for-profit, and their aim to satisfy common interests or social utility, are leading public authorities to have recourse to from the point of view of general interest. The proximity of SSE organisations to their stakeholders and their territorial anchorage are also assets for co-constructing public action in conjunction with actors in the field (Fraisie, 2018 and in this publication). The partnerships that have been deployed in this way (Dhume, 2001) between public and SSE actors (PSSEP), characterise a new paradigm of collective action, as shown in the first publication in the « CIRIEC Studies Series », in particular its conclusion (CIRIEC, Bance, 2018).

New public management and authorities' desire to reduce or limit the growth of public expenditure have often led to the adoption of an efficiency-seeking approach involving SSE organisations more closely, particularly in the framework of joint production of public goods (cf. Bassi et al. in this publication). The development of joint production is characterised by the fact that, in their respective territories, communities deploy strategies involving SSE organisations in the production of public goods with a view to limiting public expenditure. The New Public Management (NPM) doctrine is therefore concerned with seeking the efficiency of public action by offering, at lower cost, more or at least as many public goods. This has been particularly the case in France in the two last decades, where SSE organisations have been drawn into public action (Bance, Milésy, Zagbayou, 2018).

The important legislative reforms carried out in 2014 and 2015 by the French public authorities – Hamon (Social and Solidarity Economy) and then NOTRé (New Territorial Organisation of the Republic) – seem to be inspired by this normative framework of action, while aiming to remedy the problems of coherence in the institutional architecture. The Hamon Law (n° 2014-856, July 31, 2014) brings recognition and legitimacy to the SSE (and to their organisations, which are associations, cooperatives, foundations, mutual societies and social enterprises) by emphasising the need to proceed to a change of scale, which is a source of economic development.

The NOTRé Law (n° 2015-991, August 7, 2015) redefines the competences and attributions of the different levels of public government in order to strengthen the role of the regions, so that their executives can implement territorial development strategies.¹

¹ The growing importance of the role played by the regions in the specification of public policies began with the decentralisation laws of 1982 and 1983 (known as the Defferre Laws). The 2015 territorial reform reduced the number of regions from 22 to 13 to contribute to the deployment of more elaborate territorial

However, the transformations at work require a precise analysis of the ways in which SSE organizations are involved in collective action and the nature of the PSSEP in territories. As Itçaina and Richez-Battesti (2018) have shown in several countries, different strategies are developed by SSE organisations in their territorial cooperations, adapting to socio-economic and political regulations. In France, it is advisable to ask first whether the Hamon Law, which proposes a change of scale and placing traditional organisations together, does not raise identity-related problems for SSE organisations. For some of those organisations are in the solidarity economy and others are social enterprises. Second, it is necessary to analyse the different ways in which the reforms are applied in the territories.

In order to do so, our analysis is based on a comparative approach in two regions: Grand-Est and Normandy.² The empirical work consists in interviewing the main actors and representative leaders working in the SSE in each region (public decision-makers, representative organisations). This makes it possible to conduct a *Textual Discourse Analysis* in order to understand differences and similarities in perceptions and specific views about the effects of regional policies resulting from the implementation of reforms. The textual analysis is based on an initial interview using four assertions (hypotheses). Two of these refer to the characteristics and effects of the Hamon Law (its economic dominance; the citizen dimension in the SSE), and two refer to the NOTRé Law (the influence of actors and co-construction; the importance of territorial anchoring). The responses enable us to analyse the relevance of our initial analyses and questions.

1. Recent legislative changes, sources of questioning on the action of SSE organisations and the territorialisation of Public-SSE partnerships (PSSEPs)

The 2010s will have been a landmark for the SSE in France because of the legislative recognition of their importance and the role that the public authorities intend them to play in the framework of so-called general interest policies. The Hamon and the New Organisation of the Republic (NOTRé) Laws are two key legislative steps that make the SSE a sector requiring new attention from the public authorities.

development strategies. The other local authorities in France, created during the French Revolution, are the almost 36,000 municipalities and the 101 departments (including some overseas territories).

² The INSEE data used by the CRESS (the regional chambers of social and solidarity economy) of Normandy and the Grand-Est can be used to understand the territorial characteristics of the SSE. In Normandy, 10,827 are employer establishments representing 10% of the establishments in the region: in 2013 there were 117,163 employees in Normandy and in 2015 117,029 employees i.e. a decrease of 0.11%. In terms of associations, 600,000 volunteers are active on a regular basis. In the Grand-Est, 16,602 establishments are employers, representing 9.1% of establishments in the region: in 2013 there were 198,500 employees and in 2015 199,880, i.e. a 0.70% increase in jobs. In terms of associations, 500,000 volunteers are regularly active.

1.1. The Hamon Law: recognition and the objective of change of scale for the FSSE

Although some progress has been made since the 1980s,³ it is only recently in France that the SSE has received full institutional recognition as a sector whose specificities require special treatment. With the so-called Hamon Law of 31 July 2014, the public authorities consider the SSE as a set of organisations whose specificities form a whole, based on the principles of non-profit or not-for-profit. The Law defines the overall perimeter of the SSE, including of course historical organisations such as cooperatives, mutual societies, associations and foundations. The Law also integrates into the SSE commercial companies that are pursuing a social utility purpose. Criteria for membership are specified. In their statutes and to the public authorities companies must declare themselves to be of social utility, and they must respect three operating principles: they must not aim to share profits; they must have democratic governance in their statutes; and they must allocate most of their profits to the development of the company. These membership criteria are of great importance for organisations since they condition the ability or not to benefit from resources and funding dedicated to the SSE.

Companies that meet more stringent conditions can obtain an approval, known as “ESUS” (social utility solidarity companies), issued by the Regional Chambers of the SSE (CRESS),⁴ which gives access to resources from the solidarity employee savings fund and to public contracts reserved for the SSE by certain local authorities. This label is dedicated in particular to companies that provide support to people who are economically or socially vulnerable, companies seeking to preserve or develop social ties, those fighting exclusion, economic and social inequalities, or those strengthening territorial cohesion.

Through these provisions, the public authorities aim, as expressly stated in the Law, for a “change of scale” for SSE, thus supporting its different components, including those with business status, and contributing to more resilient, job-rich, sustainable and socially just growth. The expansion of the SSE to include organisations operating on a profit-making principle, even if limited, has been met with strong reservations.⁵

³ After the left came to power in 1981, a decree was issued bringing together the three main families (associations, cooperatives and mutual societies) under the term social economy. In 1983, Regional Chambers of the Social Economy (CRES) were created in each region and a structure for the development of the social economy (IDES). In 1984, a Secretariat of State, in charge of the social economy, was created.

⁴ The CRESS succeeded the CRES, with a change of acronym that stems from the affirmation in France of the concept of SSEs. On average, CRESS members are distributed as follows: 49% association representatives; 19% representatives of cooperatives; 15% representatives of mutuals; 7% representatives of social enterprises; 6% representatives of structures relating to “regional specificities”; 3% representatives of employers’ associations; and 1% representatives of foundations.

⁵ When the Act was introduced, the FNARS (Fédération Nationale des Associations d’Accueil et de Réinsertion Sociale, which in 2017 became the Fédération des Acteurs de la Solidarité) protested against the Law’s consideration of the concept of limited lucrative activity. The FNARS/FAS brings together 900 organisations managing more than 2,000 establishments, many of which provide integration through economic activity.

The CRESSes were broad enough to admit into the SSE companies that claimed to be social enterprises.⁶

Moreover, the assertion in the discourse and financing practices based on the measurement of social impact by monetisation raises questions about current and future developments (Alix and Baudet, 2015). Thus, in view of the traditional French culture of the SSE, questions have been raised about the introduction in 2016 of new financing mechanisms, the “social impact bond”, which are instruments that come from the UK or the USA. They enable private actors to finance non-profit social projects by receiving remuneration through bonds issued by the public authorities (Glémain, 2019, pp. 98-99).

The orientations at work after the Hamon Law, and especially since 2017 and the election of Emmanuel Macron, also seem to confirm that the State is positioning itself to emphasise social entrepreneurship, making in other words social enterprise a very important driving force for the change of scale of the SSE. This will be effected by introducing more new financing measures and by advocating development through international cooperation. From a more theoretical point of view, the question of the identity of SSE organisations is raised, more specifically that of the hold of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 2004; Combes-Joret, Lethielleux and Reimat, 2018). These elements have led us to question the actors in the French regions, in this case in the Grand-Est and Normandy chosen for the comparison, on their understanding of the foundations of the Hamon Law. The first of the proposals, like the three others selected for this study, was sent by e-mail to the institutions and organisations representing the SSE⁷ as a research hypothesis, requesting a written response from them.⁸

This first question aims to elicit the opinion of actors on the image that the public authorities have of the SSE sector. It is thus a question of analysing actors’ discourse on what we have called a predominantly economic representation of the SSE in the Hamon Law.⁹ The second question, **H2**, aims to clarify the analysis of feelings towards the Law with regard to an associationist and non-market conception of the SSE. More specifically, it seeks to discover whether the structural representatives consulted see in the transformations at work questioning of the fundamental traditional values of the SSE: the search for social utility on non-market bases while respecting democratic values. From this perspective the statement of the question relates to the absence of centrality of citizen associations and the affirmation of a commercial social utility in

<https://www.politis.fr/blogs/2013/07/projet-de-Loi-hamon-la-fnars-en-appelle-a-a-un-renforcement-des-specificites-de-less-23349/>

⁶ At the beginning of 2019, only 500 commercial companies had been integrated by the CRESS into the ESS (Lacroix and Slitine, 2019, p. 25).

⁷ The organisations contacted in the regions are detailed in each region in the second part.

⁸ The consultation was carried out from September, 12 to November, 18, 2019, and in some cases required several reminders to obtain a full answer.

⁹ The statement of the hypothetical proposals communicated to the actors is set out in the Annex.

the Hamon Law. The two other hypotheses used in the study refer to the effects of the NOTRé Law.

1.2. The NOTRé Law: the rise of territorial public action leading to various types of partnerships with the SSE

The NOTRé Law of August 2015 is considered, after the 1982 and 1992 Laws, as the third Act of French decentralisation. All these laws are profound institutional reforms that have given rise to the emergence and then growing importance of territorial policies (developed in the territories of implementation) vis-à-vis the territorialised, i.e. they are top-down policies that involve territories once decisions have been made centrally (Autès, 1995). Act 1, relating to the so-called Defferre Laws promulgated in March and then July 1982, transferred state competences (held by the prefect's representative in the region) to regional and departmental elected officials. The Law of February 1992, relating to the territorial administration of the Republic, Act 2, extended local powers, specifying that territorial administration was "organised in accordance with the principle of free administration of territorial authorities, in such a way as to implement regional planning, guarantee local democracy and promote the modernisation of".

The NOTRé Law then redefined the respective competences of the authorities by strengthening those of the regions in their regulatory dimension and by reallocating some of those exercised by the departments (concerning roads, schools, transport, ports and waste). However, the departments retain broad powers in terms of solidarity and territorial cohesion, which are of course often exercised in partnership with the SSE, notably through social action such as aid for children, the elderly and the disabled; allocation of the active solidarity income (RSA), a measure to reduce fuel poverty; strengthening the supply of services in areas with poor accessibility and improving access to services, by setting up service centres; strengthening the cultural field (libraries, archives, museums, heritage). Shared competences are exercised here with the municipalities, departments and regions (or even for state or EU funding through, for example, the European Social Fund). This is also the case in the fields of sport, tourism, promotion of regional languages and popular education, which are the responsibility of departments.

By specifying the respective competences of the different levels of territorial administration, the NOTRé Law aims to rationalise and bring coherence to the institutional architecture in the territories, in the context of multi-level governance (Bance, 2016). Together with other texts establishing regional cities and concerning groupings of regions (thus reducing mainland regions from 22 to 13), the NOTRé Act makes the region the leader in the economic development of its territory. The authorities must set out a regional strategy formulated in a Regional Economic Development, Innovation and Internationalisation Scheme (SRDEII). This plan, drawn up for a five-year period via a multi-partner approach, is discussed at the

Territorial Conference on Public Action. It establishes the support mechanisms for business activity in relation to the issue of regional attractiveness. Since the Hamon Law, the SSE is supposed to occupy an important place in this process of consultation and specification. The CRESSes must be consulted for the development of the SRDEII. Regional conferences on the SSE are organised every two years in order to discuss and analyse with all regional stakeholders the direction taken and results achieved, and to define future prospects. However, the integration of the SSE into the SRDEII is different in each region with regard to the consultation and specification processes at work. A first assessment carried out in 2017 by Avise underlines this diversity:¹⁰ some regions are more advanced in their action plans for operational implementation of SSE policy; others favour a transversal approach, seeking to place the SSE at the heart of priorities; others have a pillar-based approach and make the SSE one of their priorities; finally, some intend to decompartmentalise the SSE and the traditional economy and encourage cooperation with conventional companies.

We have chosen regions belonging to the second group in order to facilitate comparisons between the discourses that emerge from structures within similar regional strategies. The fact remains that our Grand-Est and Normandy regions retain their particularities, as Avise also pointed out. In the Grand-Est region, after considerable consultation (having started in the former merged regions), the emphasis was put on the development of associative life through training of volunteers and popular education; integration through economic activity (IAE); the development of social innovation; support for business creators and training of social entrepreneurs; the proximity of the territories through the creation of 12 territorial agencies. In Normandy, the SRDEII presents a section dedicated to the SSE considered as an “asset to be developed to support the key factors of success”, aiming at strengthening cooperation between SSE actors, local authorities and socio-economic actors; supporting innovations in this same cooperative approach; placing the SSE in the wider field of social cohesion; accelerating the change in scale of SSE organisations by helping them to reconcile performance and social impact; supporting the creation of jobs in the territories that need it most by helping associative networks to support business creation.

Institutional changes in all regions thus place SSE actors in a more participatory context and in a common approach to defining and implementing public action. This leads us in proposal **H3** to question the capacity of the SSE in its diversity to exert an influence in terms of co-construction of public action, especially in terms of social action. Proposal **H4** broadens the perspective by analysing in the discourses whether

¹⁰ Avise, Quelle prise en compte de l’ESS dans les SRDEII ?

https://www.avise.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/20170424/avise_zoom-sur-les-srdeii_201704_0.pdf .

Avise was created in 2002 by the Caisse des dépôts et consignations and ESS organisations. It defines itself as a collective engineering agency whose mission is to develop the social and solidarity-based economy and social innovation in France, working with public institutions and private organisations concerned with contributing to the general interest, supporting project leaders and helping to structure an ecosystem favourable to their development.

the territorial anchorage, which is strongly claimed by most SSE organisations, meets the expectations of local authorities, which are themselves differentiated, in the above-mentioned context of multilevel governance.

2. The SSE and territorial public action in the Grand-Est and Normandy Regions

SSE organisations have points in common but also differences according to the regions. Nine interviews were conducted with senior executives from the SSE sector from the Grand-Est and Normandy regions who were funders, coordinators and technical operators.¹¹ We submitted to them four proposals presented as hypotheses on the effects of recent legislation. These concerned in particular the new context resulting from the Hamon Law, regarding the roles and forms of action of the SSE, seeking to analyse the relationship with public authorities. We asked the actors to react in writing to the four proposals in order to be able to analyse their response.

Each proposal, formulated as a hypothesis subject to the actors' interpretation, refers to an aspect that we consider major in the interactions of French public authorities with the SSE since the recent legislative transformations. These hypotheses allow us to test the understanding of actors at four levels: **H1** (the economic dominance of the role assigned to the SSE), **H2** (the primacy of the public logic of promoting economic activities with regard to a citizen associationist approach),¹² **H3** (the importance of differences in the positioning of social action organisations and the co-construction of public-SSE actions), **H4** (the importance of the positioning and territorial anchoring of SSE structures with regard to public expectations). The statements of proposals sent to stakeholders are set out in Appendix.¹³

Through exploratory interviews with leading actors and decision-makers our analysis consists in detecting the prevalence of their behaviours and attitudes by conducting a textual analysis of discourses (Daigneault and Pétry, 2017) to provide qualitative validation to our questioning.

Moreover, we chose to conduct both manual and automated (by the IRaMuTeQ software) discourse analysis, as is often the case. We consider that the dual

¹¹ The academic approach and the inclusion of the survey in a scientific programme, facilitated contact and contributed to the involvement of respondents.

¹² Under this second component, we mean taking into account in the territories the aspirations or expectations of citizens through public decision-making tools based on citizen participation. It is therefore a form of social demand that is not exercised by a demand satisfied by the supply of goods and services from the market or by a supply entered into directly by public authorities.

¹³ Some respondents sometimes encountered difficulty in expressing an opinion and responding to researchers' questions, but such questions did however lead them to re-examine their own conception of institutional functioning.

perspective provided by combining the two approaches, manual (through an initial personal analysis of the statements made) and automated (with the help of encoded software), provides richer information. To take up the image of Hart (2001), the manual approach can be likened to the perspective of the investigator (a police officer) observing the neighbourhood streets, and the automated approach to the observation of a helicopter flying over the investigation site. The comparison of the results that emerge from the two approaches thus allows us to draw final conclusions.

For this field survey, we questioned actors with similar institutional features, but found it more difficult to obtain responses from SSE actors in the Grand-Est Region, for which we lack a structure that would be strictly symmetrical with that of the Normandy Region. The regional public funders, the Regional Chambers of the SSE (CRESS), representing the territorial ecosystem and technical structures supporting the development of the SSE at the regional level always figure, however, in the two regions.

2.1. Interpretation of data by the Manual Discourse Review (MDR)

The manual approach here aims to contextualise the discourses coming from the structures questioned in order to identify common responses, differences in discourse from one region to another, and even the existence of discourses that are not comparable because they are very dissimilar. Let us now present region by region the manual analysis that emerges from the responses to the questioning.

2.1.1. *The Normandy Region*

For Normandy, five structures were questioned. These are the SSE Service of the Normandy Regional Council, which is the most important public funder (referred to subsequently as “funder”). It develops specific financing schemes aimed at business creation and is the territorial leader in economic development. In order to be financed by the region, SSE activity must include 30% market activity. The Regional Chamber of the SSE (CRESS) is the second structure surveyed and its institutional attribute is to be the coordinator (subsequently referred to as such) of the regional SSE. It is made up, like any French Regional Chamber, of representative organisations of the SSE sector (associations, cooperatives, mutuals) on the territory that share a set of values and the common will to place people at the centre of their actions. Its purpose is to defend, promote and develop the SSE sector at the regional level by employing the most appropriate means. The technical operators are represented in the study by three structures. The first is the Agency for Regional Development of Social and Solidarity Enterprises (ADRESS). It aims to develop efficient, bold enterprises combining economic, social and environmental efficiency. Its core business is

support. The second is the Regional Association of the Solidarity Economy (ARDES). It works to promote and develop the Solidarity Economy and Popular Education in Normandy. Finally, the Comité d'Action et de Promotions Sociales (CAPS) aims to offer people in difficulty emergency accommodation as part of a social reintegration process.

H.1 There is unanimous agreement among those interviewed that the basis for the design of SSE action is predominantly economic. The regional public funder focuses on structures with market activity. This is not surprising since, as mentioned, the regional public authority of Normandy considers that in order to receive financial support SSE structures must produce 30% of their income and have the capacity to increase their market activity within three years. According to the CRESS coordinator, SSE enterprises receiving funding are located in targeted sectors or can justify at least their economic character by the existence of market resources. For technical operators, economic dominance is an obvious point to make. For ARDES, the initiatives of SSE organisations are economic in nature. The financing granted to SSE structures, while being hybrid, is mainly reserved for “economic” structures in the sense that they will develop jobs and provide services. For ADRESS, mechanisms favouring market and economic initiatives and the legislative evolutions introduced by the texts defining the SSE have resulted in favouring the creation of “super structures” in the social integration sector. Finally, for CAPS, the new institutional context has led to the emergence and growth of structures that can pave the way for the takeover of associations in difficulty and the injection of new funding.

H.2 Stakeholders had some difficulty in responding here due to the lack of a clear (and common) understanding of the term citizen association, although additional information was provided highlighting characteristics such as solidarity, democracy, volunteering and citizenship. CAPS’s response is also irrelevant, as it focuses on internal citizen participation within the structure. The regional public funder insists once again on the necessary change in scale of the SSE around economic objectives. The coordinator deplores the lack of emphasis in the Hamon Law on the notions of citizenship, voluntary work and social cohesion, which leaves little room for dimensions such as commitment and the social value of the projects carried out by SSE structures. For the technical operator ARDES, the Hamon Law does not take into account solidarity economy associations such as Local Exchange Systems (LETS) and the Association for the Maintenance of Peasant Agriculture (AMAP). As for ADRESS, it points to the advent of a social market economy that puts to one side citizen logic.

H.3 The answers are disparate concerning this question about the understanding that the range of actors have about the implementation of social action in the territories and their influence on it. The funder and the technical operator ARDES do not take a position regarding the social sector. The same is true of the coordinator, who furthermore underlines the difficulty in participating in the specification of public policies, due to the fact that it is a transversal organisation. ADRESS specifies

that the organisations of the SSE in the social and health field which contract with third party payers are subject to their influence, and underlines its doubts with regard to co-construction, due to the complexity of its implementation. CAPS indicates that the legislative texts for the development of the SSE concept have not, at its level, created confusion as to the interlocutors to be approached. Only the financing rules have been modified, with the implementation of budget performance tools such as the National Cost Study (ENC) and the Multiannual Contracts of Objectives and Means (CPOM). The targeted objectives are the comparison between the accommodation structures of the same territory in order to make it possible, in the medium term, to set a median cost instead (ENC) and, to prioritise budgetary discussion around efficiency (CPOM). The influence of the interlocutors is thus based on two tools that force social action structures to adopt a multi-year projection of their costs in order to optimise budgetary control. As can be seen for all the actors in Normandy, co-construction in the social field has received very little consideration or has not given rise to a willingness to adopt a real position.

H.4 Two points should be borne in mind. The first concerns the interest of the territorial anchoring of SSE structures, a point on which the funder and the technical operators ADRESS and CAPS expressed their point of view. ADRESS specifies that the objective of a local SSE actor is the development of the SSE, social entrepreneurship and the solidarity economy within a perimeter that it has set itself and independently of the public policies that may or may not be implemented in the territories. It adds that SSE enterprises and structures can however influence public authorities. CAPS specifies that the strength of structures of intermediate size lies in their territorial anchorage which allows for a close dialogue with supervisory authorities. The detailed knowledge of the field acquired by a long-term presence in a territory at the human level, would enable structures to propose innovative and efficient answers to the various queries, whether anticipated or not, formulated by funders. For the funder, territorial anchoring is a source of democratic functioning and economic solidarity, and of significant added value for the development of the territory. The second element of response to the hypothesis concerned the behaviour of SSE actors in the territory due to their positioning and influence. For the coordinator, the NOTRé Act has for the moment focused on the question: “who can do what”, which creates a facilitating and collaborative framework with sub-regional territories. According to the coordinator, the Hamon Law has helped the recognition of the CRESS as the leader of SSE actors in the territories, facilitating the co-constructed proposals of multiple networks and companies, members of the CRESS. The relevance of CRESS membership has been debated at length within ARDES, as it characterises “belonging to the same family” as large mutualist and banking groups, without having the feeling of sharing the same fundamentals.

2.1.2. The Grand-Est Region

In the Grand-Est region, four structures were approached, two of which are similar to those in Normandy: the SSE Service of the Regional Council as regional public funder and the CRESS du Grand-Est as coordinator. Metz Mécènes Solidaires (MMS) was selected as technical operator. It brings together public, private and civil society actors around a common interest, that of collecting funds and allocating them to the SSE projects selected in accordance with the wishes expressed by the donors (which is similar to ARDES in Normandy). Finally, the Fédération Médico-Sociale (FMS) of Epinal is another technical operator whose aim is social integration, support for the elderly and disabled, protection of children and so on (comparable to CAPS in Normandy).

H.1 The structures are again unanimous in considering that the foundations of the Hamon Law are predominantly economic. For the funder, the SSE has been identified with an economic approach, clearly marking the “E” of SSE, as a driving force to foster the creation and development of socially innovative projects generating social utility and promoting non-relocatable employment. The SSE is also included in the Regional Plan for Economic Development, Innovation and Internationalisation (SRDEII) included in the NOTRé Law. The coordinator specifies that it is logical that the Hamon Law is predominantly economic and indeed that the opposite would have been strange. As for the technical operators, they see their role as that of helping the associations to work on their economic model in order to survive (MMS). FMS wonders about the distinction that should be made between economic and non-economic and especially about the refusal to speak of the economy when dealing with social and solidarity questions.

H.2 Except for FMS operator, which rejects the very notion of citizen association and in particular the democratic functioning with which one would label the association by associating it with citizenship, the responses of the structures show strong concordance, and this on two counts. The first is that, as in Normandy, some actors refuse place citizen associations and the economy in opposition to one another. If the coordinator agrees with the assertion that citizen associations are not the core target of the Hamon Law, it considers that the citizen and economic dimensions should not be opposed to each other and that, to varying degrees, they exist jointly in most of the projects supported. In the same way, for the technical operator MMS, these two worlds should not be opposed, but should evolve towards more flexibility and agility in their economic model while keeping a strong citizen involvement. However, second, the difficulty of linking citizen associations to the economy is underlined. The public funder thus highlights that, faced with the targeted expectations of voluntary associations, and given the inadequacy of systems that are often economically restrictive for citizen associations, the region has chosen to adopt an approach centred on the economy and social innovation and to place the field of citizen associations and voluntary work in a dedicated “commitment” department.

H.3 The funder and the coordinator clearly had difficulty answering the question as they did not consider themselves to be concerned by the field of social action. As for the technical operators, they focused primarily on the influence and importance of co-construction of projects and secondarily on the issue of multiplicity of interlocutors. For MMS, the numerous calls for projects launched by public entities however, create real competition between associative actors in the territories which are obliged to “hunt” for public subsidies. However, it underlines the interest in getting associations to work together in the territories in order to mutualise their needs and co-construct projects. FMS specifies that SSE structures must be the spearheads of “working with” and thus work as much as possible in partnership.

H.4 The technical operator MMS does not fundamentally address the issue. Two important points should be retained from the other answers. The first concerns the importance of territorial anchoring. This is clearly expressed by the coordinator, who specifies that SSE actors should have a good territorial anchorage and detailed knowledge of the territory. The other important point is the influence of SSE actors in the territory. For the coordinator this influence is not necessarily related to their ability to meet the demands of the public authorities. Their strength is more related to their capacity to propose solutions to the population. The funder explains that in a territory, some actors play an important leadership role, often because of the charisma of their founders or leaders and/or the success of the structure or its membership of a national network. The technical operator FMS underlines the importance of being vigilant with regard to the NOTRé Law which is thought to favour the regrouping of local authorities and, in particular, large operators with a national presence.

Following a first manual interpretation the answers given by SSE actors to our questions highlight the following main elements. The actors of the two regions consider quite unanimously that the Hamon Law is predominantly economic, thus confirming **H1**. However, the expression citizen association is debated and even provoked irritation, which indicates the diversity of points of view in SSE structures.

However, all the actors who responded by accepting that expression admit that citizen associations are not the core target of the Hamon Law, which confirms **H2**. For the third question, the notion of social action is debated among representatives of the structures. It is considered by coordinators and funders as outside their field of competence, thus ruling out any answer in any region. The operators who responded do not really make a link between the multiplicity of actors and the co-construction of public action for the implementation of social action in the territories. However, the influence of actors is considered important in both Normandy and the Grand-Est, which is a partial confirmation of **H3**. Finally, in both regions, the territorial anchoring of structures is considered to be of great importance in terms of influence and capacity to meet the expectations of the public authorities. Nevertheless, the influence of the actors is understood differently according to the regions. In Normandy, the CRESS has clearly been influential since the Hamon Law, as a central interlocutor.

However, the cohesion of the SSE as a whole raises questions: the legitimacy of mutualist and banking groups in their membership of SSE is questioned, especially by ARDES because of their values, which are considered to be different. The NOTRé Act is considered to have significant effects on the missions of SSE organisations by giving rise to groupings of structures that have accentuated the growing influence of some of them. In the Grand-Est region, the legitimacy of the CRESS has not been questioned. Thus, all these elements confirm **H4**.

After this general presentation of the main results of the manual discursive analysis, let us complete the automated analysis.

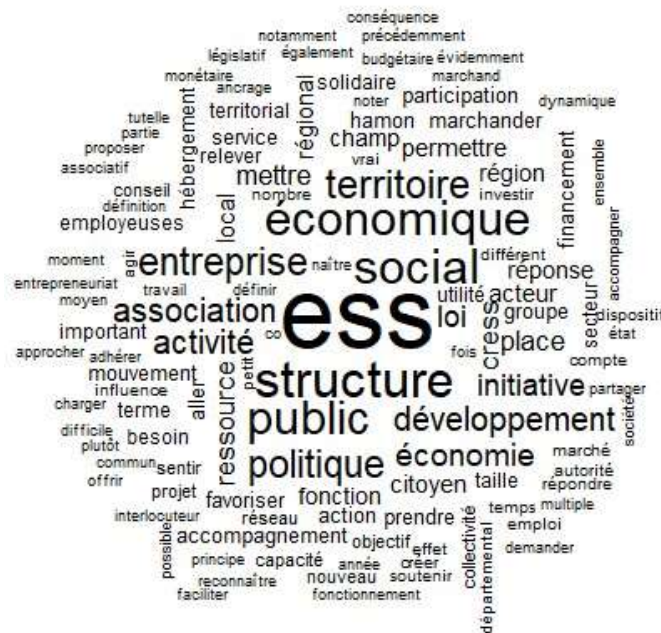
2.2. Interpretation of data via Confirmed Discourse Examination (CDE)

Three analyses were conducted using software support. The first concerns *Text Descriptive Statistics (A1)*. It displays the lexicon of words associated with the corpus in the form of a graph called “Word Cloud”. The most cited words are placed in the centre and the Word Cloud should be considered as an inventory. The second analysis is a *Hierarchical Descending Classification (HDC) (A2)* which “*identifies statistically independent classes of words (forms). These classes are interpretable through their profiles, which are characterized by specific forms correlated with each other*” (Salone, 2013). This method of classification makes it possible to produce a typology of the different discourses expressed by the formulation of the various propositions. It should be noted that the words displayed are only representations of the text segments in which they appear. In order to determine the themes of each class, special attention was given to the most significant words in the corpus. The third analysis created is called *Similarity Analysis (SA) (A3)* which highlights the preponderant association between two words (co-occurrence). The larger the size of the words in the visualisation, the more frequent they are in the corpus, the thicker the links/edges, the more co-occurring the words are.

Our analysis disaggregates the two regions to identify differences and similarities. However, the targeted analysis for each of the hypotheses by region could not be carried out due to a lack of textual data on some hypotheses, particularly for the Grand-Est. The file for each of the regions is therefore based on a grouping of the four hypotheses. This approach makes it possible to achieve the HDC. In order to carry out this analysis, we paid particular attention to the following words or groups of words in relation to our four hypotheses: economic, citizen, creation of new activities, social utility, multiple, influence, co-construction, actors, territorial anchoring, capacity. Other words or expressions will be examined more closely in light of our manual discourse review.

2.2.1. The CDE on the Norman territorial space

Textual Corpus: Normandy Region :¹⁴



**Figure 1: Word Cloud associated with
SSE - Normandy**

The first analysis **A1** (Figure 1) highlights 14 words in bold in the centre. These are: “SSE”¹⁵, 53 times, “Structure”, 25 times, “Economic”, 23 times, “Social”, 23 times, “Public”, 22 times, “Territory”, 18 times, “Politics”, 17 times, “Enterprise”, 17 times, “Activity”, 15 times, “Development”, 14 times, “Association”, 14 times, “Economy”, 13 times, “Initiative”, 12 times. On reading these results and in relation to our four hypotheses, we note the pre-eminence of the word “economy”, cited 36 times by cumulating “Economic” and “Economy” (**H1**). The word “Territory” then appears widely in the responses (**H4**).

The second type of analysis, **A2** of the HDC, highlights 6 classes with different lexical domains (see Figure 2). We have chosen to display only the words (reduced forms) having the highest Chi-square values of each class,¹⁶ i.e. those that are significant. The words in yellow appear as the most significant ($p < 0.0001$), the words in green also appear significant ($p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$). Some words in each of the classes are not studied for problems of interpretation (e.g., “sometimes”, “moment”, “take”, “need”, etc.).

Class 5 is the largest with 22.5% of the shapes. It is characterised by 10 active forms: “public”, “resource”, “political”, “take”, “enterprise”, “account”, “monetary”, “need”, “territorial”. This lexical field refers to the domain of the “Public”.

¹⁴ The Word Cloud is translated into French. For software reasons, we could not translate it into English. A glossary is proposed for this purpose at the end of this paper.

¹⁵ ESS = Economie sociale et solidaire, in English: SSE = Social and Solidarity Economy.

¹⁶ The dendrogram allows visualisation of the words that obtained the highest percentage of average frequency between them, through chi-square (χ^2) calculus.

Class 6 (16.9% of forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “field”, “territory”, “social”, “important”, “place”, “put”, “influence”, “entrepreneurship”, “utility”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “*Territorial Anchoring*”.

With regard to the HCD, **classes 5 and 6** can be grouped into a single theme, that of “*Territory*”. The significant words “public”, “resource”, “policy”, “field” in this grouping highlight the importance of territorial policies in the field of the SSE, due to the presence of significant public resources (**H4**).

Class 3 (12.7% of forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “movement”, “network”, “territory”, “actor”, “moment”, “CRESS”, “law”. This lexical world refers to the domain of “*SSE Processes*”.

Class 4 (18.3% of the forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “collectivity”, “region”, “project”, “CRESS”, “term”, “previous”, “principle”, “interlocutor”, “law”, “function”, “Hamon”. This lexical field refers to the “*Procedural*” domain.

With regard to the HCD, **classes 3 and 4** can be grouped into a single theme, that of “*Hamon Law*”. The significant words “movement”, “network”, “community” highlight the fundamental principles of the SSE field which are based on a legal framework (**H4**).

To go a little further on the HCD, **classes 6, 5, 3 and 4** can be grouped into a single “*Organisation*” theme. The different significant words highlight the organisation of the SSE field in the territory from a legal point of view, territorial anchorage but also network practices (**H4**).

Class 2 (15.5% of the forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “economic”, “initiative”, “take up”, “activity”, “service”, “sector”, “support”, “times”, “definition”, “economy”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “economic movement”.

To go a little further on the HDC, classes 6, 5, 4, 3 and 2 can be grouped into a single “effects” theme. The different significant words highlight the organisation of the SSE field in the territory from a legal point of view, territorial anchorage but also network practices (**H4**) taking into account economic initiatives in the organisation (**H1**), since the significant words of class 2 are “economic” and “initiative”.

Class 1 (14.1% of the forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “size”, “New”, “financing”, “association”, “structure”, “small”, “group”, “accompaniment”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “structure”.

To go further in the HDC, classes 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 and 1 can be grouped into a single theme “*Law OUR*”. The different significant words highlight the organisation of the SSE field in the territory from a legal point of view, territorial anchoring but also network practices (**H4**) taking into account economic initiatives in the organisation (**H1**) with a new territorial organisation (**H4**). The significant words of class 1 are “size” and “new”. The SSE has indeed undergone a series of legislative upheavals that have

questioned the critical size of SSE structures in order for them to be more efficient in the territories in terms of competences and make economies of scale from the point of view of territorial authorities.

When we look at the percentage of the analysed content of each class in the whole corpus, the content of the interviews in Normandy is more broadly related to “financing”. At the extreme, “SSE processes” do not occupy an important part of responses.

With the dendrogram (Figure 1, upper part), we can analyse the hierarchical classification tree, a tree structure showing how classes are related to each other in an ascending way and according to their level of similarity. We can see that the “economic movement” effects of the NOTRé Law arrive before the organization linked to the Hamon Law and the territory. This classification can probably be interpreted as the fact that the NOTRé Law reshuffled the maps of the SSE ecosystem in Normandy. With the new importance given to the SSE by the Hamon Law, the regional scheme for economic development, innovation and internationalisation (SRDEII) gave impetus to an economic conception concerning it in the region (**H1, H4**).

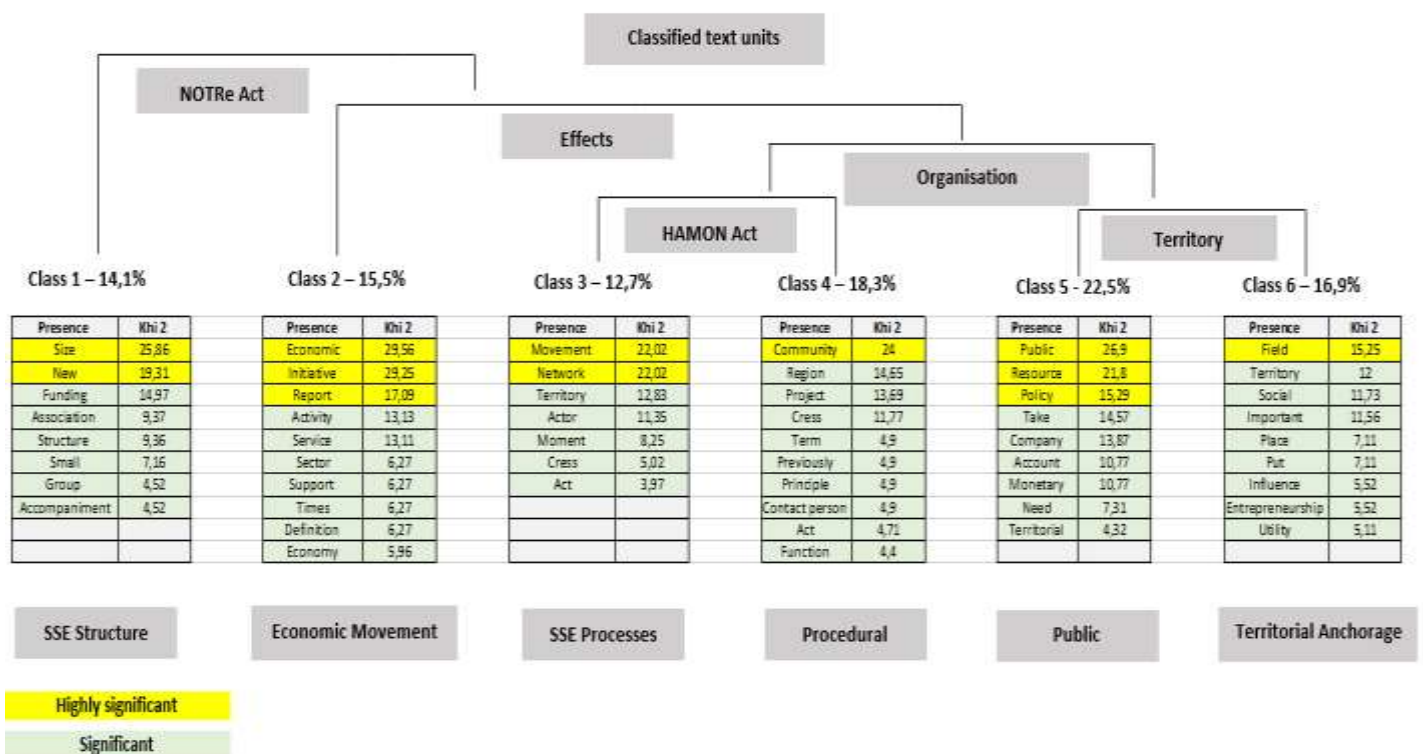


Figure 2: Top-down Hierarchical Classification and Dendrogram - Normandy

Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA) provides further insights into the theoretical frameworks for studying SSE discourses. They are summarised in Figure 3 (Correspondence Factor Analysis by IRaMuTeQ - Normandy). It specifies the classes that are grouped together or that oppose each other. This makes it possible to link and prioritise textual information.

Two axes are retained by the software, factor 1 representing 25.3% and factor 2 23.26%. The first factor of the corpus mass clearly separates classes 6 and 2 (with rather negative abscissae) from class 1 (with clearly positive abscissae). Thus we find a bipartition of the SSE between the domains Framework Law and Implementation. Classes 3, 4 and 5 are centred, with a more central position for classes 3 and 5. The second factor shows a connection with the fields of SSE structures and economic initiatives and assumes more the distinction between the fields of public and economic initiatives. Class 6 (positive intercept) is clearly separated from classes 1 and 2 (negative intercepts). Class 1 is less clearly separated from class 2 (negative intercepts). Classes 3, 4 and 5 are centred by this factor. The colours per class are as follows: class 1 (red), class 2 (grey), class 3 (sky blue), class 4 (green), class 5 (pink), class 6 (dark blue).

The combination of two factors (25.3% and 23.26% of the corpus mass) means that on the graph five areas appear in this two-dimensional projection of the textual corpus: a zone with negative coordinates, bottom left, which isolates class 2 of the *“economic movement” domain*; a zone with positive abscissae and negative ordinates, top right, where class 1 of the *“SSE structures” domain* is located; a central zone occupied essentially by classes 4 and 3 of the *“procedural”* and *“SSE processes” domains*; a zone with negative abscissae, top left, where class 5 of the *“public” domain* is located. The central position of classes 3, 4 and 5 underlines an intermediate *“operational organisation”* position between the two domains.

The forms *“movement”* and *“territory”* refer to a fundamental value of SSE and the territorial positioning of SSE structures respectively. Both evoke the SSE around a set of structures that are very imbued with a logic of territorial anchoring **(H4)**. The forms *“collectivity”*, *“region”* and *“CRESS”* refer to the action of the territorial public authority of SSE, the important weight of the region in this framework, and the central role of the CRESS as a unique interlocutor in the coordination of SSE in the territories respectively. All indicate that local and regional authorities are today involved in the development of the SSE **(H4)**. Finally, the *“social”* form refers to the social object of the SSE. These data evoke the social utility and social entrepreneurship of the structures linking the territory **(H4)**.

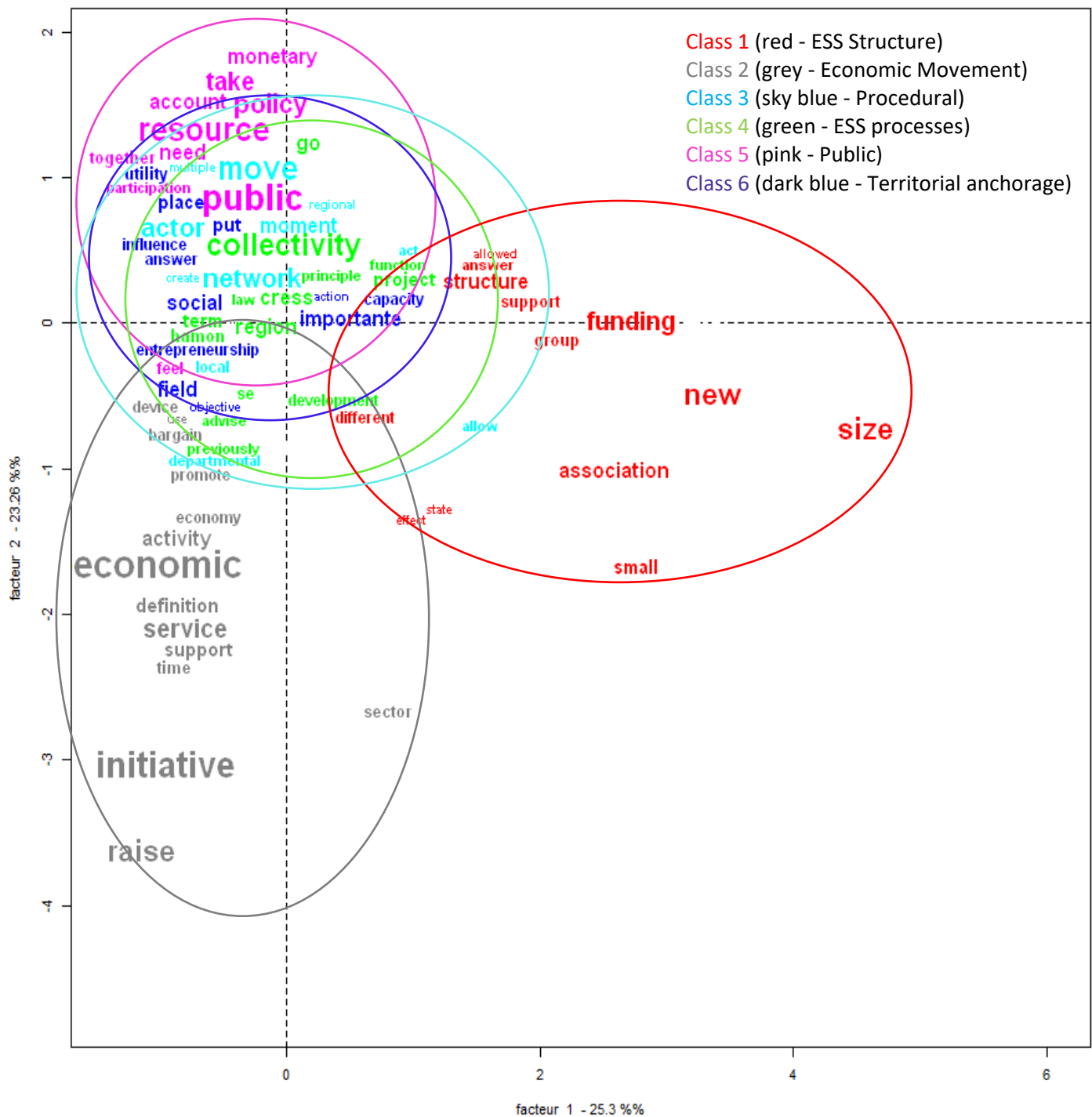


Figure 3: Factorial Correspondence Analysis by IRaMuTeQ - Normandy

Finally, the third analysis, **A3** (Figure 4), highlights the main words associated with SSE. The shapes are the vertices of the graph and the edges represent the co-occurrences between them. It can be seen that the word SSE has strong co-occurrences with the words in bold: “economic”, “structure”, “social”, “public”. The first term circled in dark grey, “*economic movement*”, shows the importance of SSE activities building on the existing economic model (**H1**). The second term circled in red, “*SSE structures*”, highlights the importance of the word structure for the SSE due to the existence of a diverse set of organisations. The word “social” evokes one of the objectives of the approach in SSE structures. The last circle in pink, “*public*”, points out the importance of the financing mechanisms of SSE organisations (**H1**).

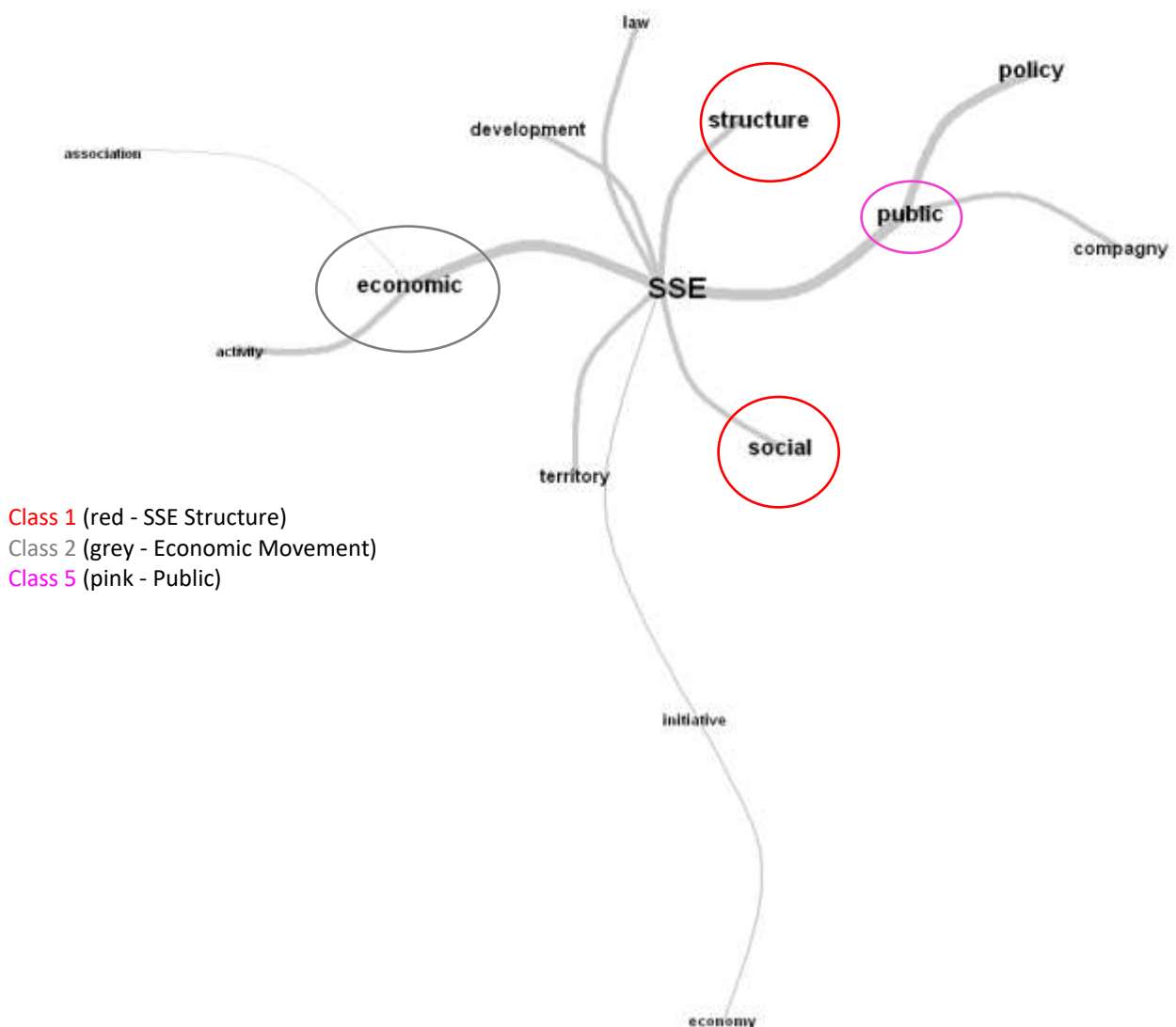


Figure 4: Similarity Analysis - EHS Word Graph - Normandy

The second type of analysis **A2** of the HDC highlights 4 classes.¹⁷ Some words in each of the classes are not studied for reasons of clarity of meaning (for example: “think”, “hold”, “January”, “also” etc.).

Class 3 (26.7% of the forms) is characterised by 5 active forms: “model”, “citizen”, “utility”, “association”, “economic”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “*SSE processes*”.

Class 2 (23.3% of the forms) is characterised by 7 active forms: “regional”, “law”, “account”, “SSE”, “region”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “*procedural*”.

With regard to the HCD, **classes 3 and 2** can be grouped into a single theme, that of “*Hamon Law*”. The significant word “regional” in this grouping highlights the importance of regional development in the field of the SSE in relation to the Hamon Law (**H4**).

Class 4 (23% of the forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “life”, “associative”, “service”, “creation”, “elected”, “January”, “innovation”, “commitment”, “dedication”, “volunteering”, “SSE”. This lexical domain refers to the field of “*social movement*”.

With regard to the HCD, **classes 3, 2 and 4** can be grouped into a single theme, that of “*the organization*”. The significant words “regional”, “life”, “associative”, “service” emphasise the importance of regional development in the field of the SSE after the Hamon Law and the particular attention given to associative structures (**H2**).

Class 1 (26.7% of the forms) is characterised by 10 active forms: “project”, “territory”, “structure”. This lexical field refers to the domain of the “*collective*”.

Classes 1, 2, 3 and 4 can be grouped into a single theme, that of “*associative projects*”. The different significant words highlight the organisation of the SSE field in the territory from the point of view of the region, associative life and territorial project (**H2**). The significant words of class 1 are “project” and “territory”. The SSE regional territory concentrates on associative life which is at the heart of a territorial project.

The interviews in the Grand-Est focus more broadly on the “territorial project” and “SSE processes”. The “social movement” and “procedural” contents follow. The dendrogram highlights (Figure 6, upper part) that the development of territorial projects within SSE structures is placed before the Hamon Law. This classification can probably to be put into perspective with certain features of the SRDEII in the Grand-Est: by placing citizen associations and voluntary work under the aegis of a

¹⁷ It should be noted that the corpus of the Grand-Est Region (statistical analysis distinguishes 662 forms among 2074 occurrences) is weaker in terms of words than that of Normandy (statistical analysis distinguishes 947 forms among 3095 occurrences), which leads to fewer active forms in the classes classification.

“commitment” service and by granting dedicated subsidies, a social approach has certainly been stimulated much more strongly than in Normandy (H2).

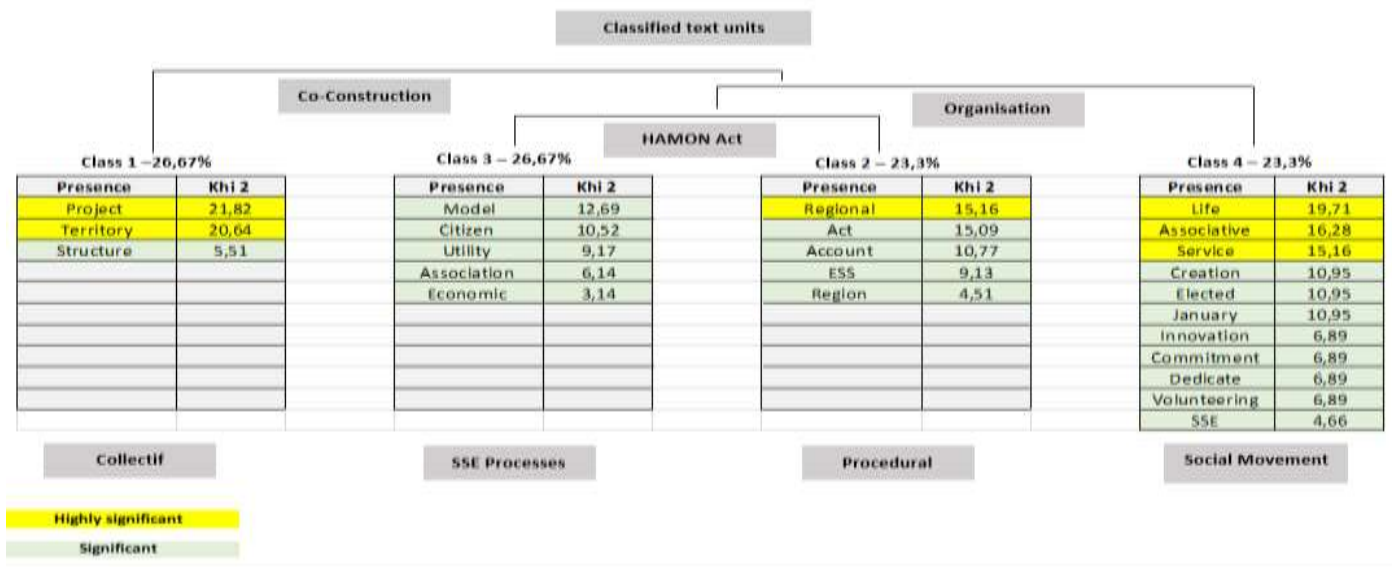


Figure 6: Top-Down Hierarchical Classification and Dendrogram – Grand-Est

Through the CFA, we can see that the first factor, 40.55%, separates class 2 and more strongly class 3 (negative abscissae) from classes 4 and 1 (positive abscissae). We find the bipartition of the SSE in the field of *Law-Framework* and *Territorial Associative Project*. The second factor, 32.64%, assumes the distinction of SSE processes from the territorial associative project. It clearly separates class 3 (positive ordinate) from classes 4 and 1 (negative ordinate), while classes 2 and 3 are intertwined. The colours for each class are as follows: class 1 (red), class 2 (green), class 3 (sky blue), class 4 (purple).

The combination of two factors (40.55% and 32.64% of the corpus mass) means that on the graph four areas appear in this two-dimensional projection of the textual corpus: a zone with negative coordinates, at the bottom left, which is class 4 of the “social movement” domain; a zone with negative ordinates and positive abscissae, at the bottom right, where we find class 3 of the “SSE processes” domain; a zone with positive abscissae and negative ordinates, at the bottom right, where we find class 1 of the “collective” domain.

We do not see any centrality in any of the four classes, which is very different from the Normandy CFA where the centrality of three classes dealing with “operational organisation” is a dominant function in the management of SSE organisations. If we focus on the barycentres of each class, we can reiterate the similarity between classes 2 and 3, showing a relative factorial proximity. This rapprochement

with regard to the most significant forms shows the importance of the associative world in the organisation of the SSE in the regional space (**H2**).

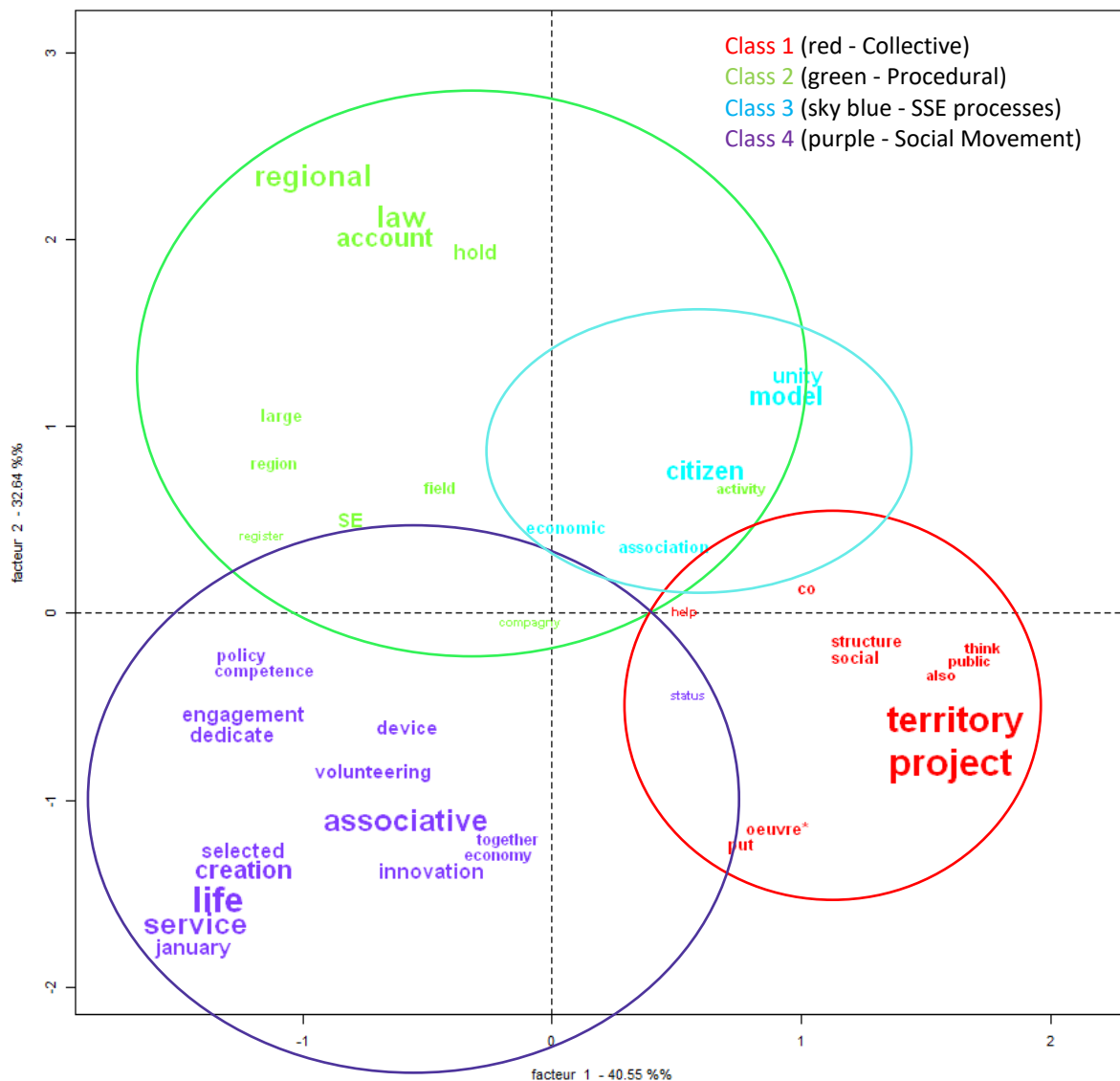


Figure 7: Factorial Correspondence Analysis IRaMuTeQ - Grand-Est

The third analysis, **A3** of the SA (Figure 8), implements the words associated with the EHS. There are strong co-occurrences with the words in bold: “economic”, “territory” and “association”. The first circle in sky blue “SSE processes” confirms the importance of SSE activities also based on an economic model (**H1**) in the associative field. As for the second circle in red, “collective”, it highlights the importance of associative projects focused on the social and the citizen (**H2**).

Class 1 (red - Collective)
 Class 3 (sky blue - SSE processes)

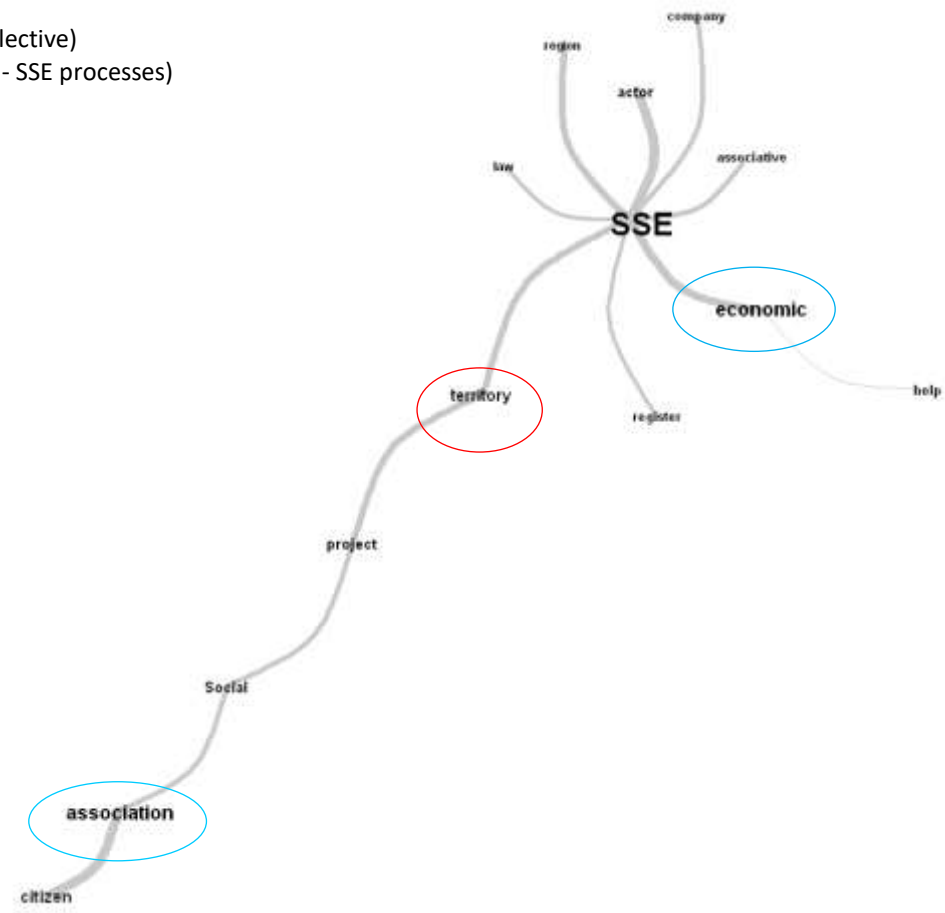


Figure 8: Similarity Analysis – Grand-Est SSE Word Plot

All the results of the interviews in the Grand-Est mainly respond to hypotheses **H1** (dominant economic) and **H2** (citizen associations). “Co-construction” (**H3**) and “territorial anchorage” (**H4**) do not emerge from the analysis. The results show the particular importance of the associative in the field of the SSE. They underline the importance of the deployment of territorial projects around social but also economic initiatives in this regional space. From the point of view of structures, this places associative structures at the heart of concerns, for projects relating to both the market and non-market economy. These considerations lead us to conclude that the SSE is economically dominant in the Grand-Est Region, but also that commitment, voluntary work and participation in social utility occupy an important place in regional policy.

3. Synthetic results

The analyses that we have carried out region by region, in Grand-Est and Normandy, make it possible to highlight transformations underway after the national reforms initiated by the Hamon and NOTRé laws. These transformations, although currently still in gestation and not fully stabilised, are clearly part of a double movement: they are based on the one hand on common orientations in the implementation of PSSEPs, on the other hand on differentiations and regional singularities.

Regarding common guidelines, it appears that PSSEPs are perceived by regional authorities and the SSE as important for economic development and territorial dynamics. For regional authorities the specificities of SSE organisations are in particular a fulcrum for the conduct of territorial policies. For regional authorities, this involves in particular seeking, under the impetus of the NOTRé and Hamon laws, to include the SSE in the framework of regional development strategies (formalised in the SRDEII), in order to benefit from a change in scale of the SSE and advantages of a dynamic of proximity with operators.

On closer inspection, however, notable differences emerge in the way PSSEPs are viewed from one region to another. These regional differentiations also have a dual nature: on the one hand, they are due to the structural characteristics of regional spaces, and on the other hand to the different sensitivities of regional actors and in particular of public decision-makers in the conduct of public action.

The differences that we associate with structural characteristics come from the way in which territorial reorganisations were carried out after the NOTRé law. Indeed, territorial reorganisation takes markedly different forms from one region to another. Even though there are groupings of pre-existing regions, both in Normandy and in the Grand-Est, it is necessary to differentiate them. In the Grand-Est, three regions are grouped together (Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne), culturally and historically very different by their Latin and Germanic traditions, while in Normandy the former regions of Upper and Lower Normandy, from a common cultural heritage, come together. This leads in the Grand-Est, unlike Normandy, to a delay in the adoption of collective action mechanisms, so that a concept is sufficiently shared across the whole region.

Differences in conception of players in the two new large regions appear in the textual analysis. There is a common desire to make SSE organisations more efficient in the territories (by increasing skills and carrying out economies of scale desired by the authorities). In Normandy, the conception of territorial reorganisation is fundamentally more economic while in the Grand-Est, the discourse is more socio-economic. In this perspective, the Grand-Est region has created a dedicated “commitment” service for citizen and volunteering associations. It strongly displays the concepts of citizenship, volunteering, social cohesion, and valuing the

commitment and value of the projects of SSE organisations. Thus, in the Grand-Est region, the significance of the deployment of territorial projects around social initiatives (Figure 8) and the deployment of innovative collective projects, generators of new economic activities, emerges.

This research thus confirms Fraizy's analysis (2016) which underlines *"that there are several ways of representing the SSE that are deployed in different places and mobilise different resources in the presence of different people"* (p. 77). We can add to our results that the orientations of regional policies have a very important impact on the discourses and representations of the actors themselves concerning the action and role of the SSE. This is the case in spite of the desire to unify the SSE, as intended by the Hamon Law, both in the grouping of its components under the same banner and in its mode of representation and coordination (Duverger, 2019) and in its change of scale through the development of economic activity.

Conclusion

The answers provided show the complexity and diversity of the conceptions and discourses held regarding the SSE in regional territories that are nevertheless subject to the same Hamon and NOTR  laws, and whose regional authorities have similar conceptions regarding the involvement of the SSE in their SRDEII. If the SSE is based on federative or common values and principles, its involvement in the territories presents great fundamental differences, at least in the conception of comparable representative organisations in the Grand-Est and Normandy.

The involvement and growing role of regional councils have been tangible since the NOTR  law through the strengthening of the prerogatives of the regions and the resulting deployment of partnerships of a financial, technical and institutional nature. However, it is questionable whether the reference framework for organisations to manage the change in scale of the SSE and the increased earmarking of funding are not likely to thwart the logic of cooperation, intelligence and joint projects to support the development of the SSE.

The issue of representation systems (which emerge from the responses emanating from representative structures), which may be quite strictly economic or, on the contrary, more broadly socio-economic from one region to another, may prove to be essential in terms of whether or not to deploy a new paradigm of collective action involving SSE organisations. At the end of this study, which points to the diversity of discourses and experiences, there is no doubt that there is in this regard no uniform truth and generalisation that can be directly transposed. However, we have been able to observe in Normandy and the Grand-Est, as emphasised in response to our

questions by Bruno Lasnier,¹⁸ the development of cooperative ecosystems covering a diversity of fields of activity, the development of a capacity to identify needs, and mobilise initiatives and a plurality of actors to support collective projects. Territorial animation is thus in the process of being structured in French regions after the NOTRé law through cooperation and pooling between existing or emerging activities.

Territorial dynamics differ, however, in the regions studied and are probably even more divergent in other regions where the policies pursued, notably vis-à-vis the SSE, are different. Should we not therefore consider that a Darwinian selection process could be carried out, ex post, that will retain the most relevant experiences in view of their results; or rather that the selection of the experiences at work will be carried out on the basis of comparative analyses, being a source of destructive creation of collective action (Bance, 2018)?

It is most likely that the confrontation of “models” and their capacity to convince decision-makers, actors and populations, especially at the territorial level, on the basis of the results obtained, will be decisive for the advent of a new paradigm of collective action.

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Glossary “Word Cloud”

Act (or Law): Loi

Activity: Activité

Actor: Acteur

Association: Association

Citizen: Citoyen

Company: Entreprise, Collectivité

Development: Développement

Economic: Economique

Economy: Economie

Initiative: Initiative

Policy: Politique

Project: Projet

Public: Public

Region: Région

Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE): Economie Sociale et Solidaire

Social: Social

Territory: Territoire

Appendix

H1: The Hamon Law has a representation of the SSE whose foundations are predominantly economic.

Clarification having been requested on the scope of the SSE, it was specified that the relevant structures of the SSE are associations, cooperatives, mutual societies, foundations, social enterprises with a commercial status.

H2: Citizen associations are not the core target of the Hamon-SSE Law, whose primary foundation is the creation of new activities that are sources of social (sometimes commercial) utility, whose logic differs from that of citizen associations.

Clarification having been requested on the notion of citizen associations, it was specified that these are at the service of the common good, beyond the sole interest of their members, and that operate democratically, as well as those for which voluntary commitment is important.

H3: SSE interlocutors are multiple and their influence is more or less great in the co-construction and implementation of social action in territories.

When asked about the concept of social action, it was specified that SSE structures acting in this field are those of integration, housing, social support, child protection and health, their specificities making them particular by their mode of operation.

H4: The respective influence of local SSE actors depends on their territorial anchorage and especially on their capacity to respond to the specific expectations of differentiated public authorities.

The structures concerned are associations, cooperatives, mutual societies, foundations and social enterprises with a commercial status.

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