The territorial communication :
The logic of building the concept and its historical development

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Abstract:

For nearly thirty years, the literature on the communication of territories has spread widely, particularly in French-speaking research. However, "territorial communication" remains deeply marked by a kind of dispersion (conceptual, geographical, etc.), as well as by a weak theoretical stabilization. How can such a contrast be explained, at a time when new concerns (citizenship, networks, identity crises, etc.) challenge the city and the local space and, with them, communication as a field of production of theory and modes? of public intervention? Based on a socio-historical study, the article revisits the sedimentation processes of this field (territorial communication), while outlining explanations for its theoretical "growing pains". A synthesis of the perspectives of theoretical renewal is also proposed, in the light of some recent works.

Keywords: Territorial communication, governance, participatory relations, conceptual identity, historical development.

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1. INTRODUCTION

As part of a thesis that focuses on the territorial communication policies produced by Rennes players for 25 years to build the image of a modern, innovative, cultural, metropolitan, even urban city (Houllier-Guibert, 2008a), it is interesting to observe the evolution of image production purposes over time, according to the actors, the projects and the context. Today, communication officers are more oriented towards missions of mobilizing the local population and organizing the territory. With the affirmation of the two social values of participatory democracy and sustainable development (Houllier-Guibert, 2005), communicators are able to raise awareness among the local population by trying to make them react and involve them in urban development. . In Rennes, the regional capital of western France, considered as an average city (Dumont, 2007), several visible operations have this in mind, whether they are one-off events or exhibitions over the medium term. The objectives of the Rennes Communication services shifted from costly extra-territorial operations that were difficult to assess in the 1980s, to local operations that were easily delimited, identified and assessed by the local population. The major promotion operation that used television media took place in 1991 and then every year since 2004. Meanwhile, a new, more passive form of territorial communication has emerged to get closer to the local population, on the one hand thanks to the prize lists of the press from which Rennes benefited (Moriset, 1999) and on the other hand with cultural events indirectly developed by the local public authorities. The period 1992-2003 tends exclusively towards the priority objectives of social cohesion thanks to the Quality of Life argument (Dagnaud, 1978), the dominant ideology in recent decades. Firstly, the example of Rennes demonstrates the evolution of public communication, the purpose of which tends towards Proximity and this, on the part of the two actors who make communication in Rennes. Secondly, with the help of identity, participatory democracy, sustainable development or the quality of life, the ideology of proximity is questioned as a way for communicators to orient their actions towards the animation of the territory.

2. Towards local communication:

The objective of identity and social well-being which tends towards "territorial happiness" (FNAU, 2005) is the most sought-after communication objective in Rennes today. It corresponds to the implementation of local actions, which have intra-territorial effects considered as measurable or directly profitable locally. While the 1980s were an opportunity to create extra-territorial promotion actions in several French cities, communication actions in Rennes in the 1990s acted in favor of the local population, to the detriment of flagship actions. After a large-scale advertising operation in 1991, suddenly, a strong break took place with extra-local promotion. Following the explosion of unemployment, the defeat of the left in the legislative elections, the beginnings of the tainted blood affair, which tarnished the image of Mayor E. Hervé, who was Minister of Health, a refocusing of the communication takes place around proximity and citizenship. Public relations and the

adoption of a new graphic charter reflect the "well drunk together" aspect and break with the cold image of the slogan "Rennes, Vivre en intelligence", created in 1991.
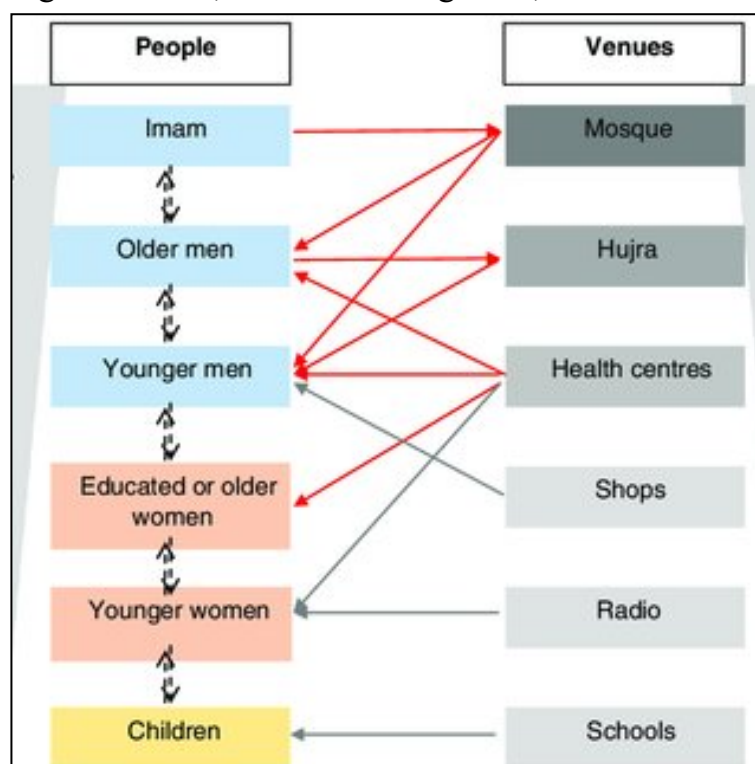
Fig.1. Lines of communication **in the local** communities

Source: BEN MABROUK T, 2005, p: 56

This shift concerns in parallel several large illes de France (Pagès, 2001) and also corresponds to an evolution of the values put forward by the communicators of the territories. A promotional revival has existed since 2004 in Rennes, through new campaigns launched timidly, to once again promote the city. These actions are more a matter of opportunity than of the strategy thought out upstream, but gradually, a communication plan is put in place. The messages "Rennes raises talents" (2004-2005) and "All currents intersect in Rennes" (2006-2007) highlight culture and then, more broadly, the effervescence in its social forms, solidarity, innovation... These campaigns define the cultural and metropolitan image of a city that is "bubbling" (Houllier-Guibert, 2008). At the same time, a desire to animate the territory, from the perspective of proximity, continues to exist within the two Communication departments. Thus, this return to promotional communication is not a passing shift in questions of proximity, but takes part in several programs that build the image of the city in a plural way. This revival of extra-territorial broadcasting is taking place in parallel with operations in other cities in France (Reims in 2005, Rouen in 2006, Nantes in 2007, Dunkirk in 2008...) which are leading to branding as a new form of promotion. Lyon released its Only Lyon brand, Nantes is about to do so and Rennes started in the second half of 2008, just after the municipal elections, a branding process planned for early

2010. However, if proximity is an ideology that persists, it is because social representations present a grandeur, which "no longer systematically refers to distancing, to height, to tearing away from the particularistic logics of the territory, to rationality. Distance is no longer considered today as a guarantee of equal treatment, impartiality, [... but] it signifies blindness and inefficiency" (Lefebvre, 2003). Thus, the branding must be deployed carefully to be accepted by the local population. The preservation of approaches to support citizenship, the tendency to reassure through territorial communication must remain in order to balance this way of doing public action and legitimize it. Thus, the communication actions carried out by Rennes' public actors can be divided into three phases, from the creation of the Rennes Atalante technology park in 1984, which stimulated a desire for external visibility, until 2008, the year of the end of the long municipal mandate and intercommunal of Edmond Hervé: 1984-1991; 1992-2003; 2004-2008. This breakdown takes into account the absence of extra-territorial promotion in the 1990s, which left proximity to prevail as the dominant ideology in the discourse. First, the description of an event that evolved over the decades makes it possible to observe its organization by different actors according to the alues of the moment, while tending to absolute proximity for its third session. A second step explains the role played by the two Communication departments to understand how the ideology of proximity is exercised on two administrative levels and how its messages arrange each of the departments: since the 2000s, promotion and proximity coexist and put into question the informal competences of the two territorial levels.

Table 1. Communication at local and global levels:

| | | Aspect | |
		Degree of equality	Context
Level	Local	Equality between participants. Similar types and amount of goods and services are exchanged. High emotional involvement. Confidences exchanged are high. All participants initiate communication. Information and knowledge flows both ways.	The context is simple. One, or a few, cultures are involved, and the cultural contexts are known to participants. They share contextual reference for interpreting communicative behavior. Communication is multiplex. Frequency of communication is high. Duration is long.
	Global	No equality between participants. Dissimilar types and amounts of goods and services are exchanged. No emotional involvement. Confidences exchanged are low. Participants with more influence initiate communication. Information and knowledge flows one way.	The context is complex. Multi-cultural and multi-language context are involved, and participants do not know the other cultural contexts. Communication is not multiplex. Frequency of communication is low. Duration is short.

Source: DEVISME L., 2003, p: 18

2.1 An event evolving according to the times:

The event, which took place successively in 1987, 1999 and 2005, overlaps the objectives of

extra-territorial visibility and the development of a local feeling of belonging. The emergence of urban projects in Rennes and the federative value of qualitative development are an opportunity to offer a place and a moment to explain political intentions. Over the course of the three operations, the local dimension is felt more and more.

In 1987, the Rennes au futur exhibition presented the major urban projects of the years to come and the innovation of the technology park with the range of modern telecommunications tools. The deputy mayor for communication describes this operation which reinforced the sense of pride of the people of Rennes: "At the beginning of the 80s, with the first transformations, in particular the fact of making the plateau pedestrian in the city center, we felt a jostling of the Rennais who had a certain distance from their bourgeois city, withdrawn, sad... And there was a kind of breath of fresh air. We felt the Rennais who were rocking and who were beginning to appropriate and love their daughter. And it's true that we forced this feeling there. The most beautiful communication operation that followed this feeling, this modification of the approach of the Rennais, is Rennes in the future "[2]. Failing to assess the extra-territorial effects of this federal week of 50,000 people, local promotion seems to have favored the appropriation of Rennes by part of the population.

In 1999, the second exhibition entitled Cité-forum once again involved the inhabitants in the urban development of Rennes. There too, the event responds to the communication trends of the time since it presents the city's town planning and digital projects: the experimental Citévisions project offers local services using multimedia technologies similar to video games. The development of an interactive tool for landmarks in the cit and access to the websites of organizations useful for everyday life is available as a practical guide in a form adapted to new technologies. Media coverage of the Cité-forum is mediocre, but Citévision enjoys a good image of innovation among city makers. In addition, the forum is an opportunity to mix residents and various professionals to reflect on the expectations of the people of Rennes in the next 30 years, for their agglomeration but also on their concerns and doubts. This attempt at foresight imagined by the population is intended to show that elected officials listen to their electors and that nothing is done without their consultation, even on decisions concerning the urban scale. Indeed, with the approach of the community of agglomeration, which was born a few months later, the District of Rennes shows its existence and that on the scale of the basin of ie, public actions are decided and the inhabitants of the territory of Rennes can participate. This event therefore legitimizes intermunicipal institutionalization.

in 2005, the operation Rennes, a desire for the city offered a multitude of debates, conferences, concerts and meetings around the city, town planning and citizenship, led by

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[2] Interview conducted by Charline Guillier (2002). The question arises of the basis of the statement of the elected. Is he influenced by the ideology of proximity underlying the communication at the time of the interview and in this sense, does he reinterpret his memory of the 1987 event, to speak of avant-gardism in the Rennes' way of communicating with its population? We don't have the answer.

local associations.

The topics covered "Living, Working, Going Out, Getting Involved, Learning" invite you to live the city to the full by bringing it to life. The operation is positioned as a relationship between the inhabitant and the city. Rennes' image is oriented towards citizen participation: "if you feel like it, come and participate". The "sets of desires" announced on the poster evoke the diversity of possibilities of being involved in the city. The website promotes the concept of the irresistible craving for sour candy and the promotion revolves around the temptation of the girl. With a budget of one million euros and the mobilization of 200 people for the organisation, communication in Rennes focuses its activity on proximity in an optimal way: Ouest-France is a strong relay of information with a full page per day; the monthly municipal newspaper Le Rennais publishes a daily edition for the first time since its creation in 1969. The municipality clearly fulfills its role as an organizer of the territory, which favors the intra-territorial. Envie de ille is the event that combines proximity and the ille project in order to increase citizen participation.

2.2 Two scales to deploy proximity:

Until July 2009, two Communication departments co-exist with two communication directors for the same daily space that is the city; and this, as in many large cities of France, even if the profiles vary.

For example, in Brest, there is only one and the same director for the two entities; In Angers, the dircom' of the agglomeration is the former assistant of the Communication service of the municipality and in 2009, the services merge; in Nantes, the municipal dircom' was deputy of the same service before and the dircom' of the urban community comes from outside. It is logical to think that the intermunicipal structure is interested in the influence of the city, its economic promotion and its image, in order to disseminate messages on the extra-territorial level about a strong space forming a relevant urban pole. Rennes is then presented as an agglomeration of nearly 400,000 people, which justifies its image as a metropolis. The central municipality can then concentrate its efforts on local actions, in connection with the Vaillant law of 2002 which proposes a greater participation of the inhabitants in the local development projects and an implication in the ie citizen to contribute to animate the territories infra -communal.

This division directs the municipalities to propose messages close to the citizen, however in Rennes, this division is not obvious.

The DGCom retains the largest budget and the largest team, while the more recent SIC has limited resources. The transfer of competences between the services is not clearly carried out. Thus, during large-scale actions, the municipality is solicited and involved in extra-territorial strategic choices. For example, a CD-ROM presenting the territory was jointly developed in 2006 and managed by the municipality because human resources are greater there.

More ambitious, territorial promotion, as a shared field insofar as communication is not done on institutions but on a territory, sees its cost borne by the city center: on a budget of 400,000 euros, 300 000 come from the municipality and 100,000 from Rennes Métropole. The DGCom considers itself to be a "pilot in human and budgetary terms and therefore in terms of application and tools" according to its director. The SIC was created in 1999. During the first three years, its mission was to build the image of the EPCI (Public Establishment for Intermunicipal Cooperation) to make the local population understand the role of Rennes Métropole, a nascent entity which succeeds the District. Promotion is strong thanks to the inauguration of the first metro line in March 2002 and currently a paradox is emerging: media coverage is growing with recognition of the Rennes Métropole brand, but the legibility of the role of EPCIs in France remains delicate. Thus, two new axes are deployed: local communication and national promotion, described in this order in the communication policy. The primary concern of communicators from EPCIs is to legitimize their existence by asserting the role of intermunicipal cooperation in territorial management. This confinement in actions of institutional visibility gives a clear but restricted objective to intermunicipal communication.

Does the population want to know the competences of a new institution, when they do not want to know the competences of old institutions? As a result, the intermunicipality diffuses proximity in its messages to the detriment of a powerful territorial marketing strategy.

Regarding the DGCom, its primary mission is based on the animation of the territory. The major projects implemented have proximity as common points: Dazibao (operation which consists of offering young people from Rennes, including students, nocturnal activities on Thursday evenings, supervised and without alcohol), Envie de ille, the exhibition Paroles d inhabitants, the campaign against alcoholism among young people... so many operations that accompany urban attitudes, even modify behavior. This objective responds to the new way of doing citizen communication, using the argument of sustainable development to change ways of doing things (Houllier-Guibert, 2005). Since the waste recycling awareness campaigns carried out by the EPCIs which have the competence, in particular through the local press, public communication has used the argument of sustainable development to reconnect with the inhabitant. It is a question of breaking the image of "marketing which influences" to tend to the council of good practices citizens. The DGCom is part of this movement while not being able to hide the support for major projects that could be managed by the SIC. In the concert of cities in perpetual change, Rennes is one of those which has been strongly renewed in recent times (metro, rehabilitated performance halls, cultural center of the Champs-Libres and the Charles-de-Gaulle esplanade, soon to be a congress center and the second metro line). The DGCom places itself as an accompanist of these developments under the argument that they are located in the city center of the ille-centre, relegating the SIC to actions with the 36 other municipalities which surround the municipality of Rennes to form the inter-municipality. In the communication strategy of the DGCom, operations that reinforce proximity are announced after extra-territorial promotion,

which surprisingly takes first place. The support of the population and the promotion of the city are therefore offered by the two Communication services, with an order that has the opposite of what is presupposed. A non-exhaustive table of multiple actions gives a strong place to proximity.

Local communication is displayed as an objective of the two departments within their strategic documentation, without however appearing in this analytical table, as a clearly stated purpose, in favor of a rather transversal and indirect nature. Each service is concerned about its future at the time of the municipal elections and justifies its place in the urban administration by a multitude of actions at all levels, without seeking real complementarities between the two services (Houllier-Guibert, 2008c). In 2002, a research firm took stock of the positive and negative components of Rennes' image and in particular of the images circulating among the local population. It appears that communication priorities must shift from issues of identity and belonging to more political issues, related to the meaning to be given to actions (TMO, 2002).

The study is commissioned in a context of electoral abstention, which leads to questioning the mobilizing functions of communication and the forms it can or must take in order to meet the expectations of the population. This shift in the purposes of territorial communication responds to the national phenomenon in which "brand image policies have somewhat given way to the themes of citizenship, relationships and more recently mediation" (Territoires, 1998).

In addition, which does the professional environment the Communication of proximity name. It is grasped transversally and indirectly through related elements presented below. Proximity reassures which guarantees it a long life at the heart of public communication discourse. Each service uses it to legitimize its action in fear of losing power during an administrative reshuffle.

3. The limits of proximity:

After the 1990s as an era of management (Internet, selective sorting, local TV and financial communication) which explains the decline in brand image, the 2000s punctuate proximity, sprinkled in many public policies and supported by the way of doing territorial communication. After having defined it, it turns out that the four pillars that accompany it show the limits of the nebulous concept of proximity, which therefore acquires the role of a paradigm.

3.1 The ideology of proximity: the justification of the local as a territory of action:

The lexical field in which the notion of proximity is inserted shows how much it is invoked as a positive value, of refuge, where conviviality, solidarity, authenticity and more broadly rootedness reinforce everyday life. Proximity is brandished as social evidence (Le Bart & Lefebvre, 2005) and constructed as a necessity, based on a set of equivalences with a powerful symbolic effect: it echoes the involvement, participation, efficiency and legitimacy.

The contemporary enthusiasm for this ideology has favored the success of slogans such as "small is beautiful", or "villages in the city", and punctuates the political discourse of public intervention, both local and national. Proximity appears as a "matrix for reading social phenomena" and at the same time a reservoir of solutions for political actors confronted with an atomized social body, a crumbled, fragmented society, according to Christian Le Bart and Rémi Lefebvre: "the invocation of proximity always has the aplomb of common sense, the rhetoric of proximity is always based on evidence, it never risks either deconstruction or historical perspective" (2005).

According to Philippe Genestier, the local model is paradoxical by subjectively attaching the local to the compassionate but also by trying to legitimize policies through concrete actions. This dual nature is settled during a period of popular resistance to social developments and the idea of nation. It is possible to maintain the political system by moving it from the national to the local; unless this shift in scale is an opportunity to rethink political action by injecting it with participatory democracy, subsidiarity, ethics, sustainability... (Genestier, 2001). Around the social consensus of the 2000s in which proximity is no longer synonymous with localism but rather a necessity to make effective, judicious, adaptable choices thanks to an analysis at the heart of the situation and no longer in overhang, 4 pillars emerge as an ideological component of Proximity in public communication actions.

3.2 Identity and proximity: a difficult distinction:

Without the questions of brand image disappearing completely, proximity gradually imposes itself, reinforcing the quest for identity already underlying the way of working in the 1990s in Rennes, when press awards are put forward.

National level, which promote the quality of local life. Communication policies seek the identity that best suits the city and the population, taking into account the plurality of identity (Cardy, 1997) that is constructed in an environmental context and within the relationship between the being and the other (Morin, 1982). Promoting a geographical, cultural and historical unity requires talking about identity in order to reduce the heterogeneity of individual behaviors and the diversity of backgrounds, and thus strive for stability, following the nostalgic example of peasant societies (Frémont, 2005). The goal is for everyone to find themselves in their city and not just in a group of people. The feeling of well-being is spatialized more than socialized and becomes a feeling of territorial belonging. In the Middle Ages, the guilds of girls favored integration while today, "it is no longer the city that includes the individual, it is the individual who appropriates the city" according to Jacques Lévy (1991). The emergence of new territories (EPCI, Pays Voynet, districts), re-questions the territorial identity (identity of a place) and challenges the spatial identity (spatial dimension of the identity of an individual).

Identity communication experiences a resurgence of activity when there are new boundaries to be anchored in the collective memory to form the local society. The promotion of the territory concerns all sizes of space to be developed (Houllier-Guibert, 2009). The quest for

identity lends legitimacy to communication policies and attenuates its manipulative profile of greed linked to commercial communication. This legitimacy is not definitive, it must be constantly reconquered by the adhesion of the population which otes regularly. Consequently, with the same objective of well-being, communication shifts from identity-oriented actions to proximity-oriented actions with an inconspicuous boundary. Proximity and identity have in common the idea of living together, based on the postulate that the social bond is built mainly in close relationships, which is paradoxical since the social bond cannot be reduced solely to close relationships but also includes civic relationship.

3.3 Development and proximity: difficult agreement:

In the 2000s, intra- and extra-territorial communications were difficult to reconcile, even diverged: on the one hand, economic decision-makers favored the establishment or development of activities; on the other hand, residents must be convinced of the quality of urban services. The population does not aspire to the idea of development, which underlies a strong consideration of economic imperatives. It privileges the framework of ie and it's immediate environment and is little involved as soon as one moves away from this theme (Urbanisme, 2004, p.47). The Rennais fear the future and worry about the strong attractiveness of their territory (TMO, 1993). Urban development becomes difficult to explain without the nuisances, density, pollution, precariousness and other harmful effects of the city being associated with the idea of development. Size becomes a negative value for the inhabitant, which is not favorable to the idea of a metropolis that Rennes has been pursuing since the 2000s.

Thus, by dint of communicating on a positive element that is "the arrival of 40 000 inhabitants in the Pays de Rennes in the next 10 years" (this formula was widely used in the speeches of elected officials, in the local press and in communication brochures, between 2000 and 2005, the 10 years being therefore pushed back over time time), a fear is felt by the inhabitants who are afraid of the effects of attractiveness on their daily lives.

The concern arose from a potential loss of control over the density, the metropolisation, the human size of the city. The SIC has therefore deployed a campaign to raise awareness of the strong growth of the city by presenting all the positive aspects of this phenomenon. Certain situations arouse militant reactions such as the nimby phenomenon (Not In My Back Yard) which demonstrates that the inhabitants are interested depending on the nature of the themes. It is in a sense that urban projects or neighborhood development interest the population but the rehabilitation of neighborhoods is not perpetual, however, involvement can go through participatory democracy.

3.4 Proximity and participatory democracy: the lure of collective participation:

The communication of girls passes less through advertising than through the highlighting of

human qualities and skills, no longer deploying images but development strategies, supported by the mobilization of everyone to become an actor in the territory. It seems that the issues of belonging previously supported by the image of the city by creating a territorial identity that is more media-based than real, give way to concrete methods of appropriation by the population, in a context of proximity and involvement in the city which eventually increases spatial identity and citizenship tenfold. Already begun in Rennes in the 1990s, this development can be explained in a context following the municipal elections of 2001 with a record abstention rate (38.7%). Public communication is then mobilized to establish a civic link. Proximity is anchored in the media vocabulary by qualifying the police, services, democracy, urban policies or judges. Consultation is supported by communication policies using this word to create social ties and strengthen citizen mobilization. Citizenship is generally expressed by the grouping of individuals within associative structures that defend interests. This type of legal representation today seems hackneyed and its legitimacy is reduced as an expression of collective interests. New places for debate, new public spaces for developing projects, new forms of mediation are being tested so that the population and representatives of civil society can meet, compare their interests, deliberate and participate in decision-making.

At a time when, in 2003, the OSCR, symbol of Rennes associations, was dissolved and social ties had to be rethought locally, the Envie de ille exhibition testified to the desire to mix the emotional with proximity in order to involve the inhabitants in concrete actions. Already, on the occasion of the Cité-Forum, ten themes have initiated the reflection of the inhabitants, including "Urban democracy and local citizenship". The conclusions of this debate show that "representative democracy functions as a model in crisis of imagination, as a paradox of a utopian will and an incapacity to implement it". The inhabitants of Rennes have the feeling that the management of the city escapes them and becomes the business of specialists who appropriate it. The democratic ideal turns to a social and cultural democracy centered on the citizen. It is necessary to give importance to the expression of all, to create places of speech to enhance the exchanges and above all, it is necessary to ensure that the elected officials take into account the local opinion. During the Cité-Forum, the population elaborated scenarios representing Rennes in thirty years, which, in a synthetic way, translate concerns about the evolution of society: a fear in the face of globalization, in the face of an ambiguous political world and especially in the face of social problems (unemployment, exclusion, violence, etc.). The ideal scenarios aim to solve the problems of exclusion and poverty, giving great importance to education, culture and training and reforming the modes of participation and representation. The disaster scenarios express a progression of individualism and indifference, of citizens deprived of democracy and little interested in politics. A local innovation in terms of local democracy, this Cité-Forum provides an opportunity to express oneself on one's city and to exchange ideas and experiences. It is this type of objective that becomes the purpose of communication actions in Rennes, with the difficulties that accompany them. he example of the consultation of the population on the

major urban choices such as the Urban Development Plan of Rennes Métropole, validated in 2007, seems to be a decoy insofar as the inhabitant can understand that his involvement is limited. He may therefore feel frustrated. Researchers highlight contributions when planning consultation offers above all, through the creation of new spaces for public debate, a form of response to the crisis of democracy (Bonard, 2005; Dufay, Bodin & Bonnet, 2005) while others emphasize strong constraints (Ben Mabrouk, 2005; Royoux, 2005) regarding its implementation. Among the three types of ideals of democracy, the mainstream of sustainable development adopts the principle of participation, which we know however fails to achieve a democratization of political choices (Felli, 2005).

3.5 Proximity and sustainable development: the vagueness of portmanteau words:

One of the answers given to the difficulties set out to promote sustainable development and the control of urban issues is the ile archipelago, a concept promoted by the elected representative for urban forms in Rennes Métropole.

The dichotomy between the rural and the urban has disappeared (Paquot, 2000) and the Pays de Rennes is part of a multipolar urban logic whose organization is broken down into three figures according to the center of Rennes (the heart of the metropolis embodies the compact city; the other municipalities of the urban transport perimeter operate in networks between themselves and with the metropolitan core; diffuse peripheral polarities surrounded by towns are in the green fabric of the Pays de Rennes). There is urban sprawl because there is mobility. For example, the railway station built north of Rennes for hospital staff responds to a need for mobility but promotes urban sprawl. The ile archipelago is greedy in space, responds to mobility and calls for strong road infrastructures. But its invention is based on the demands of populations adapted to their way of daily life, in order to have local services and a social life that is not far from the centre. The ille archipelago is conceived as a link between two recent ways of communicating for Rennes, since the 2000s: the urban project and proximity, as concepts that are easy to argue, which respond to the educational trend of territorial communication messages; the urban project being itself an invention of communicators (Devisme, 2003). More broadly, sustainable development is one of the messages expressed by Rennes communicators. In France, after a period of hesitation or even reluctance, sustainable development is interfering in territorial development strategies. This emergence has become a legislative obligation since the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Act and transforms planning documents into more strategic reflections (Territorial Coherence Scheme, Local Urban Plan, etc.). Rennes' Agenda 21 was a key moment in involving the population through a questionable questionnaire (Houllier-Guibert, 2005). Distributed through the regional press, the questionnaire of a study leads, by its content, to populist answers when the respondents are encouraged to participate (it is rewarding to answer a questionnaire which relates to the future of our city and that relieves those who do little in this direction on a daily basis) and to direct responses towards a consensus that is

not very constructive. Indeed, how can you answer negatively to questions such as: are you sensitive, fairly sensitive or not very sensitive to the question of the reduction, in many places of the world, of water resources? The essential role of this questionnaire was to reinforce the awareness of the inhabitants, while opening the door to participation, but it can easily be perceived as propaganda, which promotes local public actions.

Readers can accept the manipulative aspect of territorial marketing here because it is based on a unifying theme and difficult to criticize as a strong value of the 21st century. Sustainable development appears in these conditions as an ideal ector for public policies, because it encourages the local population to mobilize more or less permanently for the urban "cause". The ecological aspect gives the impression of a commitment, which, moreover, is rewarding since sustainable development brings positive alues. Its definition and its transversal status, based on the triple economic, social and environmental approach, make it complex and vague because it is difficult to delimit, and make it possible to qualify the participatory democracy that accompanies it as empowering citizen action. Small individual domestic gestures that improve the ecology are imbued with micro-localism. Today, the contribution of sustainable development, both to encourage participatory democracy and to modify the behavior of citizens or to serve as a political message, reconciles and brings marketing and residents closer together. Sustainable development favors "the perspective of societal marketing [which] recognizes that the priority task of the company is to study the needs and desires of the ized markets and to ensure that they are satisfied more effectively than the competition, but also in a way that preserves or improves the well-being of consumers and the community" (Noisette & Vallérugo, 1996). Approaches such as strategic planning, the urban project, urban environmental management or local Agendas 21 are set up as new paradigms of action, motivated by the principles of sustainable development, tending to do the city differently, through participatory approaches. (Rabinovich, 2005).

Governance and sustainability are institutional semantics that adapt to all territories; so many comments show their polysemy (Gaudin, 2002). These fuzzy notions have a success guaranteed by the diversity of references, alues and practices that they authorize.

4. CONCLUSION

Proximity, just like cultural development, sustainable development, and heritage... is a territorial ideology, which, by its polysemy, seems obvious. It invites urban leaders to appropriate it as the result of social changes that must be accepted or suffered more than understood, in particular because it creates the identity that makes up local society. But considering that community communication consists less in defending political actions than in manufacturing local culture (De Legge, 2008) is a way of concealing the producer of information, namely elected officials. However, understanding the communication of territories must go through taking into account the actors, what political scientists consider and what geographers today call the actorial turning point (collectif, 2008). Indeed, the role

of researchers is to adopt a critical stance, freed from concrete implications, by denouncing the use of these keywords, which must constantly be re-questioned. Communication actions, which respond to the dogma of proximity lead to a positioning as a social city, made up of sustainability, popular mobilization and identity, which reinforces the image of Rennes as a city of social cohesion and thereby reinforces the stereotype of left-wing cities.

Citizen participation, according to the stages of the implementation of a project, makes its delimitation difficult, which must go beyond simple information and consultation of the population in order to develop a partnership relationship. Jean De Legge, the main consultant to public actors in Rennes for 25 years and who was just appointed in July 2009, the new director of communication who oversees the two services, considers that civic space needs indignation, contradictions, debates and struggles. According to him, it is up to citizens to identify the flaws in stereotypes, lazy expertise, and those forgotten by the public scene, they must seize the means of protest and watch out for the risks of official erities and dominant discourses (DeLegge, 2008). It is to forget a little ite the social inequalities vis-a-vis the act citizen, and with the spontaneous seizure of power in the city. Communication departments have a duty to reflect on methods of appropriating space while setting limits in order to respond to how to encourage citizens to get involved in a participatory approach to political decision-making.

Finally, citizenship is mobilized at the urban level, according to the problems of development, transport, security and is not limited solely to local involvement. It seems too risky to confine the purpose of Communication to proximity, which poses the inherent problem of never being close enough. If in reality it is less a question of being close for the politician than of getting closer, the risk of this attempt to legitimize politics is that this proximity arouses, over time, frustration on the part of the population.

Whether they are residents, users or citizens (Bassand & Joye, 1999). Monique Dagnaud (1978) recalls that the use of an ideology by public policies, when the entire population does not share it, intrinsically holds the possible causes of its failure.

However, this is indeed the strength of Proximity; it spontaneously echoes everyone, as a reference point for everyone. Territorial communication is based on this need for landmarks, through the establishment of territorial arrangements (Raffestin, 1986) allowing man to situate himself in the world, to "geograph" himself.

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