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Environmental Solidarities between Local Solidarities and Transnational Solidarities

Gilles Verpraet

Université Paris Nanterre

Abstract: *The purpose of transnational solidarity is to challenge the social frameworks of sharing. National solidarity is organising social differentiation around the institutions of the 19th and 20th centuries that developed the institutions of army and finance, schooling and social security (with the mutualisation of risks). Post-national solidarity is more difficult to organise within institutions. The idea of transnational solidarity presupposes the existence of some effectively regulated international institutions (such as transnational diasporas). In the panorama of uncertainty, social networks become a substitute for solidarity; a virtual solidarity. Through a typology of the existing transnational solidarities in international relations we will specify three dominant approaches: relations between States with common interests and partnerships established through contracts within the framework of inter-State relations; multilateral relations within the framework of the United Nations, made up of common goods, networks and social associations such as UNEP and UNDP; and the diversity of Internet relations linking individual exchange (such as social networks) and cultural exchange (such as the free expression website).*

Transnational solidarity on environmental issues can be analysed as a community of issues, as a politicization on common issues and problems; as an interconnection of issues and a cosmopolitanism. The examination of environmental actions and political processes for a sustainable policy in France frames the distribution between the levels of social action and their interdependencies:

- Self organised local solidarities (eco farming, recycle energy).
- National solidarities around energy politics combine solidarity of production and distribution with solidarity for new frameworks inside an economy of energy such as Networked Climate Actions/Réseau Action Climat, Cop 21.
- Transnational common concerns to save the earth as a community of issues: WWF, Green Peace, Attac, Cop 21.

Transnational solidarities and the purpose of a sharing society, are moving in process. These developments require new connections between peoples and countries, new assemblages between communities, political community and the claims of justice. Voluntary solidarity requires the development of the communities of issues overcoming the functional communities.

- a) *The first question concerns the change of meaning of public sphere inside globalization processes. Globalization processes and media connexions challenge the notion of public sphere as a legitimized arena for public exchanges and for public argumentation.*
- b) *The second step focus on the place and meaning of collaborative actions inside transnational relations and a public sphere. The change of meaning for production cooperatives and for service cooperatives can be specified by local surveys. In relation to France, we developed the case of Nantes Metropoles and Plaine Commune 93).*
- c) *The third question envisions a progressive reconstruction of multilevel mobilizations and environmental solidarities, by examining the coupling and decoupling between mobilization and conflict, between cooperation and distance.*

1. Civil Society and Public Spheres in the Social Theories

The first issue intends to clarify the concept of civil sphere, as different from the incorporated notion of civil society. These clarifications are useful and required to face the extension of the notion of transnational solidarities. Socio-history brings up some results on the different meanings and constructions of civil society, as public spirit (Hegel), as public domain (Dewey) and as public space (Habermas). Axiology frames these different relations and combinations between local and global norms, between cognition and capability, but in a national domain.

Another concern identifies the components of civil society, the different activation processes shaping the dialogical contents between globalization and civil society, between global transfer of information and technology (Castells), financial transfer (Chase Dunn), but also counteractions for civil and social rights, for example, active citizenship (Barber). The study of social forums sets the new connections between the constitution of a public domain (social forum) and the shaping of a collective identity.

This new configuration in value shaping challenges classical sociological reasonings such as technological development, modernization, social movements and institutional regulations. The axiology for a global civil society can be set up in a more dialogical framework between passive and active processes, between technological and public domains, between information circulation and public deliberation, previous to be normative (between local, national, global institutions, between economic rules and moral order, between civil rights and institutional power), triggering important challenges for political liberalism.

2. Social Differentiation, Public Space and Communicative Action

The foundation of the theory of communicative action was a response to Luhmann's arguments constituting a social system based on differentiation and functional communication. Habermas framed social sciences inside a theory of communication (as Mead and Pierce) related with the forms of "inter-comprehension". He quotes the generalized other:

"The concept of a norm of action that we have reconstructed relates, thus far, to the collective regulation of the authority of participants in the interaction, which is coordinated by their actions through imperatives charged with sanctions and thanks to the mutual satisfaction of their interests." (Habermas, 1987: 46).

Habermas sustains a double structuration of processes between system integration (Luhmann) and social integration (Durkheim and Giddens): "But to the extent that the structures of the lived world will differentiate themselves, the mechanisms of social integration will also separate. This evolutionary process provides the key to the weberian problematic concerning the rationalization of society." (Habermas, 1987: 180). To Habermas (1988) when systems theory considers social and systemic integration as functional equivalents, it renounces to the criteria of communicative rationality. We have to introduce the forms of mutual understanding.

For Cohen and Arato (1992), the return of civil society combines different sociological

operations, the discourse of civil society, the dissent on civil society, the reconstruction of civil society, by social theory. But these autonomous reconstructions of civil society, could come only after strong civil social mobilizations, such as Solidarnosc in 1981 (Touraine et al, 1981; Sztompka, 1991).

2.1. Öffentlichkeit between Facts and Norms

Habermas's essay on the place of right in democracy requires some specific analytical examination between facts and norms. He examines the genealogy of the law system, and comes to a paradox: The rising of the individualism and the subject sustains a claim for the autonomy of right, who decides above the isolated individual (Habermas, 1992). So, the relations between public autonomy (law) and private autonomy (the subject) can be analyzed; the tensive extension between human rights and popular sovereignty, which requires a procedural concept of democracy.

In this enlarged analytical system between law and democracy, between subject and law (Gauchet), the notion of public space (*öffentlichkeit*) appears as a response to the uncertainty of the civil society, as a structure of communication, with a recognition of the social differentiation. Habermas reassesses how the public domain in a complex society constitutes a mediation between political systems and private sectors, between the segmentation of specified action systems. The key question to be formulated is how to restore democracy in face of the social differentiation that is the specific contribution of public deliberation.

2.2. Legal Solidarities and Mediation of the Public Domain

In the debate concerning political liberalism (Rawls), Habermas reconstructs the place of rights and law so to specify the relations between private autonomy and public autonomy. The classic hegelian and gramscian oppositions between civil society and political society are mediated by the new configuration of the public domain (*öffentlichkeit*):

"In complex societies, the public space is an intermediate structure that mediates between, on the one hand, the political system and, on the other, the private sectors of the lived world and the functionally specified systems of action. It is a very complex fabric, branched into a multiplicity of overlapping arenas, both international and national, regional, municipal and subcultural; articulated, in substance, according to functional points of view, central themes, political sectors, etc., generating more or less specialized public spaces, but still accessible to a lay public." (Habermas 1992: 401). These constitutive rights of the liberal public space give a potential for auto-transformation.

This composition of large open public spaces could refer to the process of the European constitution, combining democratic cultures and an economy-based citizenship. It can also refer to the alter-globalization new spaces of deliberation, social forums and arenas. Sociological analysis can specify the current history of the social practices that combine global networks, national democratic cultures and arenas for dissent in alter-globalization processes.



2.3. Postnational State and Public Sphere

The thematic of deliberative democracy seems to cover the thematic of public domain. Rawls argues for an axial neutrality inside the political liberalism. "There is no public justification of a political society without a crosscutting argument inside a reasonable consensus", such a justification linked with the idea of legitimation" (Rawls, Habermas, 1997). The methodology of crosscutting arguments through the research of consensus can be successful, when philosophy can develop its argumentation its view point inside the societal practices (Habermas, 1994: 179). This philosophy of praxis, based on republican citizenship is a support for deliberation.

2.4. Republican integration Sustaining Postnational Arrangement

By creating a new mode of legitimation, Nation State make possible a more abstract mode of social integration. So results a double encoding of citizenship between civic rights and belongings. The concept of Nation state is struggled between the universalism of the legal community and the distinction of historical community" (Habermas 1998: 203). So, the claims emerge, as Europe needs a constituency and its specific argumentation: "So to keep the substance of social State and to avoid the segmentation by an underclass, appears the necessity to create some supranational instances, with the capacity to develop an internal world politics". (Habermas, 1998: 203)

In the process of State withdrawing and the dissolution of public institutions, we may notice a diversification of different social dimensions in the emancipation of the civil society; the expansion of markets and business, the development of a community of associations and civil implications, the development of professions and corporate identities, the fragmented return of diversified religious feelings (Leger, Taylor), and the expansion of public space and communicative actions (Castells).

We may consider how ecological agreements (Arctic protection, UFGC gaze reduction) and the development of transnational solidarities require purposive transnational negotiations and conventions, such as European agreement (Aalborg Convention, 2004) and UN agreement (Cop 21 and Cop 24).

3. Differentiation in the Public Sphere and New Styles of Actions

This crossed affiliations and definitions that emerged during the 1930's and the 1990's, questioned the basic sociological supports of the public domain: The separation and interference between the public and private domains (Tocqueville, Dewey, Habermas). Expanded relationships between individual and social practices are conceived as a cultural pragmatism, communicative action and responsive actions (Dewey, Habermas).

3.1. The Critical Transformation of the Public Space

Global networks increase the opportunities for direct relationships between subjects such as the community of practices inside enterprise (Amin and Cohendet). We can distinguish the internet connections that occur between media systems, corporations and consumer behaviours from those that develop in alternative social networks of connection in which mobilization is based on community issues.

The privatization process of corporation networks, of social networks can be deeply questioned in terms of value shaping, learning processes, and of new combinations between public and private values. The public sphere is set up between distortion and transformation. Environmental solidarities can be developed as intermediary solutions between global networks and privatized corporations.

The constitution of enlarged networks of knowledge may diversify the modes of knowledge access through iconic and cognitive relations (Castells, 2001). Knowledge access requires the acquisition of some specific conventions on the part of potential users.

3.2. Dynamics between Learning and Belonging: Symbolic Actions and Pragmatic of Performance

The learning process move the community's belonging between several repertoires (family and school institution, children's community and teacher's community) (Tönnies 1977). Plural dimensions of learning can be shaped: between communities and society:

- How to learn inside the community following the shared values and the endogenous orientation of this community (Mead).
- How to learn between different communities in reference with a public space and a recognized secularism (Durkheim). The community conformism confronts with the social competition between communities.
- How to learn universal knowledge by the teaching mediation. This universalist proceeding supports the idea of emancipation by education.
- How to learn as independent subject (not autonomous) by the channel of information networks, and media network. This procedure keeps relevance for teenagers. The schooling question transforms diversified information into structured knowledge with assimilation.

In a postmodern society, with knowledge inflation (school + media + networks), the reference to communities takes a plurality of meanings (Taylor) in relation to knowledge selectivity, to the support of learning, and to knowledge appropriation. So, different learning processes are implied (Morin 1999).

In contemporary learning processes, we may question the community of references that organize the fixed point of learning, those who organize the positioning and the identification in learning (Harré 1999). In the 1950's, Merton made a strong distinction between the group of belonging and the group of reference, not only in relation with the status of achievement, but also in the communication process (local /global). In the contemporary period; the notion of

interpretative community (Walzer) shapes enlarged dimensions. The suggested frame(work) of differentiated learning processes, recognizes the different notions of value, between the anchoring values on fixed points, the value of representation and the value of codification. These analytical frameworks have consequences on the differentiation of public spheres.

3.3. Learning and Belonging inside Cooperative Communities

The classic cooperative is conceived as a collaborative work process (mutualism) sustained by collective properties and management. It supposes to articulate plural ethical values, such as ethics of creativity, ethos of solidarity, universalistic ethics and ethics of responsibility (Desroches 1976). The industrial cooperative of Mondragon underlines the main issues of training and education so to frame a relevant cooperative culture and an efficient model of production (Garcia 1970).

Ecologic cooperatives reply to these basic features of cooperatives. The purpose is to develop mutual labor relations and cooperatives that suspend the constraints of big profits, but have to endure and respond to the constraints of market such as product quality and responsiveness. These action margins sustain the time for cooperation and internal collaboration, defending the combination of collective property and internal democracy as a collective immaterial patrimony (Lamarche et al. 2013).

3.4. Internet and Public Spheres: Value Shaping and Political Practices

The analysis of sociabilities in digital connections and linkings, divide connections between bridge and link (Welman and Casilli 2009), between connexion and linked value (Verpraet 2009). These virtual practices may interfere with the ordinary practices of labour as work services at distance. The social influence of these networks requires to specify their pragmatics and performance (Castells 1999; Alexander 2004). These forms of interactions can be considered as speech acts, as deliberation forms. Cardon details three forms of speech acts, personal (within a restricted public sphere), amateur (web is a practice between clarity and conflation) and professional public space.

The opportunities of deliberation without clear definitions of issues are framing the incompleteness of the virtual polis, where the multiplicity of assembly set question to the arbitration judges and to the political strategies. The enlarged connections of the internet society do not make equivalence with a new polis. The purposive question comes more adequately on the scenarios of social, cultural and political subjects inside the new game of accelerated information.

4. Ecological Cooperation and Public Connection in France's Cases

In the case of Nantes and Plaine commune, the development of ecological sensibility, the

development of metropolitan politics of sustainability are supported by important cooperative actions. Cooperative development and open public space are sustaining each other. The city of Ile St Denis (93), incorporated inside Plaine Commune welcomes biocooperatives (food, direct distribution, cantina) and training cooperatives for building requalification with economy of energy.

The region of Nantes, is a traditional site for cooperative development in the agriculture domain such as Terrena (15.000 associate employees) and Oceane, cooperative of fruits and vegetables (1500 affiliated farmers, 80 stable employees for logistic). The metropolitan politics of sustainable development supports the active mobilizations of innovative cooperatives. Ecopole is a permanent center sustaining solidarity projects in the Nantes Region. The purpose of a "Meridienne association" is to preserve and develop the scientific heritage inside this region. The mutualist tradition is still vibrant and creative. 16% of employment in the region are concerned with social and solidarity economy.

A new polis intends to frame the link between cognitive networks and cultural cosmopolitanism. Internet networks provide new learning processes, new practices on the value of connexion. The cosmopolitanism in confrontation with the nationalist incorporation bring up some new forms of shared value, a new balance between shared value, link value, connexion value (Verpraet 2008). Cosmopolitanism shapes a specific form of cultural exchange between global repertoires and urban / national contexts (Saito 2015). The margins of interpretation of the same message occupy the space between standardization and diversity. These cosmopolitan communications imply different forms of cultural pragmatism (Alexander 2005; Verpraet 2009).

A multiscale approach specifies different repertoires of cosmopolitan discourses sustaining new environmental solidarity discourses: the ethical, the nationalistic, the repertoires of cooperation, the internationalist repertoires. The discourses of cosmopolitan environmentalism constitute two meta narrations between message circulation and incorporation processes. Their contextual and cultural combinations have to be specified on the development of environmental solidarities (sharing societies).

5. Transnational Solidarities and Public Spheres

The framing of transnational solidarity sets questions. In the 19th and 20th centuries, according to Durkheim's, Luhmann's and Simmel's teachings, national solidarities organized social differentiations around institutions that developed army, schooling and social security, within a framework of mutualisation of risks. The idea of transnational solidarities presupposes international institutions based on effective regulation (such as transnational family in Vertovec; transnational diasporas). Within this uncertainty, social networks reinforce substitutes for solidarity, by virtual solidarity and media affects (Langmann, 2003)

A typology of the existing transnational solidarity will specify three dominant approaches:

- the relations between State with joined interest and cooperation partnership by contracts.
- the multilateral relations within UN framework composed of common good, networking and social partnership.

- the diversity of internet relations linking individuals (such as social networks, and cultural exchange (such as free expressive website).

A first solution for a pragmatic empirical methodology intends to differentiate and to cross-cut the criteria of community between social networks, diasporic communities and national community, considering the debate between Tönnies and Durkheim. It is possible to crosscut the criteria of community inside the stable and bounded international networks (UN and UNESCO partnership) and to analyse the intersections between the criteria of justice in different political communities (as divergence and convergence in Walzer) before determining the conditions of convergence and solidarity (Latour and Boltanski). This procedure supposes a democratic iteration between different political communities. This methodology can be performed in the North / South relations, in the relationship between Europe and Maghreb, and in the relationships among European countries (the so call European solidarities).

This methodology successively examines the transnational solidarities as community of issues (Arendt), as politicization on common issues and common problems (Tassin, Beck); as an interconnection of issues. Our research insists on the difference between transnational space and public space, between transnational social space and cultural circulation inside cosmopolitanism. We present some case studies:

Reporter Without Frontiers (SRF) is an international association promoting the rights and the defense of journalist, specifically war reporters jailed or killed, in authoritarian situations. It develops two main levels of action. The public campaign publicizes the reporter situation as jailed or killed, based on a table of records by countries. The policy campaigning develops the pressure on specific governments upon the dangerous situation, on the legal and purposive protection of journalists. These two levels of actions mobilize all dimensions of the public space such as public opinions, governmental policy, and as international campaigning.

5.1. Multilevel Ecological Solidarity

Ecological solidarities can be envisioned as multilevel combination of initiatives between actions of protection and action of cooperative at the local levels and more global mobilization on strong issues (as global warming, nuclear power). The examination of the network Global Climate Networks can specify these combinations of actions.

The network Global Climate action started in 1996 by assembling European and international networks of 1.100 community members. It addresses the thematic of climate deregulation, sustainable transportation, energy production, farming, housing (on the basis of a substantial and horizontal definition). The processual steps focus on the blockages that the ecological transition faces due to the pressures of large networks and molecular mobilizations. The network produces purposive statements towards a just transition. It organizes regular mobilizations and called for climate marches in 2018 and 2019. Now young academics respond to this style of mobilization based on the power of pressure and call on public opinion. The federations of networks and community associations support these extended mobilizations.

Cooperative actions can be developed in each specific association such as Greenpeace, WWF,

French Natural Environment. They can be combined with local actions and transnational networks. The examination of environmental actions and policy processes for sustainable politics in France frames a distribution of social collaborative actions among different social levels and equations:

- Self organized local solidarities (eco farming, recycling energy) and local cooperatives in Nantes and Ile Saint Denis;
- National solidarities as federative mobilizations and conflicts are developed around energy politics, cf. Action Climate Network/ *Réseau Action Climat*, Cop 21. The French crisis of ecological solidarity is framed by the weakness of energy transition policy, underlying conflict of interests and vision on energy production and energy priorities. Mobilization of “gilets jaunes” in the periphery comes also from this policy weakness;
- Transnational common concerns to save the earth as a community of issues. Action Climate Network Cop 21 is developing a bottom up and cooperative mobilisations to develop the relay of global agreements.

6. Conclusions. Transnational Solidarities in Process

Our analysis envisions transnational solidarities, not only as communication networks and as communication and intersection between communities, but also as communities of issues and as a politicization of these issues.

Facing the sociological weakness of cosmopolitanism, Calhoun insists on transnational solidarity as the most coherent object: “We should, I think, join in recognising the importance of transnational relations and therefore of transnational politics, movements, and ethics. We should try to belong to the world as a whole and help it to be just more and better organized. But we should not imagine we can do so very well by ignoring or wishing away national and local solidarities.” [...] “We need to be global in part how we are national. And we need to recognise the ways national – and ethnic and religious – solidarities work for others” (Calhoun 2008).

Transnational solidarities can be envisioned within this framework of cosmopolitan values. We distinguish between functional solidarities related to trade and technological interdependencies, partnership related to interstate relations, and social networks developed within these relations (such as transnational professional groups).

Transnational solidarities refer to the voluntary actions of active groups related to these communities of issues that have hypothesis on the continuity of civil rights. Their development requires new connections between peoples and countries, new assemblages between communities, between professional community, political community and the claims of justice. Voluntary solidarism requires the development of the communities of issues that overcomes functional communities (Durkheim 1895; Desroches 1979).

Cooperatives are characterised by solidarity of action, by mutual exchange networks that are less visible in the market society. Transnational networks give broad and widespread visibility to global problems and threats. They are calling for local multiplication and coordination actions.

The values of environmental solidarity are distributed in two repertoires: interdependence and risk, cooperation and mutualism. These two repertoires converge in environmental activism and their different practices. This convergence requires new processes of interconnection and convictions.

Global/local actions can be conceived as a combination of coupling and decoupling between local and global actions, where criteria of opportunity and criteria of disruption criteria can be framed between identity and control matrix (Whyte 2003). It is possible to imagine how the development of the Internet sustains a community of problems and stabilizes the connection between local communities through interdependencies by extension. But it is necessary to specify the intersection of solidarity within mediated governance (Hajer 2009). The federation of issues has to consider the resistance of the micro-worlds, how the contingency could fix some points of reluctance and the new combination due to the fractalization of issues (Chateauraynaud 2015).¹

6.1. Interconnected Public Spheres and Transnational Solidarities

Our socio-political methodology specifically examines transnational solidarities as a community of issues (Arendt), as politicization of common issues and problems (Tassin 2002; Fraser 2006; Beck 2006) and as interconnection of issues (Hajer 2005). We refer to the specification of three public spaces based on three regimes of encounters (local, national and transnational). The analytical question addresses the modes of connection between these three public spaces, their differentiation and their specific forms of coordination (Simmel). We can recognize different regimes of public spaces:

- The classic public space is framing the shared value, the civility and the incorporated civil society (Simmel, Alexander) such as cooperatives of production and communities of protection.
- The modern public space develops its argumentation of the public sphere, between State society and democratic society, between social mediations and media systems (Habermas, 1988).
- The new public space within the internet networks develops new forms of collective issues, new forms of public-private deliberation, more or less converging. We may notice a dispersion between internet collectives.

Transnational solidarities are designed by and between political communities. The coherence of the public sphere can support and facilitate some transnational solidarities. The public sphere is one of the conditions for transnational solidarity. Transnational solidarity cannot be mixed with the public sphere. The emergence of transnational solidarities depends on the permissiveness of the public sphere (tolerance, openness, cosmopolitanism, closeness, segmentation). But the consistency, resilience and maintenance of transnational solidarities depend on the interstate system, on the political space.

A new phenomenon to be considered refers to the new articulations between local, national and transnational public spheres. Transnational solidarity arises from the articulation of these different public spheres. Changes within political subjectivity can be visualized within this

framework, from the act of discourse to a more global theme. We induced some insights on the social relations bounded between global interdependence, multiple identities and collective expression (Verpraet 2006). The French yellow jackets revolt (*gilets jaunes*) in December 2018 was first envisioned as a resistance to carbon tax and sustainable development. In a context of income and energy precarity, a new demand of social justice can be framed, sustaining the continuity of energy transition.

7. Methodological Appendix

How to explore and to construct the environmental solidarities between local levels and global levels?

- a) The first question concerns the change of meaning of public sphere inside globalization process. Globalization processes and media connexions challenge the notion of public sphere as a legitimized arena for public exchanges and for public argumentation.
- b) The second steps focus on the place and meaning of collaborative cooperation actions inside transnational relations and public sphere. The change of meaning for production cooperative for service cooperative can be specified by local survey. For France we developed the case of Nantes Metropoles and Plaine Commune 93.
- c) The third methodological question frames a progressive reconstruction of multilevel mobilisations and environmental solidarities by examining the coupling and decoupling between mobilization and conflict, between cooperation and distance. This methodology examines the transnational solidarities as communities of issues, as politicization of common issues and common problems (Tassin, Beck) as interconnection of issues. So, a typification between different trajectories of transnational solidarities can be framed. The new configuration of environmental solidarities can be linked with reconfiguration of environmental issues.

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9. Biographical Note

Gilles Verpraet, Sociologist at the University Paris Nanterre (Sophiapol) has been leading researches on ecological mobilizations and conflicts (as great canal Rhin Rhône, on the

policy implementation of sustainable development and on the blockage of environmental governance). He is currently developing researches on the construction, diversification and stabilization of environmental solidarities. Publications:

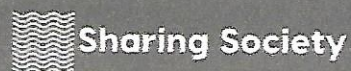
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10. Notes

- 1 Transnational solidarities can be envisioned inside this framework of cosmopolitan ethos. We distinguish between the functional solidarities, related to trade and technological interdependencies, the partnership related to interstate relations and the social networks developed inside these relations (such as the transnational professional groups).

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Benjamín Tejerina, Cristina Miranda de Almeida and Ignacia Perugorria
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