

# The link between defense and territories. What outlook for Geographer scientifically and in practice of planning?

Master Course

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## **Introduction**

With 250,000 hectares of land, the French Ministry of Defense administers an area equivalent to the size of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. A quarter of this space is classified "Natura 2000" area because of its biodiversity. Ecological management agreements of land have increased in recent years between the Ministry and the "Academy of Natural Areas" (Conservatoire des Espaces Naturels - CEN), the "Bird Protection League" (LPO), the "National Forestry Office" (ONF) and other organizations responsible for the protection of nature. With more than 16 billion euros (Assemblée Nationale 2011), the real estate of the Ministry of Defense exceeds that of all other departments (more than a quarter of the land value of all departments). The 2008 White Book on Defense and National Security (Commission du Livre Blanc 2008) initiated the closure of dozens of military units (regiments, detachments, etc.). Local communities (towns, counties and regions) have suddenly been confronted with many problems of land conversion. Great real estate owner, owner of lands with high environmental and architectural value, the Ministry of Defense, currently undergoing reconstruction, has become a key interlocutor for planning policies and regional development. This operator is itself a developer, not only through the defense implementation of territories, its primary purpose, but also as a partner in the renewal areas become unsuitable for its mission. Curiously, the French community of geographers ignores these issues. Consultation of 1,669 individual records of the "Géomonde" database (University of Paris 1 2013) highlights the curriculum vitae of ten French geographers only when one writes the word "defense". One may wonder this lack of interest. Like the research that led to the structuring of a sociology of defense in the early 1990s (Boëne 1995), we will focus in the first part of the article, on the links between society and defense. We will then present the different types of issues articulated around the key concept of territory, then different scientific and societal perspectives will be raised and discussed in the following sections.

## **I – What links between defense and territories?**

### **A) Definition of the notion of defense**

- Legal framework and definition

The notion of defense is set in France in the Order of 7 January 1959 on the general organization of defense (JORF 1959): "*The defense is to ensure at all times, in all*

*circumstances and against all forms of aggression, security and territorial integrity, as well as the lives of people*" (Art. 1). The remaining 46 articles of the Ordinance define how to implement the Defense in occurrence of a "threat" (Art. 2) affecting the "vulnerability of populations or of the main equipment" (Art. 3). This is the "general mobilization" (Art. 3), the "warning" (Art. 4) and a series of special provisions "including on a part of the country, a sector of the national life or a fraction of the people"(Art. 6). This definition is the basis of the concept of defense in France for more than half a century. It emphasizes the military confrontation but apprehends threat and the response to it by the society relatively extensive. This concept has been adapted to the evolving threat through a series of White Books that define the response to oppose it. These are collections of information designed to enable the Government to take decisions on strategic direction: The first one was edited in 1972 in the context of the Cold War and the launch of nuclear deterrence; the second, published in 1994, fits the Defense to post-Cold War; the year 2008 was marked by the publication of the third White Book focused on a response to the asymmetric war dramatically illustrated by the attacks of 11 September 2001. A fourth White Book starts end of 2012 should take into account the intensification of Islamic terrorism.

White Books are complemented by the Laws of Military Planning, by financial guidance taken during the annual vote of state budget and by the policy choices of orientation of the military industry and military equipment.

- Defense vs. defense: with or without capital letter?

It is usual to use the capital to refer to the Ministry of the same name or defense within the meaning of the institutions that embody it (National Defense, European Defense). With a small "d", the term becomes more generic and embraces the civilian and military aspects relating to the spatial implementation of territorial defense, and to the valuation of heritage memorial of the defense. This typological distinction already reflects the scope of the concept and the issues it raises for society.

## B) The territory, a mediator of the link between society and defense

The territory can be defined as "*a portion of space clearly circumscribed, fitted by a community who exercises its authority, expresses its project of development and ultimately appropriates it*" (Ginet 2012). The territory is an interface - analyzed in the following sections - between defense issues and societies that are facing. This mediation is expressed in particular in the context of projects and planning strategies at all geographic scales. Spatial planning can be defined as "*Voluntary action of a social group to organize or transform the space in order to generate a positive impact on society. In geography, spatial planning is the organization of space in its voluntary dimension*"(Hypergéó 2013). As an articulation of the link between territories and defense, it opens toward four types of scientific and societal issues (Table n°1):

**Table n°1** - The territory, a place of expression of the defense-society relation issues

Scientific and social issues	1. Preparation of territories for defense	Military defense	Army, doctrines and territorialized systems of defense		
		Civil defense	Territorial planning		
			Strategies and territorial equipment projects		
		Global defense	Defense	Military defense and police	
				Civil defense and sustainable development	
				Cultural defense of material and immaterial heritage	
			Economic intelligence		
	2. Societal reinvestment in abandoned defense spaces	According to the objectives	Memory development		
			Reallocation of places		
			Real estate stock management		
			Other cases		
		According to involved actors	Army planner		
			Tools and methods for applying countervailing measures		
	3. Environmental issues raised by defense	Depollution of sites before conversion	Legal framework		
			Technical procedures	Pyrotechnic cleanup Industrial depollution	
		Biodiversity conservation	...on military lands outside of conflict		
			...in the context of an Eco-responsible war		
			Synergy		
	4. Apprehension by the society of defense into territories, as a geopolitical marker	Neutrality	...and interactivity		
			...and non-interactivity		
A-synergy					

Source : P.GINET, 2013

## II - Planning of territories for defense

Each territory seeks to prevent any threat that may affect the social group which lives inside.

### A) The military defense

- Successive generations of defense systems

The planning of territories for defense results in visible forms. Some of them persist long after the obsolescence of tactical considerations which led to their development: The development of artillery and aviation have thereby contributed to nullify, according to an operational perspective, the bastioned fortifications, the Roman limes or the Great Wall of China. Such defensive equipment yet remains indeed enrolled in the landscape whereas new mechanisms adapted to the evolution of the threat are set up: border surveillance systems (Israeli fences, inter-Korean border, etc.), French defense bases, etc.

- The exclusive domain of the Ministry of Defense

Amenities linked to the military defense have always been part of the practice of the "Art of War" (Sun Tzu) and depend, in France, of the state jurisdiction and of the know-how of the "Defense Amenities Authority" (Service des Infrastructures de la Défense - SID). The latter is responsible for the construction, maintenance and renovation of all spaces whose Armies need for their operation. In 2011, the SID was 4,445 professionals work with 72% civilian and 28% military and mobilize one billion euros of investment in infrastructure and maintenance through 111 projects delivered more than one million euros.

## B) The civil defense

- Defense, protection, civil security

Notions of defense, civil protection or security means all means can be deployed by the government to serve the protection and security of citizens in peacetime. Civil defense appears in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Citizen of 1948: "*Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person*". In France, an Authority for its management has been established in 1951. The Act of 13 August 2004 on the modernization of civil security (JORF 2004) specifies the object: "*The prevention of all types of risk, information and warning people and the protection of people, property and the environment through the development and implementation of measures and appropriate means within the State, local authorities and public or private persons*". Civil defense applies to a wide range of risks, some of which also apply to military (risks related to exposure to poison gas or nuclear radiation from a nuclear weapon, for example) and others are more strictly civilian (industrial pollution from chemical, natural disasters: floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, fires, landslides, epidemics...).

- An area of growing social interest

Planning risk prevention is the subject of a legal framework that is rooted in a growing awareness of the public, exacerbated during events that have hit the headlines: Seveso disaster in 1976, Bhopal in 1984, Toulouse (AZF) in 2001, Texas City in 2005, Ajka in 2010... These have prompted the French society to develop an arsenal of planning tools to prevent future disasters and to respond should they occur.

Most of these documents have been developed over the past forty and especially the past twenty years: ORSEC (Organization for Civil Security Response) in 1952, European Seveso Directive in 1982, "Plan for the Prevention of Natural Disasters" in 1987 or "Municipal/inter-Municipal Backup Plan" in 2004, among dozens of devices.

Other areas of development are also affected by the civil defense. Thus the "Policy of the city", established in France in the early 1980s was accompanied by a set of measures that deal directly or indirectly with this issue. Indirectly, with "Social development of neighborhoods", "City contracts" or "Plan suburban success" which try to improve the social and economic areas, in order to contribute to maintain social peace. Directly, through means targeted civil defense: Local Councils Security and Delinquency Prevention, Local Security Contracts, part crime prevention and citizenship Contracts Urban Social Cohesion implemented from 2006, etc.

Sustainable development in all its forms is also a posture similar to the defense. It is found in an increasing number of planning documents and planning. SCoT (Territorial Coherence Schemes) are thus taken into account the principles of balance, urban renewal, economic management of soil, social diversity and preservation of the environment, to reduce any category of threats : socio-spatial divide, depletion of arable land, additional costs related to transportation urban sprawl, etc. Code of Urbanism, in turn, "*determines the spaces and natural, agricultural, forestry or urban to be protected*" and evokes the "*fight against urban sprawl*" (JORF 2010), all terms (protect, control) borrowed from the vocabulary of the defense.

All these planning devices, by providing safeguards to the act to construct, induce visible effects in landscapes. By the choice of location of equipment on the one hand: For example, by stimulating debates on the relationship between territories and industry (should we expropriate people facing industrial risk or rather relocate industrial facilities inevitably joined over time by urban growth?) or by discussions relating to nature and economy (should we turn flood coasts in unbuildable land, accompanying the process of

rising sea levels, or otherwise strengthen the banks to maintain a pledge of urban economic development for coastal stations?). For equipment projects on the other hand, which take a variety of forms that can be classified (Table n°2):

**Table n°2** - A geographical typology of civil defense shapes

	Types	Examples
Visibility	Inconspicuous	A vegetable fiber bio material to fight against the erosion of banks while promoting their vegetation
	Highly visible	A wind farm
Geometry	Punctual	A firehouse
	Linear	A cable of the Internet network
	Areal	Seismic standards in their application to all buildings in Japan
Spatial extension	Localized	A lightning rod
	Extended	A polder dikes
Temporality	Preventive	The network of referring French physicians of the Influenza Observation Regional Groups (GROG)
	Reactive	Production and distribution sites of doses of antiviral vaccine and masks
Durableness	Temporary	An anti-flood dam
	Permanent	A water flood calibrated centennial
Specialization	Exclusively defensive	A monitoring and alerting network
	Partly defensive	A clinic

Source : P.GINET, 2013

### C) Defense, an original sight on societies

We can see the role increasingly important of civil defense and the growing and more and more intricate problems of military and civil defense. The border between the two semantic concepts becomes blurred. The notion of global defense is sometimes used to refer to the four areas concerning the planning of territories for defense: the military defense and police, civil defense (extended in recent years to sustainable development), economic intelligence, and cultural defense (touching material and immaterial heritage). The decision to favor the defense in the outlook on the society and its organization is the spirit of defense: *"The spirit of defense (...) is not (...) reserved for the military. It is based on the formation of a civic-minded citizen and must be approached as part of school education for citizenship"* (Ministère français de l'Éducation Nationale, 2013).

The territories defense preparation applies to all geographic scales, from the mobilization of every citizen of a town in a warning launched as part of a "Municipal Backup Plan" for example, to that of all democratic societies concerned with Defense of Human Rights, on the occasion of threats (terrorism, sectarian logic and mafia ...) that aim to undermine their foundation. If the idea of a global defense by definition covers these aspects, its governance is a problem. While some cities like Singapore, New York and Rio managed to develop integrated systems of civil defense, the idea of setting up a European Defense for example, points to a wider scale the difficulties such a global governance of defense issues.

However, defense is already present in many areas of territorial development. But make it a priority reflects a (rather unusual) posture a researcher wants to foster. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the development projects are motivated by reasons of defense. This is not surprising because among the five prioritized needs in the Maslow pyramid, the need for security is second priority, just after physiological needs, themselves linked to the survival of the species and individuals (access to food resources, access to breathable air).

### III – Societal reinvestment in abandoned defense spaces

Concerned places are areas of military and civil defense which may have been used during a war or a natural or anthropogenic disaster, and which were subsequently downgraded due to the societal, military, technological or environmental change. What then should society do with these equipment and places?

#### A) Types of reallocations according to their objectives

- Development of Memory

This valorization may refer to a little place or whose memorial trace remains long after its physical destruction (the Bastille prison, destroyed in 1789, for example) but it can involve a wide space with a high symbolic value: the department of Meuse, France, as a whole, for example, described by its General Council "*Martyr department*", "*department of the Great War*" or "*Sepulture Department*" (Conseil Général de la Meuse 2013). We can also consider the archipelago of memorial places, gathered and valued within one or more networks, through management actions, and promoted traditionally (e.g.: television) or in a modern way (e.g.: geocaching): Vauban citadels networks in the framework of the Association of Fortified Cities of the Greater Region (between Belgium, France and Luxembourg) for example. These places crystallize part of the collective opinion around the values they embody. This is sometimes true sanctification as in the case of villages "Died for France" in Meuse, totally destroyed and uninhabited for a century but yet still administered. This is not only to freeze the trace of a highly symbolic moment like the Trench of Bayonets at Douaumont, this memorial management is also accompanied by a regular valuation during moments of celebration of remembrance, full of solemnity. Collective values embodied in these places, both symbolic and cultural, can wither with time, as the November 11 commemorations in the French villages... Sometimes, these memorial places muster a minority of extremists (e.g.: the Hitler's Eagle's Nest at Berchtesgaden in Austria for neo-Nazis). Logistics, marketing and financial means, but also associative and political relays placed at the service of the memorial development, contribute to the perpetuation of remembrance within society, while reflecting the "*memory competitiveness*" (Grandjean and Jamin 2011). Are some places more legitimate than others to embody the memory? One may wonder about the terms of the memorial valorization (Fleury and Walter 2010) and identify a gradient ranging from a low-cost and local-range memorialization, to a true sacralization of places and an international opening, sometimes favored by the situation of extra-territoriality of a place (e.g.: Vimy Memorial in France, owned by the Government of Canada).

- Reallocation of places for other uses

This functional recycling can take different forms, from the destruction and reconstruction of an entire site to the concern to preserve the exterior while redefining the use (e.g.: Military Hospital Scrive, of Lille, which has been hosting since 2007 the Prefecture of Nord-Pas-de-Calais). This reallocation can also preserve a memorial or cultural dimension for example by opening the visit to associations or individuals (Macdonald barracks in Mons-en-Barœul). The possibilities are endless and include reallocations within all territorial functions: recreation (the Blénod-les-Toul's barracks became the largest paintball site in France), housing (acquisition by an individual in 1997, of a decommissioned nuclear missile silo in Oplin, Texas, to be converted into housing), education (creation of a rehabilitation institute in Sourdon in 2009 in the premises of a disused barracks), etc.

- Territorial reorganization of *de facto* defense spaces

The future of certain places or areas represents a special case. Those spaces have no longer been designed for defense (like barracks for example) but in spite of that were

engaged in a conflict. It may be cities victims of bombing (Le Havre in 1944, Dresden and Hiroshima in 1945) or engaged in combat (Stalingrad from July 1942 to February 1943), and in both cases, ravaged by war. Once the war ended, the city must quickly rehouse its population, restart economic activity, and again allow the movement of goods and people... Its redevelopment is most often an identical reconstruction. The neo-Gothic architecture of the Grand Place of Tournai (Belgium), bombed in 1940, masks for instance the fact that it was completely rebuilt there is only half a century. In other cases, they are natural areas that have been affected by the war. Their pollution is often complex and expensive, but is an issue both environmentally and economically as shown by the case of redevelopment of the delta of the Shatt al-Arab after the Iran-Iraq war (Liège 2012). Easy solution, budget saving, emergency context, this approach of healing territorial is also explained by a concern for society, to reconnect with the original landscape, memories of a past that is reassuring to find through approach that falls within the territorial resilience.

- Reconstruction of old areas of civil defense

This case is less frequent. The disaster of Malpasset for instance (collapse of a dam and flooding of villages in the south of France in 1959) has left traces in the landscape, carefully maintained. The dam ruins became a lever for local tourism development, enhanced by walking routes path, information leaflets available to the public and even websites dedicated to this dramatic event.

- Standby

But it is not always possible to initiate a conversion in a short time. This is particularly the case of former barracks transferred to municipalities. These periods of vacancy related to multiple factors: lack of overall vision, too large dimension of the terrain, divergent development choices, etc.

## B) Actors and procedures

The main protagonists in France, for the transformation of legacy defense areas are the State, through the Ministry of Defense, and "France Domaine", but also local authorities, mainly municipalities and inter-municipality public institutions. We can take the example of the wave of disposals by the Ministry of Defense to local authorities following the White Paper of 2008. Projects implemented since a part of the territories concerned are based on a legal and financial framework defined by the State and upon the mobilization of various actors.

- The Army, the State and local authorities

*"French army is in charge of the security of the French, not of territorial planning"*(Sarkozy 2010). In his speech to the Army in January 8, 2010, the former Head of State said this sentence often commented because of a deep gap with reality of military authorities, very active in the political restructuring following the closure of defense sites. This is the case of the North-East Region Land Military District (RTNE) which extends from Dunkirk to the Swiss border. This area includes 23 departments and gathers a quarter of the area and the French population. Main deployment area of this reform and key player in the implementation of compensatory measures, the RTNE employs 46,000 people in 48 military establishments. It concentrates 40% of the restructuring of the Army, 42% of closed military units and 38% of the transferred units. It has more than 700 buildings spread over more than 70,000 hectares. Its economic weight is 3 billion euros, of which 2.5 in wages. This heavyweight of the Ministry of Defense is directly involved in the planning by participating in the activities of the Site Committees under the authority of the prefect. Other military actors are also involved directly in the restructuring of territories affected by the reform: the "Regional Delegate

for defense restructuring" thus falls within the Ministry of Defense and works in partnership with the Prefect of the Region and in connection with the "National Delegation for Regional Planning and Regional Attractiveness" (DATAR) to follow the accompanying territorial measures to help areas affected by the reform. It examines the opportunities for reallocating land and property with the "Mission for the Realization of Real Estate Assets" (MRAI) and discusses the reclassification of staff affected by the reform with the "Support Mission for Restructuring".

- Tools and methods for countervailing measures

"Contracts for the Revitalization of Defense Sites" (CRSD) is the heaviest measure of the compensatory device introduced in France in 2008 to help local authorities, which recorded a loss of more than 200 jobs. The global 2009-2015 budget was 225 million euros shared among thirty sites. "Local Revitalization Programs" (FDP) relate to sites less affected, recording a deficit of jobs between 50 and 200. This procedure mobilizes like the CRSD, an allocation by the Prefect of the Department after consultation between local authorities and military authorities. Other tools for territories development at the local level have also been implemented: "Purpose Regional Aids" to encourage companies to develop projects, financial support base for municipalities, National Fund for Development and Territorial Development and contributions of the Ministry of Defense to job creation and revitalization of military sites alienated in the scope of CRSD and PLR. Some state buildings the Minister of Defense wants to sell may be assigned to symbolic euro. But these sales should result in a profit sharing after the completion of a development community and in resale of the property within a period of 15 years after acquisition. In the absence of territorial project realized, the State may redeem the property to the symbolic euro. Only municipalities experiencing a situation of great economic, social and demographic fragility are eligible for this policy to revitalize sites.

## IV – The societal recognition of environmental issues raised by the defense

The soil decontamination is a prerequisite for the functional conversion of military sites. But the link between environment and defense, and its enhancement within development and planning projects, also takes the form of preserving a biodiversity as rich than unexpected.

### A) Decontamination of former defense sites before conversion

The impact of soil pollution at the time of land sale by the Ministry of Defense to a local community is an issue of considerable importance (Grasmück 2008). Sixty million has also been invested by the Ministry of Defense between 2006 and 2009 to address this issue (Ministère français de la Défense, 14 février 2013). In case of sale or reclassification of a land, a pollution diagnostic of the site, taking into account the history and industrial past of the site, must be carried out at the initiative of the owner, responsible for land reclamation polluted caused by its activities. But such clearance can only occur once the future use of the site is defined.

- Pyrotechnic cleanup

This aspect is directly related to the activities of military defense. If we take into account the case of French territory, the pyrotechnic pollution takes the form of a superposition of waves of pollution related to the conduct of three wars: The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, which left few vestiges of ammunitions but whose exhumation presents significant risks because of their poor condition (rust); The 1914-1918 war, characterized by a very high pollution on all calibers and a specificity related to chemical pollution due to the use of poison gas (mustard gas, phosgene...) and incendiary substances



(phosphorus ...) ; The 1939-1945 war, also characterized by pollution of all types and all sizes with a specificity related to the depth of ammunition discovered (due to the bombing at higher altitudes) and the considerable power of certain munitions. Should be added to these three episodes, pollution connected with military training (shooting ranges, military camps), with decommissioning activities and ammunition storage, and with pollution from industrial activities. The location of these sites is far from easy. Their ignorance or inaccuracy relating to the simple definition of the land area of the Department of Defense is, as such, uplifting and worrying (Barbier 2011).

- Industrial depollution

Pollution of a site implies the presence of at least one source of pollution, the existence of at least one transfer channel (air, soil or hydrology) and human presence exposed to pollution. In addition to the health immediate or longer term impact, pollution also has an economic impact through a decrease of the value of exposed spaces.

The French government has several databases, in the form of Geographical Information Systems that inventory part of the soil pollution. Those are called BASIAS (Database of Old Industrial Sites and Service Activities), inventory of data of industrial sites, which does not presume to any pollution, but allow the reconstruction of the industrial past of nearly 190,000 sites; BASOL (Database of polluted sites and soils), which identifies the land base in a monitored 4,000 sites updated every quarter by the inspection of classified installations; FREEDOM (Closure, Reclamation and Environment Effects on Household Waste Landfills), which lists dumps since June dumps, and finally SISOP Polluted Sites and Soils database. The first three bases have been established by the (civil) "Geological and Mining Research office"(BRGM), the fourth by the Ministry of Defense.

The historical study and literature review, the consideration of site vulnerability after visiting, allow an accumulation of data that will lead to a territorial diagnosis with regard to pollution: this is the "Interpretation of the Environment State" (IEM). If an imminently hazardous pollution is identified, two situations may arise: that of compatibility between the IEM and uses fixed and that of their incompatibility. In the latter case, a "Management Plan" is developed to make it consistent.

- Challenges and opportunities

Soil depollution is a major challenge due to the growing numbers of urban renewal operations. The parameters to be considered are numerous and depend on the type of proposed development project. The presence of pollution can also guide the nature of the latter. Finally, we can note that the legislation relating to pyrotechnic cleanup is moving towards the regulation of common law, translation of growing entanglement of military and civil defense problems.

## B) Preservation and protection of an exceptional biodiversity

- On military areas uncommitted in conflict

The French army is also engaged on the front of the defense of the environment: "*The nature of defense, the size and location of its facilities, the size of its membership and the volume of its purchases involve real responsibility for sustainable development (...) It is a matter ethics, a moral duty*", says H.Morin, Minister of Defense in 2009 (Ministère français de la Défense 2013). This new posture is reflected in the commitment of 600 military and civilian personnel of the Sustainable Development Network of the Ministry of Defense, who work on 250,000 hectares of land used by National Defense, which 42,000 are classified as Natura 2000. More than 300 agreements have been signed by the Ministry of Defense with the NFB, the ONCFS (National Office of Hunting and Wildlife),

the CEN and the LPO. The French Army is also committed to a policy of energy audits in order to upgrade its buildings and is now in eco-friendly and biological goods purchase.

- The war of the future: an eco-war?

Away from any form of cynicism, the environmental doctrine of a growing number of armies is to consider that the effects that war causes to the environment, must be less numerous, and cause less serious and sustainable consequences. Everyone remembers the famous use of the "Agent Orange" defoliant, sprayed on the forest during the Vietnam War from 1961 to 1971. This product, intended to eliminate vegetation and agriculture, contained dioxin, a highly toxic and very stable chemical, still responsible for many cancers and birth defects among the exposed population. In Europe, the areas affected by bombing during the war of 1914-1918 are implicated, a century later, in pollution to phthalates through the "potable" water, or they are endocrine disruptors and carcinogens accumulating in the body of consumers. More recently, the use of depleted uranium shells has become widespread on battlefields. These munitions strew micro particles at impact. Their chemical composition and residual radioactivity are implicated in various diseases among veterans and civilians, sometimes many years after conflict. After the Kosovo war in 1999, the Council of Europe has tried to ban the production and use of these munitions. The "Gulf War Syndrome" raised a climate of suspicion around this type of weapon. Those measures remain without success because the ammunition is still used, but this approach reflects the desire of taking into account the problem. In France, the Ministry of Defense leads a fight for the preservation of the environment (CHEAr 2009): military vehicles (helicopters, light vehicles, landing craft) are now "eco-designed" and followed throughout their lives. 15 million euros were invested in 2009 in the form of research funding in favor of taking into account the environment in weapons programs: *"The current priorities are to develop cleaner technologies and processes and also better assess the environmental footprint"* (Ministère français de l'Éducation Nationale 2013).

## V – The apprehension by society, of defense into territories, as a fruitful geopolitical marker

Spaces of defense, under construction (Section n°II) or under reorganization (Sections n°III and n°IV), can be read as many places which express societal ingathering or division postures (Table n°3). Such postures revolve around the link between defense and territorial planning. Defense becomes here a focused object of research, especially because of its capability to reveal geopolitical relations of power between actors, and subsequent challenges for societies and their territories.

**Table n°3** - The role of defense into territories, a geopolitical marker of social climate

The apprehension of defense by society through:	..., a geopolitical marker of actors approaches:		
	+/- synergetic	+/- neutral (interactives or non-interactives)	+/- a-synergic
...preparation of territories for military and civil defense	E.g.: The construction of U.S. military bases in member states of NATO	...	E.g.: The logic of chosen residential confinement (gated communities)
...reshaping of inherited spaces of defense	E.g.: Renovation of former military buildings after grading by UNESCO as World Heritage of Humanity	...	E.g.: Local development projects due to national military restructuring politics
...symbolic valorization of inherited spaces of defense	E.g.: Maintenance of the memory of the Holocaust in the extermination camp of Auschwitz	...	E.g.: The pilgrimage of the Yser (IJzerbedevaart) as a pretext to claim independence of the Flemish Region of Belgium

Source : P.GINET, 2013

## A) When the defense gathers societies

Whether it is a question of preparation of territories for defense or conversion of defense inheritances, the definition of territorial development in connection with defense issues is, in a number of cases, an opportunity to rally the community around federative values.

- Build together
  - ✓ Equip space to defend society: At environmental level, creation of polders in the Netherlands has been a great unifying project and a source of pride for Dutch population. On another note, the sensitivity of the population to the shortage of energy resources, raises support for the development of new sites to defend themselves against the consequences of an inevitable scarcity; The photovoltaic power plant in Toul, France, is illustrative in this regard because it is both the preparation of a territory for defense within the meaning of sustainable development, and an operation of renewal of a former defense site.
  - ✓ Make symbols live to defend an identity: S.Rosière speaks of "*claimed heritage*" (Rosière 2007) to designate places symbols of identity of a people and a desire for justification of ownership. These places may have been forgotten and justify much more lately a territorial claim (Jerusalem for Christians at the time of the Crusades, for example).
  - ✓ Defend an economic situation: Military memory valorization, for example, both a catalyst and an identity tool for economic development through the tourism industry.
  - ✓ Organize networks of defense alliances: NATO, former Warsaw Pact, justification by the United Nations of the French intervention in Mali in 2012, are illustrations of the implementation of logic of solidarity within the framework of defense networks, inscribed into territories.
- Destroy together

The gathering of a social group (community, nation, church, etc.) can also be achieved in a context of intentional deletion of a section of the defense memory. The posture can then be to destroy any element of defense heritage which are attached symbolic values (e.g.: vandalism of castles associated with monarchical power during the French Revolution of 1789).

## B) When the defense divides societies: the example of the management of the 2008 White Book on Defense in Lorraine

The White Book on defense and national security published in 2008, led to the disappearance of a dozen military units in Lorraine, Moselle and Metz, respectively region, department and French town most affected by this reform. It is an economic shock for this region already devastated by the closure of its steel plants. However, the compensatory measures implemented by the State should have help to mitigate the consequences of this reform, or even provide the opportunity for a new development. But the lack of ability of local politicians to cooperate to bring about a collective strategy makes now very unlikely this opportunity. "Great North East Plan" led by the state presented itself as a regional recovery device intended to participate in "*Sustainable Development and the attractiveness of the North-East of France*" (MEEDDAT, 2008). The piloting of this device is provided by Prefects of Departments or Regions in coordination with local stakeholders over a period of five years. "Site Committees" (one hundred sites have been diagnosed between 2008 and 2014) have been established to facilitate dialogue between the different stakeholders and allow the definition of diagnostics and strategic priorities of restructuring. Despite this, the geopolitical configuration still

controlled by the State has failed to become a bottom-up logic in which actors of Lorraine territories could have found the opportunity to speak with one voice for a new project for their region. Fragmentary logic of local actors has only weakened somewhat more the Lorraine territory (Ginet 2012).

## Conclusion

The common definition of the concept of defense is habitually too exclusively reduced to the territories preparation for military defense. This notion however concerns a much broader concept, sometimes unnecessarily assimilated to the notion of global defense. We intended here to propose a definition not simply extended but rather comprehensive of the notion of defense. It is clear that the multiple but interconnected socio-territorial issues raised by the defense, could bring together social scientists, - geographers and non-geographers -, interested in topics that are still today covered so disparately and in a too compartmentalized view.

Indeed, none of different specialties of geography does presents the defense, or the link between territories and defense, as an object of specific research, both among the twenty-four Committees of the "French National Committee of Geography" (CNFG) or among the forty-one Committees of the "International Geographical Union" (IGU)... despite the highly territorial aspect of defense and its societal implications. Sociology has itself been increasingly interested in the defense, but probably in a too much exclusively military approach (Martin 1999). And publications of sociologists have proliferated (Boëne 2000) without reaching to embody a true unified scientific paradigm...

A new scientific paradigm linking territories and defense, able to offer a coherent model of worldview is nevertheless possible and probably necessary. But on condition of an integration of scientific disciplines concerned around all of Social Sciences (geography, political science, economics, sociology), an internationalization of studies dealing with it today indirectly, within too narrow national frameworks or language, and through the only aspect of territories preparation for defense. It would constitute a holistic system of keys of reading and theoretical tools able to make sense to logics and forms, and create theoretical models to represent, communicate, interpret, predict and act on the whole world of defense through a common language.

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