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Enabling the Emergence of Spatial Strategic Planning through Cooperative Network Development. The French Experiments (2002 – 2007)

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ABSTRACT

The French government (Delegation with the Regional planning - DATAR) launched in June 2004 a call to strategic project intended for the great French regional agglomerations (except Paris area). This one was entitled: "Pour un rayonnement européen des métropoles françaises – Appel à coopération métropolitaine". Which was the nature of this central policy? To propose to the urban areas to formulate strategic spatial projects, so that they could be organized in a coherent way, vis-à-vis competition of the European cities. The contents of these strategic projects were defined in a very open way by the central authorities: assistance with the setting in network of the inter-commune structures, participation of the civil society, development of territorial engineering, development and exchange of knowledge resources, etc... Only one point was fundamental: it was a question of working out a strategy and not a program of equipment. Each "metropolis" thus had the care to define what was most relevant from the point of view of its international development. The development of these strategic projects supposed the development of relations of co-operation between inter-communes institutional networks on an urban area scale. To act on a "metropolitan" scale is a challenge for the communes and the communities because of the fractionation of the political agendas. With which territorial stakes does correspond this territorial institutional mobilization on a metropolis scale? Which are the forces which make it possible to include/understand this fast evolution? Which was the nature of the strategic projects which emerged? The nature of the answers is all the more interesting to study in this context of a very complex political and administrative territorial French organisation, with at least five sub regional levels.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe and define hypotheses about a new urban / metropolitan planning policy launched by the French Government in 2004 and 2005. That policy was named « metropolitan cooperation », and was launched simultaneously with another national policy, which had more mediatic echo: the “competitiveness pole » policy. This competitiveness policy is based on the mobilization of the large companies, research units (public and private) and the universities around geographical areas or common sectoral projects. Their goal is to reinforce the industrial potential of France and to generate high value added activities to stop the flight of the companies and the processes of delocalization.

The two policies have to be taken into account in the analysis : if they have not been openly presented has complementary policies, they are in practice. My hypothesis is that the “metropolitan cooperation policy” is before all other objectives a companion policy of the competitiveness poles policy, which intends to develop the competitiveness of the large French city regions, outside the Paris region. In doing so, the French government is still in the “aménagement du territoire » policy of the 50s and 60s which separated Paris and the other parts of the French territory.

The parallel between these two policies makes it possible to underline the partnership character of the new incitative policies of the Central State. The reorganization of the modes of territorial governance seems a preamble essential to the international development of the French cities in Europe. Moreover, it becomes the indispensable condition of economic excellence through the development of synergies between public and private actors.

The “metropolitan cooperation policy”, which is nevertheless the main purpose of this paper, is developing at a new scale of public action : the city region, with a very loose definition of this territory. The analysis will show that it is more the public actors network which is the main focus of the policy than the city region space itself. This means that we have to reflect on the evolution of planning policies which now first develop a strategic dimension with the potential to articulate large projects in city regions, and second the reappraisal of the space dimension in this new form of public action.

1. THE “NETWORK METROPOLITAIN COOPERATION” POLICY (2004 - 2006)¹

The French government (Delegation for Regional planning - DATAR²) launched in June 2004 a call for projects, in order to promote the development of key French metropolitan cities (except Paris area), entitled: “For a European development of the French metropolitan areas – A call to metropolitan co-operation”. The call, stated in its objectives in December 2003, focuses the territorial policies on a new scale of public action: the urban region. The nature of the actions to be engaged on this scale was an innovation. It was not a bid for immediately formulating an investment policy but a decision taken by the major public actors of a city region, to set up a process to develop international projects, particularly those which have an international competitiveness dimension.

¹ Parts of this presentation is in a book Motte, A., (dir), 2007 *Les agglomérations françaises face aux défis métropolitains*. Paris : Economica / Antropos. 272 p.

² DATAR is called DIACT (Délégation interministérielle à l'Aménagement et à la Compétitivité des Territoires) since 2006, January, 1st.

This call to co-operation was remarkably received by the local communities since all the main *Communautés*³, located in an urban area of more than 500,000 inhabitants, answered.

The governmental procedure

The metropolitan project elaboration has been a very difficult exercise both at central and local levels. Why ?

Since the 60s no other planning policy had been developed for metropolitan regions. At that time the “*métropole d'équilibre*” policy, launched in 1964, was clearly a top down policy, aiming at developing the French large cities, mainly in using the land use instrument at “metropolitan” scale. Now the policy is a top down and bottom up policy, articulating the scope and objectives definition by the central government with the networking capacity of public actors (large *communes* and *Communautés* mainly) in city regions.

The CIADT of December 2003 (...) “establishes a framework of action to improve the influence of French metropolitan areas in Europe. With this aim in view, the state proposes to its partners at city and regional levels an approach in three different stages: a call for projects in the first half of 2004 in order to identify the structuring projects and to encourage the constitution of cooperation at metropolitan level, a metropolitan project developed by the communities, a “metropolitan contract” defined within the new contractual relation established between the state and the regions, signed after 2006.”

At the same inter-ministerial committee, the government started a reform of the “*contrats de plan*” state-region , contracts which are at the center of the French system of financing important services and collective equipment.

The call for cooperation of the DATAR was launched by the Minister in charge of “*aménagement du territoire*” (space planning) in June 2004 in Marseilles and was later the subject of a working session in Nancy on November 3rd, 2004.

The response expected from the networks of territorial communities was to take a stand on the principles of a metropolitan project which was to be established by the applicant network by December 2004 or May 2005 so as to emerge into a “metropolitan contract”⁴ in 2007.

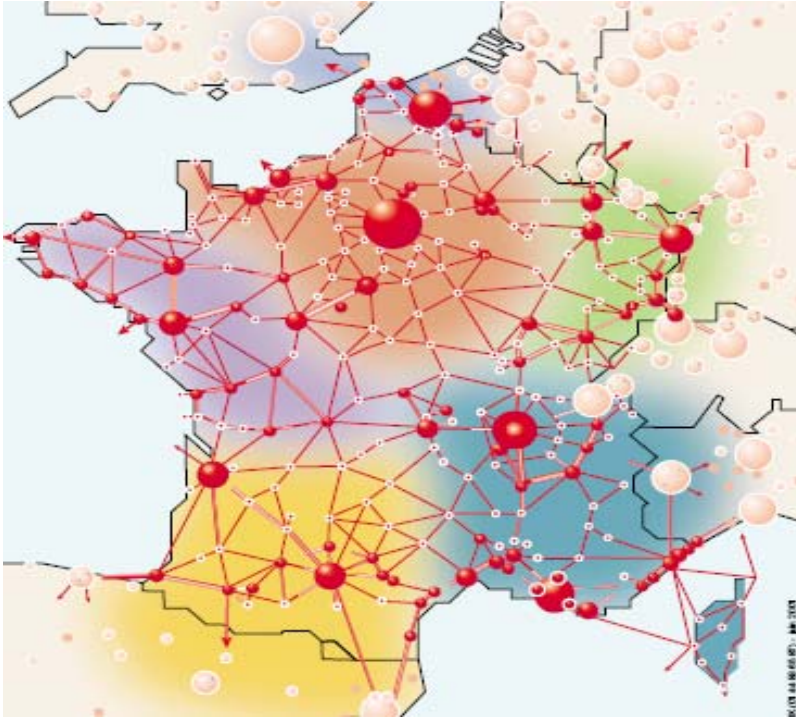
The text of the call for project specifies what the government implies by “metropolitan area”. “A metropolitan area is a very large city which expresses itself by the size of its population and that of the agglomeration it sustains, by its economic, political social and cultural influence (...) No list is imposed beforehand , as the state will only support the communities on a voluntary basis. But all in all about fifteen territories are concerned. (...) The metropolitan areas , as defined by the call for cooperation, are territories with a minimum of 500,000 inhabitants and including at least one urban area of approximately more than 200,000 inhabitants and several middle-size cities.”

The definition of the field is capital as it permits to outline a potential cooperation between the territorial communities of about 42 urban areas. The pattern of a city network is mainly a central city influencing a group of peripheral middle-size cities.

The urban polycentricity of the French Urban system

³ See Annexe 1 Evolution of the French administrative structure of government

⁴ Motte, 2001



The call for cooperation focuses on the development of an immaterial project: “Only immaterial actions are compatible with the support of the State at the stage of elaboration of metropolitan projects.”

It is about the elaboration of a strategy firstly based upon the construction of networks including the main public actors of the metropolitan areas and urban regions.

The contents of these strategic projects are defined in a very open way by the central authorities. It consists mainly in the elaboration of a strategy rather than in the definition of an equipment programme.

Each « metropolitan area » was then to define on the one hand the outlines of its networks of public actors and on the other hand its most relevant objectives in terms of international development. The elaboration of these strategic projects implied the emergence or the development of cooperative relations between agglomerations at the level of urban regions.

The driving forces of governmental action

Governmental action in this procedure is twofold:

First it contributes, through a rationalization of public policies, to the development of French regional metropolitan areas within the European urban hierarchy. In the studies of the DATAR, since the end of the eighties the agglomerations have been classified to the 3rd or 4th rank category. The adoption of coherent and targeted public strategies in the “metropolitan areas - regions” may prove an important factor in improving the competitiveness of French agglomerations.

Then it creates quality metropolitan employment, i.e the best qualified jobs in an urban region, which reflect the potential economic development of a territory. Indeed over the period 1990-1999 regional metropolitan areas created more quality metropolitan employment than the Paris region. This has to be linked with the significant rise in the total population of these agglomerations.

Beyond the arguments relative to territorial dynamics, we have to analyse the institutional driving forces of governmental approach which operate within the ever changing context of the relations between the central government, the regions and the urban governments.

The territorial policies of the leftist Jospin government (1997 – 2002) had reinforced the role of the Region by placing it as an intermediary between the central State and the local communities, in particular through the “*projets de pays*” and the “agglomeration projects”. The metropolitan project policy, set up in December 2003, that is to say before the regional elections of June 2004, and together with the attempts of the Jospin government to decentralize, restores the important role of the State in the direction of large cities. This approach, which is in the Centralisation tradition of the French State, aims at restraining the potentiality for strong and structured links between institutional regions and large cities.

The change in the political context generated by the regional elections of June 2004 resulted in the management of most institutional regions by the opposition and reinforced this tradition by questioning the role given to the region in terms of territorial policies. The reform of the “*contrats de plan*”, started in December 2002 by the CIADT, remained vague about the intentions of the government as regards the financing of great local projects, all the more as public finances are submitted to stronger and stronger control.

We can then assume that the main force in the procedure of metropolitan projects is aiming at rationalizing the actions of the central State as regards the essential territorial stakes, with a joint management central State-large cities⁵.

2. THE « METROPOLITAN » NETWORKS

To elaborate a relevant metropolitan project the agglomerations had to overcome obstacles and they had to build institutional networks at an unusual scale.

The obstacles to overcome in the elaboration of metropolitan projects

First, since the 90s the public actors of the territories had had to take into account the impact of international economic logics on local activities. The urbanization of urban regions had to be viewed in the more general context of the process of metropolisation, of the insertion of economic activities within international logics escaping for the most part to public management, excepted if projects were organized along a new definition of space and time.

The second difficulty was to succeed in adopting a strategic territorial approach, obliging the actors to, on the one hand, face the double demand of long-term projects and the emergencies of daily management, and on the other hand focus on specific actions to prepare the future at European and international levels.

The third obstacle was related to the relevant dimension of the “metropolitan area, a dimension defined by the DATAR but which gave way to interpretation. Generally the *Communautés* find it difficult to agree on the dimensions of the urban region, as is shown by the problems linked to the definition of the perimeters of the SCOT and the setting up of the Inter-SCOT systems when the SCOTs do not cover large enough territories. During the 80s and the 90s urbanization largely outsized the institutional space of the *Communautés* created since the 60s. The urban region does not correspond to an existing public institution. Traditional local institutions are fragmented and in general are only situated in limited parts of the present European city. To act at the metropolitan level has been a real challenge for the cities and the communities insofar as

⁵ On this point see Emmanuel Négrier, 2005, *La question métropolitaine. Les politiques à l'épreuve du changement d'échelle territoriale*. Grenoble : PUG. 267p.

political agendas are fragmented. The rationalization of some strategic parts of public policies at this level was new to all metropolitan areas, even for those which had a long experience of intercommunal cooperation like Lille, Lyon or Rennes.

The metropolitan network elaboration

The deadline was either December 15th, 2004 or May 15th, 2005 for local institutions to present a « metropolitan project » to the DATAR.

Quite all the large French agglomerations responded, in spite of the traditional difficulties of cooperation at regional or supra-regional level experienced by large French cities throughout history. The nature of these responses is interesting insofar as they propose new forms of coordination in the intricate political and administrative French territory. This complexity has traditionally hindered the elaboration and enforcement of territorial policies integrated at a “relevant” level.

What hypotheses can be formulated about the mechanisms of this local action? Out of the 42 French urban areas counting more than 200,000 inhabitants, 40 are involved in the metropolitan procedure. Why did it entail such enthusiasm and so many positive responses? The governmental procedure gave rise to a significant political effervescence at local level. The projects and networks of public actors were constructed each time on the basis of voluntary approaches from local authorities. The “work” of the DATAR was essential throughout the process, by creating a dialogue with the elected officials of the metropolitan areas.

The projects presented in December 2004 and May 2005 give an answer to the notion of « metropolitan area ». The responses show many different approaches but at least two of them emerge. The first type of approach focuses on projects situated within the territory of the network members, but without really attempting at comprehending the spatial impact of the projects. The second type of approach is much more ambitious insofar as it implies the development of territorial engineering and takes into account the territorial dimension of strategic projects in the light of SCOT and Inter-SCOT procedures.



France

Résultats de l'appel à coopération métropolitaine



What are the strategic axes adopted by the metropolitan political networks? Six dimensions emerge, four of which, the most important, were suggested in the call for projects: Economic Development, Knowledge (higher education, research), Accessibility (mostly railway and air transport), Culture (and tourism), Environment. Among these capital themes, the economic dimension appears as the most important and is inherent in the other strategic axes. These general themes are most of the time enunciated in more specific terms, attempting to complement the poles of competitiveness;

The projects seldom take into account spatial planning in their approach. When it does appear in the response, it is when an ambitious approach already existed as in the case of Toulouse with the inter-SCOT approach or in the case of Toulon with the SCOT procedure.

The modes of political management vary largely from one project to another. The heart of the decisional mechanisms is constituted by the large cities and the communities. This is sometimes extended to the “*Conseils Généraux*” (at the level of the “*département*”), the Regional Councils (rarely), the State, the Chambers of Commerce, the universities (very rarely). In cross-border metropolitan areas a partnership has been organized systematically beyond the borders as in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland.

The driving forces in the elaboration of the metropolitan projects.

Local institutional dynamics may result from different motivations.

First the very perspective of a metropolitan contract has been a strong incentive in the elaboration of some of the projects. However the government remained quite vague throughout the procedure about the framework as well as about the contents of these contracts. The future procedure which was to link the central State and the region was not specified. This made it all the more difficult for local authorities as the State-region planning contract is an essential financial resource and as they have to respond to the European policy which is going to change dramatically in 2007.

The second motivation has sometimes been the possibility to take part in a large scale national approach which enhanced the local abilities in terms of institutional innovation. This can be observed in numerous different cases such as Nancy-Metz, Marseilles-Aix, Toulon or Toulouse.

The third incentive lies certainly in the European dimensions of the approach and the awareness that public action had to be considered in this perspective. This point is all the more relevant as the approach of the government appeared at the same time as the debate on the European constitution. This question generated a very important democratic debate which summoned numerous social categories. With the referendum, Europe became a real political challenge which certainly made the mayors of the large French cities profoundly and clearly aware of this European dimension.

The fourth point, which is linked to the former, is no doubt that the call for projects triggered an acceleration of the decentralization process. A kind of “chemical precipitation” occurred in some cases. This call accelerated cooperation in a certain number of territories. The case of Lille is here a very significant example, as the link between the urban community and the mineral basin was very weak before the formulation of the project. The call permitted to crystallize the positions of the territorial actors who became much more open to cooperation.

A fifth assumption, relative to the motivations of the actors, results from the political outcomes of the regional elections of 2004 and of the referendum of 2005. The territorial elected officials were often contradicted in these elections. This could not but incite them to reinforce their territorial political bases through the formulation of projects more explicitly in line with the territorial development policies.

The sixth driving force lies in technical engineering insofar as an adapted response to the governmental call implied territorial engineering of high quality. The “*agences d’urbanisme*” played in this respect a very important part as mediators in the formulations of responses, as they often represented a technical center of gravity at the level of the urban region.

The call for metropolitan projects is a procedure which can become an important factor in improving the competitiveness of the agglomerations and possibly the quality of life of their inhabitants in the context of the international competition of large agglomerations at the European and global levels.

CONCLUSION⁶

The main question raised by the planning context we have been studying partakes of the city region planning nature. What is the shape it must or it can take? Should it have to integrate the large urban projects which are in practice one of its structuring dimensions? Indeed the rational and logical answer can only be positive. Theoretically it is highly desirable that a planning policy should be set up at the level of the city region, so as to organize a development of the urbanized territory planning is installation on the scale of the urban area so as to pose the terms

⁶ Voir Motte, A., 2006, *La notion de planification stratégique spatialisée en Europe (Spatial Strategic Planning in Europe)* 1990-2005. Paris : Ministère de l'Équipement. 95p.

of a development of the urbanized territory that should prove socially balanced, economically effective and respectful of the natural resources. It is essential that the large projects which structure the city-region should be elaborated in a perspective of integration, so that the organization of public investments should be optimized, business management supported, housing conditions made as comfortable as possible for households.

There is little likelihood of such planning in the “metropolitan project”, if one observes carefully the practices. In fact it does not correspond to the dominant practices of the local authorities in France. Why? Are the adequate instruments of planning at city region scale missing? Are the bureaucrats and technicians insufficiently qualified, either administratively or technically? The instruments of planning exist, together with, generally, the competent bureaucrats and technicians. The answer is to be found with local elected officials who, in a given administrative and technical territorial structure, which is generally institutionally split, have to merge the interests of their citizens towards common objectives of development. However the interests of the different social groups, which are politically and institutionally organised at the *commune* level, are in competition for the attracting the localization of what is best for them: high-tech non polluting companies, middle-class or higher middle-class households.

So as to overcome these contradictory interests, in a global integrated planning process, the elected representatives have to converge towards the same collective action values.

The first is the economic competitiveness of the city region, by supporting the national and international companies of the urban area. This value is to be found first and foremost in the most advanced experiments of planning. This common value has enabled the setting up and development of large economic development projects. It is also to be found in the “competitive poles” projects. Mobility, and thus the transport and communication infrastructures partake logically in this search for efficiency and are at the basis of co-operation between elected officials.

The second one lies in fundamental political values such as social and territorial equity, of social mixity, which are linked to the settlement strategies of the city region. Founding compromises on these values is very difficult in this context, and they will not emerge easily at the city-region level.

The third one is the well balanced management of natural resources, in particular in terms of water resources, waste management and air quality. There are often conflictual projects between elected officials who find it difficult to reach a compromise. This situation leads to authoritarian decisions by the central State.

Large projects are developed on partial dimensions of the city region. Therefore only planning processes on specific issues can exist and there is no an integrated planning procedure. Urban planners have to take into consideration the situation as it is and not elaborate an a priori model of action which does not correspond to policy and social territorial realities. The planners must work to develop new visions of the city-region in dealing with the specific issues. The combination of these visions through the actors debate could help the emergence of common views about the city-region development. Only in this way will it become possible to increase the efficiency of collective action in the city-regions.

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ANNEXE 1 EVOLUTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PLANNING

EVOLUTION OF LOCAL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS THROUGH NATIONAL REFORMS

France is a unitary state, which built its local institutional system (Communes and Départements) during the Revolution (1789 - 1799) and the Consulat and Empire (1799 - 1814), on a highly centralised functioning. Local powers were in the hands of the *Préfet*, the local representative of the government. Local representatives were progressively introduced and given powers during the 19th century, culminating in 1871 (*Départements*) and 1884 (*Communes*), the *Préfet* still having a crucial role. Local powers were structured between the end of the 19th century and 1982 along two networks : the administrative network dominated by the *Préfet*, and the political network based on decentralised local institutions (*Communes*, *Conseil général*⁷), the two networks working on centralisation processes.

The dramatic evolution of the Post- World War II French society, and its very quick urbanisation and industrialisation, increased the political and administrative importance of mayors, particularly those of large cities (Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Marseilles).

The 1980 - 2000 period was a period of sea change in the development of powers of local elected representatives, and the role of the *Préfet*. The first main reform of 1982 & 1983 moved the centre of gravity of French institutions from central spheres to local and regional spheres, and from the administrative network to the political network. This decentralisation processes, though it maintained the same institutions, changed the role of each of them in this new system.

Table 1 The levels of governance in France (2007)

Level	Political	Planning Responsibilities
<i>Nation</i>	Election	9 National Planning Schemes ⁸
<i>Région</i>	Election	<i>Schéma régional d'aménagement</i> ⁹ Nation / Region (2000-2006) Contract
<i>Département</i>	Election	
<i>Communautés</i>	Representatives of Communes	<i>Région / Communautés</i> contract <i>Schéma directeur</i> (1982-2002) or <i>Schéma de cohérence territoriale</i> ¹⁰ (2002-...), <i>Plan local de l'Habitat (Housing Development Plan)</i> , <i>Plan de déplacement urbain (Mobility Development Plan)</i>
<i>Communes</i>	Election	<i>Plan d'occupation des Sols</i> (1982-2002) or <i>Plan Local d'Urbanisme</i> ¹¹ (2002-...)

⁷ *Département* elected Body.

⁸ Loi « Voynet » : Loi n° 99-533 du 25 juin 1999 (J.O. du 29 juin 1999, pp. 9515-9527) and Loi « Pasqua » : Loi n° 95-115 du 4 février 1995 (J.O. 5 février 1995, pp. 1973 & suiv.)

⁹ idem

¹⁰ Loi « Gayssot-Besson » : Loi n° 2000-1208 du 13 décembre 2000 (J.O 14 décembre 2000, pp. 19777 & suiv.)

¹¹ Idem

The generalist territorial local and regional authorities (*Communes, Départements, Régions*) have largely developed their responsibilities and they have now the capacity of defining their own agendas. The *Commune* has been reinforced in its role of manager of the local territory (planning permission, *Plan d'occupation des sols* or *Plan Local d'urbanisme, Schéma directeur* or *Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale*). The *Département* is no longer directly dependent on the *Préfet* : it has its own elected President (by *Département* representatives). It has developed its importance in education (investments in secondary schools), roads and transportation, social and sanitary policies. The *Région* was transformed into a full Public Territorial Authority with a President elected by a regional council¹². The *Région* has a crucial role in co-ordinating investments of the local authorities (regional planning and *aménagement du territoire*), education (investments in secondary schools), professional training and transport. All these authorities can also promote economic development.

THE PRÉFET (STATE REPRESENTATIVE) ROLE

With reduced power over the local and regional authorities, the *Préfet*, local and regional representative of the government has become an intermediary, encouraging local authorities to adopt national policies. He is also in charge of controlling the legality of the public authorities actions. His main role is to co-ordinate the actions of the administrative network at regional and departemental levels. The central ministries are still working on a vertical basis and the horizontal functioning at regional and *Département* level are difficult to put in practice. This is weakening the position of the *Préfet* because territorial problems have to be managed on a horizontal basis by the local authorities, and only the *Communes, Départements* and *Régions* have the capacity to co-ordinate and establish hierarchies in their policies.

In this new system the main difficulty is co-ordinating public policies within the central administrative network, within the political network, and between the two networks.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNES COOPERATION

The coordination of public policies in the metropolises has been the development of co-operation between communes. The first big attempt to develop that co-operation was in 1966 : Urban Communities were created in some large cities (Lille, Lyon)¹³. The next important attempts occurred in 1992 and 1999 : New institutions (*Communautés de Communes, Communautés d'Agglomération, Communautés Urbaines*) have been set up, with good success.

Institutional and spatial co-ordination at metropolitan level has been linked in France to the decentralisation national reforms. It took its local configurations according to the characteristics of the institutional local cultures and co-ordination is very different from one metropole to another¹⁴.

Decentralisation during the 1980s was organised with no hierarchy between the main levels of local and regional governments. *Communes, Départements* and *Régions* could act separately, they were formally independent. The central state itself gave up many elements of its hierarchical powers on Local Authorities. The existence of horizontal relations, co-ordination of agendas depended then of the willingness of the local governments (Thoenig, Duran, 1996). During the 1980s, in some urban areas, this new situation led to the development of co-operation (Lille, Lyon, Rennes for example). In other urban areas, limited co-operation or non co-operation was dominant (Bordeaux, Grenoble, Toulouse, Nantes for example).

The 1990s period was different. The central state discovered, in 1990 in the results of the census, the new growth of the Parisian region, and then launched nationally incentive policies to expand regional metropolises in the context of European cities competition.

¹² Elected body

¹³ And not in Marseilles

¹⁴ See Motte (1997)

ANNEXE 2 METROPOLITAN PROJECTS BIDS IN 2004 & 2005

	Urban area*	Population**	Project name ***	Decision
1	Avignon	0,212	Delta Rhodanien	Negative
2	Bassin Parisien		Association des villes du Grand bassin parisien	Abandoned
3	Bordeaux	0,882	Ecocités d'Aquitaine	Negative
4	Clermont-Ferrand	0,352	Réseau Clermont Auvergne métropole	08-2005
5	Dunkerque	0,263	Côte d'Opale	08-2005
6	Genève – Annemasse	0,207	Franco – Valdo – genevois	08-2005
7	Limoges	0,232	Réseau métropolitain Centre Ouest Atlantique	Fusion with project 16
8	Lille	1,108	Aire métropolitaine de Lille	08-2005
9	Lyon	1,598	Réseau des villes centres et grandes agglomérations de Rhône Alpes	08-2005
10	Marseille-Aix	1,398	Métropole Aix-Marseille	02-2005
11	Montpellier	0,446	Arc Languedocien	
12	Mulhouse	0,275	Réseau métropolitain Rhin-Rhône	08-2005
13	Nancy	0,396	Sillon lorrain	02-2005
14	Nantes	0,674	Espace métropolitain Loire Bretagne	02-2005
15	Nice	0,557	Côte d'Azur	02-2005
16	Poitiers	0,188	Réseau d'agglomérations Aire 198	Negative
17	Rouen	0,470	Métropole normande	02-2005
18	Sarreguemines		Sarrebruck Moselle Est	08-2005
19	Strasbourg	0,557	Euro district Strasbourg Ortenau	02-2005
20	Toulon	0,478	Métropole toulonnaise	08-2005
21	Toulouse	0,917	Aire métropolitaine toulousaine	08-2005
22	Tours	0,368	Val de Loire Maine	Negative

* Most important Urban area in the project

** Population (millions inhabitants number) in 1999 in the INEE urban area

*** Project name as shown on the bid

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