

Town and Country Planning, Regional Contracts in the Ile-de-France:  
confrontation between central and local systems concerning  
economic and urban planning

**Bernard Dezert\***

The Parisian space, built upon the Ile de la Cité and the royal power of Capetiens, has been progressively imposed in France from Paris. The urban development of the capital spread from this isle and from a commercial district, linked with a river port, the district of "Châtelet". From the Middle Age to the XIX century, Streets and houses contained within three successive fortified walls and this has resulted in very high density of population and a lack of green space.

The first important town planning dates from the XVIII century, and has been more developed during the XIX century with Napoléon the first with the "Champs Elysées" and the "Arc de Triomphe" and with Napoleon III, from 1855-60, with the "Baron Haussmann", who has realized the plan of the "grands boulevards", place of the ancient wall known as the wall of the "Fermiers Généraux"(XVIIIe).

The development of Paris has been done in accordance to two axis: during the Middle Age, a North-South axis from the town of "Saint Denis" to "Borg-la Reine", using the "Saint Denis and Saint Jacques" streets, which were used as a route by pilgrims from the North of Europe going to "Saint Jacques de Compostelle", passing by the City and "Notre

Dame"; then from the XVIII century, the royal axis from west to east, from the "Palais du Louvre" to "Saint Germain en Laye" (another royal residence). During the years 1860-70, Haussmann widened these axes with the "Grands Boulevards Sébastopol et Saint Michel" in the south-north direction, and with the "Champs Elysées", extended beyond the "Place de la Concorde" with the Rivoli, the Louvre and Saint Antoine's streets, the axes between the Place of the Republique, the Bastille and the Nation.

But Paris, which suffocated within the last wall of 1836, has fastly developed its factories and its housin estates in the villages of the nearest suburbs such as Levallois or Montrouge. Among the market gardening, workshops and later , big factories and housing and building areas were established without any consideration to town planning, in a complete anarchy. This has resulted in the formation of residential suburbs, occupied by migrants coming from other parts of France and from foreign countries.

Factories, which required a lot of water for their consumption and transportation, settled near the banks of the Seine, the Marne and the Saint Denis and Ourcq canals, and near the

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\* Professor, U.F.R. de Géographie, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, Paris, France.

important railways, from where arrived coal from the mines of the North and the iron of Lorraine. This industrial ring which has been the crib of car and aircraft, has been completely changed(transformed) since the years 70-80 by the crisis of these industries, which let many wastelands and imposed a renovation of the old industrial districts by business activities, parks of leisure and collective housing as in "La Courneuve".

The great town plan of the Ile-de-France dated from the years 1950-60 with the Master Plan of the Ile-de-France, which intended to organize in a more rational way housing and employment. Paris satellites poles were created as Créteil, Bobigny, Nanterre, where prefectures, housings estates, universities, or university teaching hospital centers and commercial centers were established. To relieve the pressure on the Paris business centre, the "Gold Triangle" located around the Paris Stock Exchange, the Opéra and les Champs Elysées, the town planning has conceived the new business centre: "La Défense".

But the Master Plan has planned the creation and development of five newtowns within the Ile-de-France, in order to absorb the excess of internal migrations to Paris and to relieve the pressure of commercial and management officers of enterprises, which began to lack of space in Paris. the town planning aimed to bring closer, as possible, housing and employment. The result were unequal: two newtowns saw the establishment of prefectures and became important urban poles: Cergy Pontoise and Evry and the three others attracted many enterprises and registered offices, beside housing estates and leisure parks: Saint Quentin en Yvelines and Marne-la-Vallée. At the beginning, this development was slow, but it accelerated in the

years 70-80 and 80-90. Every newtown, except for the latest: Melun-Sénart, yet overshadowed by the old town of Melun, comprised more than 100,000 inhabitants, universities and Upper Schools, regional commercial centres and became really attractive for the periphery and the rural surrounding spaces. Their attractivity became so important that now they are the most dynamic poles of the Parisian region and they have even received registered offices which were previously located in Paris, such as the Bouyghes's registered office in Saint Quentin-en-Yvelines.

In the same the Government and the Region tried to counterbalance the West and the East of Ile-de-France Region, in giving much importance to the pole of Marne-la-Vallée, equipped with high performance equipment and with the Eurodisneypark, and with the creation of a business park.

This urban development has continued during 20 years (1950-1970), in parallel, with the building of social housing estate(HLM) (Housing with a moderate rates, as in Massy in the South, in Argenteuil, La Courneuve, Bobigny and Sarcelles in the North, in Romainville and Créteil in the East. After the building of these blocks, we have realized an external ring of cities which took in recent immigrants, as in the north-west in Sartrouville, Chanteloup les Vignes, Mantes la Jolie, or in Ivry and Choisy-le-Roi.

At the beginning, these important housing estates, were being built to resolve the housing crisis in Paris, and later to accomodate African and other immigrants families, arrived in the Parisian Region. These blocks were built very fastly with prefabricated panels, these affordable flats were rapidly deteriorated, and are now forming blocks which suffer from

insalubrity. These "difficult districts" became risk areas, where prevail the insecurity and the degradation of housings or shops by population from African origin, three quarter of whose are unemployed, and are a prey for drug and illicite work dealer. Rival gangs of teenagers, contoled with difficulty by a powerless and insufficient police forces are at present creating problems of management because of the impecuniousness of many inhabitants.

Three recent orientations have been given to the planning of the Ile-de-France:

1) The development of fast connections between Paris and its difficult suburbs and between peripheric urban poles, by ring motorways, such as the "Francilienne", and fast connections with airports. The new housing estates are more and more located in relation with main roads axes and the different "RER" (Regional Express Network), in the same time are maintained interstice of rural or forest areas which are protected like, for example the "Parcnaturel des Yvelines".

2) The renovation of the central and historical districts of Paris and of the other big towns with a castle, like in Rambouillet, Ecouen, Chantilly etc.... The purpose is to attract investors and tourists in these prestigious sites. The districts in the centre of Paris and of other peripheral districts have been entirely renovated like the "Quartier Italie" in the XIIIe district or in "Le Marais" in the IVe. However, most often, the renovation in Paris has been limited to some city-blocks and has resulted in an increase of quality of buildings and of the standing of shops(for example: "Ilôt of la rue de Montorgueil" or "Quartier Beaugrenelle" in the front of the Seine river). Often, the population with small income, has been force to move out and to settle in big blocks' suburbs or in villas of the

faraway suburbs. The consequence is that commuting of workers and employees increased.

3) The development of offices and leisure parks in all the areas well situated along the transportation axes, and particularly near Roissy and Orly airports. Two types of sectors have hold the attention of developers and have attracted more and more customers: on one hand, the scientific and technological parks with buildings settled in green areas reflecting their modernity and on the other hand, like in the United States, the new villages of cottages for managers or engineers, using one car or more car for one family.

These new villages are often situated near an old one, which has been completely changed and has been progressively absorbed in the new urban fabric. all the types of town planning are mixed, especially in the districts of newtowns, where we let all liberty to architects' imagination(for ex: Marne-la-Vallée, Noisy-le-Grand).

A part of housing estates is constituted of flats to rent, and of social flats, because, in the newtowns, we try to realize a certain integration. But in these housing estates the segregation appears in relation with the level of life.

The villages of the Ile-de-France are more and more urbanized, but the local plans known as "POS(Plan d'Occupation des Sols)" are becoming more restricting under the pressure of the farmers and the first inhabitants' pressure, who dread an urbanization at their expense. The current economic crisis has stopped the program of developing housing estates. Those programs were numerous, because of the existence of a large demand, before 1980. The urban expansion continues to spread out in Seine-et-Marne, particularly

where the land is less expensive, in "le Vexin" from "Le Val d'Oise" and the newtown of "Cergy-Pontoise" and in "La Plaine de France" on the North of Roissy Airport. The agriculture has declined in those areas under the pressure of urbanization, but the State as well as the Region have taken decision to maintain it on the most fertile lands.

All the discussions about planning in Ile-de-France are marked by the necessity to take into account different scales: regional, national, European and world-wide scales. Paris has to assume all these functions at the same time. In Ile-de-France, until recently, the state power was much more important than the regional power, because the Parisian region had a dispensatory status, Paris did not have a mayor; it was "le Préfet de la Seine", who had all the authority in front of an elected local council. During the presidency of the "Général de Gaulle", the Parisian region was managed by a "Délégué général du Gouvernement" (Government delegate) who govern the District, created in 1961. Then, there was a regional prefect, created in 1966, before the others regional prefects. In 1976, a specific legislation created a Regional Council and officialized the name of the Ile-de-France. But the Police prefect of Paris is still answerable to the Minister of Interior, and not to the mayor of Paris.

A direct management of the capitale-region by the Government and the State has been for a long time accepted by the opinion ; the Government mistrusted Paris since the popular and socialist insurrection of "La Commune" (april-june 1871). The State has directly intervned on the Parisian Region planning, creating the "EPA - Etablissement public d'Aménagement" (Public Planning Establishment) for the newtowns and for the

District of "La Défense" (EPAD). Nevertheless breaking off with this state authority, in 1977, Jacques Chirac has been chosen as the first mayor of Paris and this function has become a real challenge for the President of the Republic : Mr. V. Giscard d'Estaing, and then in 1981 : F. Mitterand.

The affirmation of the regional power has followed. It was the result of the decentralization's law of 1982 which transfers an important part of government powers, represented, since Napoleon Ier by the prefects, to the elected regional councils. In Ile-de-France, M. Giraud, mayor of a suburb municipality (Le Perreux) has stood up for the principle of the most large autonomy of the regional power between the government and the Paris'mayor. During the negociation of the first planning convention between the State and the Region in 1984, he showed the will of the region to be autonomous in relation with Paris and the State. This regional power has become more and more important, especially during the preparation of the new Structure Plan of the Ile-de-France (SDAURIF). The first one, dating from 1962, had been imposed by the State to the region, during General de Gaulle's presidency, but the second one clashed with the opposition of the non-socialist majority of regional elected representative and the prefect who has to renounce to impose the socialist government's point of view upon the Ile-de-France. Beside the revolt of the Parisian region other departments of the region reacted and obliged the prefect of Ile-de-France to withdraw its project. The State has been trapped to his own policy of decentralization and has been accused of not applicating the Law in its relations with local authorities in Ile-de-France. The region has put forward the prerogatives given by the law on the

decentralization, concerning planning and development. Beside, the local authorities began to play an important role concerning the establishment of firms and the type of housing. They promulgate the local plan(POS), and can oppose to the implantation of polluting firms or to warehouses, they dislike. The "POS" of some residential municipalities are now very restricting and favourable exclusively to non polluting and high technology firms, but it is always the State which give loans for social flats, trying to influence their spatial repartition and a better integration in the social fabric of municipalities.

In the preamble of the "Charte de l'Ile-de-France" of 1991, the Regional Council has specified planning has not to be considered constraining by the municipalities. The region requires that the State does not create "ZAD (Zones d'Aménagement différé)"- Differed Planning Zone, a very important tool to control the land use without the agreement of concerned municipalities. Nevertheless, it was the government which has been forced to take the responsibility of the "function of redistribution", using exceptional measures for Ile-de-France, like the differential tax upon offices, the obligation to build 2m<sup>2</sup> of flats for 1m<sup>2</sup> of offices in the west of the region, and it has imposed adjustment capital between rich and poor municipalities. In the third Plan contract between the State and the Region one finds the financing of the policy for the development of districts with problems (49 sites, regrouping more than 400 000 inhabitants). The intervention of the State has been shown, in 1992, by the nomination of seven "sous-prefets", depending from the Town Minister. Their role is to applied its policy, in spite of the protestation of some right wins municipalities.

The institution of contracts between the State and the local authorities is a compromise solution, even if the State has been accused, during the socialist government, to use its financing power to favour building or town planning societies, supporting its policy. However, the State and the Region were forced to come to an agreement to finance the new transportation infrastructures.

In Ile-de-France, as in many other regions, the tendency is to establish direct relations between national and local levels, bypassing the Region and the "departments". This relation is seen in the plan-contracts with certains towns, which has the advantage according the socialist state to place it in a position of strength towards the region (for ex: three years contracts for the building of social flats).

In spite of the progress realized, the Ile-de-France, is probably the French region which has the less power upon the planning of its territory. The paradox is that it is the richest region, the more populated, and the region which is confronted to increased demand from firms, for new infrastructures and the region suffering from a severe functioning difficulties (obstruction of the streets, districts in difficulties where 46% of migrant active population is concentrated). These last years, the State tried to control national stakes, and to maintain a certain balance between infrastructures and equipment investment in Ile-de-France and in the other regions.

Indeed, the less dysfunctioning or the less modification of the planning in the Parisian region has immediatly an effect to the national level, because the Ile-de-France is essential relay to all the major national activities. In the region's budget of 10,6 millards, in 1991-92. Two operations eat a large part of the budget : transportation infrastructures to unblock the

main axis and allow fast railway and motorway relations within the region, and the building of secondary schools and public technical schools. But, until now, the intervention of the region Ile-de-France for an economic action has been limited, in relationship with the regional council's action which intervenes very often in town and country planning, particularly in transborder relations and in planning high technology parks to attract foreigners investors, this action is particularly important in the regions with a high level of unemployment due to the desindustrialization of heavy industries and fordist factories.

The study of the Ile-de-France case shows the relative decline of the action of the French State and its organism of planning la "DATAR (Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale)"- Delegation for town and country planning and regional action-. The regional councils try to exert a major influence at the expense of la DATAR. Regions became the preference framework of the town and country planning. The role of "Etablissements Publics Régionaux (EPR)"- Regional public Establishments- has been intensified passing under the control of the regions since 1982. At the beginning of its creation in 1963, the DATAR, was in charge to prepare files studied by the "CIAT", (Comité Interministériel d'Aménagement du Territoire)- Interminister Comity for Town and County Planning-, it depends of the First Minister and its role is to be an instrument of coordination of French State policy, for the town and country planning.

During 25 years, the DATAR has been at the origin of great policies of town and country planning and forced to shake administration firmly fixed in the routine and conformism,

and it has come up against many local political personalities. It has not been spared by praises or criticisms. Its activism and sometimes its partiality, especially during socialist government, has led it to exert an imperialism that regional authorities cannot no more bear. The DATAR is a particular branch of public service, it depends only of the First Minister, its main function is to impulse and to coordinate the different ministers and the action of the prefects, it gives it a particular important role. In case of conflict with one branch of the public service, it has always had the advantage of the favourable arbitration of the First Minister. Most of the "délégués" responsible members have been, and are always prefects. Its staff is composed of about fifty missions responsables, coming from High Schools (Polytechnic school or ENA National administration school), or coming from the administrative function. It has created a great adaptability of contacts with the other public service. The DATAR has its own financial budget and equipment allocations, coming from the intervention funds for town and country planning (FIAT), from the funds for help to decentralization, suppressed in 1985.

The imperialism of DATAR has been reproach to it by many local or regional elected persons. Economic environment did not appreciate its pressures, what they call its blackmail and what the DATAR calls "negotiations". Its role to impulse the planning has been received, by the local authorities, like an improper constraint of the central government, particularly after the decentralization law of 1982. In Ile-de-France we have been reproach to it an excessive moving of big factories to province, in these factories worked a majority of workers and employees of the nearest suburb and in Paris,

we also reproach to it a dropping parisian firms without an links with the local environment in province and the decentralization of central administrations ; this policy seemed to favour some towns more than others.

The DATAR has maintained and reinforced a very centralised town and country planning, in relationship with the parisian pole, without taking into account of the evolution of firms structures and of the opening on Europe, especially in the North and East regions. The DATAR has been accused of not being connected on regional realities, to do down regional power, to impose its Master plans without consultation of politics, social and economics responsables of the different regions. Its last decentralization mesures have been very badly received in the public opinion and the local authorities have impression to be the victims of an arbitray. DATAR's power on urban and economic planning has been considerably reduced, particularly face to richest regions (Ile-de-France, Rhone-Aples, PACA) and border regions.

Since 1983, the State has multiplied the

plan-contracts between State and Region, to engage regional elected members in the "Commissariat au Plan" objectives, coordinating State and local authorities's programs by the intermediary of the DATAR. But its efforts are more and more contestated, particularly as well by ecologists members, than by professionnall trade unions, or by local managers. Face to regional powers and Brussels European Commission mesures, the DATAR is powerless and partly deconsiderated. The firms and administration decentralization from the Ile-de-France is contestated. Every region wish to lead its own policy without the the DATAR's acceptance. In France, we are now in a period of provincialism against technocrats of authority.

It is that the example of the Ile-de-France revolt against the Master Plan that the State wanted to impose, risks to be imitated by other regions, which are not waiting of State aids to resolve their planning problems, and ask a complete autonomy of decision, particularly for infrastructures

## 프랑스의 도시화·도시계획·경제

Bernard Dezert

파리 제4대학교 지리학과 교수

### 요약문

거대도시 파리는 20세기 중반이후 급격히 발전하였다. 1965년 이래 Ile de France(파리를 포함한 프랑스의 옛 주)에서 5개의 도시가 새로 건설되었고, 부심은 활동과 주거의 이심화로 형성되었다. 파리 동쪽으로의 파리시역 팽창은 부심처럼 Défense구역 개발 이후에 이루어졌다. 이는 파리시 자체내에서 시작되었으며, 아울러 Eurodisneyland 동쪽과 함께 신도시 Marne-La Vallée로도 파급되었다.

Ile-de-France 도시계획 정책의 특징은 주거와 직장의 접근성 확보였다. 많은 기업들의 사무실들은 신도시들로 향하였으나, 또한 파리의 Couronne지역으로도 이동하였다. 그러나 이 정책은 부분적으로만 성공하였을 뿐이다. 왜냐하면 파리에서 빠져나간 주거와 직장들이 파리 주변부 여러 곳에 집중하여, Ile-de-France 경계를 넘어서 그 주변지역까지 확장되었기 때문이다.

이를 해결하기 위하여 지역차원 뿐만 아니라 국가적 차원에서의 가능한 모든 노력을 기울였음에도 불구하고, 지역적으로 적용하는 명확한 기준이 없어 충분한 효과가 나타나지 못했다. 이는 1982년 지방분권화에 따른 지방자치단체의 독립강화와, 처음에는 기업을 파리 중심부와 Défense구역에 입지시킨 후, 그 다음에 파리 남부의 신도시와 Saclay Orsay-Plateau 근처의 과학기술단지, 두개의 국제공항 근처 등으로 분공장들의 입지를 변화시킨 기업입지행태의 변화때문이었다.

파리의 도시계획은 새로운 조화속에서 발전되어갔다. 파리 중심부의 오래된 구역이 재개발 사업은 상당히 체계적으로 전개되었으나, 청·장년층을 비롯한 저소득층의 일부는 Ile-de-France의 주변지역을 향해 점차 파리를 떠났다.

파리 근교의 매우 조화로운 주거지역의 신속한 개발은 아프리카를 비롯한 외부로부터 유입된 인구의 정착을 유발하였다. 그래서 이곳에는 불량 청소년들을 선도할 목적으로 체육관, 청소년 문화회관 등이 설립되었다.

도시계획은 서로 다른 두가지 유형을 통해 추진되어 갔다. 하나는 도시 주변부에 기업설립과 관련한 연구단지이고, 다른 하나는 농촌지역의 신주거지역이다. 이와 같은 도시주변부의 공간계획은 점차 원활한 교통체계를 필요로 하였다. 개인주택단지와 공원은 일반적으로 R.E.R(지방급행선)역 주변과 SNCF(프랑스 국유철도공사) 교외선 근처에 위치하였다. 버스나 특별한 자동차 등이 활용되도록 하였지만, 많은 통근자들은 자가용이나 자전거를 이용하였다. 파리를 둘러싼 rocade 자동차도로(소도시간을 직접 연결하는 도로) 이외에, 도시 주변부와 새로운 축 사이의 교통을 좀 더 원활히 할 목적으로, 파리 주위에 두개의 자동차도로(86번가, Grand Couronne내에 위치한 "Francilienne")가 계획중에 있다. Ile-de-France 지역의 경제적 집중은 분산된 집중의 형태로 변화되고 있다.