Centrality(-ies), Metropolisation and Small Towns: Towards a Meta-Territorial Foundation of Equity

Régis Keerle | Laurent Viala

Contact email: regis.keerle@univ-rennes2.fr | ensam.viala@gmail.com

Régis Keerle, University of Rennes, UMR CNRS 6590 ESO, Place du recteur Henri Le Moal CS 24307, 35043 Rennes Cedex

Laurent Viala, École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Montpellier, Laboratoire Innovation Formes Architecture Milieux, 179, rue de l'Espérou, 34093 Montpellier Cedex 5

ABSTRACT

This article suggests a conception of spatial justice implying a reorientation of town and country planning objectives, in the context of metropolisation. Its perfectionist ideal is that of the universal optimization of the bases of territoriality. The problems which are focused on situations involving small towns located far away from metropolises, question the way centralities are created, so as to describe a territorial equity that does not depend on the standard (monocentric) conception of centrality. We suggest that small town actors implement development strategies for their reference territory, leading to the assertion of local centralities that include, as their primary ambition, a degree of specificity that justifies taking into account their contribution to intrinsic geographical progress. The analysis of these strategies leads to a modelling of actions that reinforce the supply of centralities, as carried out by small-sized cities, far away from metropolitan areas. These actions are a sign of the democratic legitimacy of the right to inhabit and make territories habitable, which is our conception of territorial equity from the viewpoint of spatial justice. In the French

context, this equity requires a new relation between the different forms of centrality in metropolitan and non-metropolitan territories, or more generally between the different levels of urban hierarchy.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce texte propose une conception de la justice spatiale qui implique une réorientation des objectifs de l'aménagement du territoire dans le contexte de la métropolisation. Son idéal perfectionniste est celui d'une optimisation universelle des supports de la territorialité. Focalisée sur les situations impliquant la petite ville éloignée des métropoles, la problématique interroge le processus d'invention des centralités de sorte à qualifier une équité territoriale ne s'en remettant pas à la conception standard (monocentrique) de la centralité. Notre hypothèse pose que les acteurs des petites villes mettent en œuvre des stratégies de développement de leur territoire de référence conduisant à l'affirmation d'une centralité locale dont l'ambition première est de comporter un degré de spécificité justifiant leur ménagement. Les trois cas étudiés (Lodève, Maen Roch, Puigcerdà), supports de notre analyse, témoignent d'actions de renforcement de l'offre de centralités, modélisées dans une typologie exploratoire. Ils permettent de concevoir un positionnement méta-territorial prenant le relais d'une inter-territorialité insuffisamment envisagée comme levier d'affirmation de grands territoires intégrant tous les *hinterlands* métropolitains. Cette méta-territorialité suppose de convenir d'un cadre d'intervention motivé par des rapports symétriques – alors que l'asymétrie règne bien souvent entre les territoires (acteurs collectifs) – qui permettent de penser une cohérence politique, sociale, économique à cette échelle-là.

Introduction

What is the situation, in France, regarding spatial justice in the metropolisation context, and on the regional scale in particular? According to prevailing discourses and "shared beliefs" (Grossetti, Bouba-Olga, 2018) on town and country planning, metropolitan dynamics have an impact on vast areas that, in the end, benefit from it. Beyond this perimeter of influence, remote territories should logically be marginalised and, by extension, there should be "no development prospect [...] outside metropolises" (Doré, 2017). While this metropolitan ideology has been and is still active, its main promoters are still, to date, driven to think about the conditions in which the fate of a metropolis, conceived "non locally", should indispensably be rooted in the territory in order to perpetuate that metropolis (Offner, 2018). The movement that sought to make up for territorial issues, as inaugurated by the pact signed in 2016 between the French State and its metropolises (Pacte État-Métropoles), calls for reconsidering the remote nature of these territories. This Pact came during a time when the calls for projects of the town and country planning policy, were characterised by the trials and errors of those in power (Crespy, Simoulin, 2016), thereby revealing the weakness of the Pact[1]. To imagine the metropolising metropolis (Offner, 2018) as a "territorialised" metropolis, a desirable perspective for multiform sustainable territories that include the right to the village (Buhler, Darly, Milian, 2015), as well as the right to the city while displaying overall coherence, makes it possible to imagine a change of paradigm. Small towns lying outside major urban areas and which, initially, were not meant to be developed as part of a metropolitan area, belong to the optimally extended metropolitan territory in terms of spatial justice. Appreciating the development capacities and conditions of these towns, calls for a reversal of the interpretation of the evolution of these territories, an interpretation which, otherwise, is far too polarising. In Gwénaël Doré (2017) and Olivier Bouba-Olga (2017), we find analyses of local development that

---

1. The State-Metropolises Pact includes a compulsory section, in which each metropolis undertakes to contribute to a "territory alliance" with a view to reinforcing co-operation with "surrounding" territories, i.e. only those that are closer to the metropolis.

encourage a renewed understanding of what are already old concepts (centrality, urban hierarchy), and the mobilisation of these concepts at the service of a conception of the town, the metropolis and its territories, revised according to available resources, i.e. localised resources to be shared while ensuring their durability, by making of them active components of metropolisation at the service of territories, i.e. of all the territories.

The terms of the problems and their structure are spelled out in the first section of this article. The second section specifies the fields and methodology used, as well as the main results of this explorative research. The third section offers an interpretation of these results, aiming at more equal centrality links between territories in particular.

Applying Spatial Justice and Centrality(-ies) to Relations between Metropolises and Small Towns

Spatial Justice

"Each theory of justice suggests a language that tells us something about equality, freedom and efficiency" (Gosseries, 2018, p. 830). In this perspective, "it is important to go beyond general labels" (idem) that would lead, "by adhering to a definition of fairness proposed by an author and by drawing conclusions from it as regards a specific situation" (Gervais-Lambony, 2017, p. 84), to refer to a monist theory of social justice. In order to determine the nodes of a conception of social justice, Axel Gosseries distinguishes three characteristics: principles, metrics and application fields.

As far as principles are concerned, our conception of social justice includes taking into account a form of moral perfectionism. We agree on this point with Robert D. Sack to consider that, from the point of view of an intrinsically geographical judgment, "[...] it is good to have at one's disposal a reality which is more varied and complex than not" (Sack, 2002, p. XV). This is our geographers' contribution to the call of Frédéric Dejean,

for whom "the dialogue with political philosophy and ethics still needs to be developed in greater depth for spatial justice, in its many forms, to have solid normative foundations" (Dejean, 2013, p. 183). The argument according to which "perfectionist ideals applied to individuals and communities meet the sphere of place creation" (Entrikin, 2007, p. 315), has been developed as far as "democratic practices beyond the borders of the nation-State" (*ibid.*, p. 311) are concerned. We use it here to give greater value to the habitability of small towns and their territories in non-metropolitan areas. It is in this sense that our conception of social justice is more specifically a conception of spatial justice.

Considering the application field at which it is aimed here, that of town and country planning, our conception of spatial justice also takes into account the notion of feasibility (Southwood, 2018). In this application field, we agree with Edward Soja: "focusing in on specific examples of where and how (in)justice takes place helps us to ground the search for spatial justice in socially produced contexts, rather than letting it float in idealized abstractions and too easily deflected calls for [...] radical revolution" (Soja, 2010, p. 31). Indeed, postponing any thinking on the spatial dimension of justice to an unspecified future, could easily lead to the endurance of a "powerful mythology that consists in postulating that human spaces [...] can be considered as being relatively homogeneous and undifferentiated" (Lussault, 2018, p. 912), while "the organisation of their living environment by human beings [...] leads to an implacable process of differentiation of geographic spaces" (*ibid.*, p. 913). The central issue to which geographers are confronted, when they wonder about town and country planning, is to know which forms of geographic space differentiation are compatible with which conceptions of social justice.

Among the theories of social justice, that of John Rawls holds an important place in political philosophy, "because all subsequent justice theoreticians had to define themselves in relation to Rawls" (Kymlicka, 1999, p. 63). However, one will hardly find in "Rawls's fundamentally [...] ahistorical notion of justice" (Soja, 2010, p. 76) a lead to create a dialogue with geography, if not in his "sharp Westphalian distinction between

the domestic and international spheres" (Fraser, 2010, p. 33), which bring him to conceive the application of his justice principles in a framework which is national in the first place. As such, even for geographers who defend the pertinence of Rawlsian social justice principles, "we need to recognise the paradox that exists in Rawls between the affirmation of principles with a universal value, and the priority given at State level for implementing these principles" (Bret, 2015, p. 30). Nancy Fraser has shown, in this regard, the unfairness of the normative potential of these national guidelines regarding spatial justice, by taking an interest in the supranational level concerned with issues of social justice in particular. Philippe Gervais-Lambony extended this reflection on the issue of justice levels" (Gervais-Lambony, 2017, p. 94), by applying it at the local level. We propose to extend it to the problems of relations between small towns and metropolises. The metrics (in the philosophical sense) to which we wish to apply our principles of spatial justice, is that of centrality.

Centrality(-ies)

The notion of centrality used only in the singular, could easily lead one to imagine that its determinants can boil down to a unique process. Yet, "the centrality of a place only takes on true meaning when we associate, to its position in the physical space, the measure of the clarity of the potentials and functions located in the same place" (Dematteis, 2013, p. 163). The diversity of these potentials and functions makes it possible to identify various configurations of centralities on various scales. As such, for example, in Nancy's built-up area, which is comparable to many French regional metropolises, the historical centrality of the town has become "a centrality among many others", those of "poly-functional zones (trading, work and leisure in particular)", which "for about thirty years have been representing many complementary and at the same time competitive centralities in relation to the town centre" (Marchal, Stébé, 2013, p. 120). On the intra-urban scale of large built-up areas, various authors have also identified minority centralities (Raulin, 2000), forms of popular centrality (Collectif-Rosa-Bonheur, 2016).

As far as small towns are concerned, they also display functions of centrality and "offer a diversity of choices as regards the centrality of everyday life and mobile community services, equivalent to those of medium- and large-sized towns" (Talandier, Jousseaume, 2013, p. 13). Furthermore, relatively isolated villages can momentarily become central places, even modest places quantitatively speaking, thanks to their prestigious restaurants (Etcheverria, 2011; Marcilhac, 2011). The same goes for many places marked by their naturel heritage (nature reserves, in particular). These are concerned with tourism which can then be considered as "an activity that contributes to places coming out of their isolation, their peripheral position, to bring them, sometimes, to become places of temporary, partial centrality" (Bernard, Blondy, Duhamel, 2017, p. 7).

These various examples confirm that "centralities are not balances resulting from laws imposed by human, technical or economic constraints. Centralities are political constructions [...], [that do] not exist in principle, but can only be observed *a posteriori*, when societies and the policies governing them have created their territorial organisation" (Fache, 2008, p. 255). In this light, using the word centrality in the singular, must not mean reducing the centrality function to a sole place in a territory envisaged on one scale only. It can also typify a set of relations between places that distinguish some of their combinations on a given spatial scale; a scale that can take on a territorial form, if the social actors that give meaning to these places recognise this form in them. Specifically, as regards centrality and contrary to its standard conception (monocentric model), places are central and at the same time decentral, i.e. a central situation or a central dependency relation. Each good shipped, each service supplied or each power exercised from a place, can have a variable impact, which can lead to distinguishing degrees of centrality-decentrality in places (Radeff, Nicolas, 2014), in addition to the intensity of their relations, all of it ending up in complex and provisional hierarchies between places, with their evolution depending on social actors.

In this light, we consider that if the social actors of small towns and the territories they polarise, undertake actions aiming at reinforcing the capacity for action of these territories (in the sense of collective actors), and therefore of their centralities, then it is a sign of the democratic legitimacy of their right to inhabit and make habitable their territories, which is our conception of territorial equity.

Metropolisation of Territories and Small Towns

No one can contest the metropolisation process, understood as a concentration of centralities in metropolitan places and spaces for which we often envisage, first and foremost, the reinforcement of the capacity of attraction of their activities, as undertaken in world economic competition. This is also the case for arguments relating to spatial justice conceived in a Rawlsian perspective, where metropolitan efficiency is supposed to benefit the entire national territory (Bret, 2015), including small towns. However, while metropolitan undertakings have, in France, during the 1980s and 1990s, generally and carelessly brushed aside any territorial unevenness, things went differently at the turn of the millennium. No doubt, the law on Solidarity and Urban Renewal (SRU) had partly something to do with it. The effects of the metropolisation phenomenon, together with the planet's bleak future, have led to the re-emergence of the territorial issue, in the sense that it is repositioned as a precondition to any action (saving on space, caring for fragile environments, welcoming population growth from neighbouring areas, etc.). This form of "rooted accumulation" shows the limits of this form of metropolisation, which calls for territorial control.

No one will no longer contest the existence of small towns, i.e. agglomerations of residents grouped at local level and exceeding a minimum population threshold (2 000 or 5 000 inhabitants in France), which results in a level of functional specialisation that characterises them as poles of centralities. Yet, since the beginning of the 21st century, with the political reorganisation of power (Brenner, 2004) in France, came budget restrictions and forms of neglect of the territory by public utilities (Taulelle, 2017), which affected towns that do not benefit from any form of metropolitan influence.

Nevertheless, in this hardly favourable global context, social actors maintain and try to reinforce their territorial roots in these towns (Édouard, 2019; Navereau, Tallec, Zuliani, 2019). For all that, we must not limit ourselves to celebrating examples of these types of actions but, rather, we must examine the complexity of their implementation and question their perspectives.

By including the diversity of non-metropolitan territorial situations involving small towns, the problems question the way centralities are created, their relation to the concerned territory, and the nature of the relation that this centrality (the actors of its production) is going to develop more or less voluntarily with other territories (including metropolitan territories), so as to describe the territorial equity being claimed. We maintain, therefore, that in the non-metropolitan spatial context, the actors of small towns conceive and implement strategies for the development of the reference territory, leading to the assertion of a local centrality (locally mobilised resources with more or less intensity) the main ambition of which is not to compete with other centralities but, more simply, to show up a high level of specificity, for the benefit of resident populations first and foremost, although it is likely to also concern the residents of the metropolises.

There is no doubt that metropolises, as collective actors endowed with legal status since the MAPTAM law of 2014, have the capacity for action. That of small towns on the other hand, although it is sometimes reasserted that they do (Édouard, 2014), cannot be described as easily. For lack of official statistics, examining the approach adopted by small towns on a case by case basis, is the most pertinent way of arriving at such a description. The geographic situations of small towns are so diverse (Laborie, 1997; Mainet, 2008; Beaucire, Chalonge and Desjardins, 2016; Édouard, 2016) that their physical remoteness from metropolises, and their functional or institutional perimeters, do not seem to be a sufficient criterion for typifying their contexts. Concerning small towns that are not directly concerned by the effects of metropolisation (unlike those included in the metropolitan urban fabric), their demographic evolution, and especially that of their equipment level, as well as the degree of consolidation of their zone of

influence, are relevant indicators of the centrality they have to offer. Yet, on their own they cannot consolidate their offer of centrality and that of their zones of influence, without the support of other levels or sectors of national territory management (*département*, region; ministerial sector agencies), or without any form of formal or informal co-operation (adopting a similar action logic), with the metropolises with which their functional links are stronger, and without which their strategies are bound to fail.

Three Cases to Appreciate the Conditions and Effects of the Reinforcement of the Capacity for Action of Small Towns and their Territories

We began our research and tested its feasibility. The research field was used for exploratory purposes. At the epistemological, theoretical and methodological levels, the leads offered, although they had already been thought out at length, compromised with the unstable nature of the experimentation. The three cases supporting our analysis showed relatively diversified situations. Without claiming exhaustive representativeness, they were chosen according to two criteria. First according to the degree of concrete knowledge we have of these fields, in which actions for reinforcing centralities on offer have been tried out, if not developed for more than a decade. But also due to the fact that one of these cases, that of Puigcerdà, partly shows the widening of the spatial justice issue on the European scale, while another, that of Maen Roch, illustrates a change in spatial framework within the national guidelines. The case of Lodève shows more the stability of this framework.

Lodève, Centrality through Recurrent High Level Cultural Events

North-West of Montpellier, at around fifty kilometres and serviced by the highway to Clermont-Ferrand, Lodève (7 400 inhabitants) is marked by a rich urban trajectory which, however, has been interrupted several times. From the town's episcopal past,

there remains only and mainly a weaving tradition, with the manufacture of carpets attached to the State-owned furniture administration, in which part of the sixty or so Harki families were welcomed in 1962. The new main productive activity that came to be, subsequently, with the settlement of the COGEMA (uranium mining operation not far from the town), stopped its production in 1997.

Today, Lodève shows a centrality in search of a base. Its status of sub-prefecture, which was recently threatened but, in the end, confirmed with the extension of its district perimeter, contributes to the assertion of that centrality. Besides this quality, with effects that are limited today, this small town seems to act like any other town, i.e. pulling levers to promote its urban and economic restructuring: revitalising the town centre, stimulating commerce, supplying equipment (new multimedia library, nursing home, mutualised sports centre, etc.), undertaking housing as well as heritage initiatives, e.g. by obtaining the "Art and History Town and Region" label. But the new boost came first and foremost through culture, by shedding initially the local scope. From 1997 and until 2009, the summer exhibition of the Fleury Museum became one of the major cultural events in the region, or even in the greater South, and showed a great means of support to local development (Kosianski, Monino, 2005). The poetry festival named Festival des Voix de la Méditerranée, was the other highlight of this new boost through culture. It coincided specifically with the election of Robert Lecou as mayor in 1995 (re-elected in 2001, but dismissed in 2008), and the arrival of Maïthé Vallès-Bled, the new curator of the Fleury Museum in 1996. At the origin of the new cultural dynamics of the town was a strong political choice, which ended up being materialised and carried through by the new curator whose skills, network and voluntarism produced their effects, until her departure in 2009, for the Paul-Valéry Museum and the International Modest Art Museum in the town of Sète. She took with her many assets, including the Festival des Voix de la Méditerranée created by her (or at least the concept of it, which she recreated in Sète as the Voix Vives Festival), and part of the artworks from a private collection, which she held in trust at the Fleury Museum. In Lodève (which was the subject of an Urban Contract for Social Cohesion), the Voix de la Méditerranée Festival became Résurgence, the Performing Arts Festival

in 2015. Summer exhibitions also continued, not without difficulties from 2010 (drop in attendance, financial problems) until the temporary closure of the Museum and the modernising works that were to integrate permanent collections meant to revive the local territorial resource (through geological and Neolithic collections), in an exhibition space twice as large.

While it seems that the new impetus towards a reinforcement of centrality can overcome the departure of its initiators, its articulation with the territorial contexts underlying the town remains delicate. Initially, Robert Lecou's strategy concerning Lodève remained confined, due to partisan conflicts with district and regional levels. Intercommunal co-operation came relatively late, and entry in the Pays Cœur d'Hérault area (closer to Montpellier) was recent, while the current perspective of seeing the community of the Lodévois-Larzac communes join the regional nature reserve of Grands Causses, showed the need to preserve a potential for territorial co-operation diversity. As far as Lodève is concerned, there is no doubt a difficult place to take in this dynamic region (population, activity, housing, secondary residences, etc.) which is made up of a small town nearby, Clermont-l'Hérault (with more than 8 000 inhabitants), and villages that tend to show small town populations (4 000 to 7 000 inhabitants).

Puigcerdà, Centrality through the Geostrategic Transfiguration of the Territorial Resource

Located less than two hours from Barcelona, the small Spanish town of Puigcerdà (8 800 inhabitants) is agglomerated to Bourg-Madame (1 200 inhabitants) on the French side, and is by far the main urban centre of the Cerdanya region. It has, since 1996, taken on a greater role in health care services on the French side of the border, which crosses a Pyrenean plateau of difficult access from Perpignan (80 km) or Toulouse (150 km), especially in winter. A cross-border centrality was born with the hospital of Puigcerdà (2014), after more than ten years of requests that came to a successful conclusion, thanks in particular to a legal innovation at the European level

(the European Grouping of Territorial Co-operation). The town's contribution to the cross-border management of healthcare needs, has been made into a model at the level of the European Union. In France, the restructuring of the medico-social sector, undertaken since the 1990s, with the reduction of healthcare linked to climatism, is stabilising, at the cost of many confrontations with the Regional Health Agency, with the establishment of cross-border paediatric and geriatric networks co-financed by the INTERREG programmes.

The new cross-border slaughterhouse, which makes it possible to increase the value of "Cerdanya Meat" (first cross-border Protected Geographical Indication or PGI) since 2017 in Ur, has been reinforcing the Europeanisation of the border. This process has been fairly effortless at the cultural level, with the creation of a cross-border choir in 2011, a cross-border film festival in Estavar-Llivia[2] since 2015, and various initiatives to develop cross-border heritage inherited during the pre-national eras. Nevertheless, the hurdles to increasing Europeanisation have not all been taken yet, even at the cross-border hospital (where an objective of 40 % of French patients was to be reached, in proportion to the population concerned, and which is only at 23 % today). As such, the contract relating to the Sègre River (a tributary of the Èbre River), signed in 2008, has not yet been extended due to the internal conflicts on the Spanish side as regards "water" management.

This Europeanisation is more the effect of very efficient wills from South Catalonia (Castex-Ey, 2014), even if they sometimes diverge (Giband, 2009), than French initiatives that are even more diverse (Lefèvre, 2009). Bearing witness to this is the twinning of the *commune* of Soler (in the Roussillon plain) in 2016, whose mayor, ex-Deputy and today Senator, François Calvet, was since 1995 one of the local actors involved in the realisation of the cross-border hospital, with Puigcerdà. On the French side, intercommunal dynamics are slow and still limited. The community of *communes* from Pyrenees-Cerdanya (19 *communes*, 8 600 inhabitants), founded in 1996, only reached territorial continuity through legislation in 2014. The same applies to the

---

2. Llivia is a Spanish *commune* enclaved in France.

community of communes from Catalonian Pyrenees (e.g. Capcir-Haut-Conflent, 19 *communes*, 5 900 inhabitants). The compulsory adoption, at some stage, of a common long term strategic planning document (SCoT), was abandoned with great relief in 2015, while the objectives for the development of the area, apart from the different impact of the winter sports economy which is stronger in the Catalonian Pyrenees, are very comparable. No encompassing centrality is being envisaged, whether in the local town planning document (PLUi) of Pyrenees-Cerdanya, or the SCoT of Catalonian Pyrenees (75 % of secondary residences with, in part, Spanish residents).

Certain territorial resources still need to be stabilised. The Occitanie region, in 2018, elaborated, via its mountain Parliament, a plan called "Montagne d'Occitanie 2025, Terres de vie", for the development of local resources and which seems to take into account their specificities. This initiative will perhaps make it finally possible to orient the economy of the plateau's ski stations towards the diversification and mutualisation of their activities (Vlès, 2012). Indeed, two ski stations out of eight have closed their doors since 2013, as a consequence of irregular snow coverage. A project to establish a ski slope shared by four other slopes (including that of Font-Romeu and Les Angles) turned out to be incompatible with the charter of the regional nature reserve of Catalonian Pyrenees (including recommendations for a cross-border landscape plan) adopted in 2014. The National Centre for Altitude Training of Font-Romeu, created in 1967, is going to be rehabilitated by the regional administration with a view to accommodating the Olympic Games of 2024. Other micro-resources must still be consolidated, often linked in part or in whole to the touristic sphere (more than 50 000 visitors during some week-ends): hot springs, cross-border heritage (City of Mont-Louis listed as a UNESCO world heritage site). Moreover, other production sectors have experienced rapid development recently: research installations on solar energy (over 2 750 hours of sunshine per year in Font-Romeu), reviving the increased value of dairy farming products.

Maen Roch, Centrality through Territorial Identity Reinforcement

Situated 45 km away from Rennes (45 minutes by car on the Rennes-Caen highway), the new *commune* of Maen Roch (2017) results from the fusion of Saint-Brice-en-Coglès (former county town in the Antrain district) and Saint-Étienne-en-Coglès, which could be described as the most significant act of intercommunal co-operation process, which was initiated in 1978. The *commune* comes up as a pole of secondary centrality (e.g. public school, private school) but is ambitious: stopover village [reserved for *communes* of less than 5 000 inhabitants], community radio, Town Council for Children, Youth Town Council [and Youth Spaces for 11-17-year olds], recipient of the "Villages in poetry" label since 2012, music school). Its centrality has been reinforced by the *commune* fusion process, which follows from political voluntarism: "the *commune* must be the driving force of its evolution, must not suffer reforms to come, whether regarding the law on the new territorial organisation of the Republic (NOTRe) and the consequences on the territorial organisation (inter-communality in particular) or regarding the current context of subsidy reduction" (Mayor of Saint-Brice-en-Coglès, minutes of the town council meeting held on the 11th of May 2015).

Maen Roch (4 700 inhabitants) is the most important *commune* in the new inter-communality Couesnon Marches de Bretagne (which concerns the fusion of 15 *communes* instead of 22 in 2016, with 22 000 inhabitants). It is also the second most important *commune* in the Fougères area which is linked, like all communes in Brittany, to the region by a partnership contract concerning local and regional development. This area (or its inter-communalities, since 2017), is also one of the six perimeters (outside the Rennes metropolis) of the Ille-et-Vilaine *département* that, since 2006, benefit from *département*-based territory contracts and, since 2010, from the presence of decentralised *département*-based agencies supposed to favour a *bottom-up* approach to political capacity, against national orientations (Tallec, 2012). The productive base of the inter-communality territory appears solid and diversified (transformation of granite, dairy industry, slaughterhouse, La Mère Poulard biscuit factory, road transport, plastics technology, biotechnology, etc.). Private initiatives sometimes show the way to centrality diversification: at the clearance shop of La Mère Poulard in Saint-Étienne-en-Coglès, products "are sold for 30 % less than in the Mère

Poulard shops of Rennes, Paris, Saint-Malo, and for 30 to 40 % less than in Mont-Saint Michel" (Margaux, cited in *La Chronique Républicaine*, 5 August 2014) 30 km away. The collectors' editions (seven boxes with different colours according to the variety of biscuits) are "our leading product here, while sugar boxes sell better in Saint-Malo or in Mont" (*ibid*.). In the end, beyond adaptations to new constraints imposed according to the global context (grouping of healthcare services…) and capturing opportunities (second rurality[3] contract signed in the *département* – 2017), dynamics through innovations seem to prevail (Agenda 21 "Coglais 2030" launched in 2014, methanization facility project, etc.). in Coglais, unlike Lodévois or Cerdanya, development illustrates a "model of Breton collective action [that] is characterised by [the regular] unity and co-operation" (Pasquier, 2016, p. 344) of actors.

The reinforcement of Maen Roch's territorial identity, the exploitation of the advantageous situation with Puigcerdà, or the ambitious display of sector-based services in Lodève, constitute three methods of assertion – which is unusual for small towns – of centrality levels out of step with the traditional representation of their place in the urban hierarchy, although these methods are particularly likely to act favourably on their capacity for action.

The Reinforcement of the Centrality of Small Towns and their Territories: Types of Actions and Perspectives

Based on the conclusions resulting from the exploratory study of these three cases, and therefore from the knowledge gathered in this way, we first propose a typology of criteria, concerning the models of action chosen for reinforcing forms of centrality in small towns and their territories. This typology as a whole which, when applied, should not have its temporal phases and their bifurcations neglected, can serve as a tool for analysing the diversity of small town situations, in France at least. It also makes it

---

3. Rurality contracts established from 2016 enumerate the means required for developing a territorial project, particularly in the fields of access to services and healthcare, revitalisation of town centres, attractivity of the territory, mobilities, ecological transition and social cohesion.

possible to formulate hypotheses relating to the pertinence and probabilities of the success of the actions undertaken. Where such success cannot be envisaged without the co-operation of metropolises most concerned by each action, we analyse the perspectives that such co-operation can take, for the time being as well as in the future.

Variety of Non-Metropolitan Centralities

The typology of the models of action for reinforcing the centrality of small towns is based on five contrasting main lines, limited by criteria that make it possible to express amplitude, and comprising gradients that are voluntarily and provisionally free from the obligation of measuring, thereby making it possible to characterise a town's position regarding the action it chooses to carry out. We set them out here, so as to make it easier to understand their combination.

- The first main line we distinguished concerns the territorial resource used: does it concern first and foremost, and to which extent, a local or external resource? The issue of territorial resource prevails. Its relation to the reference territory offers a first level of information that helps to characterise action choices. Are they rather guided by what justifies the qualities of the said territory and its identity, or do they appeal to external forces without the latter altering these very qualities all the same? In this case, there is a form of emancipation that can be appreciated in terms of empowerment and withdrawal, at the risk of confinement or open otherness.
- The second is related to the dominant types of action initiators and their respective importance: do they concern mainly the public initiatives of political actors (where real voluntarism can be observed in this case) or, rather, private initiatives in a context where public actors are little involved? The nature of the actors mobilised, their degree of involvement in the action as well as the precedence of their presence on the territory, or in the type of action carried out, inform in many respects. Moreover, it will be useful to appreciate at first the components of each one of the two spheres: a strictly public intervention will

take on a different meaning depending on whether the State, for example, manages to impose its authority and power, or whether local authorities manage to organise themselves on their own, around shared interests. More specifically, the relation and modes of agreement between public and private actors will open a few interpretations regarding the capacities for action of the ones and/with the others, so as to appreciate in particular the intensity of their commitment in terms of territoriality. It is possible that a form of carelessness emerges from it.

- The third concerns the type of public policy instrument or form of private investment being mobilised: does it concern actions characterised by their innovative character or does it concern the activation of more traditional repertoires of action? The capacities for technical engineering and the level of expertise at the service of action could constitute a focal point, although it could not depend on the mechanisms of innovation that do not necessarily require this equipment. Indeed, what will be appreciated here is the renewed vision of the territory, from the detailed knowledge of its intrinsic potentialities on the one hand, and from the will to see its development benefit from adapted support on the other, even if such support were to compel one to free oneself from proven, shared and until now controlled methods, but becoming ineffective in the case in point.

- The fourth relates to the development model being chosen: are we in search of territorial emancipation or, rather, are we finding a tendency towards accepting the order of a wide-ranging urban hierarchy? Is the territorialising action playing out in a form of renouncement to an already existing order, and sometimes even producing its effects for a very long time already, or is allegiance still acceptable?

- Finally, the fifth main line of characterisation being mobilised refers less to a possible model of action than to an appreciation of the forms and degrees of constraints or opportunities bearing on local action: for example, a small town

situated near a border is not placed, in this regard, in the same situation as another small town located inland, in the national territory.

The three small towns we used to support our analysis, have in common the fact that they are situated sufficiently far away from metropolises to not benefit from developments resulting from the latter's dynamics only. The analysis of the actions conducted in these towns and in their zone of influence, shows three different combinations of models of action aiming at reinforcing centralities on offer. In substance, the recent trajectory of each one of these towns has experienced a strong reorientation, which can be dated. It has brought in a sufficiently significant change to reconsider their relationship to centrality/decentrality.
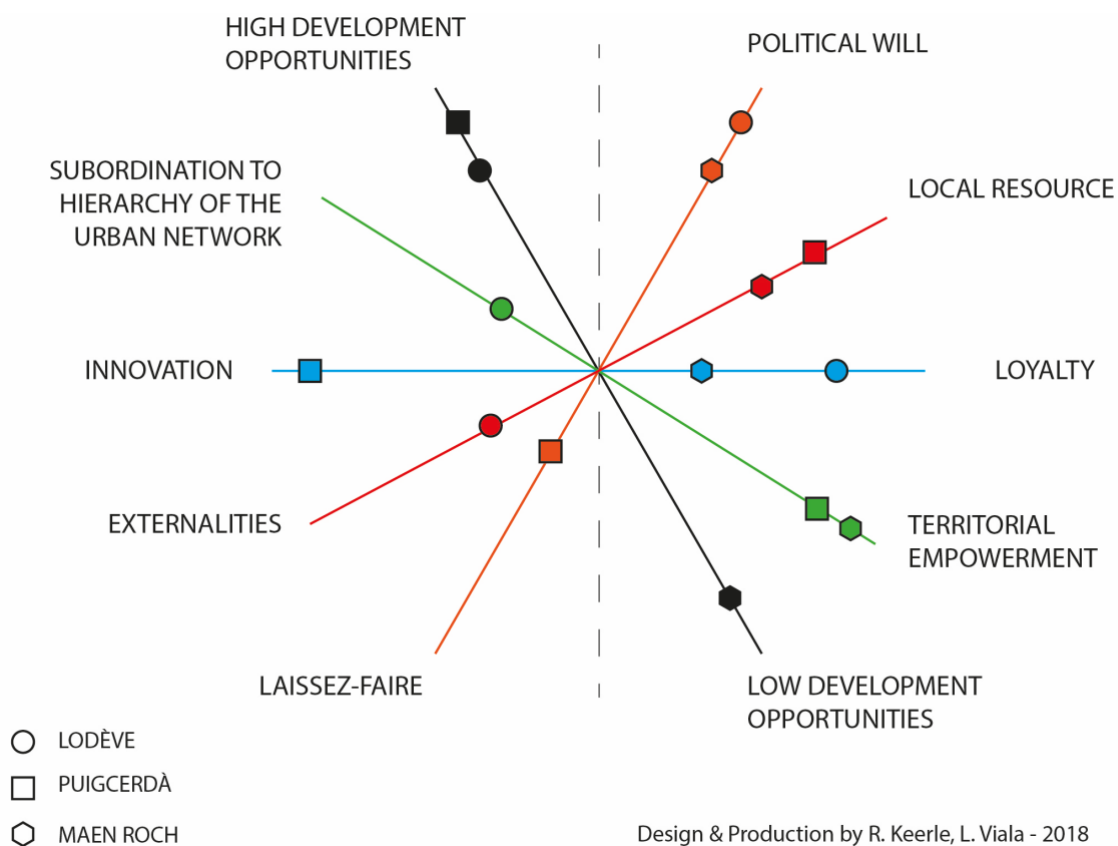

Figure 1: Lodève, Maen Roch, Puigcerdà and their territories in a typology of actions carried out for the reinforcement of small town centralities

The first type of trajectory, as exemplified by the case of Lodève, reveals a process of urban attractiveness reinforcement, which includes the invention, development and installation over time of a high level cultural offer, which is unusual in this type of territory. This first case makes it possible to insist on the structuring – opening up possibilities – of a small town in search of centrality, strong political execution, an internal quality expertise (relying on only one person), and the ability to free itself from the local resource which, in many cases, constitutes the sole support to begin renewal. The case of Puigcerdà leads towards a model that, on the contrary, banks on the geostrategic transfiguration of a local resource (mountain and health). Indeed, the opening of the new cross-border hospital seems to have been the signal, on the French side, for the emergence of co-operation dynamics between local actors that, up until then, were little conceivable, even if they still remain limited. Lastly, with Maen Roch, the trajectory was spurred on by the birth of a new *commune*. The name choice summarises on its own the emergent territorial narrative (Pasquier, 2017). If political voluntarism prevails, it is precisely because it was present from the very beginning, faced with the need to merge. With this merging, which could translate into a feeling of loss of something essential, we find on the contrary a display of strength that draws from the assertion of political and territorial emancipation, rejecting influences that are more urban or even metropolitan, so as to root itself with more vigour and certainty in the town. "Apart from the fact that mining granite has always been an integral part of the local economy, the association of Breton and the French dialect of Brittany ensures a link with our roots. This name contains the symbolic of what we are busy building and sounds undeniably poetic and modern" (http://www.maenroch.fr/maen-roch-histoire-dune-*commune*-nouvelle/).

Spatial Justice through the Partnership of Centralities and through the Meta-Territorial Perspective

The three previously studied cases and their typological interpretation, show the diversity of the success perspectives of actions for the reinforcement of centralities

conducted by the actors of small towns or their territories. How to conceive an evolution of the relations of centrality to better ensure the success of these actions in the future?

It would be contrary to the search for a universal conception of justice to justify the concentration of centralities in the higher levels of urban hierarchy, by relying on the argument of "adaptation to the movement of populations" (Estèbe, 2017, p. 480) forced by situations of increasing injustice. Rather than to oppose territories and their populations in discourses (e.g. "suburbs" vs "rural"), would it not be fairer to act in favour of an extension for all the supports of territoriality? The action conducted since 2003 in Grenoble, within the framework of the Youth in Mountain programme, of which one of the strategic objectives is to "enable publics coming from the "political suburbs of the Town" that do not have access to mountain practices, to go to the mountain and do mountain activities" (http://www.grenoble-montagne.com/778-infos-pratiques.htm), would be an example in this sense.

Implementing in a radical manner the centrality/decentrality logic must lead to a fairer vision of territorial equity. The nature of actions conducted in small towns, even if they remain linked to local territorial resources, must not be determined by a static vision or one that depends on what has been carried out until now. It is rather by implementing a partnership for different forms of centralities between metropolitan and non-metropolitan territories, or more generally between levels of urban hierarchy, that a fairer territorial equity can be aimed at. Specific measures such as town-country[4] reciprocity contracts, undoubtedly constitute a first form of concretisation of this rapprochement, although they seem to only concern those territories that are closer to metropolises. Moreover, this reciprocity is exclusive, in that it only concerns contracting territories (Bigay, Devillard, Perez Inigo, Sainclair, 2018). The implementation of partnerships, as mentioned by us, calls upon the urban order in all its forms (from small town to metropolis) throughout the national space (and its European extensions), to work on the dynamisation of a reality that, in the end, will not

---

4. These contracts were tried out from 2015 but, to date, only two have materialised.

appear as inter- but meta-territorial (Lajarge, 2017). Meta-territorial in the sense that the necessary change calls for a definitive break with the logics of territory aggregation, where these get their legitimacy from an institutional order that definitively speaks on their behalf, a form of unfair scalar engineering (Planel, Jaglin, 2014; Lajarge, 2015). The meta-territorial logic gives greater value to the local sources of territoriality, that which originates precisely in a less unfair history and geography, that which can be envisaged before territories become neglected (Soja, 2010). The implementation of this partnership requires that the regulation scene formalising it, make of the proliferation of local centralities (their emergence and reinforcement) its main leitmotiv. Will the creation, in July 2019, of a National Agency for the Cohesion of Territories (ANCT) make it possible to partly meet this expectation? Where the missions of the ANCT consist particularly in advising local governments to conceive their development projects and to favour co-operation between territories, all of it depends on the degree of voluntarism with which the ANCT will secure these missions.

In this meta-territorial perspective, the interest shown in the action process to take into account the diversity of centralities, goes beyond what inter-territoriality signifies or can signify (Vanier, 2008), particularly with regard to territorial reforms. Indeed, implementing partnerships for centralities, as previously mentioned, compels actors to take the hinterlands of metropolises into consideration, as well as their main coverages (as is the case for Cerdanya in a region with two metropolises), beyond the mosaic of very different territories that shape them and make up their treasures. This diversity cannot be sacrificed to a conception of inter-territoriality that would endorse the very idea of fragmentation (e.g. between regions and metropolises, see Desjardins and Béhar, 2017), and of the renouncement of a dimension of territorial combination that, yet, exists already, i.e. the mentioned hinterland. The meta-territorial order corresponds to the attribution of a territorial foundation to metropolitan development, and to the revision of metropolisation which is no longer viewed as a phenomenon seemingly escaping any form of control but, from now on, as a will to see metropolitan dynamics clearly enter into dialogue with territorial resources with, as double objective, to work on the attractiveness of the metropolitan hinterland and the larger territory

(Offner, 2011), while ensuring the protection of its qualities. Issues of solidarity and equity, from then on, become the motives of this (meta-)territorial project. Perhaps we agree here with the preoccupations of a multi-situated consideration of the territory (Giraut, 2013) that will need to become politically established, to succeed at least, outside the currently privileged forms of government, including as regards the sources of town and country planning policy funding (Vanier, 2015).

It is possible that the domain of application for our summed up principle of spatial justice appears, as one chooses, too "reformist" (even though we target its feasibility in the short term), too utopian or too vague. Yet, on the two last points, the first in a series of publications to come on "inter-territorial co-operation" (General Commission for Territorial Equality, 2019), expanding on the commitments of the State-Metropolises Pact, does not undermine our argument: "we do not currently have at our disposal a satisfactory, complete and precise grasp of interrelations and interdependencies between territories" (*ibid*.).

Conclusion

Five points structure the conclusion of this article which is focused on small towns located away from metropolises, but which is envisaging the issue of spatial justice more globally by reference to the metropolisation process, and the diversity of the forms of centrality. First, considering centrality differently (with the centrality/decentrality coupling), makes it possible to open up the field of possibilities for territorial equity, which can then be realised under more varied and less exclusive conditions. Secondly, understanding centralities differently requires the revision of dual logics relying on the dominant/dominated articulation, which historically has been secured with urban hierarchy. Thirdly, with an excessively well proven viewpoint, a partnership of centralities can already be outlined. If partnerships exist (e.g. reciprocity contract), they do not however fully integrate what has been set out until now, by banking exclusively on one or several sets of themes that reduce the reciprocity

principle to a minimum. Fourthly, a meta-territorial positioning linked to alter-metropolisation takes over from inter-territoriality which has not been sufficiently envisaged as a means of assertion for metropolitan hinterlands. This meta-territoriality established symmetrical relations between territories (with non-symmetrical realities) which make it possible to conceive of a political, social and economic coherence among others, integrating this scale. The creation of the Mountain Parliament in the Occitanie region, constitutes an example of this possibility. Fifthly, and in addition, the problems tackled need to be compared geographically in their relationship with the conditions and forms of territorial action. The issue of territorial equity is open, in that it guarantees the diversity of the development methods of territories, and of the conditions and associated ways of life that do not have to compete for the simple reason that, the possibility of the ones is intimately linked to the existence of the others. This opening concerns first and foremost the responsibility of geographers. By choosing an approach giving greater value to logics of actions central to the centrality/decentrality relationship, where such choices are epistemological, theoretical, methodological and, in the end, perhaps highly political, the field of possibilities of territorial equity appears far more open and fertile; all the more since we intend to develop the idea and reality of such an equity, in a context of unbalanced territorial relationships and powers of action marked by factual asymmetry, and that we must be able to draw creative logics from any hierarchical interpretation, by reconsidering the value of a multi-situated territorial resource.

To quote this article: Régis KEERLE, Laurent VIALA, « Centralité(s), métropolisation et petites villes : pour un fondement méta-territorial de l'équité », ["Centrality(ies), Metropolisation and Small Towns: Towards a Meta-Territorial Foundation of Equity"], *Spatial justice* | *Spatial Justice*, 15, September 2020, http://www.jssj.org.

REFERENCES

BEAUCIRE Francis, **CHALONGE** Ludovic, **DESJARDINS** Xavier, « Un déclin en trompe-l'œil ? », *Urbanisme*, 403, 2016, p. 30-33.

BERNARD Nicolas, **BLONDY** Caroline, **DUHAMEL** Philippe, *Tourisme et périphéries. La centralité des lieux en question*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017.

BIGAY Marion, **DEVILLARD** Thibault, **PEREZ INIGO** Lola, **SAINCLAIR** Juliette, *Les environnements territoriaux des métropoles : quelles stratégies de coopération au service du développement local ? Analyse comparée des systèmes de Lille, Nantes et Toulouse*, Paris, Sciences Po, 2018 (https://www.adcf.org/files/DOCS/18ADG078_Etude-scien-Po_A4_GLOBAL_aout2018_Bdef-web.pdf).

BOUBA-OLGA Olivier (éd.), *Dynamiques territoriales. Éloge de la diversité*, Poitiers, Atlantique, 2017.

BRENNER Neil, *New States Spaces. Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

BUHLER Ève-Anne, **DARLY** Ségolène, **MILIAN** Johan, « Arènes et ressources du droit au village : les ressorts de l'émancipation dans les campagnes occidentales au XXIe siècle », 7, *Justice spatiale | Spatial Justice*, 2015.

BRET Bernard, *Pour une géographie du juste. Lire les territoires à la lumière de la philosophie morale de John Rawls*, Paris, Presses universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2015.

CASTEX-EY Joan-Francesc, *L'Action du gouvernement catalan en Catalogne française (2000/2014). Une politique extérieure du dedans*, Paris, Les impliqués Éditeur, 2014.

COLLECTIF ROSA BONHEUR, « Centralité populaire : un concept pour comprendre

pratiques et territorialités des classes populaires d'une ville périphérique »,
SociologieS, 2016 (http://journals.openedition.org/sociologies/5534).

COMMISSARIAT GÉNÉRAL À L'ÉGALITÉ DES TERRITOIRES, *Les Coopérations interterritoriales. Zoom sur les coopérations entre métropoles et territoires environnants*, 2019 (https://www.cget.gouv.fr/ressources/publications/les-cooperations-interterritoriales).

CRESPY Cécile, **SIMOULIN** Vincent, « Le gouvernement à crédit. Tâtonnement des gouvernants, aveuglement des gouvernés ? », *L'Année sociologique*, 66-2, 2016, p. 465-492 (https://doi.org/10.3917/anso.162.0465).

DEJEAN Frédéric, « État de littérature. La "justice spatiale" : revue des savoirs francophones et anglophones », *Critique internationale*, 61-4, 2013, p. 171-183 (https://doi.org/10.3917/crii.061.0171).

DEMATTEIS Giuseppe, « Centralité », in **LÉVY** Jacques, **LUSSAULT** Michel (éd.), *Dictionnaire de la géographie et de l'espace des sociétés*, Paris, Belin, 2013, p. 162-164.

DESJARDINS Xavier, **BÉHAR** Daniel, « Les régions françaises enfin aménageuses du territoire ? », *Population et avenir*, 733-3, 2017, p. 17-19 (https://doi.org/10.3917/popav.733.0017).

DORÉ Gwénaël, *Hors des métropoles, point de salut ? Les capacités de développement des territoires non métropolitains*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2017.

ÉDOUARD Jean-Charles, « L'action publique dans les petites villes françaises. Mimétisme ou innovation ? », *Métropolitiques*, 7 mars 2014 (https://www.metropolitiques.eu/L-action-publique-dans-les-petites.html).

ÉDOUARD Jean-Charles, « Les petites villes auvergnates tirent leur épingle du jeu », *Urbanisme*, 403, 2016, p. 34-37.

ÉDOUARD Jean-Charles, « L'attrait des petites villes, une chance pour redynamiser leur

centralité ? Réflexions à partir du cas des petites villes auvergnates », *Belgeo*, 3, 2019 (https://doi.org/10.4000/belgeo.34295).

ENTRIKIN Nicholas J., « Les cosmopolitiques et les lieux démocratiques », in **LOLIVE** Jacques, **SOUBEYRAN** Olivier (éd.), *L'Émergence des cosmopolitiques*, Paris, La Découverte, 2007, p. 311-322.

ESTÈBE Philippe, « Égalité des territoires », in **SAVIDAN** Patrick (éd.), *Dictionnaire des inégalités et de la justice sociale*, Paris, PUF, 2018, p. 478-482.

ETCHEVERRIA Olivier, « Les tensions fondatrices du développement local autour du restaurant Bras à Laguiole : "centralité", qualité et créativité », *Norois*, 219, 2011, p. 57-71.

FACHE Jacques, *Acentralité spatiale : de la centralité théorique au projet territorial*, Mémoire en vue de l'habilitation à diriger des recherches en géographie, 2008.

FRASER Nancy, *Scales of Justice. Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2010.

GERVAIS-LAMBONY Philippe, « La justice spatiale pour re-visiter et comprendre mieux l'Afrique du sud métropolitaine », *Annales de géographie*, 713, 2017/1, p. 82-106 (https://doi.org/10.3917/ag.713.0082).

GIBAND David, « De deux faire une. Rhétoriques, actions et possibles dans la construction d'un espace régional "trans-catalan" », *Sud-Ouest européen*, 28, 2009, p. 17-29.

GIRAUT Frédéric, « *Territoire multi-situé, complexité territoriale et postmodernité territoriale* : des concepts opératoires pour rendre compte des territorialités contemporaines ? », *L'Espace géographique*, 4-42, 2013, p. 293-305 (https://doi.org/10.3917/eg.424.0293).

GOSSERIES Axel, « Justice distributive (typologie théorique) », in **SAVIDAN** Patrick (éd.), *Dictionnaire des inégalités et de la justice sociale*, Paris, PUF, 2018, p. 829-

838.

GROSSETTI Michel, **BOUBA-OLGA** Olivier, « Réflexions sur quelques croyances (trop) partagées », in **CHARLES** Erwan, **THOUÉMENT** Hervé, *La métropolisation, une opportunité pour le développement des territoires. L'exemple de la Bretagne*, Paris, L'Harmattan, p. 59-72.

KEERLE Régis, **VIALA** Laurent, « La bonne décision ? Acteurs, territoires, projets face à une tentative de reconversion du site minier de Lodève (Hérault) », in **SCARWELL** Helga-Jane, **FRANCHOMME** Magalie (éd.), *Contraintes environnementales et gouvernances des territoires*, La Tour d'Aigues, Éditions de l'Aube, 2004, p. 258-266.

KEERLE Régis, **SÉCHET** Raymonde, « Le projet d'hôpital commun transfrontalier de Puigcerdà : vers l'européanisation de la frontière en Cerdagne », *Sud-Ouest Européen*, 28, 2010, p. 65-76.

KOSIANSKI Jean-Michel, **MONINO** Jean-Louis, « Les grandes expositions du musée de Lodève, facteur de développement local », *Cahiers Espaces*, 87, 2005, p. 86-104.

KYMLICKA Will, *Les Théories de la justice. Une introduction. Libéraux, utilitaristes, libertariens, marxistes, communautariens, féministes…*, Paris, La Découverte, 1999.

LABORIE Jean-Paul, « Les petites villes et la métropolisation », in **LABORIE** Jean-Paul, **RENARD** Jean (éd.), *Bourgs et petites villes. Actes du colloque de Nantes*, Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1997, p. 21-48.

LAJARGE Romain, « Le pavé (territorial) dans la mare. Critique du dogme "un seul tenant et sans enclave" », in **KADA** Nicolas (éd.), *Les Tabous de la décentralisation*, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 2015, p. 229-243.

LAJARGE Romain, « Territoire », in **KADA** Nicolas et *al.* (éd.), *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la décentralisation*, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 2017, p. 1007-

1016.

LEFÈVRE Marianne, « Périphérie et transfrontalier comme catégories d'action politique », *Sud-Ouest européen*, 28, 2009, p. 31-43 (https://doi.org/10.4000/soe.1705).

LUSSAULT Michel, « Justice spatiale », in **SAVIDAN** Patrick (éd.), *Dictionnaire des inégalités et de la justice sociale*, Paris, PUF, 2018, p. 911-922.

MAINET Hélène, « Qu'est-ce qu'une petite ville ? Réflexions à partir d'études de cas », *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*, 85-1, 2008, p. 13-22.

MARCHAL Hervé, **STÉBÉ** Jean-Marc, « Repenser la centralité : l'exemple d'une ville moyenne française », *Sociologie et sociétés*, 45-2, 2013, p. 111–128.

MARCILHAC Vincent, « Revitalisation d'une économie locale et stratégie familiale : le cas Marcon à Saint-Bonnet-le-Froid », *Norois*, 219, 2011, p. 41-56.

NAVEREAU Brice, **TALLEC** Josselin, **ZULIANI** Jean-Marc, « Les logiques territoriales des "mondes de production" de petites villes », *Belgeo*, 3, 2019 (https://doi.org/10.4000/belgeo.35017).

OFFNER Jean-Marc, « Métropole », in **PASQUIER** Romain, **GUIGNER** Sébastien, **COLE** Alistair (éd.), *Dictionnaire des politiques territoriales*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2011, p. 329-335.

OFFNER Jean-Marc, *Métropoles invisibles. Les métropoles au défi de la métropolisation*, Paris, Les conférences POPSU, 2018.

PASQUIER Romain, « Crise économique et différenciation territoriale. Les régions et les métropoles dans la décentralisation française », *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, 23-3, 2016, p. 327-353.

PASQUIER Romain, « Une révolution territoriale silencieuse ? Les communes nouvelles entre européanisation et gouvernance territoriale », *Revue française d'administration publique*, 162-2, 2017, p. 239-252.

PLANEL Sabine, **JAGLIN** Sylvie, « Échelles : partage des pouvoirs et partage de l'espace », in **GERVAIS-LAMBONY** Philippe (éd.) et *al.*, *La Justice spatiale et la ville. Regards du Sud*, Paris, Karthala, 2014, p. 27-39.

RADEFF Anne, **NICOLAS** Georges, « Lieux centraux – décentraux. Théories de la centralité et réalité des petites villes », in **BODINEAU** Pierre, **LAMARRE** Christine (éd.), *Capitales ou villes d'appui ? Les petites villes et leurs campagnes du Moyen Âge au xxᵉ siècle*, Dijon, Éditions universitaires de Dijon, 2014, p. 21-42.

RAULIN Anne, *L'Ethnique est quotidien. Diasporas, marchés et cultures métropolitaines*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000.

SACK Robert D. (éd.), *Progress. Geographical Essays*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

SOJA Edward W., *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

SOUTHWOOD Nicholas, « Faisabilité et social justice », in **SAVIDAN** Patrick, *Dictionnaire des inégalités et de la justice sociale*, Paris, PUF, 2018, p. 558-566.

TALANDIER Magali, **JOUSSEAUME** Valérie, « Les équipements du quotidien en France : un facteur d'attractivité résidentielle et de développement pour les territoires ? », *Norois*, 226-1, 2013, p. 7-23.

TALLEC Josselin, « Les trajectoires économiques et les formes sociales de l'innovation dans les villes moyennes : les cas d'Albi (Midi-Pyrénées), d'Alès (Languedoc-Roussillon), de Fougères et de Quimper (Bretagne) », *Revue d'économie régionale et urbaine*, 2, 2012, p. 192-214.

TAULELLE François, « Faut-il encore se préoccuper des services publics dans les territoires hors métropoles ? », in **COURCELLE** Thibault, **FIJALKOW** Ygal, **TAULELLE** François (éd.), *Services publics et territoires. Adaptations, innovations et réactions*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, p. 21-30.

VANIER Martin, *Le Pouvoir des territoires. Essai sur l'inter-territorialité*, Paris, Economica, 2008.

VANIER M., *Demain les territoires. Capitalisme réticulaire et espace politique*, Paris, Hermann, 2015.

VLÈS Vincent, « Stations de ski en crise et construction territoriale en Catalogne française », *Revue de géographie alpine | Journal of Alpine Research*, 100-2, 2012 (https://doi.org/10.4000/rga.1815).