

Medium-sized Cities in the Age of Globalisation:
The Example of Reims and Leicester, 1980-2008

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by
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To my parents Tarek and Bernadette

and

to my sister H  la

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Inès Emilienne Emna Hassen

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Abstract

This thesis examines the response of two medium-sized cities, the French city of Reims and the English city of Leicester, to the challenges of globalisation that have intensified since the 1980s. The end of the long post-war economic boom marked by the mid-1970s economic crisis led to global changes that both cities encountered, such as deindustrialisation, the rise of unemployment, urban austerity and inner-city decline. The economic depression of the 1980s marked a turning point for the regeneration policies of Britain and France with municipalities looking to provide a better image of the city in order to adapt and resist the effects of globalisation. I argue that less prominent cities as opposed to ‘global’ or capital cities warrant detailed attention in the global context. Within the homogenous frame of globalisation, both cities adopted different strategies that depended on different political structures, as well as local governance and historical legacies. Recent debates on globalisation have emphasised a process of homogenisation that overlooks the changes that take place at a local level. Local contexts are an important index for understanding the impact of globalisation on the urban environment. The scholarly contribution of this research will enhance our understanding of medium-sized cities and the political, economic and cultural processes of adaptation within an age of globalisation.

List of Publications

Journal and conference papers

Hassen, I. and Giovanardi, M., 'The Difference of Being Diverse: City Branding and Multiculturalism in the Leicester Model', *Cities* (2017) [Article accepted].

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Hassen, I., 'What Donald Trump could learn from Leicester's immigration history' *Think Leicester* (20 February 2017), <http://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/press/think-leicester>

Hassen, I., 'The Foxes kicked off Leicester's global attraction', *Think Leicester* (17 May 2016), <http://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/press/think-leicester>

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List of abbreviations

AMCR	Archives Municipales Communautaires de Reims
AUDRR	Agence d'Urbanisme et d'Aménagement de la Région de Reims
BCR	Bibliothèque Carnegie Reims
CCI	Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie
CDEC	Commissions Départementales d'Equipeement Commercial
CIVC	Comité Interprofessionnel du Vin de Champagne
CIVIS	Contrat d'Insertion dans la Vie Sociale
CPE	Contrat Première Embauche
CPI	Contrat d'Insertion Professionnelle
DATAR	Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale
DSQ	Développement Social des Quartiers
EMA	East Midlands Airport
EU	European Union
FISAC	Fond d'Intervention pour la Sauvegarde de l'Artisanat et du Commerce
INSEE	Institut National de la Statique et de l'Etude Economique
HLM	Habitations à Loyer Modéré
LCCI	Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce and Industry
LABA	Leicestershire Asian Business Association
LRC	Leicester Regeneration Company
LVMH	Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
ROLLR	Records Office for Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PDU	Plan de Développement Urbain
PLH	Programme Local de l'Habitat
PME	Petites et Moyennes Entreprises
PRV	Pacte de Relance pour la Ville
PPG	Planning Policy Guidance
RMI	Revenu Minimum d'Insertion
RPR	Rassemblement pour la République
SMIC	Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel de Croissance

SNCF	Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français
TGV	Train à Grande Vitesse
TUR	Transport Urbain Rémois
TUC	Travaux d'Utilité Collective
UDF	Union pour la Démocratie Française
UDR	Union des Démocrates pour la République
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNR	Union pour la Nouvelle République
VAE	Validation des Acquis de l'Expérience
VAT	Value-Added Tax
VMC	Verreries Mécaniques de Champagne
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

Chapter One: Globalisation and New Urban Governance in France and Britain from 1980 until 2008

Through the examination of urban development initiatives and economic surveys of both Reims and Leicester (Maps 1.1 and 1.2), and in response to recent scholarly debates on globalisation, this thesis explores how these two medium-sized cities responded to the specific challenges of globalisation (e.g. the phenomena of deindustrialisation, social and economic inequality, geographical mobility, unemployment, social and political change, and work flexibility) from 1980 until 2008.

Map 1.1: Reims and the Champagne-Ardenne region.

Map 1.2: Leicester and the East Midlands.

The term ‘medium-sized city’ is vague: there is no established and precise definition to understand this hierarchy amongst cities, which depends not only on their size but also on their performance and functions. According to the European Commission, cities with a population of over 100,000 are considered to be medium-sized cities.¹ The Centre for Cities, in the United Kingdom, counted 26 medium-sized cities in England in 2013 with

¹ European Commission, *Europe's Cities: Community Measures in Urban Areas* (Luxembourg, 1997), p. 4.

250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants.² In France, according to *la Fédération des Villes Moyennes*, cities that contain 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants are considered to be medium-sized cities.³ It seems clear that the notion of ‘medium-sized cities’ is a matter of linguistic convenience as it refers to cities which are neither considered small localities nor those that possess important financial power or regional functions. Both Leicester, with 291,000 inhabitants in 1999, and Reims, with 187,181 inhabitants counted in the same year, should be classified therefore as mid-sized cities.⁴

David Harvey argues that the emergence of the neoliberal society inaugurated, in the 1970s, a period of important change. He argues that the transition from modernity to post-modernity led to the break-up of the Keynesian society system and the long post-war boom in 1973, which inaugurated ‘more flexible labour processes and markets, geographical mobility and rapid shifts in consumption practices.’⁵ By the 1970s, urban economic growth had clearly been affected by the effects of neoliberal capitalism and the levels of uncertainty that accompanied the intensified pace of globalisation. Although the United Kingdom was affected by the global economic recession sooner and faster than France, which was still benefitted from the post-war economic boom in the 1970s, in the 1980s the two countries were plunged into the full force of the economic recession.⁶ This post-industrial society was dominated by higher unemployment rate, inner-city deprivation, urban austerity, work flexibility measures and social exclusion.

While the post-war period was first characterized by central government initiatives to resolve regional disparities, more recently national governments have become concerned with cities and their economic decline.⁷ As a result, the 1980s marked a new era in both French and British urban policy initiatives: with the encouragement of central

² Centre for Cities, ‘Mid-sized cities’ (10 June 2013), <http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/mid-sized-cities/> [Accessed on 11 August 2016].

³ Le Courrier, ‘Rebaptisée « Villes de France », la Fédération des Villes Moyennes voit son avenir en grand’ (19 April 2014), <http://www.courrierdesmaires.fr/> [Accessed 11 August 2016].

⁴ Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Regions in Figures: East Midlands* (London, 2000), p. 3; Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE) Champagne-Ardenne, ‘La périurbanisation au sein du SCOT de la région Rémoise’ (January 2013), http://www.insee.fr/fr/insee_regions/champagne-ardenne/themes/ [Accessed 11 August 2016].

⁵ D. Harvey, *The Condition of Post-modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1990), p.12.

⁶ C. Couch, O. Sykes and W. Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The Importance of Context and Path Dependency’, *Progress in Planning*, 75, no.1 (2011), p. 8.

⁷ P. Self, *Planning the Urban Region: A Comparative Study of Policies and Organizations* (London, 1982), p. 93.

governments, local authorities attempted to redefine the city's role within a context of deindustrialisation and enterprise culture. Within an increasing global world, the urban policy initiatives of both countries gave a new impetus to the specific role of the urban and stressed the resurgence of the cities' local identity.⁸

During this period, a stronger interest emerged to provide a better image of the city, which paved the way for the development of new regeneration policies.⁹ Indeed, the desire from the local authorities to adapt, resist and innovate in the age of globalisation was one of the fundamental characteristics in urban policy from the 1980s in both France and Britain. Not only does my research contribute to an appreciation of the contrary and ambivalent forces of globalisation by considering the global and local interplay but it will also enhance an understanding of medium-sized cities in the age of global transformations. The academic discussion on globalisation currently focuses mainly on a select range of global cities such as Paris, Tokyo, New York, London and Berlin, ignoring the challenge of numerous less significant cities in a context of a globally changing world. This research has, therefore, examined how the city-officials of both Reims and Leicester adapted to the specific challenges of globalisation whilst promoting and enhancing the specifics of a distinct urban culture.

Literature review

The post-war urban policies of both France and Britain revealed a similar ambition to economically boost depressed regions where a new form of urban regional planning aimed to regulate and manage land development. In Britain, a Royal Commission report established in 1940, called the Barlow Report, came to the conclusion that the increasing industrial growth of London and the major cities was a social and an economic problem which created a spatial balance in the country. This report influenced future urban planning policy in Britain which led to post-war regional development giving more attention to depressed areas. The Town and Country Planning act was created in 1947

⁸ Smith explains in his work, 'Power in Place: Retheorizing the Local and the Global', that the local has often been defined as the cultural place of identity and community as opposed to the process of globalisation [Smith quoted in J. Eade and C. Mele, *Understanding the City: Contemporary and Future Perspectives* (Oxford, 2002), p. 110].

⁹ Self clearly determines important phases in urban policies of both France and Britain since 1945. The post-war period was first characterized by government initiatives to resolve regional disparities. Then, more recently, governments became focused on cities and economic decline. Urban schemes were more focused on a local level rather than on the regional level. [See Self, *Planning the Urban Region*, p. 92].

with the attempt to control the land used by developing a model of planning permission under local authority control. In comparison, Jean-François Gravier, in *Paris et le Désert Français*, stressed in 1947 the economic vacuum of France created by the industrial expansion in Paris at the expense of other French cities. By then, the creation of industries in French provincial cities was the main objective for the French government in order to create an economic balance in the country. By 1963, the *Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale* (DATAR) was created with the aim to redress the regional economic imbalance in France.¹⁰

The post-war period was characterised by regional modernisation in both France and Britain, which took place in a context where faith in the welfare state and optimism about economic growth prevailed. Whilst provincial cities gained more importance in the urban planning agenda, both French and British local authorities were urged to re-dynamize and renew the old post-war cities through slum clearance and modernisation plans.¹¹ By the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, many British cities were competing for government funding while establishing entrepreneurial and marketing strategies to work in partnership with the private sector to lead large renewal projects such as public infrastructure and road schemes.¹² As Peter Shapely argues, the concept of entrepreneurial city 'is part of a long historical process that has its origins in the nineteenth century, but which becomes markedly significant from the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s'.¹³ While entrepreneurial strategies and urban competition became apparent in post-war British urban governance, 'the 1960s was often depicted as the golden age of planning' where urban policy was characterized by the revaluation of the urban space through large-scale modernisation plans in both France and Britain.¹⁴ A similar concern emerged in the two countries to erase the old agenda and the relic of the war's trauma by leading renewal plans, more particular, in the city centre with the incentive to enhance civic pride.

¹⁰ J. F. Gravier, *Paris et le Désert Français* (Paris, 1972), p. 93.

¹¹ C. Couch, O. Sykes and W. Borstinghaus, 'Thirty years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The Importance of Context and Path Dependency', *Progress in Planning*, 75, no.1 (2011), p. 2.

¹² P. Shapely, 'The Entrepreneurial City: The Role of the Local Government and City Centre Redevelopment in Post-war Industrial English cities', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22, no.4 (2012), p. 514.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ I. Hassen, 'The City Centre Renewal Plans of both Leicester and Reims in the 1960s', MA dissertation (University of Leicester, 2011), p. 8.

Reims and Leicester ‘emerged from the Second World War in a comparatively favourable position’ with little war destruction. Urban planners such as Konrad Smigielski, in Leicester, and Maurice Rotival, in Reims, established during the 1960s specific and ambitious urban proposal plans for their respective city and their urban centre with the view to increase local urban identity, attract visitors, shoppers and investors by adapting the urban to present needs.¹⁵ Konrad Smigielski aimed in the 1960s to rehabilitate the Market in Leicester city centre with new roofs as well as to rehabilitate the pedestrian route of New Walk, built during the Georgian period. He was not afraid to cross the boundaries of innovation: in 1964, he aimed to introduce ‘a coach of train run by elevated beam ways’ in the city centre, called a monorail.¹⁶ In Reims, Maurice Rotival’s plan, published in 1965, expressed his aim to extend the city through the construction of multi-storey buildings in the peripheral district of the city, which was in line with the government’s post-war goal for real estate development. He also planned to create new roadways and to lead renewal schemes in the city centre.¹⁷

While the spirit for ambitious projects was on the horizons, the British industrial economy had already started showing signs of fluctuation as early as 1950, which marked the beginning of a long phase of decline. This early economic vicissitude plunged the country sooner than France into the full force of economic restructuring following the first oil crisis in 1973. By the late 1970s, France was still experiencing post-war economic prosperity whereas the UK began the process of post-industrial economic shift where ‘unemployment was significantly higher and GDP per capita significantly lower than’ any other Western European country.¹⁸

Despite the post-war British industrial fragility, Leicester had since the interwar period built a reputation for being a great and prosperous industrial city with strong and diverse manufacturing centres, such as in textiles, hosiery and engineering, and so industrial decline was not looming in the 1960s. In fact, the city’s long-standing firms remained strong until the early 1970s and at that time, a complete industrial decline could not even

¹⁵ I. Hassen, ‘The City Centre Renewal Plans of both Leicester and Reims in the 1960s’, pp. 5, 18 & 19.

¹⁶ K. Smigielski, *Leicester Traffic Plan: Report on Traffic and Urban Policy* (Leicester, 1964), p.70.

¹⁷ A. Coscia-Moranne, *Reims un Laboratoire pour l’Habitat* (Broche, 2006), p. 38.

¹⁸ S. Gunn and C. Hyde, ‘Post-Industrial Place, Multicultural Space: The Transformation of Leicester, c. 1970 1990’, *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 8, no.2 (2013), pp. 96 & 97; Couch, Sykes and Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France’, p. 8.

be imagined.¹⁹ In the unprecedented turmoil of de-industrialisation, Leicester's local authorities would have to find new strengths to revitalise its economic dynamism. On the other hand, Reims' wool industry started to collapse by the 1950s, which gradually prepared the city to the forthcoming international economic recession and economic changes of the 1970s. Furthermore, during the same decade, the champagne industry expanded at an increasing pace by experiencing a boom in exportation, a useful competitive asset used locally to promote the city's image globally.²⁰

The destabilisation of the international economy during the 1970s had caused the end of economic optimism and had led to a long period of unemployment that marked a turning point in the urban planning direction making of France and Britain. The economic recession that followed the two oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, the influence of more assertive neoliberal ideologies and the increased pace of globalisation are the most significant factors that contributed to the direction of urban regeneration in both France and Britain. In fact, this period had paved the way for a new phase where, by the 1980s, both France and Britain were both experiencing the turmoil of this economic restructuring and governments had to respond to a multitude of challenges posed by the intensification of globalisation such as adapting to a service base economy while tackling growing unemployment rate, urban poverty and decline. Furthermore, a more ferocious urban competition combined with increasing entrepreneurial outlook and intensive use of marketing strategies in urban planning were other aspects both national and local governments needed to adapt to.

The literature on urban policy in both France and Britain is an extensive field covering new urban management and governance that emerged during the 1980s. This review identifies several themes, including the urban policy approaches taken in France and Britain from 1980 as well as contemporary debates regarding globalisation and its impact on the cities. This historiography is divided into two parts. The first one focuses on the urban policy changes made in both Britain and France since 1980 with the rediscovering of the inner cities and the process of decentralization. The second part analyses the scholarly definitions of the term globalisation and the major contemporary discussions of

¹⁹ Gunn and Hyde, 'Post-Industrial Place, Multicultural Space', p. 97.

²⁰ P. Deportes, *Histoire de Reims* (Privat, 1991), p. 400.

its consequences on the urban environment. The notion of global cities and the impact of global forces on the local are recurrent themes.

Urban policy changes in Britain and France

Rob Atkinson and Graham Moon focus, in their book *Urban Policy in Britain: The City, the State and the Market*, on the evolution of urban policy within the Conservative approaches of Margaret Thatcher and John Major. These authors give a detailed review of all the legislation implemented under the New Right principles with a particular stress on enterprise culture in dealing with urban regeneration.²¹ In 1979, the election of Thatcher led to a neoliberal revolution where the welfare state, was challenged. Thatcher aimed to limit the power of local authorities *vis-à-vis* the central power. By the time the Conservatives won the election in 1979, certain urban problems remained unresolved: deindustrialisation, unemployment, low economic rates, and poverty. Thatcher showed a real commitment for the inner city which was one of the main characteristics of the 1980s' urban policy under the Conservatives. Atkinson and Moon argue that from 1979 to 1990 the Conservatives hugely influenced the urban planning redirection in Britain by its capitalist and enterprise thinking that meant the private sector would be the key for urban regeneration since there was a strong desire to both put an end to the post-war bureaucratic forms of socialism and to launch an entrepreneurial culture into cities.

By 1979 the aim was to re-centralise the state, leading local authorities to become more dependent on central government. Furthermore, most governmental choices were freed from local government authorities in a context of urban competition.²² The Urban Development Corporation and the Enterprise Zones were the two major significant initiatives in the Planning and Land Act of 1980. The Urban Development Corporation would encourage the creation of new enterprises and recreation of existing industry in order to secure urban regeneration.²³

Atkinson and Moon give a detailed account of the fundamental turning point that occurred in urban policy during the 1980s when urban policies were clearly focused on the increasing involvement of the private sector and economic competitiveness. They also

²¹ R. Atkinson and G. Moon, *Urban Policy in Britain: The City, the State and the Market* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 90.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

consider that the 1980s corresponded to a rapid mutation in Britain and that the national economic, political and social situations strongly influenced the type of urban regeneration and policy. They present a good account of all the legislative choices and initiatives. The aim was to create a less bureaucratic style of central and local government that would allow cities to adapt in a global economy and that considered them as the key to regeneration.

Peter Newman and Andy Thornley also underline the fact that the Thatcher era strongly influenced the type of urban policies in Britain that brought new approaches to urban regeneration.²⁴ The 1990s clearly marked a redirection in urban policy- the introduction of the City Challenge Programme created in 1990 by Major was a turning point in the Conservative's urban policy as they partially gave back some initiatives to the local authorities. According to Newman and Thornley, the post-Thatcher years maintained a strong market influence which remained in the heart of the British urban agenda.²⁵ However, Newman and Thornley fail to give us a clear understanding of the new urban policy perspective of the 1990s and the post-Thatcher's era of the late 1990s, considered to mark a significant shift following Thatcher's enterprise approach. That is why, in order to further understand the shift that occurred during the 1990s, Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell identified two phases within the neoliberal process. The first one is the 'roll back' where the state dismantled the Keynesian institutions that corresponded to the Thatcher years. This phase was followed by a second one called the 'roll-out' where new institutions and new policies were created as a response to the failing effects of the Thatcherism.²⁶ This identification of two distinctive phases enables us to conceive new urban perspectives during the post-Thatcher era.

Craig Johnstone and Mark Whitehead offer an interesting view in their book, *New Horizons in British Urban Policy*, on the new shift that occurred during the 1990s in British urban policy that allows for a better understanding of Peck and Tickell's idea of the so-called 'roll back' phase. By the 1990s urban policies in Britain became more engaged towards local strategies that stressed a new concept of localism. The general election victory of the New Labour party in 1997 re-established and changed the relation

²⁴ P. Newman and A. Thornley, *Urban Planning in Europe: International Competition, National Systems and Planning Projects* (London, 1996), p. 125.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 126.

²⁶ J. Peck and A. Tickell, 'Neoliberalizing Space', *Antipode*, 34, no.3 (2002), p. 390.

between the central government and local authorities. This new relationship led to the development of a new vision of cities as the principal motors in the economic recovery. It is evident too that cities were no longer considered as being the problematic source for national economic decline but rather as the solution and the motor in order to boost national economic growth. By 1999, the publication of the report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* by the architect Richard Rogers established the objectives of the urban policy proposed by the New Labour party which stressed a vision of cities as pleasurable and prosperous for the well-being of citizens. The vision of inner-city in decline was replaced by a new description of cities as being spaces of hope rather than spaces of disorder.²⁷

Johnstone and Whitehead give us a good analysis of the change in political mentalities that occurred in the late 1990s. Cities were not seen as the problem of economic recession but as the solution to national decline. The New Labour urban policy in Britain was to promote a positive urban vision and to develop desirable and attractive city centres. The aim was to combine the cultural capital and economic capital of cities in order to enable them to assert their profile in a global world. The new Labour government managed a real assimilation of the Conservatives' heritage. Through an entrepreneurial mode of economic development, they aimed for social inclusion within inner cities. The major change by the late 1990s and 2000s was the conciliation of both economic competition and social well-being with the attempt to integrate people into their own city. By restoring the city's credibility, Tony Blair's government gave new hope and new impetus for the future of inner-cities that were seen as the heart of national economic success. This system did not go against the Conservatives' approaches but rather represented an assimilation of the Conservative's heritage.

Similarly to Britain, most French cities were the source of concern for the local authorities by the 1970s. According to Claude Chaline, cities were the place of state interventionism but also the place of poverty. French policy had original characteristics in its choice of approach with the aim to assert solidarity within a system of multi-partnership between the state and local authorities. The *Contrat de Ville* programme, for example, was jointly established in 1989 by the state and the local authorities in order to revitalize depressed

²⁷ C. Johnstone and M. Whitehead, *New Horizons in British Urban Policy: Perspectives on New Labour's Urban Renaissance* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 3.

areas. By 1994, 214 *Contrats Ville-Etat* were created and from 2000 to 2006 247 had been set up.²⁸ The city was becoming the major preoccupation of the public authorities as by the 1980s there was a real concern emanating from the state to solve socio-economic problems with social intervention measures. By comparison to Britain, urban initiatives in France were led by a social obligation to help citizens to improve their living and financial conditions through the provision of welfare services and payments.

Vivien Schmidt underlines that the French state had not led market capitalist reforms but rather ‘moved from “state-led” capitalism to a kind of “state-enhanced” capitalism’.²⁹ Despite some neoliberal initiatives with policies of privatization under François Mitterrand’s left government in 1981 and Jacques Chirac’s right government in 1995 the French state cannot be considered as fully market-oriented in the same sense as Britain. The French state had not totally abandoned its welfare approaches and was combining neoliberal initiatives with social interventions. This is clearly noticeable in urban policy initiatives, such as the improvement and expansion of council houses (HLM: *Habitations à Loyer Modéré*) with the aim of enhancing people’s living conditions. Rather than promoting urban economic competition as Britain did, the French state was activating social well-being to solve urban problems.

Mustafa Dikeç reflects on Schmidt’s idea in depth to further argue that the key difference between the French state and the British state was that the ‘republican tradition emphasized the active role of the state for the well-being of its citizens.’³⁰ Dikeç argues that France ‘has followed the political rationality of the republican tradition, and not that of neoliberalism, which seeks to extend and disseminate market values.’³¹ The French state has intensified its social interventions through numerous urban policies aiming for social cohesion. The *Développement Social des Quartiers* (DSQ) implemented in 1982, aimed to deal with social, educative, economic and political problems in the inner-cities. The idea was to help deprived areas and priority neighbourhoods to integrate the people within their own city.

²⁸ C. Chaline, *Les Politiques de la Ville* (Paris, 2010), p. 50.

²⁹ V. Schmidt, ‘French Capitalism Transformed, Yet Still a Third Variety of Capitalism’, *Economy and Society*, 32, no.4 (2003), p. 526.

³⁰ M. Dikeç, ‘Two Decades of French Urban Policy: From Social Development of Neighbourhoods to the Republican Penal State’, *Antipode*, 38, no.1 (2006), p. 76.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

By the early 1990s the aim was to enhance the neighbourhood and city-region connection by creating a new form of solidarity and inter-communal cohesion. The establishment of the Besson law of 1990 and the *Loi de Dotation de Solidarité Urbaine* of 31 May 1991, aimed to encourage inter-communal solidarity with donations of funds from richer cities and towns to others with economic and social problems.³² However, the 1990s marked a major change with less state intervention and an attempt for a more repressive approach to deal with the *malaise des banlieues* (suburbs' difficulties), especially with the arrival of the right-wing Chirac government in 1995. Indeed, this was noticeable with the *Pacte de Relance pour la Ville* (PRV) created in 1996 by Juppé's government which aimed for economic success. According to Dikeç: 'The PRV was arguably the closest French urban policy got to a neoliberal approach, with a shift in focus from solidarity between communes to economic success within strictly defined spaces of intervention.'³³ Dikeç presents a decent understanding of the way social intervention in France was well anchored in its urban regeneration schemes despite some attempts towards neoliberal initiatives by the 1990s. There is no denying that the French urban policy reflected the idea of a growing Republican nationalism well established in the urban agenda. The main objective of the French government was to find solutions to *la crise des banlieues* (suburban crisis) and prevent the development of communitarian groupings and ghettos.

Although Britain and France had different approaches in urban policy, decentralisation and the rise of local democracy became a common practice. In 1981, the election of the Socialists was a turning point which emphasized the will for change and progress in France. The government implemented more state intervention and nationalization. Mitterrand promoted initiatives of autonomy and gave more scope to local authorities' initiatives. Michael Keating and Paul Hainsworth highlight in their book the implementation of decentralization which was, in Mitterrand's own words, a means to give the state back to the citizens. They argue that decentralization in France corresponded to the development of local associative life and the strengthening of autonomous communes. They suggest that 'decentralization came into the political agenda in France partly for ideological reasons but partly because of the recognition that centralization was sapping the capacity of the French state itself for adaptation and

³² Ibid., p. 70.

³³ Ibid., p. 79.

change.’³⁴ Also, decentralization ‘could free the centre from the pressures of local politics.’³⁵ Indeed, local communities were viewed as pressure groups enabling the central government to act properly. However, the delegation of power certainly corresponded to new modes of urban governance in the early 1980s. Keating and Hainsworth describe a system still in its infancy during the early 1980s, considered as the prime objective of the Mitterrand presidency.³⁶

Emmanuel Heyraud allows for a better understanding of the long-term decentralization process which turned out to be a real success in enabling the central government to be more responsive to meet social issues. He presents the view that the decentralization policy of 1982 aimed to bring urban issues closer to citizens thus paving the way for more participation from local inhabitants. Furthermore, with the process of decentralization in 1982 under Mitterrand’s mandate, mayors obtained more autonomy in decision making which explains the multiplication of *DSQ* from 1984 to 1988.³⁷ In October 1999, the first *Contrat de Ville* was signed for the period 2000-06 and 1300 inner-city neighbourhoods were selected for this initiative implemented between the state and localities.³⁸ In France, a growing partnership between local and central government clearly emerged. Heyraud states that there was a wish by the central government to promote a local democratic ideal where popular participation in public affairs would encourage the practice of good governance and stability. In France, decentralization implied the notion of the collective good and the empowerment of the individual to gain more autonomy. This enhanced the politics of place and local renewal by giving more power to *la ville* (local authorities) and thereby allowing them to support communities more effectively.

In Britain, a fundamental change also occurred. The central government allowed for more freedom to the local authorities in their planning policies- for example the creation of City Challenge in 1990 under Major’s government. Philip Allmendinger and Mark Tewdwr-Jones draw a parallel between the Blair government and the New Right agenda by assessing that the planning and environmental policy left by the Major government paved the way for new political perspectives: ‘[t]he 1991 Planning and Compensation Act

³⁴ M. Keating and P. Hainsworth, *Decentralisation and Change in Contemporary France* (Aldershot, 1986), p. 135.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ E. Heyraud, *La Politique de la Ville : Maîtriser les Dispositifs et les Enjeux* (Berger-Levrault, 2012), p. 27.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

introduced what was termed ‘local choice’ and a shift away from the “anti-planning” sentiments of the 1980s to what appeared to be a far more “pro-planning” plan-led approach.’³⁹ The short-lived Thatcherism deregulation system opened the window to the idea of local choice by the early 1990s under Major’s government. An attempt to transfer responsibility in decision making from the central government to local authorities was set up in the late 1980s by the Conservative ‘New Right’. This system echoed the transfer of responsibility from the central government to the region in the late 1990s during Blair’s government.⁴⁰ In Britain, a form of local empowerment used as a new tool of governance was the pivot of urban restructuring and new urban management changes.

The literature on urban policies gives us a detailed account on the choices of approach in both France and Britain during the 1980s. The international economic recession led to a strong governmental commitment to redress the negative image of cities and, more particularly, the inner-city neighbourhoods to solve unemployment, social disparities and racism. Within this similar economic situation, the choices of urban policies in both France and Britain clearly differed. France did not follow a neoliberal form of urban policy in the same sense as Britain, the emphasis was not put on economic success but on the idea of integrating people to the common culture and identity of the Republic. From a strong neoliberal approach during the 1980s to more social interventions in the late 1990s and 2000s, Britain favoured markets and small business development as the key for urban regeneration and integration. However, by the 1980s in France and by the 1990s in Britain, social inclusion had become the new focus where collective affairs paved the way for new urban governance. Decentralization in both France and Britain reflected a trend that was prevalent in the Western world. It could be considered as a means for the local authorities to deal with the new social and economic disorganization, dismantlement and severity of the global world. As a result, public interest was seen as the major focus and seemed to be essential to allow for a stable form of governance in this open economy and neoliberal context. A more equal distribution of power for the local authorities would lead them to be more autonomous and would enhance their global aspirations.

Rather than focusing only on the general urban policy development, this thesis explores how the local authorities of two medium-sized cities planned their urban schemes within

³⁹ P. Allmedinger and M. Tewdwr-Jones, ‘New Labour, New Planning? The Trajectory of Planning in Blair’s Britain’, *Urban Studies*, 37, no.8 (2000), p. 1384.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1397.

this uncertain economic context. This thesis contributes to past research on urban policies by analysing the way the different authorities planned and reshaped their cities' physical surroundings in order to better situate their city's identity within this new global context. This research demonstrates how the local authorities restructured not only their urban economy but also the urban physical structure of both Reims and Leicester in order to fit into this global world. Furthermore, it analyses the different means used by the respective local authorities to create a successful and attractive city in the age of globalisation.

Globalisation and its impact on cities

The historiography on globalisation over the past few decades has been widely discussed showing that the concept is complex. However, scholars' views on the subject differ, with all agreeing that any definition of globalisation is challenging. The word global 'is over 400 years old' and the use of the words "globalisation", "globalize" and "globalizing" did not begin until 1960.⁴¹ The concept of globalisation is new yet the process of globalisation is older. It is not a new phenomenon and has a long historical background (the discovery of the New World in the fifteenth century or the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century). However, since the 1960s the process has dramatically enhanced in pace. Malcolm Waters argues that by the 1960s the term 'global' had obtained a more significant meaning. Thus, it is unsurprising that Marshall McLuhan compared the world in 1960 to a global village in *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, referring to the world community as part of a whole thanks to the boom of effective communication.⁴² McLuhan lays emphasis on electronic mass media which enabled people to communicate on a global scale. One can note the reconsideration of time and space in the process of globalisation.

With McLuhan's critical view in mind, Martin Albrow defined globalisation as 'all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society.'⁴³ However, this statement could be questioned as its effects are not felt equally around the world and have varying consequences for different global regions. Globalisation has recently intensified itself and as Waters points out this process 'is cotermporal with modernization and the development of capitalism'.⁴⁴ Anthony Giddens

⁴¹ M. Waters, *Globalization* (Hoboken, 2nd ed., 2002), p. 2.

⁴² M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (London, 1962), p. 31.

⁴³ M. Albrow, *Globalization, Knowledge and Society: Readings from International Sociology* (London, 1990), p. 9.

⁴⁴ Waters, *Globalization*, p. 6.

argues in *The Consequences of Modernity* that 'modernity is inherently globalizing' and stresses the fact that globalisation is a consequence of modernity. He defines globalisation as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which connect distant locations such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.'⁴⁵ According to Giddens, globalisation corresponds to a stretching process where different regions of the world are linked to become part of a whole.

Roland Robertson's approach is different from that of Giddens. According to Robertson 'globalisation is not equated with or seen as a direct consequence of modernity. Rather it should be seen as a very long, uneven and complicated process.'⁴⁶ Robertson defines globalisation as a concept which refers 'to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.'⁴⁷ Globalisation is a process resulting from interconnectedness and interdependence. According to him, the nature of globalisation corresponds to a consciousness of the global and an awareness of the global situation in the world arena. The idea of wholeness is also emphasised in Robertson's analytical framework. Waters' definition of globalisation is close to Robertson: 'globalization is a social process in which the constraints of geography or social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.'⁴⁸ This definition also implies the aspect of interconnection and interdependence. Waters focuses his analysis on three globalisations: economic, political and cultural. Global flow structures and organizes society: '[m]aterial exchanges localize, political exchanges internationalize and symbolic exchanges globalize.'⁴⁹ Cultural economy is central to Water's definition of globalisation as the cultural flows, such as 'work norms, dress, sets of rules and so on', globalise and become accessible by traversing boundaries.⁵⁰ He highlights the fact that culture and economy are closely linked. According to Waters, culture becomes industrialised, commodified and provides the image of the product. The economy corresponds to the market place where commodities are sold. As with Robertson, Waters makes us aware of the process of globalisation. The opening out of the world and the speeding up of cultural flows are the

⁴⁵ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 64.

⁴⁶ R. Robertson, *Globalization Social Theory and Global Culture* (London, 1992), p. 8.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Waters, *Globalization*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

main focus of Waters. However, his central idea differs from the other authors as he does not refer to globalisation as a whole but rather to the plurality of globalisation with three processes.

The nature of globalisation appears to be multifaceted and multidimensional: there is no single globalisation but several globalisations referring to technology, economy and culture. However, there is no denying that globalisation as a multi-dimensional process also implies the notion of sameness, wholeness, as well as openness and interconnectivity. Globalisation not only operates at a macro level phenomenon but also at a micro level affecting our everyday life.

Globalisation, capitalism, liberalization and technologies have clearly manifested themselves in cities that are the nodes of the stretching process. As a result, examining globalisation and cities would allow for the acknowledgment of this transformative economic but also political, cultural and sociological change in the contemporary urban environment. Locality, community and identity were seen by most scholars to be jeopardized in this informal process of globalisation, yet by the 1980s began to become fundamental issues to debates in the field of social sciences.

The phrase, 'world cities', was first introduced by Patrick Geddes in *Cities in Evolution* (1915) in which certain great cities were considered as world cities thanks to their importance as financial and business centres. However, by the 1980s, with the acceleration of the globalisation process, scholars interpreted 'world city' as referring to a great metropolis with attendant economic and political power. Although indicators of world cities still remain unclear, 'world cities literature' is a large terrain and raises many questions with regards to our contemporary world.

In 1986, John Friedmann argued that 'the world city hypothesis is about the spatial organization of the new international division of labour.'⁵¹ These cities have unique features because they are considered to be major 'control centres for world capital accumulation.'⁵² Friedmann postulated a world city hierarchy whereby world cities are ranked according to their financial importance, manufacturing output and transport link

⁵¹ J. Friedmann, 'The World City Hypothesis' in P. Knox and P. Taylor (eds), *World Cities in a World-System* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 317.

⁵² Ibid.

In 1991, Saskia Sassen also defined the main indicators of a global city according to the level of financial and service producing domination. Sassen explains the process of globalisation according to the multiplication of economic exchanges, increasing fluidity in investments, and the establishment of firms all around the world. According to Sassen, a global city is identified by huge corporate concentration of head offices and efficient service sectors such as consulting, finance, advertisement or accountancy.⁵³ Global cities only exist within an urban network which correspond to the centre of the world economy but are also complementary and interconnected with one another within a stretching process. For Sassen, a global city is identified according to the level of financial and business services. The decline of manufacturing paved the way for capitalist financial dominance and the increasing development of the service sector. A city is not global according to its own wealth but because of its participation in the global economy network thanks to 'key banking functions'.⁵⁴ By using the examples of Tokyo, London and New York, three major world cities of financial domination, Sassen argues that a wealthy city that is self-sufficient does not correspond to the criteria of a global city. Its influence must result from their role in the global economy network rather than local wealth. Sassen's theory gives a better understanding of the phenomenon of globalisation at an urban level, emphasizing the particularity and specificity of global cities that represent important financial places within a worldwide economic network.

John Rennie Short and Kim Yeong-Hyun are more critically concerned with the impact of globalisation upon cities in the late twentieth century. According to them, 'the uneven process of globalization in geographical terms can be observed in the disparity between developed and developing economies, booming and declining regions, and world and non-world cities.'⁵⁵ For Short and Yeong-Hyun, globalisation has increased disparities between cities; there are winners and losers in the development of global capitalism. Indeed, 'places which are more global have a much better chance to take advantage of globalization processes, while less global places are, relatively and sometimes absolutely losing ground.'⁵⁶ As Short and Yeong-Hyun underscore, globalisation has aggravated regional disparities. According to them world cities are defined as 'control, command and management centres that orchestrate global manufacturing production, financial

⁵³ S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Oxford, 2001), p. 115.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 126.

⁵⁵ J. R. Short and K. Yeong-Hyun, *Globalization and the City* (London, 1999), p. 6.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

transactions, producer services and telecommunications networks.⁵⁷ By echoing Sassen's theory Short and Yeong-Hyun point out the spatial and geographic implication of the urban in a context of worldwide economy.

Discussion on globalisation and cities in the 1990s further brought to the fore this framework of societal change. Manuel Castells defined the 'new age' as an era with a marked shift from industrialism to post-industrialism to informationalism. For Castells, cities are defined by their networks and gain power thanks to the process which links markets into a single world network. According to Castells, 'the global city phenomenon cannot be reduced to a few cores at the top of a hierarchy. It is a process that connects advanced services, producer centres, and markets in a global network.'⁵⁸ Castells also highlights the aspect of openness, interdependence and interconnection among national economies, transnational production with improved global telecommunication and infrastructure where cities are the in the heart of this contemporary phenomenon. He also gives credence to the aspects of local community and place that are lost in the cyberspace economy where flow of information, capital, and of technology dominate. As a result, cities are interconnected with one another.

The role of the city's interconnectivity and interdependence of flows with the global economy and telecommunication networks appear then to determine a city's rank in the context of globalisation, and to be fundamental to their role within a context of globally changing roles. However, focusing only on a city's external relation rather than its internal assets undermines its status. What clearly constitutes a global city will remain unclear because cities possess diverse characteristics. Much attention has been given to the economic aspect of cities and spatial changes. Establishing an urban hierarchy according to a set of restrictive indicators means that the concept of a global city is delimited on the basis of economic analysis. Scholars have to date failed to demonstrate that the urban experience is multi-dimensional. Where globalisation is concerned, one generally refers to a prescriptive range of cities. The concept of a global city is not detailed or expansive enough on a micro level. As a result, this research gives far more attention to numerous significant medium-sized or second-tier cities' challenges in the context of globalisation: Did they manage to distinguish themselves and thrive in a global changing world? There

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁸ M. Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford, 1996), p. 380.

is no denying that cities such as Reims and Leicester do not have urban capacity to participate as Tokyo or London in the globalisation experience. Nevertheless, this thesis examines how Reims and Leicester have managed to succeed as competitive regional capitals. Contrary to certain scholars who do not give a specific account of the plurality of the urban world, this research will challenge their black-and-white definition of a global city by examining how less prominent cities fared economically and socially in a globalised world. As a result, this research analyses what kind of measure city officials of both Reims and Leicester were trying to set up at the economic, but also social and cultural level in order to be the pole of attraction.

Contrary to recent debates on global cities, a city's status is not only limited by their production and economic success but also determined by their cultural influence and identity. This thesis explores how second-tier cities can succeed by promoting their economic, social, cultural and urban influence. This diversification of criteria in the conceptualization of global cities will provide a nuanced understanding of how cities function in the context of globalisation. Not enough significance is attributed to the micro urban experience by theorists, such as Sassen and Castells, who relate the city to a virtual world or to virtual places where global flows dominate cities. The implication is that globalisation is seen to overshadow the relevance of the urban place and its own particularities.

Recent debates on the interplay between the global and the local have given more credence to the local as a place of meaningful territory, representing communities and face-to-face interaction as opposed to the capitalist space of globalisation. For example, the tension between space and place is well captured in Lefebvre's ideas with the space of capitalism compared to the abstraction that is involved in 'the world of commodities'.⁵⁹ Also, he states that 'the space is founded on the vast network of banks, business centres and major productive entities, as also on motorways, airports and information lattices.'⁶⁰ Lefebvre postulates that this abstract space of capitalism and neo-capitalism has led to the disintegration of cities.

Other authors such as Harvey or Castells highlight Lefebvre's theory by putting emphasis on the threat posed by the world of capitalism. Harvey represents the local 'social

⁵⁹ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991), p. 53.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

movement' as a meaningful territory existing outside the global flows of capitalism. He argues that '[c]apital, in short, continues to dominate, and it does so in part through superior command over space and time, even when opposition movements gain control over a particular place of a time.'⁶¹ Castells also identified a dichotomy and an antagonism between the local and the global where the place of cohesive community totally differs from the process of globalisation. Urban mobility was characterized as 'critical sources of resistance to the one-sided logic of capitalism, statism and informationalism.'⁶² Castells and Harvey's ideas are similar for both identify the local as a cultural and meaningful place existing outside the underlying logic of global capitalist flows via power and information. However, these authors both neglect to analyse the complex interplay between the global and the local as they establish a binary between local and global forces – the global is generally seen as a threat to the local.

Giddens and John Tomlinson, on the other hand, develop this view of threatening global forces. For Giddens, globalisation is seen in an optimistic light because of the increasing use of telecommunications, technology and world economy integration. Globalisation appears as a dynamic system – a force for change in modern societies. By dealing with technological and cultural aspects, Giddens gives us a different understanding of localness going beyond traditional discussions on the solely economic definition of globalisation. Giddens describes places as 'phantasmagoric' where the familiar is part of an 'organic development' and not unique to the local place.⁶³ According to him, local and global forces 'have become inextricably intertwined.'⁶⁴ The following illustrates his argument: '[t]he local shopping mall is a milieu in which a sense of ease and security is cultivated by the layout of the buildings and the careful planning of public places. Yet, everyone who shops there, is aware that most of the shops are chain stores, which one might find in any city, and indeed that innumerable shopping malls of similar design exist elsewhere.'⁶⁵ Local and artisanal shops have been replaced by supermarkets which mark the emergence and growth of global market forces. According to Giddens, modernity led to the experience of 'displacement'. He explains that 'a feature of displacement is our insertion into globalised cultural and information settings, which means that familiarity

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² M. Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford, 1997), p. 6.

⁶³ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 140.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 140 & 141.

and place are much less consistently connected than hitherto.’⁶⁶ Our private living spaces are part of a whole and are open to the world where the process of globalisation makes people aware of the loss of their local ownership of public spaces. Globalisation is a social phenomenon and seen as a long-term process which is closely linked to the reshaping effects of modernity in a world order.

Globalisation is a homogenising and transformative force that promotes the spread of Western and particularly American cultural products and practices (such as Hollywood films, fast food, Coca-Cola, shopping malls and chain stores) and leads to the loss of the local as a meaningful place. The idea of globalisation as a transformative process implies the notion of ‘displacement’ (for Giddens) or ‘deterritorialisation’ (for Tomlinson). In light of Giddens’ view, Tomlinson explores globalisation in a sociological and anthropological way by stressing the phenomenon of ‘deterritorialization’ of culture and ‘cultural imperialism’. Similar to Giddens, Tomlinson emphasises the aspect of proximity and homogenisation. According to Tomlinson, globalisation is a process of ‘complex connectivity’ in which culture is reconstructed and no longer fixed to a particular place. Both agree that globalisation is changing people’s way of life. However, Tomlinson develops Giddens’ idea by analysing in more detail the cultural consequences of globalisation. A cosmopolitan culture is emerging in our world that is having a detrimental effect on local cultural identities. Globalisation thus means a globalising culture that subsumes every aspect of life. According to him, deterritorialiation ‘weakens the ties of culture to place’ through its ‘penetration of local worlds.’⁶⁷ The term deterritorialisation of culture corresponds to the way localities are open to individuals of any culture. As a result of global forces, cities are losing their own characteristics and cultural prominence: ‘places that are changing around us and gradually, subtly, losing their power to define the terms of our existence.’⁶⁸

In parallel, since the late 1980s, scholars started to focus on the use of marketing techniques, which became more apparent in urban governance in order to convey a positive image of the city to outsiders as well as to engineer civic pride through the promotion of its culture heritage and local identity. Clair Colomb points out that ‘the structural economic changes which have affected Western industrialized economies since

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 141.

⁶⁷ J. Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 29.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

the 1970s have transformed the nature and intensity of place promotion practices.’⁶⁹ The intensification of globalisation has increased competition between cities and regions not only in terms of their economies but also in terms of their physical environment and their social fabric.⁷⁰ As a result, in order to be competitive, cities have to differentiate themselves and promote themselves using marketing techniques. As Gregory Ashworth and Henk Voogd point out, ‘the conscious application of marketing approaches by public planning agencies’ is a new practice, which is now perceived as ‘a philosophy of place management.’⁷¹ Marketing practices that had been initially developed in the United States became visible in Western European cities by the end of the 1980s, as various urban bodies – such as the public administration, the Chambers of Commerce and individual businesses and retailers – sought to take advantage of these new methods of advertising.⁷² Over the last decades, research on place branding started to emerge as the concept of branding did not only involve products but also became widely applied to cities by the 1990s. City branding, which resulted from cities’ attempts to make themselves more attractive to economic investors and to encourage the growth of tourism in the city, is difficult to define: Simon Anholt argues, ‘almost nobody agrees on what, exactly place branding means’.⁷³ However, Mihalis Kavaratzis recently pointed out that the concept of city branding is well established in marketing theories that have been adapted for cities.⁷⁴ While responding to the difficult challenges of globalisation, such as the phenomenon of deindustrialisation, social inequality, unemployment and inner-city decline, economic development agencies and local authorities relied on place branding to restore a positive image of the city. These strategies include developing promotional campaigns, slogans, logos, cultural events and festivals which reflect the identity of a place as well as promoting cities’ existing local assets and developing new iconic buildings.

The close link between global and local forces is a primary feature of the globalisation process. As a result, this research challenges the traditional dichotomy established to define these two forces, by exploring the extent to which one does not rule out the other.

⁶⁹ C. Colomb, *Staging the New Berlin: Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989* (London, 2012), p. 12.

⁷⁰ Patrick Le Galès quoted in Colomb, *Staging the New Berlin*, p. 12.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 59

⁷² C. Colomb, *Staging the New Berlin*, p. 14.

⁷³ T. Hauben, M. Vermeulen and V. Patteeuw (eds), *City Branding: Image Building and Building Images* (Rotterdam, 2002) p. 3; Anholt quoted in M. Kavaratzis, G. Warnaby and G. Ashworth (eds), *Rethinking Place Branding* (Springer, 2015), p. 14.

⁷⁴ M. Kavaratzis, ‘From City Marketing to City Branding’, *Place Branding*, 1, no.1 (2004), pp. 60 & 62.

This thesis analyses how the local and the global are not necessarily contradictory forces but rather are compatible. Contrary to Tomlinson and Giddens' view of globalisation, this work looks at how cities can promote a sense of local attachment through branding strategies and prioritize visions of community within their new localism urban policy initiatives.

The urban policies established from 1980 until 2008 in both France and Britain reflected governmental efforts to adapt to the changing realities of globalisation that disrupted society. The way governments reacted to this process of change, with local authorities re-evaluating their roles in order to better deal with globalisation, is an important aspect that is addressed in this thesis. The interplay between global and local is thus a recurrent theme in my research that is analysed further by revealing how medium-sized cities, such as Reims and Leicester, evolved from 1980 to 2008 with local authorities striking a balance within these two seemingly contrary forces.

Globalisation as a temporal frame

This research is a comparative study, which refers to recent scholarly debate on urban policy and globalisation. In order to further understand new urban governance that appeared in the 1980s, I have chosen the concept of globalisation as a key explanatory variable. In particular, I have examined the interaction of globalisation with local political structures and governance. More specifically, I have analysed the way the local authorities of Reims and Leicester dealt with this global force by attempting both to restructure their economies and create vibrant urban environments.

I am aware that this approach has some limitations as the concept of globalisation is a contested one with many different usages and it does not have universally accepted definition. Due to the complexity of establishing a definitive or a mutually agreed concept of globalisation, authors have tended to be concerned with one major aspect of globalisation - referring either to technology, culture or economy. This research has taken this issue into account. Hence, historical actors (i.e. local authorities, municipalities, local planners) do not articulate the aspect of globalisation in the 1980s - the term 'globalisation' is a new concept and it was never mentioned in the planning documents and council reports that have been examined throughout this research. Globalisation has increased in pace at a vast rate since the 1980s, with the development of more efficient

transport facilities, communication and technology. Although it is not a definitive concept, a homogeneous change is noticeable as its intensification and consequences in terms of deregulation, mobility, and migration are palpable, and so it is a difficult concept to overlook. This is why this research is based on Harvey's work, which proposes a shift to a neoliberal society in the 1970s and marks a turning point in the politics of Western nations. Furthermore, since globalisation and its impact on cities is the central concern of this work, I draw too from the work of Sassen and Friedmann.

I consider globalisation the best frame to understand the urban changes that have occurred since the 1980s. Nevertheless, I argue that the concept of globalisation is not a causal frame but rather a contextual one. My approach reveals that globalisation is not the only key driver in explaining urban transformation and challenges since the 1980s, as it also interacts with other local processes, such as local ideologies, urban governance and local political choices. In this respect, Dikeç's article is invaluable to this work since he demonstrates the influence of the Republican values in French urban policies as opposed to the market-led and neoliberal approach that dominates in Britain. In both France and England a new approach to urban regeneration became apparent by the 1980s with more operational and pragmatic urban planning. Although French and British urban initiatives showed significant convergences, both countries adopted different methods in dealing with urban regeneration. Social intervention was well anchored in France as the hallmark of the French state, whereas marketization, inherited since the Thatcher government's era, formed a neoliberal tradition in Britain. The impact of different ideologies on urban choices in the age of globalisation is the major theme of this research. The homogenous consequence of globalisation that interacts with different national, as well as local, structure of politics and governance offers insight into distinct urban transformations.

I should also mention Tomlinson and Giddens' work on the impact of global forces upon the local, which has helped me to build further research on the consequences of globalisation which, contrary to their respective arguments, does not have a totally negative impact on local identities. Indeed, recent debates have centred on whether globalisation will destroy local places or whether global cultural and cosmopolitan life will replace local culture and identity. However, this thesis does not reiterate a pessimistic vision of the consequences of globalisation but has rather revealed the complex interaction between the global and local forces through this transformative process.

This research goes beyond a definition of globalisation as a homogenizing process by exploring its nuanced effects at an urban level. It also challenges the current scholarly debates on globalisation by exploring how this process implies a double process of both homogenisation and differentiation. As a result, the scholarly research of Ashworth and Kavaratzis on the recent emergence of place marketing in the 1980s and the concept of city branding in the 1990s has been relevant in order to analyse the way of Reims' and Leicester's urban-local identity has operated and been resurgent.

The selection of cities

From the 1970s, Reims' and Leicester's local authorities predicted a considerable demographic growth for the 1980s. In 1975, the *Leicester Mercury* suggested that the population of the city would increase to 600,000 by 1986 and, over the same period in Reims, the local authorities were expecting to have a total population of 400,000 inhabitants in the 1980s.⁷⁵ Local optimism soon collapsed as the cities felt the full force of economic restructuring and failed to be as attractive as initially predicted. Indeed, the population of Leicester increased by only 2.5 per cent from 1981 to 2006 and the population of Reims also increased by 2.4 per cent from 1982 to 2008 (Tables 1.1 and 1.2). The local authorities had to tackle difficulties that emerged in a post-industrial era, partly due to the pressures of urban competition, high unemployment rates, deindustrialisation and urban deprivation.

⁷⁵ 'City centre car ban not feasible says surveyors', *Leicester Mercury*, 10 December 1975; P. Deportes, *Histoire de Reims* (Privat, 1991), p. 395.

Table 1.1: Reims' demographic change.

Years	1975	1982	1990	1999	2008
Reims	178,381	177,234	180,621	187,181	181,468

Source: INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, 'La périurbanisation au sein du SCOT de la région Rémoise' (January 2013), http://www.insee.fr/fr/insee_regions/champagne-ardenne/themes/ [Accessed 11 August 2016].

Table 1.2: Leicester's demographic change.

Years	1971	1981	1991	1999	2006
Leicester	285,000	283,000	285,000	291,000	290,000

Sources: 1971-1999: Office for National Statistics, *Regions in Figures: East Midlands* (London, 2000), p. 4; 2006: ONS, *Regional Trends* no.40 (London, 2008), p. 46.

The new neoliberal society had huge consequences in both cities, as since the 1970s there have been substantial closures within some of Reims' and Leicester's traditional industries. Reims and Leicester both pioneered new kinds of urban regeneration schemes and governance where the service industries have been the growth industries in the late 1980s. However, while experiencing a similar trend, these two cities were selected to form the empirical basis to this comparative study – they both embodied different dynamics of urban development in terms of diverse reactions to the effects of globalisation.

First of all, both cities intrinsically contain the characteristics of separate national ideologies, as underlined earlier in the literature review (neoliberal vs. republican context). Leicester, considered to be the most multicultural city in Britain, was once known for being the great industrial centre of the East Midlands and it suffered as a result of a declining industrial image.⁷⁶ As a result, market-led regeneration policies prevailed

⁷⁶ Leicester first welcomed Jewish refugees from Russia, escaping persecutions, in the middle of the nineteenth century, followed by the arrival of other Jews from Europe in the 1930s who were fleeing Nazi Germany. Then, the city experienced other migration flows from the Caribbean in the 1940-50s and from the Indian sub-continent in the 1950-60s. In the 1970s, the city welcomed persecuted Asian families from East Africa and in the 2000s, Somali refugees. These different migration groups had re-shaped the city's economic and cultural appeal. According to the 1991 census, its ethnic minority population accounted for 28.5 per cent of the population and this particular characteristic had forged Leicester's reputation of being a multi-racial city. The Leicester Demographic Profile report, published in 2008 by the Leicester City Council, stated that 'Leicester has the reputation for welcoming new arrivals and in recent years it has become a home to refugee and asylum seekers and others forced, or willing to emigrate from their homeland'. [Leicester City Council, *The diversity of Leicester: Demographic Profile* (Leicester, 2008), p. 11]; The Royal Town Planning Institute pointed out that Leicester 'has weathered the worst effects of the economic recession that so seriously affected the economic structure of many manufacturing based cities.' [The Royal Town Planning Institute, *Caring for cities-Town Planning's role* (Belfast, 1990), p. 32].

in Leicester, which then became more responsive to the new entrepreneurial spirit of globalisation. By comparison, social regeneration and an interventionist socialist culture prevailed in Reims and the city promoted its long historical tradition to cultivate a distinctive city image so as to attract tourism whilst exhibiting strong Republican values.⁷⁷ Secondly, the different geographic and demographic contexts from which they evolved were important factors in the decision-making of the local authorities. Reims, located in the north-east of France in the agricultural region of Champagne-Ardenne, is the biggest city in its region and does not encounter much in the way of local competition.⁷⁸ By contrast, Leicester, located in the industrial region of the East Midlands, is part of an important economic and industrial cluster called the three cities-sub area with Nottingham and Derby that geographically forms a triangle (Map 1.3).⁷⁹ Adding to this, the surrounding area of Leicester accounted for a higher population density: the county of Leicestershire contained 449 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1999. This is more than twice the density of the Pays Rémois, with 156.3 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1999 (Map 1.4).⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Reims plays a central role in the history of France. The Cathedral Notre-dame de Reims, completed in the thirteenth century, hosted the coronation of the kings of France: the city is renowned as '*la cité des sacres*' (the city of coronations). This famous historical monument gained further global recognition when it obtained World Heritage status from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1994. Adding to its historical character, Reims also contains particularly fine architecture. After the First World War, Reims was largely destroyed. However, the years 1920-30 were a period of reconstruction and the 'art-déco' style was used, especially in the city centre, to renew the city. It is important to note that Leicester also possesses a long historical tradition with its street patterns dating back to the medieval period. It also contains New Walk, a pedestrian road created during the Georgian period which is full of Victorian character. However, the difference with Reims is that Leicester did not rely on its historical assets as much as Reims did and the city did not possess any globally recognised historical monuments. In the minds of the public, Leicester is therefore not considered to be a 'historical town'.

⁷⁸ Châlons-en-Champagne, Epernay and Troyes are also important cities in the Champagne-Ardenne region. However, they are smaller and economically less prominent than Reims, and do not have the same cultural and economic status.

⁷⁹ According to the East Midlands Regional Local Government Association, the three cities sub-area is formed of Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. These similarly-sized cities, which had 236,000, 290,000 and 286,000 inhabitants respectively in 2006, 'form the focus of the sub-area and act as major administrative, commercial and cultural centres'. [Quotation from: ROLLR, G/Re/21/1, The East Midlands Regional Local Government Association, *Regional Guidance for the Spatial Development of the East Midlands: Consultation draft*, (unknown, 1998), p. 8].

⁸⁰ In the same way as Leicestershire, le Pays Rémois gathered many towns (Beine-Nauroy, Bourgogne, Fismes, Verzy and Villd-en-Tardenois) that are located at around twenty-five kilometres from Reims, and this conurbation is economically linked to Reims; AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 49.

Map 1.3: The three cities sub-area (Leicester, Nottingham and Derby).

Source: ROLLR, G/Re/21/1, The East Midlands Regional Local Government Association, *Regional Guidance for the Spatial Development of the East Midlands: Consultation draft* (unknown, 1998), p. 55.

Map 1.4: The Pays Rémois.

Source: AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 40.

While the frame of globalisation is present in the background, the research provides insights into the different national and local political motivations and historical legacies of both cities, which shaped the nature of local actors' decision making in a context of a changing global world. In other words, the interplay between the global and local is an important theme in this research through the analysis of the local authorities' different interactions with this global force. The contrasts between both cities address the fundamental question of how local peculiarities influence the way the local authorities adapt to the process of globalisation. By relying on their different particularities, these two cities wished to remain unique places by promoting their own specific culture as key to becoming a vibrant city. As a result, this comparative study reveals how the resilience of place operates within a global context since 1980 and, ironically enough, how globalisation depends on those local contexts.

Key local actors

Some local actors, such as groups, political parties, associations and key figures, have played a leading role in Leicester's and Reims' local decision making, which in turn had shaped their urban development and adaptation to globalisation.

One important group in the policies of Leicester is the Asian community. By the late 1960s, Leicester experienced an important influx of migrants coming from East Africa. Indeed, Asian refugees were escaping the Ugandan dictatorship of the president, Idi Amin. Then, Asians from Malawi, Kenya and Tanzania also arrived in the city. African Asians found home in Leicester for economic reasons and it was estimated that 20,000 people arrived in Leicester during the period 1968-1978.⁸¹ This migration flow had played a leading role in Leicester's economic, social and cultural life. Although some neo-fascist activists perceived Asians refugees as a threat during the 1970s, they had an important impact on the long-term economic and cultural success of the city changing the nature of Leicester to the home of refugees.⁸²

Hundreds of migrants who were forced to flee Uganda had their own established businesses there. In a context of de-industrialisation and economic decline, this Asian middleclass brought substantial trading backgrounds, entrepreneurial flair and international contacts to Leicester's economic benefit and global influence. Recognising the assets of its ethnic minorities, partnerships started to emerge between the Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) and the Leicestershire Asian Businesses Association (LABA), an organisation developed in 1987 to provide support to Asian businesses in the city.

The arrival of Asian refugees changed the nature of Leicester, paving the way for the multicultural characteristics of the city. Furthermore, numerous associations started to create between various religious communities and the City Council: 'the number of ethnic minority councillors steadily rose from zero in 1973 to 15 in 1997'.⁸³ Multicultural participation became embedded in the social, political and economic life of the city. Multiculturalism had become gradually a more assimilated component and was totally embraced by the local authorities, thus reinforcing Leicester's identity in the following decades.

⁸¹ Panesar, 'A history of Leicester', *BBC* (2005), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/leicester/> [Accessed 15 October 2014]; The arrival of Ugandan Asians in Leicester was for political reasons as Idi Amin reprimanded them for having the control of over important sectors of the economy such as trade. The Ugandan dictatorship announced in 1972 that all Asian people had to leave the country. Asian families were then expelled in a context where African nationalism and inter-communal tensions were strongly felt. [See M. Twaddle, *Expulsion of a Minority Essay on Ugandan Asians* (London, 1975)].

⁸² S. H. Jones, 'The 'Metropolis of Dissent': Muslim Participation in Leicester and the 'Failure' of Multiculturalism in Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38, no.11 (2014), p. 1974.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Another characteristic of Leicester was the strong environmental concerns expressed in the city's 1990s urban agenda. Since the early 1970s, the Leicester Environmental Action Group, which aimed to raise people's consciousness on environmental issues, posed by the use of private cars, had protested against City Council's road plans by developing petitions and proposing alternative plans for greener projects. This local pressure group, established at an early date, has had a profound implication on the local authorities' environmental concerns during the following decades as Leicester was elected Britain's first Environment city in 1990. Friendlier attitudes towards the environment were gradually expressed in the city's urban agenda, resulting in the creation of an independent ecological charity called Environ in 1993. This group coordinated Leicester environment city projects, not in a conflicting manner but rather in accordance with the local authorities' agenda of preserving the environmental image of Leicester.

Leicester had traditionally been a labour city and this electoral success had influenced the City Council's opposition to some of the Conservative Government's schemes in the 1980s. Indeed, the Council had generally showed reluctance towards Thatcher's market led urban policy and regeneration. While, the local authorities did not totally agree with the government's neoliberal initiatives, the 1990s marked a certain change when Leicester won the City Challenge status in 1993. Labour Councillor Peter Soulsby, leader of the City Council, initiated the Leicester City Challenge Action Plan, an initiative in accordance with the central government business mode of urban integration, which led to some criticism amongst the public for its lack of social interests.⁸⁴

In Reims, the right-wing party had historically a strong electoral success with Mayors such as Jean Taittinger from 1959 to 1977, Jean Falala from 1983 to 1999 and Jean Louis Schneiter from 1999 to 2008.⁸⁵ However, as mentioned in the literature review, France's

⁸⁴ Peter Soulsby was the first elected mayor in the city in 2011.

⁸⁵ Jean Taittinger was a member of the Union for the New Republic (*l'Union pour la Nouvelle République* (UNR) in French) which was a right-wing political party created in 1958 to support the election of Charles de Gaulle as President of the French Republic. The UNR was then renamed the Union of Democrats of the Republic, (*l'Union des Démocrates pour la République* (UDR) in French) in 1968. Similarly to Jean Taittinger, Jean Falala was also part of this Gaullist and Conservative political movement which became in 1976, the Rally for the Republic (*Rassemblement pour la République* [RPR] in French), a party formed by Jacques Chirac after resigning as prime Minister under the Giscard D'Estaing mandate (president of the French Republic from 1974 until 1981). Jean Louis Schneiter was a centre-right politician, member of the Union for French Democracy (*l'Union pour la Démocratie Française* (UDF) in French), a party created in 1978 and the result of an electoral pact among some of the Conservatives, the Christian Democrats and some radical parliamentarians to support Giscard d'Estaing against the rival candidates of the 'Rally for the Republic' party.

neoliberal transition was not so perceptible as compared to Britain's in the 1980s. Indeed, the French national political culture had complete faith in the welfare state as the driving key of solidarity and adopted therefore weak neoliberal measures. This particular national culture influenced Reims's local policy. Furthermore, a local figure called Georges Charbonneaux, who was an industrialist born in 1865 in Reims, was inspired by Social Catholicism and had always expressed his ambition to fight against poverty and exclusion with a strong social outlook. His thoughts had strongly influence Reims's urban policy in providing home for the needy.⁸⁶ Being part of the heritage of the city, Charbonneaux had injected a strong spirit of solidarity in Reims where the local authorities, influenced by a strong Republican etho, had embraced the language of social cohesion as a key driver for urban development.

Another influential figure of Reims is the Mayor and businessman Jean Taittinger whose ambitious vision for Reims as being an important European metropolis has had profound impact on the city's future development in the following decades. In the 1970s, Taittinger expressed his determinism in promoting the city as part of a strong European network. His appetite for European aura has boosted the decision making of Reims. With this in mind, Mayors such as Jean Falala and Jean Louis Schneiter as well as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Reims-Epernay (*Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie*, CCI) had constantly asserted their ambition to not only position Reims's economic strength as a central cluster in Europe but to also develop the 'European status' image of the city. This had resulted in the development of strategic road schemes and transportation network, furthering the global aspiration of the city by the 1990s and throughout the 2000s.

Aims and methods

A case study research method, through archival materials of Reims and Leicester, has been pursued in order to not only analyse the impact of globalisation at a micro level but also, and more importantly, to explore cities' responses to the intensification of this global process. As a result, the analysis and comparison of Reims' and Leicester's urban

⁸⁶ This current of thought emerged in the late nineteenth century and responded to the problems of social justice (a democratic ideal that emerged from the French Revolution), although contrasted with the non-Christian Socialism. Its objective was to improve the living conditions of the working class through a Christian ethic and it was concerned with the widening gap between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Social Catholicism appeared in response to the emergence of industrial capitalism and economic liberalism, which had condemned a part of the population to poverty.

development and policies since 1980 have been conducted thanks to archival research at the Record Office of Leicestershire Leicester and Rutland (ROLLR), in Leicester, as well as at *the Archives Municipales Communautaires de Reims* (AMCR) and at *the Agence d'Urbanisme de Développement de la Région de Reims* (AUDRR), in Reims. I retrieved information from relevant printed archival documents there, according to each of the next five chapter's theme (urban economy, housing, transport, shopping and tourism). Indeed, pertinent materials include planning documents, economic surveys, local plans, assessments and reports from the Leicester city council and *la Ville de Reims* (Reims City Council). These documents, which are official materials from Reims' and Leicester's local authorities, shed light on cities' new urban regeneration schemes and planning proposals evolution during the period 1980-2008 as well as on their local distinctiveness.

Official documents such as the *Leicester and Leicestershire Structure Plan*, published in 1974, and *Policies for Employment and the Economy*, published in 1984, have been important Council reports for the Second chapter of this thesis, predicting Leicester and Leicestershire's economic future and objectives in a context of industrial decline. Reports from Reims' economic future, such as *Livre Blanc* (published in 1971) and other archival files, containing various newspaper cuttings and economic surveys, have been used to explain the urban economic development of Reims to globalisation.

Documents such as *the Leicester Inner Area Programme* and *the Leicester City Challenge* which are an attempt by the local authorities to solve problems of urban deprivation of Leicester, have been examined for the third chapter of this thesis. The equivalent documents in Reims, such as *la Requalification du Quartier Croix-Rouge, Programme Local de l'Habitat*, have also been used.

The Transport Policies report of Leicester and *Le Plan de Déplacement Urbain* (published in 2001 in Reims) helped me to analyse the position of cities within a wider mobility network in the fourth Chapter of this thesis. *The Leicestershire retail study* published in 2003, the *Retail site assessment for Leicester City Council* published in 1998 and the *Schéma du Développement Commercial Expérimental de la Région de Reims* published in 1997 have also been examined in order to explore the development of out of town retail development in peripheral areas of the cities in Chapter Five. Furthermore, *The City Centre Action Programme* published in 1987 and *les Lignes Directrices pour l'Aménagement du Centre de Reims* published in 1974 are useful council reports which

give significant information on the city centre's development that had to compete with commercial development in peripheral areas.

Regarding Chapter Six, *A Hotel Demand Study for Leicester*, published in 1999, and *Leicester Says Yes to Tourism*, published in 1990 by the City Council, highlight tourism prospects of Leicester. Their analysis has revealed Leicester's challenges in its ability to market itself successfully as a tourist destination. Some reports from the *office du tourisme* (visitors' bureau) in Reims expressing local authorities' aim to communicate and market the city, while engaging in new marketing strategies to attract visitors and investors, have also been analysed.⁸⁷

All of these official documents have provided evidence on the way Reims' and Leicester's local authorities have been responding to the various challenges posed by globalisation since 1980 such as deindustrialisation, unemployment, social exclusion and urban competition. They have also given information on the emergence of Reims' and Leicester's new urban development and governance as well as on local incentives attempts to redefine the cities' image. A detailed insight into the multidimensional aspects of the urban experience has been therefore provided as, when referring to the historiography, scholars have failed to demonstrate the diverse characteristics of the urban. Indeed, these two case studies have given a significant evaluation of the economic, cultural as well as urban potentials of medium sized cities, which have always remained behind the scene when globalisation is concerned.

Because Leicester and Reims evolved in different national contexts – social intervention was embedded in the French political culture whereas a neoliberal outlook was more predominant in Britain – I have therefore analysed and compared the different political discourses in both cities by identifying the local authorities' main arguments in the planning documents. Not only were the archival documents outlined above useful materials for this analysis but the consultation of local newspapers in Leicester and Reims since the 1970s were also important evidence as they give specific local political opinion and information on the political debates at the time. These newspapers include the *Leicester Mercury* cutting files, available at the David Wilson Library of the University

⁸⁷ The *Office du Tourisme* is an organisation that promotes the city of Reims.

of Leicester, as well as *l'Union*, *Matot Braine*, *District Magazine* and *Ville de Reims (VRI)*, available at the *Bibliothèque Carnégie de Reims* (BCR).⁸⁸

I pursued a textual analysis of these newspapers by comparing the main themes and key concepts in order to understand how both cities' local authorities perceived and made sense of the challenges posed by globalisation at the time. However, newspapers such as the *Leicester Mercury* and *l'Union* can offer partial information with a limited perspective and follow a political agenda through opinion-based information. Indeed, these local newspapers tend to be boosterist, pro-business and pro-local authority, conveying a certain idealist image of the city. Being aware of this limitation, I have developed a critical analysis, throughout this research, of some of their optimistic comments regarding the cities' post-industrial economic prosperity and the local authorities' potential to lead successful urban development. Furthermore, it seems important to argue that by comparing the contents of these two newspapers which have been printed in two different national and local contexts, this study has led to a fruitful analysis of the various political reactions and sentiments towards new global challenges. The *Leicester Mercury* and *l'Union* were indeed useful materials in determining the distinct transnational political mentalities and culture as well as the different political choices in this homogenous global transformation.

In this thesis, various illustrations have been used so as to portray some of the characteristics of Reims and Leicester as well as relevant historical moments in both cities since 1980. I selected pertinent illustrations, according to each of the chapters' theme, from different archival documents and local newspapers archives that I have consulted. The aim was to provide an objective visual representation of both cities' specificities, assets and heritage, which represent strong historical evidence. For example, pictures depicting the type of housing, inner city urban renewal and regeneration plans, the city centre's urban environment and out of town shopping centres, promotional campaigns of the cities and festivals reflecting distinct local assets, have enabled me to portray Reims' and Leicester's different political ideologies and their specific local attitudes in resisting

⁸⁸ The *Leicester Mercury* is a daily regional newspaper for the City and for the County of Leicestershire. *L'Union* is also a daily regional newspaper for Reims and the Champagne-Ardenne region. *Matot Braine* is an economic and regional newspaper for Reims and its region. *District Magazine* is a monthly official publication of *la Ville de Reims* (Reims' City Council). It changed name in 2002 and was re-titled *Communauté Magazine*. Finally, in 2005 it became *Reims Métropole*. *La Ville de Reims (VRI)* is also an official and monthly publication of the Council.

to the pressure of globalisation. The illustrations that have been selected have helped me to contextualise my argument and have provided some kind of ethnographic observation, useful in distinguishing the different urban environment and culture.

Adding to the qualitative materials, quantitative research method has also been pursued. Unpublished statistical data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the *Institut National de la Statistique et de l'Etude Economique* (INSEE) have been analysed to understand the gradual change of Leicester's and Reims' economy and urban physical environment from 1980 until 2008 as well as their potential, their performance and their different peculiarities in the age of globalisation. This research gathered key statistical data concerning business starts and closures, economic activity rate and employment as well as some other local characteristics such as the type of housing tenure and structure, their retail floor space and touristic potential. This quantitative analysis has supported my qualitative research and had offered historical trends. However, gathering and analysing the statistical data has been challenging work, as finding the same statistics for both cities in the same years have not always been possible.

Referring back to the literature review about Sassen's, Friedmann's, Short's and Yeong-Hyun's analysis of global cities and their financial power, my research questions have been designed to identity the value and the potential of less prominent cities when globalisation is concerned. As a result, the thesis is concerned with the question of globalisation and its urban effect not in the global cities but in the second-tier cities of Britain and France. The research questions that have guided the research are as follows:

Research Questions

1. What effects has globalisation had on medium-sized cities like Reims and Leicester?
2. How have the authorities in Reims and Leicester adapted their cities to the effects of globalisation?
3. What differences are there in British and French cities in their response to globalisation and how does it reflect national political cultures?
4. How do political reactions to the intensification of globalisation make a city's specific characteristics more visible and reinforce local identities?

These questions address the main point of emphasis of my research on the tension and ambivalence of globalisation where local forces remain key to fully understanding this global process. This research not only examines the importance of local urban peculiarities, which shaped the way Reims' and Leicester's local authorities adapted to the challenges of globalisation, but it also explores the extent to which localism was used as a defensive response to globalisation in order to compete in a globalised world. As a result, these research questions shed light on the way the local, managed by specific actors, responds to globalisation and on how local policies are shaped within this national and global framework.

As I have mentioned, these questions have guided my research. They have both influenced and shaped the content and the conclusions of each chapter. The chapters are organised in order to cover the numerous aspects of urban change in Reims and Leicester in the age of globalisation since the 1980s with a particular emphasis on their resilience, ideologies and historical legacy that play a leading role in urban regeneration. I return to the research questions in my concluding chapter and group them into the two main themes they relate to: responding to the challenge of globalisation and the resurgence of the local.

The thesis contains seven chapters. Subsequent to the introduction, the second chapter analyses how Reims' and Leicester's local actors adapted to the process of deindustrialisation and how their urban economy evolved from 1980 until 2008. This chapter concentrates mainly on different local powers and ideologies that shaped the way Reims and Leicester respond to the challenges of the global economy.

The third chapter focuses on inner-city areas that were particularly affected by urban deprivation. I explore new urban planning concerning urban decline in inner-city neighbourhoods in both France and Britain. More particularly, this chapter explores different forms of housing tenure and physical structure that reflected different modes of action in dealing with urban deprivation in the age of globalisation.

The fourth chapter assesses the global potential of Reims and Leicester and their link with the outside world. This chapter explores the major changes that have occurred since 1980 through the transport policies in Reims and Leicester and examines how less globally significant cities, such as Reims and Leicester, attempted to benefit economically from a growing global urban network.

The following two chapters deal with the resurgence of the city's identity *vis-à-vis* various global pressures that threatened to confine the city into a global monoculture. The fifth chapter focuses on a global trend where out-of-town retail development, which first emerged in the United States, has affected Western countries. As a result, city centres have been partially abandoned by shoppers who are able to enjoy the convenient layout and easy car parking provided by off-centre stores. This chapter explores how the local authorities redefined the city centre's local identity in order to compete with out-of-town retail development.

The sixth chapter examines how the local authorities of both Reims and Leicester, since the 1980s, used ideas of localism to both attract tourism and investors and to also enhance a sense of local attachment. While cities could potentially be absorbed into a global monoculture, it was necessary for local authorities strategically to provide cities with a meaningful and relevant image. This chapter explores how Reims and Leicester use branding strategies as means of identification and differentiation in a homogenised world and more particularly through the promotion of different festival traditions, which reveals established ideological motives as sources of cultural significance.

The seventh chapter is where I use the data and research of the previous chapters to address the broad research questions regarding Reims' and Leicester's urban transformation in the age of globalisation.

Chapter Two: The Mutation of the Urban Economy in Reims and Leicester, 1980-2008

Globalisation is relatively an old phenomenon, which recently has experienced a level of intensification combined with the processes of ‘post industrialisation, post modernization or the disorganization of capitalism’.¹ Indeed, varying notions of capitalism, financial domination and competitiveness are undeniably relevant when globalisation is concerned. As underlined in the previous chapter, globalisation is a stretching process that crossed cultural boundaries to create a single world where, as Waters underlines, ‘every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist west.’²

Since the 1980s, the growing pace of globalisation led scholars, such as Friedmann and Sassen, to define the concept of ‘world city’ and ‘global city’, and to postulate indicators in order to rank cities according to a theory of urban hierarchy. A global city such as London, Tokyo or New York, as Sassen argues, is classified as a major site of production, financial power, innovation and possesses specialized service firms with specific functions such as ‘command points in the organisation of the world economy.’³ The term ‘global city’ became a common definition for the winners of globalisation, which are part of a growing global network. The implication is that globalisation damages the economies of secondary cities while global cities control international capital and investments.

The aim of this chapter is not to focus on a city’s hierarchy based on restrictive indicators, such as its financial power and global economic interdependence, or to assess Reims’ and Leicester’s function in the world economy, but rather to focus on the potential of less prominent cities and their economic resilience in a context of global change. By the 1980s, the economy of both Leicester and Reims was indeed dominated by a general decline in traditional industries and their inability to compete in a changing world market. As a result, the local authorities of both respective cities adjusted to a certain extent to the global market in order to avoid subsuming to economic recession.

¹ M. Waters, *Globalization* (Hoboken, 2nd ed., 2002), pp. 6 & 7.

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 3 & 4.

This chapter explores the way medium-sized cities coped with these global processes of deregulation and flexibility by restructuring their urban economy. I explore how their urban economy evolved during this period and how local authorities redefined the city's role within a context of enterprise culture and private and public sector partnership. Although historical actors were not conscious of the concept of globalisation at the time, I argue that the 1980s marked a fundamental turning point in the long term historical phenomenon of globalisation with the processes of deindustrialisation, unemployment, and capitalism accelerating. Furthermore, within this globally affected economic market, the nation-state still remained important as distinct political interventions were implemented as a means of adjusting to the new economic circumstances.

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first part looks at Leicester's and Reims' economy since 1980 through the expansion of the tertiary sector and unemployment growth. The second section analyses how the local authorities adapted to these new global challenges.

Changes in both Leicester's and Reims' economy since the 1980s.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the 1920s Leicester had the reputation of being a great industrial city with a strong and diverse manufacturing sector including textile, hosiery and engineering. Leicester was internationally known as the city that 'clothes the world from head to foot' thanks to its boot and shoe industry and also its knitted goods production.⁴ The city experienced a period of continued economic and demographic growth from the 1940s to the 1970s, with a significant influx of migrants occurring since the 1970s.⁵ As a result, this so-called 'golden era' injected a note of optimism for Leicester's major traditional industries. During the 1960s, Leicester experienced full employment and the city was considered as 'one of the wealthiest in Europe'.⁶

The Leicester and Leicestershire Structure Plan, written by Leicestershire County Council in 1974, did not predict a drastic industrial decline and remained quietly optimistic with regards to the future of Leicester's manufacturing sector. The Plan stated that from 1966

⁴ D. Nash and D. Reeder (eds), *Leicester in the Twentieth Century* (Stroud, 1993), p. 49.

⁵ As mentioned in the previous chapter, 20,000 Asians refugees from East Africa arrived in Leicester from 1968 to 1978.

⁶ B. Beazley, *Post War Leicester* (Stroud, 2006), p. 170.

to 1991 'employment in the textile industry is expected to remain generally stable. Other manufacturing is expected to show overall growth, with the electrical and engineering industry increasing considerably.'⁷ However, the expansion of the service sector was already evident. The Plan predicted that 'the majority of the forecast increase between 1971 and 1991 is expected to be in construction and services' activities in ratio with population distribution. It is assumed that there will be a continuation of the distribution of services, with an expanding proportion of female labour.'⁸ Although an awareness of a growing tertiary sector development was emerging by the 1970s, Leicester's local authorities still believed in the potential and the stability of its traditional industries.

With regards to Reims, the city had fully benefitted from the industrial revolution by the late nineteenth century and its economy relied on a diverse range of industry. The textile and the glass industry had occupied a prominent role since the eighteenth century. The first *Maison de Champagne* (Champagne house) was also created during the eighteenth century, but the champagne industry only gained impetus during the nineteenth century. Reims was also famous for its main chain of stores created in the late nineteenth century, such as *les Docks Rémois*, *les Comptoirs Français* and *Goulet-Turpin*. Although the city was not considered a 'great industrial centre' in the same sense as Leicester, the city also experienced three decades of rapid economic and demographic growth. Its population increased from 107,000 inhabitants in 1946 to 177,000 in 1975.⁹ However, the impact of the economic crisis broke this momentum in the mid-1970s which explains the fact that the population only reached 187,000 in 1999.¹⁰

In contrast to the city of Leicester, the tertiary sector had already started to be well anchored in Reims' economy by the 1960s and employment in the service sector rapidly gained prominence to the detriment of the manufacturing sector. Employment in the service sector represented 54.3 per cent of the total number of employment in 1962 and this number reached 56 per cent in 1968.¹¹ For Leicester, employment in the service sector represented 42 per cent of the total number employed in 1966, which was much lower than the national proportion of 56 per cent.¹² These figures emphasise the importance of

⁷ Leicester City Council, *Leicester & Leicestershire Structure Plan: Report of Survey* (Leicester, 1974), p. 30.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 17.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ AUDRR, *Livre Blanc: Reims Centre Régional* (Reims, 1971), p. 109.

¹² Leicester City Council, *Leicester & Leicestershire Structure Plan*, p. 26.

manufacturing and well-established extractive industries in post-war Leicester's economy. Contrary to Leicester, a greater optimism in the service sector started to emerge by the early 1970s in Reims, perceived as the pivot of the city's future economy. The *Livre Blanc de Reims Centre Régional*, created in 1971, established the main economics and urban planning objectives of Reims and predicted that employment in the service sector would be twice as much as in the manufacturing sector by 1985.¹³

Although a drastic manufacturing decline could not be envisaged, the economic prosperity of Reims and Leicester was seriously challenged with the impact of the recession and the closure of many long-standing firms.¹⁴ The future economy of both Reims and Leicester was uncertain, however a public awareness of a new highly competitive economic climate was palpable and so creating a viable local economy was the prime objective of the early 1980s in both cities.

Dr Paul Nield, chief economist at Stockbrokers Philips and Drew pointed out in the *Leicester Mercury* in 1981 that: '[t]he recession is not yet over. The next six months are likely to see further falls in economic activity, particularly in manufacturing industry, before some slight pick-up in the second half of next year. By then we will have gone through the worst peacetime recession since the 1930s.'¹⁵ Furthermore, in the City Council discussion paper, which established in 1980 Leicester's local economy objectives and initiatives, it was argued that 'a different local economic structure will and must emerge; we would not expect to revert to the previous structure.'¹⁶ Consequently, the Leicester Local Plan created in 1992 by the City Council strongly encouraged the development of service industries, particularly within the banking, finance and insurance and high-tech industries.¹⁷

¹³ AUDRR, *Livre Blanc*, p. 109.

¹⁴ Although the future of industry remained uncertain, faith in the potential of the industrial sector remained strong in the early 1980s in the respective regions of both Reims and Leicester. The embroidery industry in Champagne-Ardenne was still perceived, in the 1980s, as being able to economically expand and compete at the international level in the coming years. The same feeling emerged in the East Midlands: 'The climate for industry in the region remained difficult throughout the year, reflecting economic uncertainties both national and international. But the range and diversity of industry in the East Midlands allowed firms to respond with flexibility to changing conditions, giving protection against decline.' [Quotation from: 'East Midlands "resilient" in face of recession', *Leicester Mercury*, 23 September 1983].

¹⁵ S. Levinsen, 'Better or worse- how will all fare in 1981?', *Leicester Mercury*, 2 January 1981.

¹⁶ Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland [hereafter ROLLR], L331, The Leicester Economic Study, *The City Council and the Local Economy: Objectives and Initiatives* (Leicester, 1980), p. 22.

¹⁷ J. Dean, *City of Leicester Local Plan* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 55 & 71.

Running contrary to the optimism expressed in the 1974 Structure Plan, Leicester experienced major changes from 1995 to 2008 as the proportion of employed people in the manufacturing sector decreased. Employee jobs in the manufacturing sector represented 25.6 per cent of the total number of jobs in 1995, which was slightly more than the regional average of 25.2 per cent but it considerably diminished to 13.8 per cent by 2008 (Table 2.1). On the other hand, the proportion of people employed in the service sector such as distributions, hotels, restaurants, banking, finance and insurance increased from 1995 to 2008. This proportion represented 71.1 per cent of the total number of employee jobs in 1995 and 81.5 per cent in 2008, which remained lower than the regional average over the same period (Table 2.1). However, when compared to the general structure of Great Britain's economy, Leicester employed a higher proportion of people in manufacturing and a lower proportion in the service sector in 1995 and 2008 (Table 2.1). Despite the gradual economic changes, the city still managed to maintain a strong industrial dynamism, which was moulded by its long industrial heritage.

Similarly to Leicester, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Reims-Epernay (*Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie*, CCI) noted in 1980 the importance of new initiatives for the local economy in order to become more responsive to the economic recession and international competition: '[e]n matière de commerce, la concurrence prévisible conduira la chambre à mettre à la disposition des commerçants, des outils aussi précis que possible de connaissance de marché (increasing levels of competition will encourage the Chamber of Commerce to provide businesses with tools to help them understand the marketplace).'¹⁸ As a result, by the 1990s, the promotion of high-tech industries was seen as a way to diversify its local economy.¹⁹

By comparison to Leicester, a similar trend can be observed in Reims. In 1982, employment in the industrial sector represented 27 per cent of the total and this figure decreased to 15 per cent in 1999 (Table 2.2). Services and commerce had also been the growing sector over the period of 1982-1999. The employment in the services sector represented 65.6 per cent of the total number and this reached 78.8 per cent in 1999 (Table 2.2). However, when compared to the national average, Reims' situation was different from that of Leicester's economic structure. The share of employee jobs in the

¹⁸ 'Le préfet a présidé l'assemblée générale de la CCI de Reims-Epernay', *L'Union*, 14 March 1980.

¹⁹ Archives Municipales Communautaires de Reims [hereafter AMCR], 276W471, Tableau de Bord de l'Agglomération de Reims, 1990

manufacturing sector was already lower in Reims in 1999 (15 per cent) than the 2002 national average, which represented 17.3 per cent of the total number.²⁰ With regards to the share of employee jobs in the service sector, Reims' 1999 average (78.8 per cent) was higher than the 2002 national average (73.1 per cent).²¹ As a result, it is safe to argue that Reims' economic structure reflected a strong service base economy that had already been established during the 1960s.

²⁰ J. L. Dayan, *Vu d'Ensemble: l'Emploi en France Depuis Trente Ans* (2008), p. 19.

²¹ Ibid.

Table 2.1: Employment by industry in Leicester, East Midlands and Great Britain in 1995 and 2008.

Location	Leicester		East Midlands		Great Britain	
Years	1995	2008	1995	2008	1995	2008
Industry	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manufacturing	25.6	13.8	25.2	14.8	17.6	10.2
Construction	2.2	4.3	3.7	5.2	4.0	4.8
Services	71.1	81.5	68.3	77.8	76.2	83.5
Other	1.1	0.4	2.8	2.2	2.2	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics, 'Local authority statistics: employee jobs', <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

Table 2.2: Employment by industry in Reims in 1982, 1990 and 1999.

Years	1982		1990		1999	
Industry	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	408	0.5	472	0.5	712	0.7
Industry	23,736	27.0	19,818	21.5	14,749	15.0
Construction	6,116	7.0	5,788	6.3	5,323	5.4
Services and Commerce	57,696	65.6	66,174	71.7	77,318	78.8
Total	87,956	100.0	92,252	100.0	98,102	100.0

Sources: 1981-1990 : AMCR, 267CW24, S.A.E.M, *Le Marché des Bureaux à Reims* (Reims, 1995), p. 37; 1999 : AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 35.

The expansion of the tertiary sector led to a change in the nature of occupational structure in both Reims and Leicester. For example, in Leicester managerial professions increased by 57.4 per cent from 1981 to 1991, and occupations in metallic good manufactures decreased by 36.3 per cent over the same period (Table 2.3 and graph 2.1). Services related occupations largely increased to the detriment of manufacturing occupations. In Reims, the number of industrial workers had also drastically declined, and had decreased by 21.1 per cent from 1982 to 2006 (Table 2.4). However, in the Pays Rémois, the number of industrial workers remained higher, representing 24.3 per cent of the total occupation in 2006 compared with 22.2 per cent in Reims itself. Intermediary professions expanded, as in 1982 they represented 20.1 per cent of the total number of occupation in Reims, and this increased to 27.6 per cent in 2006 (Table 2.4). In the Pays Rémois, the share of intermediary professions remained lower than in Reims in 2006 (25.9 per cent).

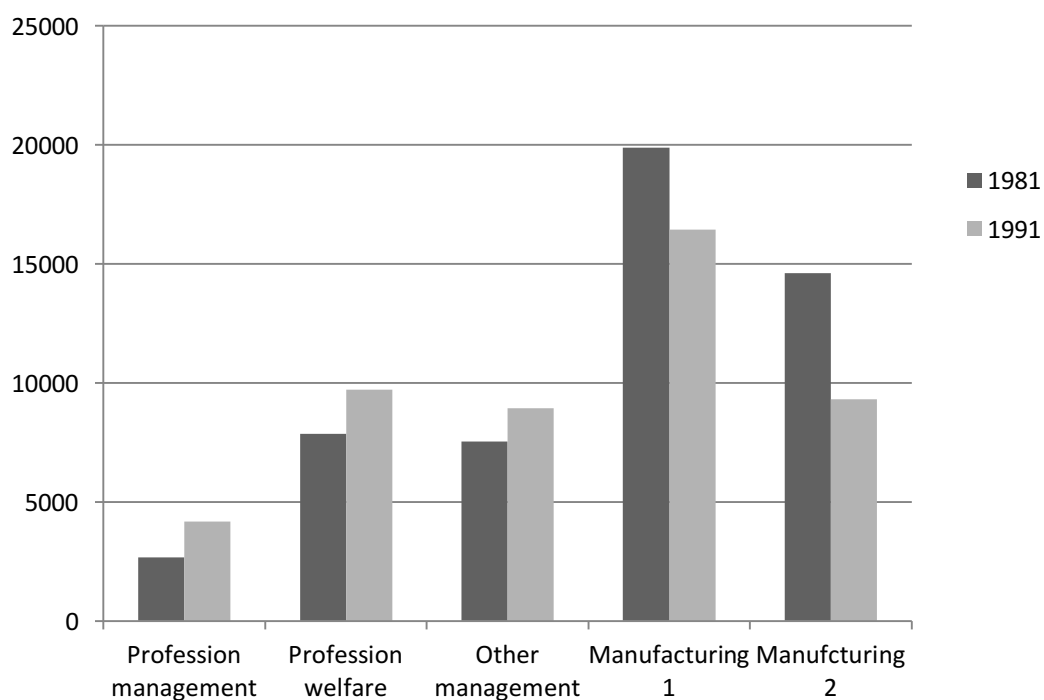
Table 2.3: Occupation change in Leicester and Great Britain between 1981 and 1991.

Occupation	1981	1991	Change Leicester (%)	Change Great Britain (%)
Profession management	2,650	4,170	57.4	57.70
Profession welfare	7,850	9,700	23.6	13.60
Other management	7,520	8,930	18.8	20.90
Manufacturing 1*	19,870	16,430	-17.3	-6.70
Manufacturing 2*	14,600	9,300	-36.3	-30.80

*Manufacture 1: non metallic goods *Manufacture 2: metallic goods

Source: Leicester City Council, *Leicester Key Facts: Employment 1991 Census* (Leicester, 1995), p. 6.

Graph 2.1: Change in the structure of employment in Leicester from 1981 to 1991.



*Manufacture 1: non-metallic goods *Manufacture 2: metallic goods

Table 2.4: Employment distribution by occupation in Reims and in Pays Rémois in 1982, 1990 and 2006.

Years	1982 Reims		1990 Reims		2006 Reims		Pays Rémois 2006
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
Farmers	172	0.2	192	0.2	216	0.2	2.2
Artisans	4,704	5.3	4,860	5.3	4,242	3.9	4.4
Executive intellectual professions	8,520	9.7	11,452	12.4	16,884	15.7	14.2
Intermediate professions	17,696	20.1	20,592	22.3	29,703	27.6	25.9
Employees	26,620	30.3	28,273	30.6	32,726	30.4	28.9
Industrial workers	30,240	34.4	26,883	29.1	23,926	22.2	24.3
Total	87,952	100.0	92,252	100.0	107,697	100.0	100.0

Source: AMCR, 267CW24, S.A.E.M, *Le Marché des Bureaux à Reims* (Reims), p. 36.

In the economies of Reims and Leicester a clear difference can be identified between the service sector, which had generally experienced growth by the 1980s, and the declining manufacturing sector. The case of both Reims and Leicester shows that the expansion of the service sector was essentially an urban phenomenon, where employment in banking, commerce, insurance, public administration and health sector were flourishing. The 1980s were a catalyst for change as the intensification of the process of deindustrialisation suddenly changed both cities. It slowly gave prominence to a well-established service sector in their respective urban areas.

In both Reims and Leicester, enterprises rapidly underwent a profound structural shift and changed character. Traditional industries, in particular in the textile area, lost ground and became widely exposed to foreign competition that offered attractive prices and low labour costs. Also, the changing demands of the larger retailers contributed to the downfall of local suppliers and manufacturers in the late 1980s. The traditional textile and shoe industries in Leicester, such as Corah, Wolsey, Stibbe, the British Shoe Machinery Company and the British Shoe Corporation declined due to foreign competition and the economic downturn which opened the window to a high technology design centre in Leicester, such as Next Clothing.

In Reims, *les Docks Rémois* closed in 1988 due to superstore competition. Companies such as Boehringer, Valeo, and Electrolux were the main industries by the 1990s.²² The

²² AMCR, 276W485, Activités Economiques et les Emplois.

textile industry in Reims collapsed and only the glass industry (called '*Verreries Mécaniques de Champagne*', VMC) and Champagne industry survived this structural change. New local growth industries, including food and drink, plastics printing and publishing and wholesale distribution, started to develop in Leicester.²³ However, most high-tech industries, banking, insurance and finance, communications and tourism still remained to develop in Leicestershire and in the Champagne-Ardenne region, which maintained strong manufacturing base.

Although the service sector generally expanded, Leicester's industrial potential and dynamism can also be observed when comparing the share of value-added tax (VAT) based enterprises by sector in 1998 with similar cities such as Derby and Nottingham.²⁴ The industrial sector remained remarkably dynamic in Leicester; the share of VAT based enterprises in the production sector represented 27.8 per cent in 1998, which was twice as high as in Derby (13.6 per cent) and Nottingham (16.8 per cent). The share of VAT based enterprises in the services and commerce was lower in Leicester (59.2 per cent) than in Derby (67.6 per cent) and Nottingham (67.3 per cent) but it is close to East Midlands' (57 per cent) (Table 2.5). However, in 2003 Leicester caught up in the service sector and the number of VAT service based enterprises gained 6.5 points (Table 2.6) as compared to the 1998 average. The impact of deindustrialisation was still palpable in the 2000s, given the share of VAT based enterprises in the manufacturing sector represented 24.7 per cent in 2003 and had lost 3 points compared with the year 1998 (27.8 per cent).

In contrast, the development of the tertiary sector was more developed in Reims, as enterprises in commerce, education and health represented 82 per cent of the total enterprises in 1998 (Table 2.7), whereas in Leicester it only represented 66.1 per cent (Table 2.5). Furthermore, in 1998 the share of manufacturing enterprises (9.3 per cent) in Reims was less important than in Leicester (27.8 per cent). The tertiary sector was clearly more dominant in Reims than in Leicester. The number of enterprises in the manufacturing sector continued to decrease to 2008, reaching the number of 560 which represented 5.5 per cent of the total number of enterprises in Reims.²⁵ Furthermore,

²³ Dean, *City of Leicester Local Plan*, pp. 55 & 71.

²⁴ Only data related to VAT enterprises were available by the ONS.

²⁵ Institut d'Aménagement et du Territoire d'Urbanisme et d'Environnement de l'Université de Reims, *Etude Socio-Economique de l'Axe Reims/ Charleville-Mézières* (2011), p. 166.

enterprises in commerce, education, administration and health represented 83.9 per cent in 2008 of the total of existing units, that is to say 8,596 enterprises.²⁶

²⁶ Ibid.

Table 2.5 : Number of VAT base enterprises by sector in Leicester, Derby, Nottingham and East Midlands in 1998.

Location	Leicester		Derby		Nottingham		East Midlands	
Sector	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	15	0.2	20	0.5	10	0.2	11,120	10.3
Production	1,965	27.8	525	13.6	955	16.8	14,420	13.4
Construction	420	5.9	415	10.8	470	8.3	12,030	11.2
Services and commerce	4,190	59.2	2,610	67.6	3,835	67.3	61,245	57.0
Administration, education and health	490	6.9	290	7.5	425	7.5	8,700	8.1
Total	7,080	100.0	3,860	100.0	5,695	100.0	107,515	100.0
Ratio per 10,000 habitants	244		168		203		224	

Source: Office for National Statistics, *Commerce, Energy and Industry: Size Analysis of United Kingdom Businesses* (London, 1998), p. 34.

Table 2.6: Number of VAT based enterprises by sector in Leicester, East Midlands, Derby and Nottingham in 2003.

Location	Leicester		Derby		Nottingham		East Midlands	
Sector	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	15	0.2	20	0.5	10	0.2	10,215	9.1
Production	1,685	24.7	455	11.4	780	13.9	13,210	11.8
Construction	430	6.3	455	11.4	500	8.9	13,125	11.7
Services and commerce	4,270	62.5	2,755	69.0	3,880	69.0	65,790	58.7
Administration, education and health	435	6.4	305	7.6	455	8.1	9,695	8.7
Total	6,835	100.0	3,990	100.0	5,625	100.0	112,035	100.0
Ratio per 10,000 habitants	236		173		201		233	

Source: Office for National Statistics, *Commerce, Energy and Industry: Size Analysis of United Kingdom Businesses* (London, 2003), p. 121.

Table 2.7: Enterprises distribution by sector in Reims in 1998.

Enterprise	No.	%
Commerce and services	5712	69.3
Public administration and health	1062	12.9
Production	769	9.3
Construction	705	8.5

Source: AMCR, 276CW485, AUDRR, *Les Chiffres Clés de l'Agglomération Rémoise 2002* (Reims, 2002), p. 2.

Reims and Leicester have felt the full force of national and international economic processes since the early 1980s. In the light of a global economic crisis, uncertainty prevailed in Reims and Leicester in terms of predicting their future local economic structure and performance; however, the expansion of the tertiary sector had clearly been the leading growth sector since the early 1980s. Although the decline of the manufacturing sector had been experienced on a national level in both France and Britain, the impact of deindustrialisation had been more intense at local and regional levels, especially in Leicester where the manufacturing sector had traditionally played a leading role. The city gradually managed to catch up and developed a more service based economy in accordance with changing global trends.

This shift to the service sector clearly indicated a restructuring of the local economy in the quest for a more competitive position within a changing global world. Indeed, in both Reims and Leicester, businessmen expressed confidence despite the depressed state of the international economy. The *Leicester Mercury* stated in 1991 that ‘many felt that Leicestershire would pull through the recession because of its loyal and hard-working work force’.²⁷ The journal also noted that ‘the city is well placed to meet the challenge of the next few years and beyond’, citing the economic potential of new schemes such as Hamilton Business Park and the Shires, and well established academic institutions.²⁸

²⁷ ‘Bosses say Leicestershire has the strength to beat the recession blues, let’s hang on in there’, *Leicester Mercury*, 22 February 1991.

²⁸ P. Heap, ‘Future Bright for City’, *Leicester Mercury*, 13 December 1991; The Shires is a £60 million shopping complex which opened in 1992 in Leicester city centre. According to the *Leicester Mercury* in 1995, ‘[t]he Shires shopping complex has pulled alongside Nottingham’s Victoria Centre in its battle to become the East Midlands’ main attraction for shoppers’. Indeed, the shopping centre was attracting around 275 000 to 300 000 shoppers per week.’ [Quotation from ‘Success in Store Wars, *Leicester Mercury*, 11 December 1995]. Leicester University is internationally renowned for the revolutionary discovery of DNA fingerprinting.

In Reims the same apparent enthusiasm was perceptible during the early 1990s as the city was chosen to be the regional headquarters for two banks- *la Caisse d'Epargne* and *le Crédit Agricole* and one insurance company, *Groupama*.²⁹ As the local newspaper *VRI* noted: [a]u plan économique, leur présence confirme le rôle de métropole régionale de Reims et son essor dans le secteur tertiaire (at the economic level, the presence of these regional headquarters reflects the regional capital status of Reims and its rapid tertiary sector development).³⁰

Adding to this shift in Reims' and Leicester's local economy, other changes such as unemployment growth, work flexibility and precariousness of employment started to be an emerging problem by the early 1980s. In Great Britain, the unemployment rate reached more than 10 per cent in 1981, whereas in 1975 it only represented 5.1 per cent. In France, the unemployment rate reached 6.9 per cent in 1982, which clearly increased compared with the 1975 unemployment rate (3.4 per cent) (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). The 1980s marked a turning point, as the impact of globalisation changed all the urban economic systems by drastically weakening the labour market. Both France and Britain experienced large losses in manufacturing jobs. Leicester and Reims faced a long period of high unemployment, which increased drastically by the early 1980s and exceeded 10 per cent in comparison with the 1970s' rate, which was below 5 per cent (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). The unemployment of both cities was generally higher than the national average (+4 points). When compared to the city of Amiens which is also a medium-sized city, Reims' unemployment rate situation was similar. Amiens' unemployment rate was higher than the regional average (Picardie) and the national average in 1999 and 2007. A familiar pattern regarding unemployment rate can be traced, as Nottingham also experienced a higher unemployment rate (9.1 per cent) than the national average in 2001.³¹

²⁹ The regional bank, *La Caisse D'Epargne Champagne-Ardenne*, was developed in 1991 in Reims. *La Caisse de Crédit Agricole Union Nord-Est* is also a regional bank in Reims which was created in 1989. Groupama is one of the most important insurance companies in France. *Groupama Nord-Est* was developed in 1992 in Reims.

³⁰ Bibliothèque Carnegie Reims [hereafter BCR], PERCHFOL 162, 'Reims Métropole Régionale', *VRI*, December 1992-January 1993.

³¹ ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census area statistics, economic activity and worklessness economic activity', <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

Table 2.8: Unemployment rate in Leicester and Great Britain.

Years	1975	1981	1991	2001	2007
Economically active		133,476	124,297	122,875	143,200
Unemployed people		16,668	16,914	9,704	14,100
Unemployment rate Leicester	4.7%*	11.5%	13.6%	7.9%	9.8%
Unemployment rate Great Britain	5.1%	10.4%	9.5%	5.2%	6.5%

*Unemployment rate for the year 1971

Sources: 1975-1991: ROLLR, L312, Government Statistical Service, Census 1971, 1981 and 1991: County Report Leicestershire; 2001-2007: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census area statistics, economic activity and worklessness economic activity', <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

Table 2.9: Unemployment rate in Reims, Champagne-Ardenne, France, Amiens and Picardie.

Years	Reims (%)	Amiens (%)	Champagne-Ardenne (%)	Picardie (%)	France (%)
1975	4.1				3.4
1982	11.3		7.2		6.9
1990	13.0		8.2		7.9
1999	13.4	12.5	10.0	10.0	10.0
	M*=12.0, F*=15.0				
2007	11.5	10.3	8.1	8.3	8.0
	M=10.9, F=12.2				

*M=Male, *F=Female

Sources: Reims, Champagne-Ardenne and France 1975- 1990 : AMCR, 261CW10, évolution du taux de chômage p. 39; Reims 2007-1999 : Institut d'Aménagement et du Territoire d'Urbanisme et d'Environnement de l'Université de Reims, *Etude Socio-Economique de l'Axe Reims/ Charleville-Mézières* (2011), p. 75; Amiens, Picardie and France 1999-2007: Partenariat INSEE-SGAR, *Notes Territoriales sur les Zones d'Emploi Picardes* (2009), p. 7.

Although Reims' unemployment rate remained high during the 1980s, this rate was slightly lower than Leicester (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). This could be explained by the fact that Leicester, known for its great industrial centre, was hit by the phenomenon of deindustrialisation. By 1991, Leicester's unemployment rate reached 13.6 per cent, due to the decline of some of the highly vulnerable manufacturing industries, for which the limited growth in service sector employment could not compensate. However, when comparing the unemployment rate of both Reims and Leicester in 2007, one can notice that Reims' unemployment rate (11.5 per cent) in 2007 was considerably higher than that of Leicester (9.8 per cent). This difference reflected the impact of two divergent strategies. Indeed, two political instruments revealed two historically rooted values, which gave birth to two different trajectories in dealing with unemployment. In France,

‘social treatment of unemployment’ was traditionally grounded in its Republican mentality, whereas Britain, since the 1980s had inherited more liberal and market led policy.³²

As Jochen Clasen and Daniel Clegg state, ‘British unemployment benefits have been radically scaled back over the last twenty years, to contain social expenditure, but also to increase financial and behavioural incentives related to employment.’³³ Britain possessed strong work deregulation where earning supplements were drastically reduced after the general election of the Thatcher government in 1979. The Conservative government reformed the social security system, where restrictive conditions led to the reduction of the categories of people eligible to claim benefits and the reduction in the level of benefits.³⁴ The Job Seekers Allowance regulation, implemented in 1996, limited benefits for only six months. By contrast, unemployment benefit in France could last five years.

By comparison with France, the British modes of regulation were characterized by a market oriented approach. These kind of aggressive policy initiatives were not compatible with the traditional French Republican values of solidarity and fraternity. As Clasen and Clegg underline, ‘France, furthermore, is the country where the doctrine of solidarity has been most comprehensively theorised and promoted, giving its name to an influential centrist reform movement – *les solidaristes* – at the beginning of the twentieth century.’³⁵ Indeed, this ideology reflected the deep-rooted republican tradition and social legacy of France which is an ‘inheritance of the French revolution where the claims of popular democracy and sovereignty are wedded to demands for greater social justice’.³⁶ The new economic context of unemployment and the emergence of liberalism and capitalism led to a revival of the Republican culture in France in the 1980s, characterised as the golden age of Republican France.³⁷ The weakening of the Marxist ideologies, which used to experience a strong popularity within the left wing party in France after the Second World

³² J. Clasen and D. Clegg, ‘Unemployment Protection and Labour Market Reform in France and Great Britain in the 1990s: Solidarity Versus Activation?’ *Journal of Social Policy*, 32, no.3 (2003), p. 361.

³³ Ibid., p. 365.

³⁴ J. Rubery, F. Wilkinson and R. Tarling, ‘Government Policy and the Labor Market, the Case of the United-Kingdom’ in S. Rosenberg (ed.), *The State and the Labor Market* (New York, 1989), p. 37.

³⁵ Clasen and Clegg, ‘Unemployment Protection and Labour Market Reform in France and Great Britain in the 1990s’, p. 365.

³⁶ J. Jennings, ‘Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France’, *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, no.4 (2000), p. 577.

³⁷ S. Berstein, ‘Le Retour de la Culture Républicaine’, *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d’Histoire*, 44, no.1 (1994), p. 117.

War and the failure of the Socialists in 1981-1984 with regards to the economic crisis, encouraged the renaissance and the revival of the Republican culture and values in the mid-1980s. *La culture politique republicaine* (the Republican political culture) which is based on the principles of solidarity and the protecting role of the state, gained popularity as a response to the new economic situation of the country.³⁸ According to Serge Berstein, the renewed enthusiasm for Republican values in the mid-1980s within both the Conservative and Socialist parties unified the political scene of France and this explains the existence of the strong social protection system of the country.³⁹

The increasing unemployment rate and the expansion of the tertiary sector favoured the emergence of work flexibility reforms in both France and Britain. The development of flexibility and part-time work symbolised one of the major change in the labour market since the 1980s in order to fight against the phenomenon of unemployment as job opportunities became more and more rare. In a context of increased volatility for demand, which was mainly linked to international competition, enterprises required more flexibility regarding the management of their workforce. However, the labour market of Britain remained less rigid than in France.

Liberalisation and flexibility rapidly started in the early 1980s after the election of Thatcher in order to free up the labour market. The aim was to limit social security through radical economic initiatives by introducing free markets. Employment protection legislation was diminished in the United Kingdom. As stated by Jill Rubery *et al*: ‘job protection for the individual has also been reduced through the weakening of individual

³⁸ Leon Bourgeois, a French statesman, was considered to be the most influential thinker regarding the social republican doctrine of ‘*solidarisme*’ under the third Republic (1870-1940). During the end of the nineteenth century the liberal economy, led by the market, increased social inequalities. In this context, Leon Bourgeois theorised in the 1890s a new social doctrine in which the principle of solidarity and social justice was promoted. The doctrine of Leon bourgeois on solidarity has continued to influence the Republican discourse of the fifth Republic (1958-present) in which left and right wings act according to the principles of solidarity and social protection of the central state towards its citizens; Berstein, ‘Le Retour de la Culture Républicaine’, p. 117.

³⁹ The presidential campaign of Jacques Chirac, Conservative leader, was launched in 1995 around the theme of ‘*fracture sociale*’ (social break-up) a term created in 1985 by the sociologist, Marcel Gauchet, who used it to describe the gap between populations that are integrated, socially and economically, and those that are excluded. Jacques Chirac used the notion of ‘*fracture sociale*’ for political purposes to highlight the economic uncertainty and the social problems of the *banlieues*, which he proposed to solve through strong state interventionist measures. This aspect demonstrated that neoliberalism, as a political ideology, was incompatible with the French tradition of a strong welfare state. Contrastingly, the Republican rhetoric of social cohesion and solidarity was the driving force for any political success; Berstein, ‘Le Retour de la Culture Républicaine’, p. 238.

employment rights.’⁴⁰ As a result, strikes and union rights were restricted through the 1980 Employment Act. The 1989 Employment Act further limited such rights and established clauses on employment security. Indeed, Britain, with its drastic liberal measures, was a unique case in Europe. The Anglo-Saxon capitalist system that is economically and ideologically influenced by the United States, contrasted not only with France but also with the European social model. Britain joined the European Union (EU) in 1973 and its alliance with the rest of Europe had always been tense.⁴¹ Thatcher was indeed suspicious towards the EU as she stated in 1988: ‘[w]e haven’t worked all these years to free Britain from the paralysis of socialism only to see it creep in through the back door of central control and bureaucracy from Brussels.’⁴² Consequently, the UK government rejected the European Social Charter of 1989, signed by the other twelve member states at the time, which established fundamental social rights and security for workers.⁴³ This Charter was perceived as incompatible with its deregulatory efforts and as jeopardizing its sovereignty. However, Britain’s neoliberal ideology, in line with the logic of globalisation, had played a leading role in the European Union economic reforms over time.

In the early 1980s, the situation was different in France. From 1981 to 1986, the reduction and reorganisation of working time was the main concern of the Socialist government. The Mitterrand government launched a scheme for working time reform during the early

⁴⁰ Rubery, Wilkinson and Tarling, ‘Government Policy and the Labor Market’ in Rosenberg (ed.), *The State and the Labor Market*, p. 29.

⁴¹ The accession of Britain to the Europe Union has not been easy as the nation was considered incompatible with the social and economic organisation of continental Europe. Charles De Gaulle, French president from 1958 until 1969 and founder of the fifth Republic, vetoed Britain’s application to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963 and 1967. He considered the country detached from continental Europe having closer interests with the US. During a press conference organised at l’Elysée in 1963, De Gaulle explained his reasons for rejecting Britain: ‘L’Angleterre, en effet elle, est insulaire. Elle est maritime. Elle est liée par ses échanges, ses marchés, ses ravitaillements aux pays les plus divers, et souvent les plus lointains. Elle exerce une activité essentiellement industrielle et commerciale, et très peu agricole. Elle a dans tout son travail des habitudes et des traditions très marquées, très originales. Bref, la nature, la structure qui sont propres à l’Angleterre diffèrent profondément de celle des continentaux.’ (England is an insular and maritime country. Thanks to its trade, its markets and its imports it is linked to the most diverse countries and often the most remote. Its main activities are industrial and commercial rather than agricultural. It possesses well established and original habits and traditions. In short, its nature and structure which are unique to England deeply differ from those of continental Europe). Francetvinfo Géopolis, ‘Brexit: quand De Gaulle disait non à l’Angleterre dans l’Europe’ (June 2016), <http://geopolis.francetvinfo.fr/> [Accessed 1 July 2016].

⁴² R. Hayman, ‘Britain and the European Social Model: Capitalism Against Capitalism?’, *IES Working Paper* (2008), p. 2.

⁴³ Before the creation of the Single European Market in 1992, many concerns were raised on its possible social consequences. As a result, in order to avoid these consequences, a Charter was implemented to set up European social and labour policy standards by the Member States.

1980s.⁴⁴ As underlined by Annie Gauvin and François Michon, this programme included ‘a general shortening of the workweek, a fifth vacation week, a general lowering of the retirement age, and voluntary contracts on a further shortening of the workweek, and preretirement schemes called solidarity contracts’.⁴⁵ However, this scheme issued by the Socialist government in 1982 promoted more use of part-time work as a way to reduce unemployment.

Although France maintained a strong social protection by comparison with Britain, the nature of working-time changed in the late 1980s as some liberal attempts started to emerge when the legislative election in 1986 produced a Conservative majority.⁴⁶ The Seguin Act established in 1987 promoted work flexibility and aimed to allow employers to make adjustments to working hours more easily.⁴⁷ By 1992, employers’ contributions for social security were reduced by 30 per cent for employees working between nineteen and thirty hours per week and this was also further encouraged by the Aubry Law I that was established in 1998.⁴⁸ Since 2001, the Aubry Law II has reduced benefits (contribution benefits) for enterprises of less than twenty employees. The reduction of employer’s contributions for employees was cancelled on the first of January 2006.⁴⁹

When comparing the share of part-time work between male and female in both Leicester and Reims, one can notice that in both cities women performed more part-time work than men. In 1999, the part-time work rate for men in Reims represented 6.6 per cent of the total number of employments; whereas the part-time work rate for women was 33.2 per cent (Tables 2.10 and 2.11). These percentage figures are quite similar to Leicester’s rate in 2001. Men’s part-time work rate was 8.5 per cent and women’s part-time work rate reached 36.3 per cent (Tables 2.10 and 2.11).

⁴⁴ A. Gauvin, and F. Michon, ‘Work-Sharing Public Policy in France, 1981-1986’ in Rosenberg (ed.), *The State and the Labor Market*, p. 223.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ The first ‘cohabitation’ of the fifth Republic took place in 1986, where the offices of President and Prime Minister were filled by members of two rival parties. The 1986 legislative election resulted in a right-wing majority under Socialist President François Mitterrand who was therefore obliged to appoint Jacques Chirac as Prime Minister, leader of the Rally for the Republic party (*Rassemblement pour la République*, ‘RPR’ in French) and rival of the Socialist government.

⁴⁷ Legifrance, Le Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit, Loi n 87-423 19 June 1987, (December 2013) <http://legifrance.gouv.fr/> [Accessed 18 November 2013].

⁴⁸ Direction de l’Animation de la Recherche des Etudes et des Statistiques, *De plus en plus d’Emplois à Temps Partiel au cours des Vingt-Cinq Dernières Années*, no.39-3 (2007), p. 7.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Table 2.10: Full-time and part-time work by gender in Reims 1999 and 2006.

Year		1999		2006	
City	Gender	Full-time %	Part-time %	Full-time %	Part-time %
Reims	Male	93.4	6.6	92.9	7.1
	Female	66.8	33.2	68.7	31.3
	Total	81.0	19.0	81.1	18.9
Champagne-Ardenne	Male	94.4	5.6	94.1	5.9
	Female	66.7	33.3	69.0	31.0
	Total	82.0	18.0	82.3	17.7

Source: Région Champagne-Ardenne, *Document Préparatoire – Schéma Régional de la formation tout au long de la vie : Bassin d'Emploi de Reims* (Reims, no date), p. 4.

Table 2.11: Full-time and part-time work by gender in Leicester in 2001, 2006 and 2008.

Year	2001						2006	2008
	Male	Female	Male %	Female %	Total no.	Total %	Total %	Total %
Full-time	45,253	29,104	91.5	63.7	74,357	78.1	70.3	68.8
Part-time	4,192	16,604	8.5	36.3	20,796	21.9	29.7	31.2
Total	49,445	45,708	100.0	100.0	95,153			

Sources: 2001: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census area statistics, economic activity', <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/>; 2006-2008: Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics, 'Local authority statistics: employee jobs', <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

A similar and homogenous pattern appears as women were the first victims of work flexibility. However, when comparing the evolution of part-time work since the 1980s-1990s, a clear difference can be noticed which reflects again two different national political choices. In Leicester, part-time work represented 17 per cent of the total number of employment in 1981 and this increased by 14 per cent in 2001 (21.9 per cent) (Table 2.11).⁵⁰ Part-time work in Leicester represented 29.7 per cent of the total employment in 2006 (Chart 2.1) and it had more than doubled in five years by exceeding 30 per cent of the total number in 2008.

⁵⁰ ROLLR, L312, Leicestershire Census, 1981.

Chart 2.1: *Work distribution in Leicester in 2006.*

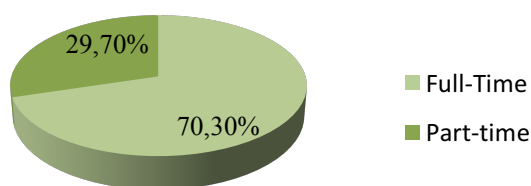
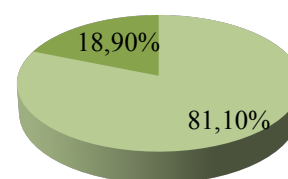


Chart 2.2: *Work distribution in Reims in 2006.*



By comparison to Leicester, part-time work in Reims did not change over the period 1999-2006; it represented 18 per cent of the total number of employment which was similar to the regional average (Table 2.10). Also, the share of female part-time work in Reims in 1999 (33.2 per cent) decreased by 2 points in 2006, reaching 31.3 per cent (Table 2.10). This could be explained by the fact that part-time work in France had been more encouraged during the early 1990s and since the introduction of the ‘Aubry Law II’. However, it is relevant to note that precarious or vulnerable job positions had increased in Reims since 1990 (9.2 per cent) and reached 15.9 per cent in 2007, which demonstrates that the use of labour flexibility still gradually increased over the period 1990-2007 (Table 2.12). Nevertheless, the rapid evolution of Leicester’ part-time work, which reached 31.2 per cent in 2008 (Table 2.11) reflected the idea of a more flexible labour market structure in contrast with Reims, where part-time work did not even reach 20 per cent in 2006 (Chart 2.2). This could also explain the fact that the unemployment rate in Leicester was lower than in Reims in 2007. The labour market clearly remained more flexible in Leicester; with the city experiencing a more extensive use of part-time work, reflecting the ideal of labour market flexibility and deregulation established since 1980 in Britain (Charts 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.12: Percentages of precarious jobs in Reims in 1990, 1999 and 2007.

Precarious Job Type	1990	1999	2007
Assisted jobs		5.2	4.0
Temporary jobs		1.7	2.1
Fixed-term contract		8.6	9.8
Insecure jobs	9.2	15.5	15.9
Stable jobs	90.8	84.5	84.1

Source: AMCR, 261CW10, INSEE recensement de la population.

In the age of globalisation both cities experienced a similar scenario where different processes were associated - deindustrialisation, a growing tertiary sector and the rise of unemployment. Their intensification led the government to adapt its labour policies to this homogenous global process. As a result, market reforms and deregulation emerged in both France and Britain in order to fight against unemployment. Although political choices converged within neoliberal ideas to fit into this global market force, this ideology appeared with differing degrees; being more assertive in Britain, especially in the 1980s, by comparison to France. As a result, this global market, which seemed to control and dictate the urban economy of both Reims and Leicester, revealed different economic characteristics, cultural values, industrial traditions and political constraints. A clear difference remained evident between the labour markets of Reims and Leicester, which reflected different national policies (enterprise approach vs social model).

Local authorities' adaptation to new global challenges

New initiatives were urgently needed to prevent both cities from being overtaken by economic decline. The problem of unemployment, in particular, encouraged local authorities in both Leicester and Reims to set up initiatives to boost business creation. Leicester City Council and *la Ville de Reims* implemented a new enterprise strategy which promoted both business growth and new businesses. These local authorities hoped that small and medium sized enterprises would generate employment, and micro-economic solutions emerged in order to solve macro-economic problems. However, the notion of 'enterprise culture' did not develop at the same pace in Britain and France. When calculating the mean of business birth rate in France and in England for the years 2006, 2007 and 2008, one can notice a small difference as the mean calculated for France (11.3 per cent) was slightly lower than in England (12 per cent) (Table 2.13).

Table 2.13: Business birth rate in France and England from 2006-2008.

Years	England %	France %
2006	11.8	12.1
2007	12.5	11.0
2008	11.8	10.9
Mean	12.0	11.3

Sources: England: ONS, 'Business birth rate', <https://www.ons.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013]; France: INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2006*, no.21 (2007), p. 21; INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2007*, no.22 (2008), p. 10; INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique et Social 2008*, no.25 (2009), p. 11.

Since the 1980s, Britain had forged a strong entrepreneurial tradition with strong market-oriented policies. The inner-city riots in 1981 led to the development of new initiatives where business creation had been promoted to halt the rising problem of unemployment and inner-city deprivation. In France, the spirit of entrepreneurial initiative and the enterprise culture developed at a slower pace from the 1980s. Although local authorities started slowly in recognising enterprises as a necessity, this spirit of competitive conquest had generally been perceived at odds with the *égalitariste* (egalitarian) French culture and the notion of *revendication sociale* (social demand).

Raymond Barre, a centre-right politician who served as Prime Minister under Valéry Giscard D'Estaing presidency from 1976 until 1981, ironically said in 1980 in response to protestors' discontent: '[c]ertains des chômeurs qui se complaisent dans leur état feraient mieux d'essayer de créer leur propre entreprise, même artisanale. (Some unemployed people who are taking advantage from their situation [being on generous benefits] should rather start up their own businesses).'⁵¹ This comment surprised public opinion in France where risk-taking with entrepreneurship was perceived as incompatible at the time with the French tradition. *L'union* noted in 1980 : '[l]a France est l'un des pays occidentaux où l'on crée le moins d'entreprises nouvelles et qui connaît le plus fort pourcentage de disparition d'entreprises anciennes, pas seulement par faillites, mais aussi en raison du coût des droits à payer au fisc au moment d'une succession (France has one of the lowest new business start-up rates in the western world and one of the highest percentages of business failures, which result not only from bankruptcies but also due to

⁵¹ 'Créer des entreprises pour limiter le chômage', *L'Union*, 12 March 1980.

the immediate tax bill faced when taking over a new business).⁵² Furthermore, Favilla, a famous French columnist in *Les Echos*, a daily financial newspaper edited in Paris, stated in 1996 that the dream of 50 per cent of French people is to become *fonctionnaires* (civil servants). He also argued that the French prefer career security and despise people who take risks and fail as the entrepreneurial spirit was incompatible with the prevailing French mentality.⁵³ He said: '[l]'esprit d'entreprise, c'est aussi l'esprit de conquête, la volonté de gagner, de l'emporter dans la compétition. Et cela blesse notre culture égalitariste (the entrepreneurial spirit, it also the spirit of conquest, the will to win and create fierce competition and these hurt our egalitarian culture).'⁵⁴ These statements reflect, indeed, a rather stereotypical view at the time. And yet, business creation gradually became, in the same sense as in Britain, an attractive alternative for the government to improve employment prospects in France over the period 1980-2008.

In the Pays Rémois, the number of business birth ratio per 10,000 inhabitants represented 36.9 in 2008, which was higher than the Department of the Marne (36) and the Champagne Ardenne's ratio (34.2) (Table 2.14). However, le Grand Nancy's ratio in terms of business creation per 10,000 habitants (41.4) was higher than the Pays Rémois' ratio.⁵⁵ The Pays Rémois seems less dynamic in terms of business birth than le Grand Nancy. A general growth occurred, both in terms of the number of existing businesses in Leicester and with regards to enterprises creation in the Pays Rémois. This reflected the growing trend in the global entrepreneurial and capitalist world.

In Britain, the number of businesses increased by 25.9 per cent between 1994 and 2007 (Table 2.15). When comparing the rate of business change on a local level, the number of businesses increased to a greater extent in Leicester (19.1 per cent) than in Nottingham (13.7 per cent) from 1994 to 2007. However, the growth in the number of businesses has been higher in Derby (29.1 per cent) over the same period. When comparing the number of businesses ratio per 10,000 inhabitants in 2007, Leicester's ratio (283.4) was higher than in Derby (222) and Nottingham (226.4) (Table 2.15). Overall, the economic urban fabric in Leicester was the most dynamic in the East Midland region. Indeed, in both Reims and Leicester, the local authorities were aware that small and medium enterprises

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ AMCR, 250CW23, Favilla, 'L'Esprit d'Entreprise', *Les Echos*, 1996.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The Grand Nancy and the Pays Rémois are similar in terms of demography. The Grand Nancy accounted for 250,900 inhabitants and the Pays Rémois accounted for 288,088 inhabitants in 2008.

could easily seize new economic opportunities, but they also realised that their lack of experience in terms of management might jeopardize their continued existence. New strategies had therefore to be set up by the local authorities in order to help and advice new entrepreneurs.

Table 2.14: New entreprises in the Pays Rémois, Marne, Champagne-Ardenne, Grand Nancy and France in 2006 and 2008.

Year	2006	2008	Ratio per 10,000 habitants 2008
Pays Rémois	923	1,062	36.9
Marne	1,992	2,033	36.0
Champagne-Ardenne	4,494	4,557	34.2
Grand Nancy	926	1,068	41.4
France	307,317	312,061	49.5

Sources: 2006 : INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2006*, no.21 (2007), p. 15; 2008: INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique et Social 2008*, no.25 (2009), p.11; Grand Nancy 2006: INSEE Lorraine, *Création d'Entreprises dans le Grand Nancy*, no.262 (2011), p. 3; Grand Nancy 2008 : INSEE Lorraine, *Création d'Entreprises dans le Grand Nancy*, no.315 (2013), p. 3.

Table 2.15: Number of businesses in Leicester, Derby, Nottingham. East Midlands and Great Britain in 1994 and 2007.

Years	1994	2007	Change %	Ratio per 10,000 habitants in 2007
Leicester	6,900	8,220	19.1	283.4
Derby	4,060	5,240	29.1	222.0
Nottingham	5,695	6,475	13.7	226.4
East Midlands	111,370	139,145	24.9	318.8
Great Britain	1,560,700	1,964,920	25.9	324.3

Source: Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics, 'Local authority statistics: VAT registration and deregistration business', <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

However, when calculating the mean of business birth between Reims and Leicester from 1995-2000, Reims' mean (746) is lower than that of Leicester (823) (Tables 2.16 and 2.17). Also, the average enterprise birth rate in Reims represented 9.1 per cent over six years, which was lower than Leicester's average (11.7 per cent) (Tables 2.16 and 2.17). Nevertheless, the average of business death rate only represented 7.9 per cent for Reims, which was lower than Leicester's 10.5 per cent (Tables 2.16 and 2.17).

Table 2.16: Registration and deregistration of businesses in Reims 1995-2000.

Year	Registration	Deregistration	Balance	Stock	Birth rate %	Death rate %
1995	703	554	149	7,903	8.9	7.0
1996	797	673	124	8,052	9.9	8.4
1997	773	666	107	8,176	9.5	8.1
1998	744	655	89	8,283	9.0	7.9
1999	723	655	68	8,372	8.6	7.8
2000	734	693	41	8,440	8.7	8.2
Mean	746				9.1	7.9

Source: Box 276W485, CCI, *Agglomération et Polarisation: Forces et Faiblesses des Territoires* (Reims, 2001), p. 49.

Table 2.17: VAT registration and deregistration of businesses in Leicester 1995-2000.

Year	Registration	Deregistration	Balance	Stock	Birth rate %	Death rate %
1995	830	820	10	6,910	12.0	11.9
1996	725	735	-10	6,900	10.5	10.6
1997	780	705	75	6,975	11.3	10.2
1998	875	710	165	7,140	12.5	10.2
1999	855	745	110	7,250	12.0	10.4
2000	870	710	160	7,410	12.0	9.8
Mean	823				11.7	10.5

Source: Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics, 'Local authority statistics: VAT registration and deregistration business', <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

Although, the business death rate was higher in Leicester, the situation demonstrated that the entrepreneurial spirit and the 'appetite for risk' was more developed in Leicester than in Reims, which reflected Britain's liberal and entrepreneurial ethos. As Rubery *et al* underline, not only was Thatcher's governmental aim to free up the labour market and to reduce job protection but to also encourage job creation through the growth of small firms. The ideology of Britain's government favoured an entrepreneurial culture, where small firms would play a leading role in a free market economy.⁵⁶ This entrepreneurial ideology of Britain had been strongly influenced by Thatcher as well as by the industrial and trading heritage of the country which had fed the long-term development of its entrepreneurial mentality. The Industrial Revolution first started in Britain in the

⁵⁶ Rubery, Wilkinson and Tarling, 'Government Policy and the Labor Market' in Rosenberg (ed.), *The State and the Labor Market*, p. 30.

eighteenth century before any other nations. Britain was therefore a great mercantilist and industrial power thanks to its know-how, technological development, transportation and its numerous colonies. The British industrial and economic supremacy was reflected by its manufactured goods which were exported to European markets and the United States. Trade was also developed in South America and India which enabled the country to import a wide diversity of goods such as tea, sugar, coffee, tobacco.⁵⁷ Britain was therefore considered the first global trader by the mid-eighteenth century and although experiencing decline by the 1970s, this particular heritage had forged its long standing entrepreneurial spirit.

It is not surprising that Leicester, a city with an important industrial legacy, has entrepreneurial values in its blood. The City Council implemented initiatives for business creation by the late 1970s in order to help people with new ideas and to set up their enterprises. Leicester City Council actively promoted actions to assist and provide premises, and also to offer advice and financial help to new entrepreneurs. The Leicester Promotion Campaign was launched in 1976 by the City Council in partnership with private sectors such as the Chamber of Commerce, the trade union movement, banks, local hoteliers and retailers, estate agents and property developers.⁵⁸ The aim was to promote the expansion of Leicester's existing industry and commerce. This campaign turned out to be successful: 3,000 jobs were created from 1976 to 1984.⁵⁹ By the early 1980s, initiatives became more numerous in Leicester to support business creation which harmonized with new economic circumstances. In January 1981, Michael Heseltine, MP Secretary of State for the Environment, came to the offices of Corah with the aim of promoting a policy that would encourage the established business community to aid and support the small firms. As a result, the Leicestershire Business Venture was created six months later, in July 1981, which intended to provide expertise and useful guidance to the small firms.⁶⁰ During the early 1980s, Leicester was also part of a major government scheme, called the Inner Area Programme, which not only aimed to improve the social and environmental life of inner cities but to also develop business creation and the inner-city economy. The Magazine Workspace was a scheme that helped small firms to rent

⁵⁷ P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation an Economic History of Britain 1700-1914* (London, 2nd ed., 2001).

⁵⁸ ROLLR, L338, Leicestershire County Council, *The Leicestershire Business Venture: Annual Review*, (Leicester, 1982), p. 7.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

portioned space for a small amount of money, and the City Council Enterprise Workshop, which aimed to promote business birth, were both funded under this national government scheme.⁶¹ In the *Policies for Employment and Economy*, created in 1984 by the Leicestershire County Council, it is stated that the committee had introduced an Economic Development Programme, thus further emphasising the will for business promotion in Leicester. This programme aimed to bring financial assistance to industry and to assist the development to industrial sites. The Leicestershire Business Venture, created in 1981, which aimed to give free business advice to clients with no experience, received government fees to act in a training role for various initiatives scheme in 1986.⁶²

The case of Leicester shows that both national and local government worked together to promote business creation. Hence, the Leicester City Challenge project, which started in 1993, helped priority zones such as the west area to improve its quality of life and also revitalise the local economy by attracting investment and by assisting local businesses through improving certain work skills.⁶³ Leicester was an example of private and voluntary sector initiatives working closely with local firms and central government in order to help job creation. In addition, Leicester which was recognised as ‘one of Britain’s truly multi-cultural cities’, benefitted from this local peculiarity.⁶⁴

Leicester was an attractive proposition for migrants, and the city welcomed in the early 1970s many persecuted Asian families displaced from East Africa who possessed a well-established entrepreneurial mentality and business expertise. Indeed, most of them were merchants, artisans, textile workmen and traders. Consequently, they played a major role in re-boosting Leicester’s post-industrial economy and more particularly the clothing trade in Leicester with the Asian sub-continent. Alan Green, Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) and Industry Chief Executive, argued in 1992: ‘I think in the knitwear and clothing industry it would be fairly safe to say that if it were not for the Asian Community a big part of this traditional trade would have disappeared.’⁶⁵ Indeed, the business expertise of the Asian community was much appreciated in Leicester

⁶¹ ROLLR, L338, Leicester City Council, *Leicester Means Business: Guide to Business Development Services* (Leicester, 1984), p. 2.

⁶² ROLLR, L331, Leicestershire County Council, *Policies for Employment and the Economy* (Leicester, 1984), p. 6.

⁶³ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Leicester’s Annual Report 1993/94* (Leicester, 1994), pp. 15 & 17.

⁶⁴ Nash and Reeder, *Leicester in the Twentieth Century*, p. 184.

⁶⁵ ‘Big boost for Asians business’, *Leicester Mercury*, 28 February 1992.

and had always been praised by the LCCI. A. Green added that ‘everybody appreciates that within the Asian community there is expertise that is lacking in mainstream companies. For instance, the community probably has the finest range of commercial contacts in East and West Africa and we ought to tap into that. It also goes without saying that their knowledge of the Asian sub-continent is superior to anybody else’s. So, there are many areas where the Asian businessman has knowledge that ought to be useful to his English born counterpart.’⁶⁶ Local initiatives were therefore implemented to further encourage and support the peculiar assets of Leicester. Services to provide advice and information to Asian businesses had been established since the late 1980s.⁶⁷ In 1992, a new business advice centre in Leicester opened in order to boost Leicestershire’s Asian businesses in partnership with the Leicestershire Asian Business Association (LABA) and the LCCI.⁶⁸

Leicester’s case shows that the market was the key to integrating people into their own local environment and, to privilege the development of an entrepreneurial culture apposite for the liberal ideology of globalisation. The Leicester City Council pointed out, in a report published in 1994, the importance of business dynamism in order to compete in this new economic order: ‘the strength and vitality of cities and regions will increasingly depends on attaining sustainable advantage, and this relates to many factors including the strength of individual businesses, how well businesses’ activities are co-ordinated, skills and education, environmental leadership, ability to respond to change, and the transport and business support infrastructure. Small and medium sized businesses have a key role to play in the UK economy, particularly with greater trend towards flexibility, decentralisation and outsourcing.’⁶⁹

⁶⁶ B. Patel, ‘New business group is right at your service’, *Leicester Mercury*, 10 March 1992.

⁶⁷ According to the *Leicester Mercury*, 2,000 Asian businesses existed in 1992 in Leicestershire and employed approximately 50,000 people. 60 per cent of Leicestershire’s Asian companies were in retailing and wholesaling, 30 per cent in manufacturing and 10 per cent in the service industry. *The Leicester Asian Business Survey*, published in 1994, listed 1446 Asian businesses in Leicestershire and noted that there existed many smaller ones such as shops and take-away that they could not identify. Most of the Asian businesses were relatively small and 55 per cent of them were in retail, wholesale, import and export, and catering. Leicester City Council recognised the importance of ethnic minority businesses in boosting the local economy and this attitude was in line with the entrepreneurial mode of urban regeneration.

⁶⁸ Experts to help ethnic businesses to prosper were indeed useful. As the *Leicester Mercury* stated, ‘Ethnic minority business people have particular problems raising finance and knowing where to go for business advice’ [Quotation from: ‘Experts to help ethnic firms’, *Leicester Mercury*, 14 January 1988]; ‘Experts to help ethnic firms’, *Leicester Mercury*, 14 January 1988.

⁶⁹ ROLLR, L/SO/50, Leicester city council, *Leicester Asian Business: Survey Report* (Leicester, 1994), p. 3.

In Reims, the situation was somewhat different as I will show. To re-dynamize cities, the national government implemented schemes that were mainly focused on the ‘urban social development’, such as with *le Développement Social des Quartiers* created in 1984, *la Loi d’Orientation sur la Ville* (LOV), established in 1991 and *le Pacte de Relance de la Ville* created in 1996. These laws institutionalised the notion of *Programme Local de l’Habitat* (PLH) and Reims lay at the heart of these initiatives. *Le Développement Social du Quartier Croix-Rouge* was implemented in 1989 and Croix-Rouge was a priority zone to revitalise the image of this district.⁷⁰ Although some initiatives to improve the economy were developed, such as preserving the existing commerce or encouraging the development of the service sector, the national main objective was one of ‘social integration’. The *Développement Social du Quartier* mainly focused on the urban fabric which acted upon the improvement of social housing. *La Ville de Reims* had an even more ambitious plan during the mid-1990s. The PLH, which was approved by the *Conseil de District* in 1995, aimed to revitalise a wider area of Reims.⁷¹ However, this initiative was mainly concentrated on an action based on urbanism, such as renewing the existing accommodation in the district of Reims.

In contrast to Britain, the French national government essentially supported actions regarding urban social development, which mainly promoted social integration as a means to halt the phenomenon of unemployment as well as to erase the negative image of some deprived areas. Contrastingly, the notion of ‘entrepreneur’ was not even mentioned in the urban initiatives plan of *la Ville de Reims* in the 1980s and the 1990s.

When comparing the urban policies or actions of Leicester and Reims, undeniably the very idea of governmental support for enterprise implied a kind of Cultural Revolution in France, because it seemed for l’*Etat* (the state) that enterprises had always been a suspicious practice threatening its sovereignty. Favilla pointed out that, since Colbert, the ‘beautiful’ enterprise was national in the French culture.⁷² It is not surprising that the Socialist government in 1981 nationalised banks and major industrial groups, which clearly emphasised its anti-capitalist leanings.⁷³ Even some right-wing politicians were

⁷⁰ AMCR, 276W350, Requalification du Quartier Croix-Rouge, 1989; the Croix-Rouge district is located in the south-west of Reims. It was built in 1960 when the construction of high-rise multi-dwelling (*grands ensembles* in French) emerged to respond to the post-war housing shortage.

⁷¹ AMCR, 261CW10, Observatoire de l’Habitat no.4, 1997.

⁷² Jean-Baptiste Colbert was a French politician born in Reims in 1619. He served as the Minister of Finance in the reign of Louis XIV; AMCR, 250CW23, Favilla, ‘L’ esprit d’entreprise’, *Les Echos*, 1996.

⁷³ J.E. Flower, *France Today* (London, 8th ed., 1997).

not in favour of neoliberal initiatives. Paul Granet, former deputy of the Union for French Democracy party (*l'Union pour la Démocratie Française* (UDF) in French), expressed his opinion about neoliberalism in 1980 during a conference organised by *the comité d'études pour un 'nouveau contrat social'*. According to him neoliberal measures were not the solution to this economic crisis. He was indeed in favour of 'political liberalism' but against 'economic liberalism'.⁷⁴ That is why initiatives, in Reims, to help the development of enterprises only started in the late 1980s.

'*Reims creator*', launched in 1986, was an award, which selected every two years the most innovative company in partnership with the CCI, the *Chambre des Métiers* and the *Union Patronale de la Marne*. This project tried to promote enterprise culture in the city, but the initiative only started to have a real success in the 1990s.⁷⁵ A business incubator (*pépinière d'entreprise*) had only been created in 1991 in Reims, but slowly indicated a growing local entrepreneurial culture as a means to job creation. During the 2000s, a convergence can be observed. Reims' enterprise birth rate represented 11.4 per cent in 2005, which was close to Leicester's business birth rate (11.6 per cent) during the same year.⁷⁶ This reflected initiatives implemented during the 2000s by the French national government to promote business creation - the Dutreil law created in 2003 marked a turning point that favoured enterprise creation by simplifying administrative steps.⁷⁷ In the Champagne-Ardenne region 4,388 enterprises were created in 2007, an increase of 12.2 per cent since 2002. This growth was close to the national figure (12.7 per cent) and marked a clear contrast with the year 1991, where only 1,055 enterprises were created in the region.⁷⁸

Leicester's local authorities had been more proactive to the process of globalisation since the early 1980s and had adapted quicker to the ideology of the market, thanks to strong national support as well as locally diverse entrepreneurial assets. This aspect reflected the Leicestershire Economic Partnership's vision for the future of Leicester which stated, in

⁷⁴ 'Nouveau contrat social', *l'Union*, 9 March 1980.

⁷⁵ AMCR, 250CW23, *Reims Creator*, 1996

⁷⁶ Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement de la Région de Reims, *L'Observatoire de l'Economie et de l'Emploi* (Reims, 2007), p. 1; Nomis, Official Labour Market Statistics, 'Local Authority Statistics : VAT registration and deregistration business', <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

⁷⁷ Legifrance : Le Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit, Loi no.2003-721 du 1^{er} Août 2003, (Décembre 2013) <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/> [Accessed 18 November 2013].

⁷⁸ INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2007*, no.22 (2008), pp. 9 & 10; BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Création d'entreprises: les résultats restent médiocres', *Matot Braine*, Tuesday 11 and Friday 14 August 1992.

the *City Growth* brochure published in 2005, their wish ‘to make a prosperous and vital city by building on the diversity and creative enterprise of its people and business community’.⁷⁹ Although it seemed irreversible for Reims’ local authorities to gradually adjust to these new economic circumstances, the entrepreneurial spirit took some time to emerge. This clearly underlined the fact that the process of globalisation cannot easily change national values, where the promotion of interventionism and social development remained the key to solve urban deprivation.

In a context of market deregulation, a training reconstruction goal was also one of the major aims in both France and Britain. Training improvement would contribute to future economic growth, as relying on a skilled workforce contributed to enterprises being competitive and to adjust to information technology and to a knowledge economy. In both Leicester and Reims, qualification, training and skills tended therefore to improve. In Leicester, people with no qualification represented 38.5 per cent in 2001 and this figure decreased to 22.8 per cent in 2008. Also, people who obtained National Vocational qualifications 4/5 in 2001 only represented 16.7 per cent, but this increased to 21.2 per cent in 2008 (Graph 2.2).⁸⁰ According to the Leicestershire Learning and Skills Council findings, the percentage of establishments in Leicestershire providing training represented 58.6 per cent in 2003 and increased to 64.5 per cent in 2005. Also, the number of people in receipt of training accounted for 168,100 and this reached 210,300 in 2005 (Table 2.18).

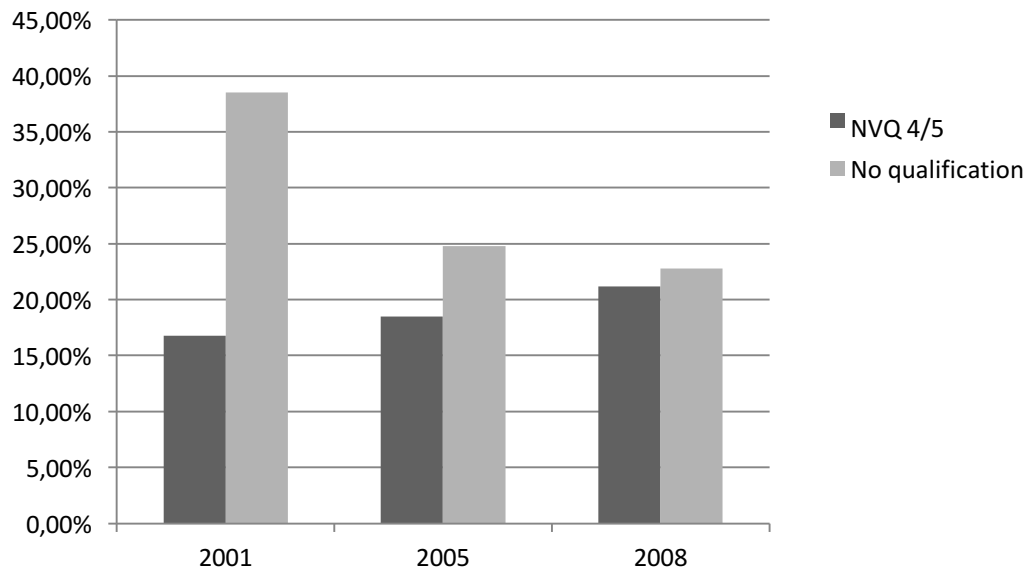
Similarly, qualifications improved in Reims as, according to the 1981 census, 39 per cent of people did not have any qualification.⁸¹ In 1999, people with no qualification represented 20 per cent (Graph 2.3). Not only would training enable the workforce to adapt to the changing industrial requirements but also to lessen the problem of unemployment. Indeed, a great concern had arisen since the 1980s in both France and Britain regarding youth access to jobs and policies towards youth unemployment.

⁷⁹ ROLLR, L/ec/77, Leicestershire Economic Partnership, *City Growth Leicester Summary Document* (Leicester, 2005), p. 6.

⁸⁰ National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) were created in 1986. They are national codification that can be achieved through training and assessment. NVQ 4/5 corresponds to the first and second degree of University.

⁸¹ AMCR, 261CW10

Graph 2.2: Vocational qualifications in Leicester from 2001 to 2008.



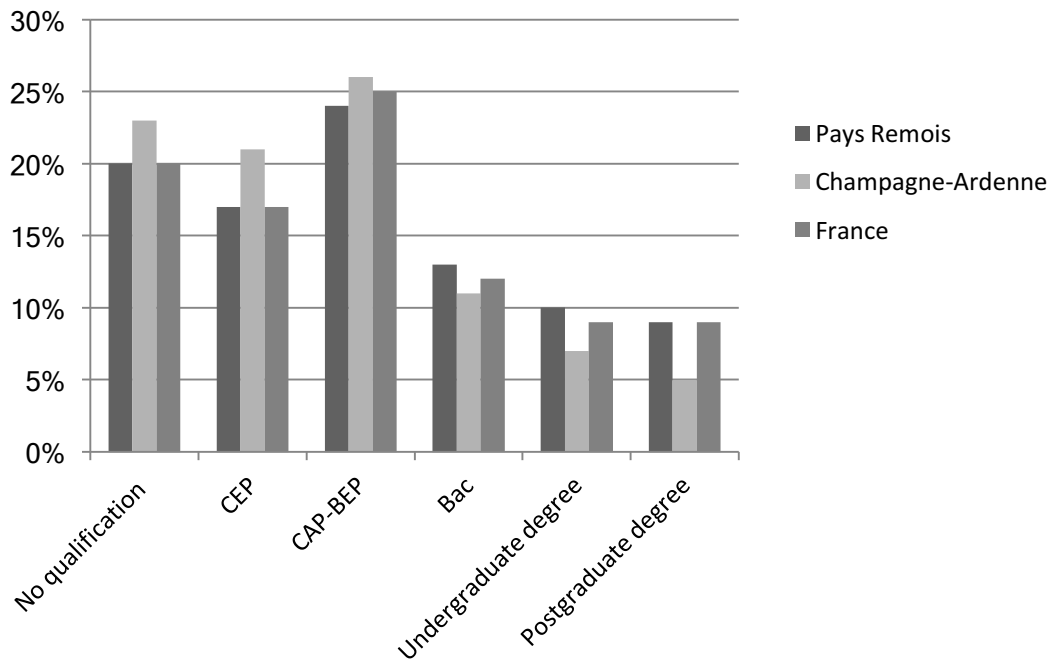
Source: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census area statistics, qualification', <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 July 2013].

Table 2.18: Leicestershire training plan in 2003 and 2005.

Year	2003	2005
(%) of establishments with a training plan	39.5	47.4
(%) of establishments providing training	58.6	64.5
Number of People in receipt of training	168,100	210,300

Source: Leicestershire Learning and Skills Council, *Analysis of the National Employer Skills Survey 2005* (Leicester, 2005), p. 25.

Graph 2.3: Academic and vocational qualifications in the Pays Rémois, Champagne-Ardenne and France in 1999.



CEP: *Certificat d'Etudes Primaires* (Elementary Certificate), CAP-BEP: *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle- Certificat d'Etudes Professionnelles* (NVQ 1, 2), Bac: *Baccalauréat* (English A level).

Source: Région Champagne-Ardenne, *Document Préparatoire – Schéma Régional de la formation tout au long de la vie: Bassin d'Emploi de Reims* (Reims, no date), p. 3.

Young people were the main victims of unemployment. In Leicester 52.4 per cent of people aged less than 30 years old were unemployed in 1981, falling to 46.2 per cent in 1991.⁸² In the Pays Rémois, 20.7 per cent of people aged less than twenty-five were unemployed in 2005. However, Florence Lefresne underlines that the vocational training system in the United Kingdom was different from that in France, as the British training system had been mainly based on apprenticeship programmes which '[led] to an early integration of young people into the labour market.'⁸³ In 1980, 79 per cent of young people in Britain who left school to enter the labour market were 16 years old, whereas in France they only represented 13 per cent.⁸⁴ Relatively, there was a real incentive in Britain by the early 1980s to enable young people to enter the labour market, which further reflected market led policies. As a result, collaboration and partnership between

⁸² ROLLR, L312, Government Statistical Service, Census 1981 and 1991: County Report Leicestershire.

⁸³ F. Lefresne, 'La Politique d'Insertion et de Formation Professionnelle des Jeunes au Royaume-Uni', *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, 131, no.1 (2000), p. 87.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

colleges, schools and employers became important to further improving training and youth access to jobs in Britain.

The publication of the White Paper by Manpower Services Commission (MSC), *A New Training Initiative* in 1981, marked a turning point in Britain.⁸⁵ This document underlined the key role of work-linked training and assessed individual performances. The national objective in terms of education and training for 16-21 year olds focused on certain levels and targets.⁸⁶ By the 1980s, the Conservative government introduced the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), which offered one-year work experience in an enterprise. In 1986, this scheme was available for young people aged seventeen who had left school, with the offer of a second year of work experience. However, one can argue that the YTS scheme reflected the logic of flexibility rather than training, as it reduced labour costs and, as Rubery *et al* argue, was ‘designed to [...] have a dual purpose of freeing-up the labour market and reducing job protection.’⁸⁷ Young people’s status was devalued as they acted as trainees and not as employees in a company. It seemed that this system was ambiguous, given that it reduced wages but also offered employment training.

Another aspect of the neoliberal initiatives was the New Deal for Young People, which was created by Blair’s government in 1997. This scheme enabled long-term unemployed young people to obtain advice from a personalised advisor and to favour their integration into the job market through training, voluntary work and subsidised employment. This underlines the liberal model with few social benefits and prioritizing young people to search for work.

Leicester lay at the heart of these national policies. In Leicestershire, five pilot schemes were already in operation from 1984 under the MSC and funded Technical and Vocational Education Initiatives, and this involved 480 pupils.⁸⁸ Many schools established stronger links with industry, through Project Trident or Schools Council Industry Project. There was a real incentive for Leicester City Council to further develop local opportunities for residents. The *Policies for Employment and the Economy*, published by Leicestershire

⁸⁵ The MSC was created in 1973 by the Department of Employment Group which aimed to promote training and apprenticeship in the United-Kingdom.

⁸⁶ Manpower Services Commission, *A New Training Initiative: An Agenda for Action* (London, 1981).

⁸⁷ J. Rubery, F. Wilkinson and R. Tarling, ‘Government Policy and the Labor Market, the Case of the United-Kingdom’ in Rosenberg (ed.), *The State and the Labor Market*, p. 29

⁸⁸ ROLLR, L331, Leicestershire County Council, *Policies for Employment and the Economy* (Leicester, 1984), p. 14.

City Council in 1984, stated that ‘the City Council is preparing students for wide variety of qualifications and career in every form of employment.’⁸⁹ The case of Leicester shows that the educational system was adapting to changing industrial requirements. The local initiatives for Leicestershire clearly aimed in 1984 to increase vocational and technical education in schools and colleges to broaden the scope of vocational training for school leavers while encouraging voluntary work.⁹⁰

In Leicester, there was a clear incentive to revitalise apprenticeships and education in order to quickly adapt to the current economic situation. The interaction between productivity, enterprises, training and education reflected the national trend towards more open and flexible market oriented policies. Hence, one of the important aims of the Leicester City Challenge in the 1990s was ‘to raise the level of educational achievement by using local community and businesses within the City Challenge as a stimulus to, and resources for learning’.⁹¹ Training and education was at the heart of a productivity system and was also key to helping people to access jobs in a more competitive society. In 2003, the Leicestershire Community Strategy clearly stated that ‘a range of lifelong learning services are provided to local communities by further education, colleges, local universities, jobcentre Plus and the information advice and guidance partnership.’⁹²

In the early 1980s, the promotion of apprenticeships and market values within the educational system appeared less manifest in France. Training and employment support for young people in the Champagne-Ardenne region only became palpable in the late 1990s and training and education were autonomous and relatively distant from the labour market.⁹³ The major concern for the national government by the early 1980s was the reduction and reorganization of working time in order to reduce unemployment which was one of the main components of employment policy. However, some initiatives were implemented at the national level to halt young people’s unemployment.

The establishment of *Travaux d’Utilité Collective* (TUC) in 1984 which aimed to give part-time work in the public sector such as administration, clearly contrasted with Britain

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Leicester’s Annual Report 1993/94* (Leicester, 1994), p. 19.

⁹² Leicestershire Community Strategy, *Leicestershire Local Strategic Partnership* (Leicester, 2003).

⁹³ INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2007*, no.22 (2008), p. 28.

where young people obtained work experience in the private sector.⁹⁴ This emphasised the interventionist aspect of the French State, establishing a safety net and thus reflecting the well-anchored solidarity values of French Republican culture. This was further reinforced with the introduction in 1988 of the *Revenu Minimum d'Insertion* (RMI).⁹⁵ The Balladur government initiated some liberal actions and implemented the *Contrat d'Insertion Professionnelle* (CIP), which proposed a starting salary limited to 80 per cent of the *Salaire Minimum Interprofessionnel de Croissance* (SMIC, which means minimum wage) for young people.⁹⁶ However, this action failed and this law was soon cancelled due to popular pressure. Hence, the *Contrat Première Embauche* (CPE) was created in 2006 to enable people under the age of 26 to have a two-year work trial period.⁹⁷ This law failed too, and was abandoned given massive student mobilizations. It is certain that there is more resistance in France towards aspects of dynamic labour market policies which intrinsically seemed to undermine young people's job security.

Although the French government was reluctant to do so, it gradually integrated vocational training into its educational system. The 2000s marked a turning point, signalling new interaction between training, education and the labour market. From 1999 to 2008, the number of first year students registered in the humanities decreased by 42.9 per cent in Reims, whereas technical education, such as *Institut Universitaire de Technologie* (IUT) and *Brevet de Technicien Supérieur* (BTS) which were two year courses enabling people to join the world of work soon after their baccalaureate, increased by 3.9 per cent for the IUT and 9.4 per cent for the BTS (Table 2.19). In the Bassin d'Emploi de Reims,

⁹⁴ Conseil National des Politiques de Lutte contre la Pauvreté et l'Exclusion Sociale, 'Dates clés: mesures et plans d'action' (March 2011), <http://www.cnle.gouv.fr/> [Accessed 19 November 2013].

⁹⁵ The Minimum Income of Insertion is a social welfare scheme implemented by Michel Rocard, socialist Prime Minister from 1988 until 1991 under the Mitterrand presidency. Public money was used to help people with no income to find a job and ease professional reintegration. This scheme was the most important action taken in France and probably in Europe to fight against poverty. In 1998 Rocard stated that 'Le RMI est une réponse française à l'incapacité globale de la société capitaliste aussi bien en Amérique du Nord qu'en Europe qu'au Japon, à combattre efficacement l'émergence d'une pauvreté massive et dramatique, et donc à insérer les gens.' (The RMI is a French response to the global inability of the capitalist society which includes North America, Europe as well as Japan, to fight effectively against the emergence of dramatic mass poverty and to consequently insert people into work). Quotation from: Les Echos, 'Michel Rocard : le manqué d'emplois paralyse le RMI le 1^{er} Décembre 1988, le gouvernement que vous dirigiez a créé le revenu minimum d'insertion. Dix ans après, quel jugement portez-vous sur cette institution ?' (1 December 1998), <http://www.lesechos.fr/> [Accessed 3 July 2016].

⁹⁶ Edouard Balladur was appointed prime minister from 1993 to 1995 under the presidency of François Mitterrand when the RPR (Rally for the Republic Party) and UDF (Union for French Democracy Party) alliance won the 1993 legislative election which marked the second cohabitation of the fifth Republic.

⁹⁷ Conseil National des Politiques de Lutte contre la Pauvreté et l'Exclusion Sociale, 'Dates clés: mesures et plans d'action' (March 2011), <http://www.cnle.gouv.fr/> [Accessed 19 November 2013].

apprenticeship increased by 36 per cent from 2003 to 2008.⁹⁸ Also, created in 2002, *la Validation des Acquis de l'Expérience* (VAE) was a measure offering the possibility to convert work experience into a diploma or a professional qualification. Furthermore, *le Contrat d'Insertion dans la Vie Sociale* (CIVIS) enabled young people without any qualification to obtain support from a referee, in order to help them integrate into the labour market. The CIVIS and the VAE increased by 29.7 per cent in the Champagne-Ardenne region from 2005 to 2006.⁹⁹

Table 2.19: Change in the number of first year students in Reims 1999 and 2008.

Year	1999	2008	Change%
Humanities	2,517	1,436	-42.9
IUT	1,561	1,622	3.9
BTS	2,200	2,406	9.4

Source: Service Académique d'Information et d'Orientation, *Repères pour l'Entrée dans l'Enseignement Supérieur Académie de Reims* (2009/2010), p. 14.

By the early 1980s, the link between industry and education was more evident in Leicester than in Reims, with the prime objective to enhance student choice, experience and achievement. However, there is no denying that the impact of globalisation led national, regional and local authorities in both Reims and Leicester to develop initiatives with the over-arching aim to improve training in accordance with a changing labour market and competitive economy.

Conclusion

Although the process of globalisation is centuries old, its intensification in the 1980s amounted to a new economic constraint that dominated the world, and it was beholden upon political authorities to adapt to the changing macro-economic situation that it gave rise to. The implied general process of change in both Leicester and Reims meant a growing tertiary sector, and the restructuring of the labour market in reaction to unemployment growth. A looming employment crisis was a major concern for the national governments of France and Britain, inducing both to initiate new policies or

⁹⁸ Région Champagne-Ardenne, *Document Préparatoire – Schéma Régional de la Formation Tout au Long de la Vie: Bassin d'Emploi de Reims* (Reims, no date), p. 7.

⁹⁹ INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Bilan Economique 2006*, no.21 (2007), p. 30.

effective means. Enterprise creation and training were considered to be the key for job creation and for developing new local employment opportunities. However, the way the local authorities of Leicester and Reims adapted to the emerging economic threats reveals clear strategic differences between an enterprise and neoliberal ideology of Britain and the socialist and welfare-state values of France. In other words, certain cultural models of capitalism impacted on local decisions, and differences in national political ideologies and traditions shaped the way local authorities responded to the new economic circumstances of global capitalism. On the surface, it appears Leicester and Reims reacted differently according to established economic and ideological conditions. On the one hand, Leicester appeared to fit into a neoliberal and enterprise culture, whereas the social interventions of Reims were at odds with the general trends of globalisation. Nevertheless, further detailed analysis proves that economic trends converged in Reims and Leicester in the 2000s, an irreversible convergence that established long-term, market-led policies. Each the diverse policies and politics illustrate that each city is rooted in anchored historical values. So, in conclusion, despite the perceived general effects of economic deregulation, a local account of urban policies can reveal subtle differences in cultural responses.

Chapter Three: Planning and the Inner-City Neighbourhoods in Reims and Leicester: Two Different Ideologies

The recession of the early 1970s paved the way for a new period of urban decline in the inner-city neighbourhoods (*les quartiers*).¹ As Stephen Ward argues, '[a] political reconceptualization of the inner city as a spatial coincidence of more fundamental social, economic and environmental problems began to occur in the 1970s.'² Indeed, in the context of structural economic change outlined in the previous chapter, inner-city neighbourhoods experienced considerable levels of decay in their physical and social structure such as poverty and unemployment. In terms of population flux, many inner cities incorporated a high proportion of ethnic minorities which had emigrated as a workforce to the United Kingdom and France. The dependency on a declining manufacturing sector strongly impacted on the relative prosperity. The local authorities of both Reims and Leicester were primarily concerned to find a solution to reduce the high and increasing levels of urban unemployment that caused a range of social disadvantages. However, they were also focused on the physical and social effects of decline.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, both France and Britain made a concerted effort to alleviate social disadvantages and to solve the problems of inner-city neighbourhoods. This period introduced urban regeneration schemes, whereby local authorities began to tackle rundown neighbourhoods. Nonetheless, within this shared context of economic restructuring, France and Britain's ideologies clearly differed, and the concept of a neoliberal city was more palpable by the 1980s in England. While the Thatcher government's market-led policies and entrepreneurial urban regeneration of the 1980s influenced urban planning schemes in Britain, France's urban governance was led by

¹ Since the early 1990s, the political discourse in France referred to the most deprived areas of cities as '*quartiers sensibles*', which is the English equivalent of inner-city neighbourhoods.

² S. Ward quoted in C. Couch, O. Sykes and W. Borstinghaus, 'Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The Importance of Context and Path Dependency', *Progress in Planning*, 75, no.1 (2011), p. 3.

social intervention through the protective role of the state.³ France and Britain's modes of action and their ideological antagonism led to the implementation of different policies.

This chapter intends therefore to examine the different approaches implemented by Reims' and Leicester's local authorities in order to deal with inner-city regeneration and with a view as well to the attendant political motivations.

The analysis reveals that, whilst a similar concern emerged in the 1970s in both Reims and Leicester to redress the negative image of the inner-city neighbourhoods, different housing tenure and physical structure reflect national conceptions of integrating people into a living environment and of dealing with urban deprivation. Reims promoted social housing in multi-storey buildings, and by contrast in Leicester individual housing tenure was the common form of housing.

This chapter is divided into two sections: an account of housing structures and tenure with the following section examining how local authorities aimed to solve social disadvantages and decline in inner-city neighbourhoods.

Two different types of housing structure and tenure in Reims and Leicester.

During the post-war period, Reims experienced a housing shortage combined with demographic growth. As a result, a housing programme was implemented that aimed to build new accommodation in the peripheral areas of the city. Jean Taittinger, elected mayor of Reims in 1959, asked Maurice Rotival, urban planner, to lead the project of housing construction. The local authorities selected Rotival's urban proposal of high-rise, multi-storey building constructions in the peripheral areas of the city.⁴ Reims' local authorities mainly favoured rental housing in high-rise multi-dwellings alongside owner-occupied detached houses, in order to adapt to the increasing demographic growth. This choice of housing structure was influenced by the new urban concept of estate housing in high-rise multi-dwellings, also called '*grands ensembles*' in French (collective accommodation), which emerged in the late 1920s.

³ R. Atkinson and G. Moon, *Urban Policy in Britain. The City, the State and the Market* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 90.

⁴ A. Coscia-Moranne, *Reims un Laboratoire pour l'Habitat* (Broche, 2006), p. 38.

Le Corbusier promoted this concept. Indeed he argued, in a report presented in 1930 at the 3rd International Congress of Modern Architecture in Brussels, that rental housing in high-rise multi-dwellings would play a leading role in reducing space by bringing people into closer living quarters.⁵ According to Le Corbusier, the garden city led to individualism and did not favour social cohesion.⁶ This doctrine, which was stated in the Athens Charter, became the leading idea of the public authorities in France during the post war period.⁷ After the Second World War, the *grands ensembles* (high-rise multi-dwellings), was characteristic of the French urban model, thus replacing the pre-war garden city. This new urban model of collective housing emphasised the aspect of solidarity promoted by Le Corbusier.

Strong social housing organisations played a major role in building and improving housing conditions in order to meet the needs of families in Reims.⁸ Thanks to a social survey, Georges Charbonneaux, an industrialist born in 1865 in Reims and influenced by Social Catholicism, realised that thousands of families were living in poor housing conditions. As a result, he decided in 1912 with the help of some other industrialists to create estate-housing organisations such as *la Société Anonyme d'Habitations à Bon Marché* and *le Foyer Rémois*. *L'Effort Rémois*, another organisation, was created in 1947 and gave further impetus to the development of council housing in multi-storey buildings in Reims. These three estate housing bodies played a major role in the rehabilitation and the promotion of social housing in multi-storey building in Reims, still nowadays one of the city's characteristics. The years 1950-70s were characterised as a *bâti-boom*

⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

⁶ The early twentieth Century was marked by the emergence of the garden city in Europe. This concept was first developed in England in 1898, when the theorist Ebenezer Howard published in London his project for a new urban model called *To-morrow: A peaceful Path to Real Reform*. He then re-edited it in 1902 as *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. According to Howard, this new urban concept of the garden city aimed to combine the benefits of the city and the countryside and to allow people working in industries to live close to their working place. The garden city formed a new city with employment, services and self-sufficiency. This urban model was then imported into France. George Benoit-Levy, a French lawyer, was seduced by the concept of the garden city and he created in 1903 *l'Association des Cités-Jardins de France*. He then played a major role in spreading Howard's garden city model in France. Henri Sellier, mayor of the Paris suburb Suresnes famous for its social policies, strongly promoted urban reform in 1910 in France. [See M. Guelton, 'Henri Sellier et les Leçons de l'Etranger la Cité-jardin, un Modèle d'Aménagement Urbain parmi d'autres ?' *Histoire Urbaine*, no.37 (2013), p. 91]; Social cohesion refers to social links established amongst individuals in society. However, in the 1990s and 2000s the notion of *la cohésion sociale* replaced the notion of *solidarité* and was used to define urban policies implemented by the government. Indeed, *la Politique de la Ville* (French urban policy), which aims to tackle urban deprivation in the inner-city neighbourhoods thanks to the mobilisation of both national and local stakeholders, used this notion for some of its measures, such as *les Contrats Urbains de Cohesion Sociale* (established in 2007).

⁷ The Athens Charter was a document on the functional city published by Le Corbusier in 1947.

⁸ 'Reims et Habitat Social', *l'Union*, 19 October 2011.

(construction boom) in Reims. From 1968 and 1980, over 20,000 council flats (HLM: *Habitations à Loyer Modéré*) were built in Reims.⁹

Similarly, during post-war reconstruction Leicester also experienced a housing shortage combined with a growth in households. As a result, a post-war housing building project and a slum clearance programme were implemented to meet the needs of families. More than 7,050 houses were constructed from 1946 to 1953 to provide new quality housing for Leicester people.¹⁰ Furthermore, two multi-storey blocks of flats at Rowlatt's Hill and two other blocks at St. Matthew's were built in the 1960s.¹¹ In contrast to Reims, most of the housing construction projects were individual housing estates, as multi-storey flat buildings were a 'limited experiment'.¹² According to the 1972 Housing Committee report, 'the council have been working for some years to clear unfit homes at the rate of 600 a year and intend to continue at this rate.'¹³ However, 3,200 families still needed to be re-housed and by 1972 the Labour-controlled Leicester Housing Committee decided to give further impetus towards the slum clearance programme and the city council house building programme.¹⁴ The housing Committee report stated that 'the last orders should be made in 1974 and the last demolition should take place in 1976-77. The target refers to houses which have now thought likely to have become unfit by the present legal standard by that time.'¹⁵ This push proved to be successful as it was accounted in 1974 that 10,000 old homes had been demolished since the slum clearance started, with Leicester nearing the completion of its programme. As the Housing Committee Chairman Bob Trewick argued in 1974, 'this has been a tremendous achievement. We are one of the first authorities in the country to be so near to completing a Slum Clearance Programme.'¹⁶ However, this economic restructuring had profoundly impacted on certain neighbourhoods affected by poverty and unemployment.

The collapse of major industries and their manual jobs had radically changed the job market in France and Britain. In both countries, some areas started to become sites of exclusion by the late 1970s where the poorest people were relegated to specific

⁹ AMCR, 261CW10, Périodique d'Information sur le Marché du Logement, 1992.

¹⁰ D. Nash and D. Reeder (eds), *Leicester in the Twentieth Century* (Stroud, 1993), p.22.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ 'Last slum clearances in sight', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 September 1972.

¹⁴ 'Council house building gives five-fold boost', *Leicester Mercury*, 16 June 1972.

¹⁵ 'Last slum clearances in sight', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 September 1972.

¹⁶ 'Nearly the end of city's slums', *Leicester Mercury*, 6 December 1974.

neighbourhoods called inner cities (*les quartiers* in French). Not only did the urban problems in inner-city neighbourhoods result from the changing nature of economic activity, with the decline of traditional manufacturing industries, but also from a change in population patterns. Indeed, in France more affluent people tended to leave the deprived areas and enjoy residential mobility whereas the more precarious inhabitants remained blocked in those areas.¹⁷ By the 1970s, the *grands ensembles* experienced many difficulties and became the place of social problems. The same phenomenon appeared in the inner cities of the UK. According to Anne Power, 'a large population of low-skilled men is trapped while women take up many of the new often part-time jobs'.¹⁸ Power also noted the reluctance of local residents to buy homes in these rapidly declining areas.¹⁹

It was clear that Britain and France experienced both social and urban division and areas of transition became places of exclusion. These areas became ghettos for the underprivileged and in both countries the word 'inner city' or *quartier* conveyed a negative image. As Sylvie Tissot argues, nowadays when one mentions the French word *quartiers* everyone understands its meaning: [very] poor districts that combine both economic and social problems.²⁰ In Britain, the same perception can be noticed, 'the words inner city conjure up a picture of environmental decay, economic distress, social unrest and despair—a downward spiral that has so far proved impervious to the best efforts of government and others to effect change.'²¹

This irreversible change seemed difficult to avoid and the best efforts were implemented by the central government of both France and Britain by the late 1970s in order to alleviate these economic and social disadvantages. The state of the neighbourhoods (*quartiers*) became a major concern in the 1970s for the local authorities of France. As a result, the measure, *Habitat et Vie Social*, implemented in 1977, was the first action taken in order to improve council housing with the aim of increasing people's participation in dealing with urban rehabilitation.²² Similarly, the contention was to improve the economic and

¹⁷ Dossier Ressources de l'ORIV, *La Politique de la Ville en France: Fondements, Evolutions et Enjeux* (Strasbourg, 2009), p. 4.

¹⁸ A. Power, 'Social Exclusion', *RSA journal*, 148, no.5493 (2000), p. 49.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Sylvie Tissot, quoted in Dossier Ressources de l'ORIV, *La Politique de la Ville en France*, p. 4.

²¹ National Council for Voluntary Organisations quoted in The Royal Town Planning Institute, *Caring for Cities-Town Planning's Role* (Belfast, 1990), p. 13.

²² H. Dubedout, *Ensemble Refaire la Ville: Rapport au Premier Ministre du Président de la Commission Nationale pour le Développement Social des Quartiers* (Paris, 1983), pp. 9 & 10.

social life in the inner-city neighbourhoods and to improve the confidence of inhabitants by alleviating certain disadvantages. In Reims, there was a growing concern to improve the quality and the comfort of existing housing. For example, housing without central heating represented 8.7 per cent in 1982 and declined to 3.5 per cent in 1990.²³ Urban policy further improves its programme in the early 1980s, after rioting took place in the *quartiers*. As a result, *la Politique de la Ville* (French urban policy) encouraged mayors to find solutions to address the deep social and economic issues in cities through different programmes such as the *Développement Social Urbain*, the *Contrat de Ville* and the *Contrats Urbains de Cohésion Sociale*.²⁴ As a result, *la Ville de Reims* and its partners implemented important initiatives in order to improve the quality of life in the *quartiers*.

A similar concern emerged in Britain in the late 1970s. The White Paper *Policy for the Inner City* was published in June 1977 by the British Government, and it aimed to start a major national programme to solve inner-city decline. This paper clearly stated ‘there is undoubtedly a need to tackle the problems of urban deprivation wherever they occur but there must be a particular emphasis on the inner areas of some of the big cities because of the scale and intensity of some of their problems and the rapidity of run-down in population and employment.’²⁵ Consequently, the Government encouraged Leicester City Council in November 1977 to set up an Inner Area Programme in order to revive inner cities and tackle the growing problems in the deprived areas of the city such as Highfields, the West End, Tower Street and the Walnut Street district.²⁶

Leicester has experienced different waves of immigration since the post-war period, more than any other city in the UK. People or displaced families from Punjab, Gurjarat and Pakistan as well as East African Asians in the 1970s profoundly transformed the character of certain neighbourhoods. Indeed, immigrants obtained ‘low purchase price of dilapidated housing vacated by a white population relocated on new council and private estate.’²⁷ As stated by the *Leicester Mercury*, ‘Leicester has the highest proportion of coloured people in its inner area than any of the 19 major cities in England and Wales

²³ AMCR, 261CW10, Périodique d’Information sur le Marché du Logement no.9.

²⁴ *La Politique de la Ville* refers to all the actions and policies implemented by the state aiming to regenerate and develop deprived neighbourhoods.

²⁵ Association of District Councils, *The Urban Dimension in the 1980s: A Review of Urban Needs and Problem* (London, unknown), p. 1.

²⁶ ROLLR, L 711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme 1981-1984: Summary of Framework for Action* (Leicester, 1980), pp. 1 & 2.

²⁷ Nash and Reeder (eds), *Leicester in the Twentieth Century*, p. 26.

outside London' and according to government statistics 'Leicester is one of the most deprived areas in the country.'²⁸ The aim of the *Inner City Programme* was to revive the economy in Leicester's poorest areas, providing support for deprived people, improving housing and developing training for young people and adults.²⁹ From 1979 to 1986, Leicester received up to £5.83 million cash in a boost by the government to help Leicester's deprived areas. Household conditions have changed since 1971 with some measures implemented in order to repair and improve the quality of existing housing. For example, in 1981 households lacking a bath declined from the percentage of 11.4 per cent to 1.9 per cent.³⁰ However, by the 1980s the government kept tight control over local authority spending thus jeopardizing inner-city development. John Harwood, Chief Executive of the London Borough of Lewisham, stated in 1986 'the state of our inner city is one of the major social, political and economic issues of the last part of this century.'³¹

Within this context, resolving the problems in the inner city and *les quartiers* became a political priority in France and Britain in the 1980s. The housing structure and tenure in the inner cities of both Reims and Leicester show similar concerns. In contrast to Britain, the rapid construction and popularity (during the 1960s and 1970s) of estate housing in high-rise multi-dwelling in France gave birth to distinct urban physical spaces, social measures and urban policies. Since the early twentieth century, Reims featured quality multi-dwellings. Collective housing in multi-dwellings was the predominant type of housing in Reims, as it reached 72 per cent in 1990 which clearly reflected Le Corbusier's conception of social cohesion and proximity (Chart 3.1). This rate was above the national average as multi-dwellings in France represented 44 per cent of the total of housing in 1992.³²

Housing structure in Leicester was somewhat different from Reims as detached, semi-detached and terraced housing (individual dwellings) were the common type of housing. Flats in Leicester only represented 18 per cent in 1991 and 17.2 per cent in 2001 of the

²⁸ The term, 'colour people', reflects the expression used at the time; 'Inner City has 40 pc coloured', *Leicester Mercury*, 15 October 1982.

²⁹ 'Inner City Area Improvement gets £4.4 cash boost', *Leicester Mercury*, 19 March 1981.

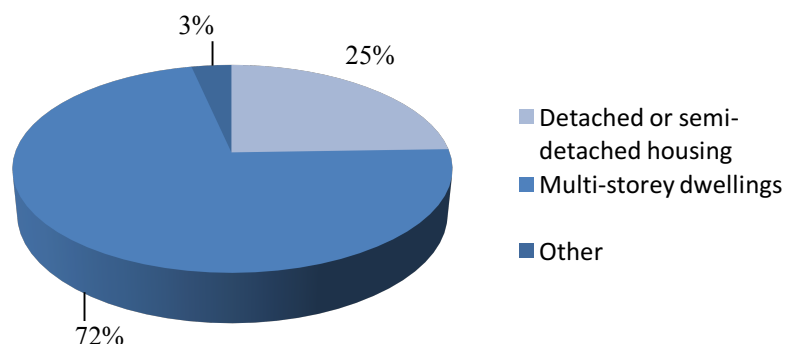
³⁰ ROLLR, L305.54, Leicester City Council, *Housing Investment Programme 1985-86: Strategy Statement* (Leicester, unknown), p. 2.

³¹ ROLLR, G/UD/38, TCAP Inner City Report, *Whose Responsibility? Reclaiming the Inner Cities* (London, 1986), p. 1.

³² Building permissions mainly favoured multi-dwelling in Reims from 2004 until 2008: multi-dwellings accounted for 89 per cent of the total building permissions in Reims by comparison with individual dwellings which accounted for only 11 per cent.

total housing (Table 3.1). By contrast, detached and semi-detached housing accounted for 39.9 per cent in 1991 and 47.3 per cent of the total of housing in 2001 (Table 3.1).

Chart 3.1: *Type of housing in Reims (in 1990).*



Source: AMCR, 261CW10, Ville Périodique d'Information sur le Marché du Logement no.9, 1992.

Table 3.1: *Housing types in Leicester, England and Wales for 1991 and 2001.*

Year	1991	2001	England and Wales 2001
Detached/semi-detached (%)	39.9	47.3	54.4
Terraced (%)	41.5	35.4	26.0
Flats (%)	18.3	17.2	19.2

Sources: 1991: Leicester City Council, *Leicester Key facts: Housing, 1991 Census* (Leicester, 1995), p. 4; 2001: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census area statistics 2001' <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 January 2014].

Reims mainly promoted the *grands ensembles*, the inheritance of a post-war urban conception, which reflected the French conception of social cohesion. This clearly contrasted with Leicester's predominant type of individual housing, which revealed a self-contained concept of urban living. Reims had inherited a strong housing policy and had always led proactive housing measures. Reims is indeed a particular case. Estate housing was well anchored in its historical tradition and the city accounted for the highest ratio (estate housing/primary residence) in 1999 when compared to other similar French cities.³³ In 2000, the city accounted for 42 per cent of HLM housing, whereas other cities of the same size accounted for only 18 to 20 per cent of HLM housing.³⁴ This heritage reflected a strong difference between Reims' and Leicester's type of tenure. The rate of

³³ AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 33.

³⁴ AMCR, 261CW10, *Politique du Logement*, 2000.

rented HLM in Reims represented 42 per cent in 2006, which was indeed above the national average of 17.1 per cent (Table 3.2). By contrast to Reims, social rent in Leicester only represented 28 per cent in 2001 (Table 3.3), which reflected Britain's ideology of market-led policies in which the private sector was the key to urban regeneration. The decades after 1979 saw the emergence of liberal theory and a will from central government to reduce the power of the state in social housing provision. The Housing and Planning Act was implemented in 1986 to reduce the role of the local authorities as providers of housing and thus reduce the scale of housing estates.³⁵

Although there is a clear difference between Reims and Leicester in the form of tenure, social rented housing was for both cities above the national average of France and Britain. In Leicester, a more social led policy was emerging in the 1980s as a result of local pressure from the City Council, aiming for more social projects within the city. Another interesting aspect is the percentage of privately owned housing, which represented 57.9 per cent in 2001 (Table 3.3) in Leicester, but only 26 per cent in Reims in 2006 (Table 3.2). In Reims, the well-established HLM organisations managed to diversify their housing stock. In addition to the traditional social rented housing they offered, they also succeeded in satisfying the needs of managers and the middle-classes by developing *locatif intermédiaire* housing (intermediary rental housing), which competed with housing in the private sector.³⁶

³⁵ ROLLR, L/HO/17/8, Leicester City Council, *Housing Investment Programme: Strategy Statement 1988/89*, p. 10.

³⁶ AMCR, 261CW10, Observatoire de l'Habitat no.4, 1997.

Table 3.2: Type of tenure in Reims and in France in 2006.

	Reims %	France %
Social rent (HLM)	42.0	17.1
Private rent	30.0	20.4
Owned	26.0	57.2
Other	2.0	5.3

Source: AUDRR, *Les Chiffres Clés 2010 Région de Reims* (Reims, 2010), p. 8.

Table 3.3: Housing tenure in Leicester and England in 2001.

	Leicester		England	
	Number	%	Number	%
Household	111148	100.0	20451427	100.0
Owned	64387	57.9	14054122	68.7
Social rent	31098	28.0	3940728	19.3
Private rent	14025	12.6	2037470	10.0
Other	1638	1.5	419107	2.0

Source: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics: census 2011, tenure and households' <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 15 January 2014].

The housing structure and tenure in both Reims and Leicester was fundamentally different. In contrast to Leicester, the idea of collective accommodation as a means for social cohesion and proximity was further promoted in Reims during the post-war period. This predominant urban structure reflected the ideology of social solidarity implemented by the French government which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is a doctrine inherited from the French Revolution's ideal of social justice. The revival of Republican values during the 1980s, based on the principle of solidarity and the protecting role of the state, created a favourable environment for urban policies to act as a vehicle for the transmission of Republican thought. Indeed, the principles of the Republic ('social cohesion', 'solidarity', 'social development') are perceptible in different fields but most particularly in *la Politique de la Ville* that primarily addresses issues of social exclusion and community integration, recurrent themes in public debates, and 'tackle[s] the

seemingly intractable problems of the suburbs.’³⁷ *La Politique de la Ville* takes therefore the role of the state in improving social cohesion. As a result, the intervention of the state in rental housing in high-rise multi-dwelling became the main focus of local authorities in order to solve deprivation and la *crise des banlieues* (crisis of the suburbs). Contrastingly, Britain promoted an individual housing structure where owner occupation was the common form of tenure even in inner areas. Indeed, ‘great faith has been put in the notion of the private sector’ as a way of solving urban problems.³⁸

Two different ways of dealing with urban problems in inner-city neighbourhoods

Two different ways of dealing with urban problems in the inner city were palpable given the political agendas of France and Britain. The French government became mainly concerned with issues of integration and domestic security through state control. By contrast, the British government was mainly concerned with the capacity of communities to participate in urban development schemes. In France, the decentralisation of 1982 gave considerable freedom to three levels of elected government: the regional, departmental and municipal authorities.³⁹ Furthermore, collaboration and partnership between these levels of local government was a common practice. Indeed, ‘French urban policy emphasised the duty of the state and conceived partnership in statist terms as collaboration between different departments of the government.’⁴⁰ According to Dikeç, the Republican tradition in France promotes ‘the active role of the state for the well-being of its citizens.’⁴¹ The French state, led by social obligation and *la Politique de la Ville*,

³⁷ The term *exclusion sociale* first emerged in France in the mid-1980s, which characterised the process of social disintegration, and the progressive break up between individuals and society. Alain Touraine, a French sociologist, considered society to be dual. He argues that people are either integrated within or excluded from society. This division means that some people participate in the economic resurgence of the city, whereas others are economically inactive. This globalised and capitalistic environment tends to push people to the margins of society by aggravating poverty. The Leicester Partnership’s report *Regeneration Leicester - Our City-Wide Approach* published in 1997, clearly explains this new social division within the city between ‘those able to participate in this economic resurgence and share its benefits and those individuals and households who are economically inactive, living in a deteriorating environment of multiple deprivation and exclusion from the mainstream life of the city’; Couch, Sykes and Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France’, p. 23.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

⁴⁰ Stephen Hall and Paul Hickman quoted in M. Dikeç, ‘Two Decades of French Urban Policy: From Social Development of Neighbourhoods to the Republican Penal State’, *Antipode*, 38, no.1 (2006), p. 72.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 65.

emphasises the prominent role of the state, which aims to act as the guarantor of social cohesion by giving to its citizens a social status.⁴²

As underlined in the previous chapter, the Mitterrand government took a social path with some measures emphasising the supportive role of the state, as for example the *Revenu Minimum d'Insertion* (RMI) in 1988 which ensured a minimum income for people in need and the generalisation of the *Développement Social des Quartiers* (DSQ) in many French cities in 1984. In order to solve the concentration of social problems in multi-dwelling social housing estates constructed in the 1970s and 1960s, the government promoted actions that stressed the recurring term 'solidarity'. Jean-Louis Schneiter, deputy mayor of Reims, announced in 1989 the start of the *Développement Social du Quartier Croix-Rouge*, given to priority peripheral areas which accounted for 30,000 inhabitants of whom 18 per cent were unemployed (Map 3.1). This priority area also accounted for 85 per cent of HLM housing (estate multi-dwellings). Croix-Rouge was known to welcome most of the immigrants of Reims.⁴³

⁴² B. Jobert and D. Damme, 'La Politique de la Ville ou l'Injonction Contradictoire en Politique' *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 45, no.1 (1995), pp. 3 & 30.

⁴³ AMCR, 276W350, Requalification du Quartier Croix-Rouge, 1989.

Map 3.1: The Croix-Rouge District in Reims.

Source: Ville de Reims, *Reims une Ville en Perspectives* (Reims, 2004).

The 1980s-economic situation prevented the low skilled working class from enjoying residential mobility and so they remained trapped in this district. As a result, a partnership between the state, the region, the department and other para-public actors was made in order to improve social mobility, to restrict poverty, and also to rehabilitate 1,250 residences from 1989 until 1993.⁴⁴ Croix-Rouge became a strategic place in order to rehabilitate the social tradition of this district, where *les grands ensembles* appeared to have had a significant impact in shaping urban decisions. Dikeç states: '[t]he French conception of the Republican state involves the state's obligation to guarantee citizens

⁴⁴ Ibid.

social justice through the provision not just of traditional social services but also public infrastructural services.’⁴⁵ The rehabilitation of housing, parking for inhabitants and also the construction of new buildings in order to host new economic activities and associations were the main projects of the DSQ in the Croix-Rouge district in Reims.

The help of the state and different organisations, such as *l’Effort Rémois*, and investing in the infrastructure, gave a new impetus to this district. Certain interventions in the economy were planned however in order to boost the commercial activity of the neighbourhood: the DSQ promoted actions on the development of new facilities and the rehabilitation of the physical structure. The political motives behind this programme revealed that the local authorities were mainly concerned with the negative image that this priority area could convey through the formation of ghettos. *L’Union* noted in 1989 that ‘le quartier est entré dans une spirale négative. Il faut un seuil minimum d’action pour en sortir (the district is in a downward spiral. A minimum threshold of actions is needed to get out of this decline).’⁴⁶ The regeneration of the Place Eisenhower was one of the main projects that aimed to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants and to restore the negative image of the neighbourhood (Illustration 3.1).⁴⁷ Reims’ local authorities had chosen a strategy of social rehabilitation where investing in dwellings and providing public infrastructure were a way to promote *l’insertion sociale* (social inclusion) and to rebuild *une identité globale* (a global identity): ‘recomposer l’identité et les images internes et externes de Croix-Rouge (to rebuild the identity and the internal and external representation of the Croix-Rouge district)’ (Illustration 3.2).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Dikeç, ‘Two Decades of French Urban Policy’, p. 65.

⁴⁶ AMCR, 267CW350, Archives Union 1989.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ ‘Le logement et l’habitat’ (housing) was perceived as the main ‘life quality’ concern for the citizens in Reims. Since the city possessed one of the most important social housing stocks of multi-dwelling buildings among cities of more than 150,000 habitants in France, the local authorities’ objective was to maintain this particular strength. As a result, investing in social housing construction and multi-dwelling refurbishment (especially in the *quartiers*) for the well-being of all the citizens was at the forefront of the urban policy agenda. As the District Magazine of Reims pointed out in 1994, ‘La cohérence du projet urbain tient notamment dans la qualité de vie dans les quartiers (the coherence of the urban scheme relies especially on the quality of life in the neighbourhoods)’. It also added that ‘Reims pour attirer les hommes et les entreprises, doit se doter d’un habitat de qualité accessible à tous (In order to attract people and enterprises, Reims should provide itself with affordable housing for everyone)’. [Quotations from: BCR, PERCHXG 57, ‘Le logement et l’habitat au crible’, *District Magazine*, January 1994]; AMCR, 276W350, Objectif DSQ, 1989/1990.

Illustration 3.1: *The regeneration of Place Eisenhower in 1989.*

Source: AMCR, 276W350, D. Berthéas, 'Place Eisenhower: premier pas vers la réhabilitation de Croix-Rouge', *l'Union*, 7 February 1989.

Illustration 3.2: *Council estate in multi-dwelling buildings in Croix-Rouge in 1995.*

Source: BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Programme local de l'habitat : mode d'emploi' *District Magazine*, no.29, October 1995.

One important aspect in *la Ville de Reims*' objectives was to avoid communitarianism in the district and therefore to 'décloisonner les différentes catégories de population

(decompartmentalise the different groups of people).⁴⁹ These terms are relevant for demonstrating that the neighbourhoods were directly linked to the ideal of promoting the assimilation of a common culture and identity where communitarianism 'is generally used by the French to denote cultural separation, i.e a form of social organisation designed to maintain cultural purity by minimizing contrasts between different ethnic groups.'⁵⁰

The will to create a homogenous society reflects the French perception of cultural diversity influenced by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. By the eighteenth century, Rousseau stated in the *Social Contract* that sovereignty belongs to all citizens as opposed to the sovereignty of the absolute monarchy.⁵¹ People who were placed on an equal footing before the law could therefore, through collective action, become sovereign. This idea of collectivism, universalism, common action and equal treatment of all individuals was then further asserted by the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the charter of the French Revolution which established universal human rights and liberties. The Revolutionary principle of universalism has had a profound effect on the deep-rooted French philosophy of integration, which promotes the creation of common references and values under the code of equality. Jeremy Jennings argues, 'despite an astonishing level of cultural ethnic diversity, France [...] has sought to become a mono-cultural society'.⁵²

The French civil code underlined that 'no one can be naturalized without demonstrating his or her "assimilation to the French community" through knowledge of the French language.'⁵³ Citizenship in France does not acknowledge cultural diversity but is rather established on democratic rules. The terms 'ethnic citizen' or 'minority group' are not mentioned in French legal documents, which implies the importance of integrating people into a standard civic mould.⁵⁴ French republicanism perceives multiculturalism as a threat and this is often reflected in some controversial statements from conservative politicians

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ A. Hargreaves, 'multiculturalism' in C. Flood and L. Bell (eds), *Political Ideologies in Contemporary France* (London, 1997), p. 183.

⁵¹ P. Léon, 'L'Invention du Sentiment National' in Les Cahiers Science et Vie, *Les Origines de la France et de la Langue Française*, no.149 (2014), p. 33.

⁵² J. Jennings, 'Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in contemporary France', *British Journal of Political Science*, 30, no.4 (2000), p. 1.

⁵³ M. A. Schain, 'Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States', *Social Research*, 77, no.1 (2010), p. 210.

⁵⁴ Britain defines its citizens through the factors of race and ethnicity, which is not the case in France where racial criteria are forbidden or seen to be derogatory.

who ‘have taken up the cry of assimilation with a vengeance.’⁵⁵ Charles Pasqua, Interior Minister from 1993 to 1995 under the government of Edouard Balladur and leading member of the RPR, stated that he would not allow ‘certain communities to form, refusing our culture and trying to impose theirs- their own customs and habits- on us... If France doesn’t suit them, they should clear off and go home...A multi-ethnic or a multi-racial society [is tolerable], but not a multi-cultural one. Those who want to live on French soil must become French and assimilate to our culture; there is no reason why we should put up with the others.’⁵⁶

The pressure to mould people into a common identity encouraged the government to emphasise solidarity and universalism in the 1990s. According to Dikeç, the 1990s was a decade that was strongly marked by a ‘republican nationalism’. Since the 1990s, ‘urban riots have become a chronic feature of French society’ in inner cities and the media were playing a crucial role in the demonization of the *quartiers sensibles*.⁵⁷ The urban riots in Vaulx-en-Velin in 1990 attracted much attention from newspapers, journalists and political debates. This mediatization of the urban riots aimed to distract people’s attention.⁵⁸ As Martin A. Schain argues ‘the Republican model has moulded the way that groups are targeted’.⁵⁹ A widening gap emerged between the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods and those living outside them who were over concerned about their safety.⁶⁰ The political reaction was to over-invest in housing estates and to provide extra support to youth in the suburbs in order to solve *la crise des banlieues* in France.

Within this context, the Besson Law of 31 May 1990 extended the right of housing to everyone: the department and the state would help deprived people through the creation of *Fonds Solidarité Logement* (Housing solidarity funds). The *Loi d’Orientation pour la Ville* (LOV), implemented on 13 July 1991, obliged cities to further promote and develop social housing and subsequently schemes such as the PLH (*Programme Local de*

⁵⁵ A. Hargreaves, ‘multiculturalism’ in Flood and Bell (eds), *Political ideologies in contemporary France*, p. 184.

⁵⁶ Charles Pasqua, a Gaullist politician, was first appointed interior minister from 1986 until 1988 under the Chirac’s government during the first cohabitation of the fifth Republic; *Le Monde*, (Daily newspaper) quoted in A. Hargreaves, ‘multiculturalism’ in C. Flood and L. Bell (eds), *Political ideologies in contemporary France* (London, 1997), p. 184

⁵⁷ Couch, Sykes and Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France’, p. 26.

⁵⁸ Dossier Ressources de l’ORIV, *La Politique de la Ville en France*, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Schain, ‘Managing Difference’, p. 209.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

l'Habitat) were set up in cities.⁶¹ This law aimed to achieve a social mix in *les quartiers* and was seen as an ideal solution to problems in urban neighbourhoods. Social housing was indeed perceived as pivotal for both economic and social success, especially in Reims where there was a well-established social tradition.

The city of Reims signed in November 1991 a *Contrat de Ville* for three years, which aimed to act against *les exclusions* and in favour of *l'insertion*.⁶² Social development measures were needed for Reims, because as Jean Falala, the mayor of Reims, noted there was a risk of a two-tier society and it was important to protect the positive image of Reims as the emblematic city of Champagne.⁶³ The *District Magazine* pointed out in 1992 : '[o]n assiste, par exemple, à un décalage grandissant entre offres d'emplois et réalité sociale, ainsi qu'à une augmentation du nombre d'exclus du logement ou du nombre d'élève en difficulté dans les quartiers fragiles. Ces difficultés débouchent sur l'apparition d'un "noyau dur" d'exclus cumulant les handicaps, et sur une montée de la petite délinquance (one witnesses, for example, a growing gap between job offers and social reality, an increasing number of people lacking housing as well as a high number of students with difficulties in the inner-city neighbourhoods. Those difficulties paved the way for a 'hard core' of excluded disability claimants and an increase in delinquency rates).'⁶⁴

Although the *Contrat de Ville* aimed to promote education, training and employment, its main objective was to tackle social exclusion while maintaining the well-established tradition of Reims as the symbolic city of social housing.⁶⁵ The PLH of Reims developed in October 1995, under the LOV, implemented actions to rehabilitate the existing HLM housing, which represented 41.6 per cent of the total housing in 1996 and to continue the

⁶¹ The LOV is also referred to 'the anti-ghetto law'. The main objective of this law was mainly to focus on social housing development. The PLH is a scheme that set up the objectives of housing policy in cities. [AMCR, 261CW10, Programme Local de l'Habitat].

⁶² Reims was amongst the thirty cities (Lyon, Marseille, Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing, Toulouse, la Seine-Saint-Denis, Dunkerque, Le Creusot-Montceau les Mines, Nantes, Saint-Nazaire, Saint-Denis de la Réunion, Creil and Saint-Dié) involved in the city contracts.

⁶³ BCR, PERCHFOL 162, *VRI*, December-february 1992-1993.

⁶⁴ BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Contrat de ville: la Solidarité en Action', *District magazine*, January 1992.

⁶⁵ The main objective of the *contras de ville* was '*La lutte contre les exclusions sociales*' (the fight against social exclusion) with a particular emphasis on '*les quartiers en difficulté*' (deprived neighbourhoods) and '*les populations en voie de marginalisation*' (marginalised people). [Quotations from: BCR, PERCHXG 57, *District Magazine*, no.2, June 1990]. The *District Magazine* of Reims stated in 1992 that the city has '*une action sociale exemplaire* (an exemplary social action)' and that '*le dispositif d'intervention social a permis d'éviter jusqu'à présent les graves phénomènes d'exclusion* (the social scheme implemented in the city has prevented serious social exclusion problems until now).' [Quotation from: BCR, PERCHXG 57, *District Magazin*, no.8, January 1992].

measures that had been set up during the DSQ. The PLH of Reims aimed to help the most deprived to obtain accommodation, in a context of economic restructuring where some families remained at the margins of society.

The idea of social mixing, '*vivre ensemble* (living together)', in the neighbourhood was one aim of the PLH - a means to fight against territorial segregation, to avoid communitarianism and the formation of 'ghettos' with the intention of placing *les quartiers* again at the heart of the urban agenda.⁶⁶ A report entitled *Renouvellement Urbain de la Ville de Reims*, published in 2004 by the city council and other partners such as housing organisations and economic actors under the *Contrat de Ville 2000-2016*, highlighted the importance of finding a new social and urban balance to change the negative and declining image of the neighbourhoods: '[e]n agissant sur l'ensemble des quartiers en difficultés de l'agglomération, les différents partenaires ont l'ambition d'apporter une réponse durable aux problèmes des quartiers difficiles sur l'agglomération rémoise et de les réintégrer à la ville normale (by implementing actions on all the inner-city neighbourhoods of Reims, the numerous partners have the ambition to provide a sustainable response to the problems faced by those areas and to reintegrate them in the normal life of the city).'⁶⁷

Urban policy measures for the city of Reims reflected therefore the active role of the state in not only tackling urban deprivation but also serving as a vehicle for transmitting the Republican value of integrating citizens into a common identity. Behind these aims was the ever-present fear that without state intervention isolated ethnic communities would form. Urban regeneration controlled by local authorities has served a civic function in France. An archetypal city with a well-anchored social tradition is exemplified by Reims, a city that followed the national approach by continuing a social tradition at the local level under the ideal of a collective identity and integration.

In England, the political context during this period was in contrast to France with the power of the local authorities restricted by central government. There was no elected regional or departmental government below the national level, and power was held mainly by the central government, some Quasi Autonomous Non-Governmental

⁶⁶ AMCR, 261CW10, Programme Local de l'habitat: Convention d'Application, 1996.

⁶⁷ Ville de Reims, *Renouvellement Urbain de la Ville de Reims: Convention Partenariale pour la Mise en Œuvre du Projet de Rénovation Urbaine 2004-2008* (Reims, 2004), p. 5.

Organisations (Quangos) and privatised service bodies.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Thatcher's Conservative government of 1979 '[changed] the ideological climate of Britain by creating an enterprise culture and [by replacing] state action with market forces.'⁶⁹ This had a direct impact on local urban schemes. The Leicester Inner Area Programme inevitably led some important measures to improve the quality of building and to rehabilitate and improve the social and physical conditions of the inner-city areas (Illustration 3.3 and 3.4).

Illustration 3.3: Inner Area project: shop fronts improvements in Belgrave.

Source: ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme: Annual Report 1985-1986* (Leicester, 1988).

⁶⁸ Couch, Sykes and Borstinghaus, 'Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France', p. 17.

⁶⁹ M. Parkinson, 'The Thatcher Government's urban policy 1979-1989', *The Town Planning Review*, 60, no.4 (1989), pp. 421 & 40.

Illustration 3.4: *Inner Area project: Ross Walk brick cleaning in Belgrave*

Source: ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme: Annual Report 1985-1986* (Leicester, 1988).

In contrast to Reims, Leicester City Council chose a strategy of ‘releasing enterprises’ rather than implementing a strategy of social rehabilitation.⁷⁰ Assisting industry and encouraging the development of small firms as a strategic means of combating social inequalities was one of the major objectives of the Inner Area Programme. As argued in the summary of Framework for Action written in 1980, the prime intention was to assist new small firms of up to twenty employees in priority zones by transforming older buildings into small factories. One characteristic of Leicester’s urban measures was the aspect of ‘self-help’, which meant that community involvement and the contribution of residents through voluntary efforts would be the key to improving the environment of deprived areas in Leicester.⁷¹ The Royal Town Planning Institute stated in 1990 that ‘it is increasingly recognised that planning for urban regeneration should not be done ‘to’ or even ‘for’ local communities but ‘with’ them.’⁷²

⁷⁰ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme 1981-84*, p. 3.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² The Royal Town Planning Institute, *Caring for Cities*, p. 20.

In contrast to France, non-state actors such as charities, voluntary sectors and communities were deemed to be useful and major partners in the regeneration scheme. The Leicester Inner Area Programme clearly stated in 1980 that the aim was to ‘encourage and stimulate people to help make changes themselves ranging from home improvement to neighbourhood care.’⁷³ This marked a distinct approach from France, for the state did not play an active role and instead faith was put into community participation, the private sector and market forces.

The central government promulgated in July 1981 that the main objective of the Inner Area Programme was also to promote economic growth with the secondary interest of solving social problems and making environmental improvements.⁷⁴ Leicester City Council did not entirely agree with this set of priorities, and stated that it ‘would like more of the programme devoted to social projects than the guideline suggested.’⁷⁵ The central government guidelines mainly emphasised economic projects, whereas Leicester City Council wanted to stress more its interest in social schemes to solve the problem of its inner areas.⁷⁶ As a result, the government allowed Leicester City Council to gain some freedom in its decision-making process for the year 1983-84.

In the 1990s, Major’s Conservative government gave more power to the local authorities by introducing competitive bidding for public funding through the City Challenge programme – another example of urban entrepreneurialism. In the City Challenge project (developed in 1991 by the central government) local councils were invited to create a bid for funding with a detailed project plan. Leicester local authorities prepared a bid to lead urban regeneration schemes in some priority zones. In 1993, Leicester won City Challenge status when the west end of Leicester was considered an area of great need with local people excluded from the benefits of economic life. Leicester obtained funding of £37.5 million, which was not only used to improve housing and certain deprived areas of Leicester but to create jobs and boost the local economy.⁷⁷ This programme gave more power to local authorities; the 1990s were seen as an era of ‘new localism’, which aimed to address regeneration as well as economic and social issues in the inner cities. However,

⁷³ ROLLR, L711, *Area Programme 1981-84*, p. 3.

⁷⁴ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme Guide for 1984-85* (Leicester, 1983), p. 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ C. Vann and W. Stengel, ‘Councillors seek 7.5 million aid for inner city’, *Leicester Mercury*, 24 June 1982.

⁷⁷ J. Smith, ‘Year of action, says city challenge’, *Leicester Mercury*, 5 January 1995.

the programme decided that ‘major projects of physical regeneration and infrastructure will be pointless unless they serve Leicester’s people.’⁷⁸

In contrast to Reims, the Leicester City Challenge sought social inclusion through an entrepreneurial mode of economic development. It was not surprising that the Business Council of Leicester City Challenge played a leading role in the programme to provide guidance and help local business people become involved in urban regeneration. The distribution of the City Challenge funds was mainly for work and job creation. As a result, a homeless charity criticised the City Challenge project in 1994, claiming that the multi-million-pound urban renewal scheme had failed to provide new housing. Strong attacks were made against the project as no real proposal had been made to develop new housing: ‘[p]lans and proposals are all very nice and fancy but they don’t put roofs over people’s heads.’⁷⁹ By contrast to Reims, housing was not the priority as the main objective was to promote local businesses within the City Challenge programme, with the aim of employing people in businesses and providing them with the skills to help the local economy.⁸⁰ Here again, stimulating self-help and ensuring the fullest community participation was the prime objective for urban regeneration.

In 1997, the new Labour Government implemented policies that aimed to solve urban regeneration problems and to create a sustainable community.⁸¹ A more holistic programme emerged. After the City Challenge programme, the Leicester Partnership was created in order to help in the creation of new jobs and training, and to improve the quality of life. A bid was created by the Leicester Partnership in the Belgrave area, which was responsible for encouraging regeneration in close links with agencies and partners, such as Leicester City Council, Leicester Training Enterprise, Leicester Chamber of Commerce, Voluntary Action Leicester, Leicester City Challenge and the National Health Service (NHS) (Map 3.2). The Partnership believed that Belgrave was the best choice to alleviate the risk of social exclusion for local people. Amongst the 7,832 active people, 900 were unemployed in 1997. Also, 18.2 per cent of people were claiming housing benefit, contrasting with 12.4 per cent for the city of Leicester.⁸² As with Croix-Rouge,

⁷⁸ ROLLR, L 711, Leicester’s City challenge 1993-1994.

⁷⁹ J. Herman, ‘City Challenge Housing failure’, *Leicester Mercury*, 11 August 1994.

⁸⁰ ROLLR, L 711, Leicester City Council, *Leicester’s Annual Review* (Leicester, 1996), p. 8.

⁸¹ Couch, Sykes and Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France’, p. 34.

⁸² ROLLR, L/uo/51, The Leicester Partnership, *Challenge Fund SRB Round 4 bid for Leicester 1998: Regenerating Belgrave* (Leicester, 1997), p. 4.

Belgrave demonstrated many characteristics of deprivation and social exclusion. It was also a strategic choice, as Belgrave had numerous assets that would lead to a successful programme. The area was a dynamic area for local businesses, known as the Asian shopping district, with close familial ties and strong community organisation.⁸³

Map 3.2: The Belgrave area.

Source: L/uo/51, The Leicester Partnership, *Challenge Fund SRB Round 4 Bid for Leicester 1998: Regenerating Belgrave* (Leicester, 1997).

⁸³ The Belgrave area, also known as 'The Golden Mile' was one of the touristic attractions in the *Leicester City Guide* published in 1995 by the marketing agency, Leicester Promotions. Belgrave Road was characterised as 'the centre of the Asian community and displays of Indian culture abound in almost every shop window. Gold jewellery, fabulous silks, delicious sweetmeats and savouries are everywhere, and the shops like Saree Mandir, have a national reputation.' [Quotation from ROLLR, L/DI/103, Leicester Promotions, *City Guide* (Leicester, 1995), p. 14].

The aim of the partnership was to improve the quality of life and also to provide ‘cost-effective benefits to the local community’.⁸⁴ According to the Coopers and Lybrand report on Belgrave in 1996, the manufacturing sector employed half of the local workforce and it suffered from the decline of industries.⁸⁵ Rather than focusing on the image and restoring a homogeneous identity in the neighbourhood, the key theme was to ‘break the mould’ of economic and employment opportunities. Although enhancing the quality of the environment and public spaces was a primary objective, the use of training, skills programmes and other vocational training was one of the major concerns. The aim was to boost the economic activity of ethnic minorities, which accounted for more than 70 per cent of the population.

The emphasis on the word ‘community’ marked a clear difference with Reims’ urban policies where the aim was to integrate people within a common identity and to avoid separate community formation. Leicester’s urban initiatives reveal an approach of ‘differentialism’ that recognised distinct ethnic groups. Rather than integrating people within a common culture and values, Leicester’s urban policies’ main objective was to integrate people within a set of market forces. This reflected a more liberal manner of dealing with urban regeneration and a more individualistic ideology in which the state was less interventionist, especially in public infrastructure, revealing the weakness of Leicester’s social housing stock, and the lack of investment from the local authorities in housing improvements. In the 1990s, the Blueprint for Leicester pointed out that ‘run down estates and inner-city areas were thought to be especially in need of investment’.⁸⁶ Indeed, poor housing conditions for unemployed or low income people were raised by the Blueprint for Leicester: ‘[k]eeping homes warm is expensive, especially where housing is poorly maintained because of a lack of private funds, council delays or structural defects.’⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the State of the English Cities Report revealed an interesting fact about Leicester in 2001. The city accounted for a low presence of the Asian population in the most deprived areas of the city.⁸⁸ Indeed, ‘Leicester ranks 22nd of

⁸⁴ ROLLR, L/uo/51, The Leicester Partnership, *Challenge Fund SRB Round 4 bid for Leicester 1998*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁶ ROLLR, L/en/78, Leicester City Council, *Blueprint for Leicester Findings* (Leicester, no date), p. 115.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Leicester’s ratio of Asian presence (Asian presence in most deprived areas/Asian presence in all other areas) was of 0.7 whereas Derby’s ratio accounted for 5.4 and Nottingham’s 2.

English cities in relation to Asian presence in deprived areas. This contrasts significantly to both Derby and Nottingham'.⁸⁹

Leicester's case demonstrates that the link between deprivation and ethnicity is limited by contrast to other English cities with large ethnic minority groups. The City Growth brochure assessed Leicester's economic potential and future through individual life stories. One was particularly interesting, showing a local man's determination to help his community to create its own businesses and promote a market-led approach to urban integration: 'Mohammed Sabat came to Leicester from India in 1962 with £3 in his pocket. Now he runs a successful bakery that is growing 10 per cent year-on-year. He invested £100,000 in new equipment last year, and wants to expand to new premises.'⁹⁰ This example demonstrates that Leicester has a well-integrated Asian community which has always played an important role in the dynamism of the local economy. This also proves the key importance of businesses and self-participation within urban integration.

Conclusion

One cannot undervalue the importance of the role of different political contexts and ideologies when determining the social and urban characteristics of the inner cities. This chapter demonstrates that, despite the similar effects of globalisation upon certain sections of the population, a specific typology of the European city cannot be identified. On the one hand in Reims, the type of housing tenure and structure reflected the active role of the state in promoting social and collective housing through the public sector, whilst, on the other hand, a more individual and liberal culture with regards to private and individual accommodation was the common form of tenure in Leicester. The French social legacy, which was based on the Republican value of social justice, solidarity and cohesion, emphasised the social mission of the state. Britain, instead, promoted market forces and citizen participation through community work as a means of solving urban problems. Two different models in urban structure reveal that two different national ideologies strongly impacted on the way the local authority integrated people within the urban environment. In France, the rhetoric of the Republic was clearly compatible with urban policy measures in which the state was fully committed to act as a guarantor of

⁸⁹ Leicester City Council, *The Diversity of Leicester: Demographic Profile* (Leicester, 2008), p. 15.

⁹⁰ ROLLR, L/ec/77, Leicestershire Economic Partnership, *City Growth Leicester: Summary Document* (Leicester, 2005), p. 13.

social cohesion. Reims is a good example of where the national ideology is apposite to the social tradition of the city. The *Quartier Croix-Rouge* further emphasised the social commitment of a state that invested in housing estates. This interventionist measure legitimised the solution to urban problems, whilst integrating people within a common Republican identity, especially in places where the ethnic minority was highly represented. Contrastingly, in Leicester market forces were legitimised as a means of solving urban problems with urban initiatives carrying a neoliberal insistence on economic competition. The area of Belgrave, for instance, was not seen as the place in which to build a common identity but rather as a commodity in which urban entrepreneurialism was promoted in order to socially integrate ethnic communities. In conclusion, the analysis of Reims and Leicester demonstrates that globalisation did not result in a homogenizing impact upon the urban environment.

Chapter Four: Transport Policy and Mobility in Reims and Leicester 1980-2008.

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the neoliberal society, which was not only characterised by more market and labour flexibility but also increased geographical mobility.¹ Indeed, in the neoliberal context of space, urban mobility became metonymic of a post-modern society.² This increasing mobility, combined with the growth in travel by cars since the post-war period, gradually changed the urban environment of Reims and Leicester including road construction, car parks and new residential and commercial development in the peripheral areas.

The twentieth century, described as ‘the century of the car’, witnessed a more internationally integrated automotive industry by the 1980s in which cars became the symbol of individual freedom and thus ‘attained the status as a major cultural icon’.³ However, within this context, a global concern regarding sustainable development was emerging which led to a shift in transport policies in France and Britain and also to a different perception and reconsideration of the aspect of mobility at a local level. Where mobility is concerned, important infrastructures, such as airports, *Train à Grande Vitesse* (TGV) stations and major highways, supposedly also symbolise the successful nature of

¹ D. Harvey, *The Condition of Post-modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1990), p. 12.

² J. Peck and A. Tickell, ‘Neoliberalizing Space’, *Antipode A Radical Journal of Geography*, 34, no.3 (2002), pp. 380 & 404; By the 1980s and 1990s, scholars started to point out the importance of mobility. Doreen Massey, for example, considers place as part of interactions, networks and movement. [See D. Massey quoted in O. Pachenkov, *Urban Public Space: Facing the Challenges of Mobility and Aesthetisation* (Frankfurt, 2013) p. 15]. Zygmunt Bauman argues that moving between places is emblematic of the age of globalisation. [See Z. Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (Cambridge, 1998)]. Viar, a French sociologist, argues that mobility has become the norm of our society in the twenty-first century. [See J. Viar, *L’Eloge de la Mobilité* (Broché, 2001)]. This increasing and irreversible mobility resulted from numerous contextual factors. The process of globalisation, combined with the phenomenon of deindustrialisation by the early 1980s, led to the growth of the service sector and the emergence of new professions. Managers and entrepreneurs, working in high-tech industries located in peripheral areas, constitute a new class of young urban individuals who are more qualified.

³ K. Dennis and J. Urry, *After the Car* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 1; Wollen and Davison quoted in V. Johnson, G. Currie and J. Stanley, ‘Measures of Disadvantage: Is Car Ownership a Good Indicator?’, *Social Indicators Research*, 97, no.3 (2010), p. 439.

cities.⁴ This global infrastructure network, which favours global urban interconnectivity, is a recurrent aspect in the discourse on both globalisation and global cities.

In the global city theory, the hierarchical articulation of global space is a prevalent theme. Friedman postulated world cities indicators, which not only corresponded to their financial, manufacturing, and international headquarters but also to their role as transport centres.⁵ This chapter examines the major changes that have occurred since 1980 through the transport policies of Reims and Leicester, and examines how the local authorities adapted their urban space to the requirement of the trend in sustainable development. It identifies the way local authorities have approached this shift in transport policy and conceptualised the transport problem at a local level. This chapter also explores how less globally significant cities, such as Reims and Leicester, overcame their humbler urban status and benefitted from a growing global urban network.

I argue that the different geographic and demographic contexts in which Reims and Leicester evolved as well as their local peculiarities in terms of historical heritage and political conditions are significant elements that influence their global aspirations.⁶ These aspects also influence their position *vis-à-vis* transportation and the way they define themselves through the simultaneous aspects of local and global mobility. Furthermore, given the decentralisation process, which occurred in both France in the 1980s and in Britain in the 1990s, medium-sized cities such as Reims and Leicester had the opportunity to distinguish themselves whilst benefitting from important infrastructures that promoted global mobility.

This chapter is divided into three sections, which examine the shift in transport policy and Reims' and Leicester's positions within a growing global network. The first section identifies this change in transport policy, and the second section looks at the way Reims' and Leicester's local authorities adapted to this shift. The third section examines the position of both cities within larger patterns of global mobility.

⁴ *Train à Grande Vitesse* (TGV) is the French's high-speed rail service that can reach 320km/h. It is operated by the *Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français* (SNCF), and the first TGV was set up in 1981 with the aim to link French cities and to reduce the distance between them.

⁵ J. Friedman quoted in P. Knox and P. Taylor (eds), *World Cities in a World-System* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 317.

⁶ As mentioned in Chapter One, the surrounding area of Leicester accounts for a higher population density in comparison to Reims. Leicester competes with two similar cities located in the same region, while Reims is the main financial and economic centre of the Champagne-Ardenne region.

The irreversible growth of cars and the change in transport policy

Globalisation led to a world-wide increase in household motorization and this can also be perceived at a local level. In Leicester, 54 per cent of households possessed a car in 1997 and this increased to 62 per cent in 2001.⁷ In Reims, the use of cars increased by 20 per cent between 1994 and 2004.⁸ This trend was combined with the implementation of major highway and road schemes in both France and Britain. Indeed, since the construction of the first motorway in 1941 in France and in 1958 in Britain, the aim of the two governments was to facilitate travel by motor vehicle.⁹

While Reims does not compete with any similar cities in the Champagne-Ardenne region, Leicester, by contrast, is part of the three cities sub-area with Derby and Nottingham. This triangle forms the major commercial, administrative and cultural centre in the East Midlands and also possesses the region's key companies.¹⁰ This greater demographic influence within the East Midlands region, by contrast with the Champagne-Ardenne region, is combined with a strategic geographical position, given that the 'Midlands' is positioned in the middle of England.¹¹ This strategic characteristic benefits the region and Leicester at the same time. That is why, by the 1960s the main routes from the south and south east of the country to the north and north west passed through the region.¹² Furthermore, by 1966 much of the M1 lay within the East Midlands region, skirting Northampton and Leicester before reaching the Nottingham and Derby area.¹³ Road traffic in the region was increasing at a rapid pace, and so there was an urgent need to improve routes - especially from the Nottingham, Leicester and Derby areas to the West Midlands and Lancashire.¹⁴

⁷ ONS, 'Neighbourhood Statistics, 2001 Census: cars or vans' <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 5 September 2014].

⁸ BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Le tramway un atout certain pour l'environnement', *Communauté Magazine*, no.81, November 2004.

⁹ Le Parisien, 'La première autoroute française' (July 2016), <http://www.leparisien.fr> [Accessed 6 April 2016]; G. Vigar, *The Politics of Mobility* (Spon Press, 2002), p. 2.

¹⁰ ROLLR, G/Re/21/1, The East Midlands Regional Local Government Association, *Regional Guidance for the Spatial Development of the East Midlands: Consultation draft*, (no date, 1998), p. 54.

¹¹ Leicester is part of an important economic and industrial centre called the three cities-sub area with Nottingham and Derby.

¹² ROLLR, L/EC/4, The East Midlands Economic Planning Council, *The East Midlands Study* (London, 1966), p. 64.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

In the light of continuing car use, the principal transport concern for the Thatcher government by 1979 was to invest in road construction through the ‘predict and provide’ policy – a policy which benefitted individual car owners rather than increased access for all.¹⁵ This plan also aimed to increase economic competitiveness and to give an efficient link to businesses.¹⁶ In Leicestershire priority was given to highway maintenance and road improvement under Leicester County Council’s programme of highway construction and improvements over the 1980s.¹⁷ The intent was to reach the new commercial and industrial peripheral areas, which were developing in the 1980s. Providing adequate access to outer town retail sites, such as the Beaumont Leys Centre with the opening of the Tesco Superstore and the Beaumont Industrial Park, was the priority of Leicestershire County Council.¹⁸

In France, when the national government started the development of its motorway scheme in the 1940s, most of the big cities, such as Paris, Lyon, Nice, Bordeaux and Strasbourg, were well served by highways and enjoyed efficient accessibility. Although Reims had always been the major economic centre within its region, the city is not located within a cluster of dynamic similar-sized cities as Leicester is. Being part of a cluster is an asset in order to accommodate the economic and social pressures from the capital city. As a result, Reims, located close to Paris, had always been perceived as a second-tier city. It struggled to compete with major cities such as Strasbourg, which possess a stronger metropolitan image.¹⁹ Reims was, therefore, not considered in the 1940s-motorway scheme. As a result, the will by the local authority to assert its image as an important European city was stronger in comparison to Leicester. Jean Taittinger, Mayor of Reims from 1959 to 1977 and also a businessman, fought to obtain the *Autoroute 4* (A4) through the city of Reims in the early 1970s with the aim of both encouraging travel by private car and promoting the economic potential of Reims as the major *carrefour européen*

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Vigar, *The Politics of Mobility*, p. 2.

¹⁷ ROLLR, L/co/4/10, Leicestershire County Council, *Leicestershire Transport Policy and Programme 1987-1988* (Leicester, unknown), p. 1.

¹⁸ ROLLR, L/SH/36, Leicestershire County Council, *Central Leicestershire Retail Study* (Leicester, 2003), p. 73; ROLLR, L/co/4/10, Leicestershire County Council, *Leicestershire Transport Policy and Programme 1987-1988*, p. 1.

¹⁹ AMCR, 276W424, Attractivité de Reims.

(European crossroad).²⁰ The motorway was under construction in 1973 and was completed in 1976 (Map 4.1).

Map 4.1: The Autoroute 4 (adjacent to the red line) passing through the city of Reims (1996).

Source: AMCR, 276W364, Diagnostic (1996), p. 44.

In France, cars have always been widely promoted by both public authorities and the automotive industry in order to boost the post-war economy. Furthermore, several vehicle scrappage schemes, such as the *la Prime Ballardur* in 1994-1995 and *la Prime Juppé* 1995-1996, were implemented to promote the replacement of old cars with new ones and this aimed further to increase car consumption. Since the creation of the motorway passing

²⁰ The A4 passing inside the city was a characteristic of Reims. Few French cities possessed this specificity, which was considered at the time an advantage until environmental concerns increased.

through the heart of the city, Reims morphologically changed to favour travel by car.²¹ Reims inevitably experienced a change in the organisation of retailing with the development of the first hypermarket in *Saint-Brice Courcelles* in 1970 and the development of industrial parks, such as *Farman* in 1988.²² The construction of highways was considered the symbol of economic health for both the East Midlands and the Champagne-Ardenne region and allowed for a better access to peripheral industrial and commercial sites. Thanks to the development of more efficient roads, both cities experienced the phenomenon of rurbanisation.²³ Many people moved into ‘peri-urban’ areas in order to enjoy residential mobility. As a result, the outlying areas that surround Reims and Leicester started to experience a higher increase in their demography by comparison to the city centres.

Table 4.1 : Reims and Pays Rémois demographic change between 1975 and 2008.

Years	1975	1982	1990	1999	2008
Reims	178,381	177,234	180,621	187,181	181,468
Pays Remois	252,396	264,342	278,011	288,293	288,088
Reims/Pays Remois (%)	71.0	67.0	65.0	65.0	63.0

Source: INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, ‘La périurbanisation au sein du SCOT de la région Rémoise’ (January 2013), http://www.insee.fr/fr/insee_regions/champagne-ardenne/themes/ [Accessed 11 August 2016].

Table 4.2: Leicester and Leicestershire demographic change between 1971 and 2006.

Years	1971	1981	1991	1999	2006
Leicester	285,000	283,000	285,000	291,000	290,000
Leicestershire	804,000	859,000	894,000	935,000	925,000
Leicester/Leicestershire (%)	35.0	33.0	32.0	31.0	31.0

Source: 1971-1999: ONS, *Regions in Figures: East Midlands* (London, 2000), p. 4; 2006: Office for National Statistics, *Regional Trends*, no.40 (London, 2008), p. 46.

As Table 4.1 shows, the population of the Pays Rémois increased at a higher rate than in Reims during the period 1982 to 2008. In Reims, the population increased by 2.4 per cent

²¹ L’Express, ‘1,000 euros pour une voiture à la casse ?’ (2 Décembre 2008), <http://lexpansion.lexpress.fr/> [Accessed 5 September 2014].

²² Agence de l’Urbanisme Reims, *Reims Centre Régional: Livre Blanc* (Reims, 1971), p. 51.

²³ Tauffin defines the term *rurbanisation* as the migration flow from urban areas to small towns and villages located around. [See C. Tauffin, ‘Accession à la Propriété et « Rurbanisation »’, *Economie et statistique*, 175, no.1 (1985), pp. 55 & 67].

during this time, whereas the population for the Pays Rémois grew by 9 per cent. Table 4.2 also reflects this trend, showing that the population of Leicestershire increased at a higher rate from 1981 to 2006 (7.7 per cent) than was seen in Leicester during the same period (2.5 per cent). This trend can also be seen when calculating the proportion of Leicester's population in relation to Leicestershire's population: one can notice a decrease from 33 per cent in 1982 to 31 per cent in 2006. Regarding Reims and its region the proportion of Reims' population in relation to the Pays Rémois also decreased from 67 per cent in 1982 to 63 per cent in 2008. This clearly indicates that people tended to be attracted to living in peripheral towns and this was facilitated by both efficient road transport networks and the growth in car ownership.

Within this context of car mobility and urban expansion, a paradox emerged by the 1980s. On the one hand, Western nations welcomed a sustained growth in traffic and in the use of motorcars as the automotive industry became more globally integrated since the post-war period. On the other hand, increased traffic congestion and pollution became a growing concern globally. From 1990 to 2004, greenhouse gas emission in Europe decreased in many sectors such as agriculture and the manufacturing industry, yet increased in the transport sector by 25 per cent.²⁴ The negative impact of car use started to inform public debates at an international level, and this led in turn to the implementation of sustainability approaches within transport policies. The World Commission on Environment and Development defined the term 'sustainable development' in 1987 as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.'²⁵ With 'sustainable development' at the forefront, the 1992 Rio Summit stressed the irreversible consequences of road-based transport on the environment. As a result, the European Union became more committed to the goal of sustainability and played a leading role. After the Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997, the European Union aimed to reduce by 8 per cent its CO₂ emission by 2012.²⁶

²⁴ Commissariat Général du Développement Durable, 'Transports et environnement : comparaisons européennes' *Service de l'Observatoire et des Statistiques* (April 2009), <http://www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr> [Accessed 10 September 2014].

²⁵ ROLLR, G/Re/21/1, The East Midlands Regional Local Government Association, *Regional Guidance for the Spatial Development of the East Midlands: Consultation draft*, (no date, 1998), p. 16.

²⁶ F. Decoster and F. Versini, *EU: La Politique des Transports vers une Mobilité Durable* (La documentation Française, 2009), p. 115.

In 1980s Britain, the Conservative government was mainly focused on the issue of economic growth and environmental concerns were perceived to be incompatible with economic success and competition. As Geoff Vigar argues ‘the central government viewed pollution control as a cost and a barrier to economic development, rather than as a positive instrument associated with improved business efficiency with knock-on consequences that might make Britain a world leader in environmental technologies for example.’²⁷ There was indeed a conflict by the early 1980s between the state, the environment and economic interest.

Although environmental concerns had been recognised since the early 1970s, they did not impact much in a context where road improvements still mainly encouraged the expansion of private transport. However, within this context the Leicester Environmental Action Group expressed in the 1970s a willingness to reduce the use of private motorcars and to promote the use of pedestrian roads in the city centre. They wanted to see all car parks turned into parks.²⁸ In the late 1970s, the problem of air pollution from motor vehicles was a recurring topic for discussion in the *Leicester Mercury*.²⁹ The growing public awareness of environmental concerns started to make its voice heard over the decade of the 1980s, not only locally but also nationally and this coincided with the completion of the last major motorway, the M40, in 1990. Indeed, in the early 1990s, the Conservative Government started to halt its road programme and look for alternatives with the aim of restricting cars, marking the end of the ‘predict and provide’ policy.

Under the Prime Minister, John Major, tackling carbon dioxide emissions became a higher priority and the UK became one of the most important nations in the drive to improve international air quality.³⁰ A new trajectory of transport policy started to emerge and the Labour Government ‘made it a manifesto pledge to tackle climate change and shift towards ‘low carbon economic growth’.³¹ The Government’s White Paper, *A New*

²⁷ Vigar, *The Politics of Mobility*, p. 8.

²⁸ ‘People before cars’ plan sees gardens in the city centre’, *Leicester Mercury*, 26 June 1972.

²⁹ Dr Malcom Fox, senior lecturer in Chemistry at Leicester Polytechnic, published a paper in 1976 in the *Royal Society of Health Journal and States* which raised public awareness of the danger of pollution in multi-storey car parks in the form of high levels of carbon monoxide. A year later, in 1977, he noted that the problem of air pollution was under control in Leicester and that the city was becoming cleaner than some country towns. However, vehicular and industrial noise pollution was now the main problem to tackle for the local authorities. He argued: ‘There is a brighter picture in both air pollution and water pollution, but the biggest problem at the moment is noise pollution with more cars and more intensive use of industry.’ [Quotation from ‘Air pollution is being eased’, *Leicester Mercury*, 7 December 1977].

³⁰ Vigar, *The Politics of Mobility*, p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone, published in July 1998, pointed out that the impact of car noise and pollution jeopardized people's health and quality of life in cities. The solution to traffic growth was not to build more roads but to develop an integrated transport policy by creating more sustainable travel practices.³² While traffic growth had always been combined with economic growth, economic success started to be perceived as compatible with environmental approaches. The Leicestershire Local Transport Plan was created in July 2000 to cover a period of five years from 2001-2006. It was a comprehensive integrated transport strategy to improve the quality of local transport and access public transport.³³

In France, the 1982 Transport Law aimed to give priority to public transport in order to reach a more sustainable approach. In the same sense as in Britain, greater stress on sustainability was more perceptible in the 1990s. *La Loi sur l'Air et l'Utilisation Rationnelle d'Energie* (implemented in 1996) encouraged cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants to develop *Un Plan de Déplacements Urbains*. The central aim was to promote better protection for the environment by giving priority to other modes of transport as an alternative to cars. Adopted on 5 May 2001, *le Plan de Déplacements Urbains de Reims* aimed to bring public transport and infrastructure improvement in order to improve the quality of life for its inhabitants.³⁴ The aim was also to find a balance and some coherence between the different modes of transport.

Britain took immediate measures in contrast to France. For instance, Stephen Glaister demonstrates that by 2000 the UK had the most expensive petrol in Europe and 'the proportion of the final price that is tax rose from 44 per cent in 1980 to 82 per cent in 1999.'³⁵ The 1997 Blair government perceived tax as an explicit means to reduce traffic emission: 'the use of economic instruments, such as pricing measures and taxation, is an important way of influencing travel choice'.³⁶ Although an increase in fuel prices had been experienced globally in most nations since the early 1990s, the public authorities in France applied a preferential tax policy, which meant that diesel fuel remained at an

³² ROLLR, L/SP/16/7, Leicestershire County Council, *Leicestershire Leicester and Rutland Structure Plan: Deposit Draft 1996-2016* (Leicester, May 2000), p. 8.

³³ ROLLR, L/co/54, Leicestershire County Council, *Annual Transport Plan Annual Progress Report August 2001* (Leicester, 2001), p. 1.

³⁴ AMCR, Box 276W362-363, PDU Reims 2001.

³⁵ S. Glaister, 'UK Transport Policy 1997-2001', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 18, no.2 (2002), p. 157.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.173.

attractive price for consumers.³⁷ In the United Kingdom, diesel fuel tax equated to 0.89 Euros per litre in 2005 whereas in France this tax was 0.58 Euros per litre.³⁸

In France, this political choice can be partly explained as a means to support the national automotive industry which accounted for 200,000 full-time employees in 2007 and 800,000 indirect employees (e.g. in sectors like motor insurance).³⁹ Maintaining the price of diesel fuel cars represented a real economic challenge for the automotive industry in France. This advantage dated back to the 1960s and primarily aimed to favour economic activity in France as farmers, enterprises and road transport were exclusively using diesel fuel.⁴⁰ France continued to favour industrial policies to keep its transport economically successful. A huge proportion of new cars using diesel fuel can be observed by comparison with Britain. In 2006 this rate represented 72 per cent of all new vehicles in France compared to only 35 per cent in Britain. This political choice did not follow a sustainable approach as diesel cars led to more greenhouse gas emission than petrol-engine cars.⁴¹ The use of motoring taxes was a common practice in Britain and it is not surprising that transport greenhouse gas emissions increased by 13 per cent between 1990 and 2004 whereas in France they increased by 21 per cent over the same period.⁴² It is safe to argue that Britain adopted a more restrictive policy in dealing with environmental issues and this aspect was also palpable at a local level.

In the context of increasing global pressure regarding the protection of the environment, Reims and Leicester were obligated to comply with national measures. However, both of their local ideologies and heritage have to be taken into consideration when analysing the way the local authorities approached sustainable development. Leicester is a good example that reflects the idea of more restrictive practices, given that a strong ecological concern and an established interest for open spaces, parks and gardens had already existed

³⁷ Conseil Général de l'Economie, 'Les prix, les marges et la consommation de carburants' (November 2012), <http://www.economie.gouv.fr/files/> [Accessed 15 September 2014].

³⁸ M. Didier and R. Prud'homme, *Infrastructures de Transport, Mobilité et Croissance*, (La documentation Française, 2007), p. 39.

³⁹ T. Méot, 'L'Industrie Automobile en France depuis 1950: Des Mutations à la Chaîne', *INSEE l'Economie Française* (2009).

⁴⁰ P. Kovarik, 'Combien de voitures diesel en France ? Pourquoi est-il moins cher à la pompe ? Quel impact sur la santé ? Voici quelques éléments de Réponse', *Le Point* (4 March 2013), <http://www.lepoint.fr> [Accessed 6 October 2014].

⁴¹ Didier and Prud'homme, *Infrastructures de Transport*, p. 4.

⁴² Conseil Général de l'Economie, 'Les prix, les marges et la consommation de carburants' (November 2012), <http://www.economie.gouv.fr/files/> [Accessed 15 September 2014].

since the 1950s.⁴³ The ecological impetus, the preservation of wildlife and nature protection were the main characteristics of the city, which consequently shaped local measures in urban planning, conservation and transport policy.⁴⁴ In 1986, the City Council stated that the ‘aim is not simply to create an environmentally friendly City Council but rather a strategy which embraces all sections of the community.’⁴⁵ Leicester City Council embodied politics and practices that were consistent with the concern to reduce the city’s contribution to the greenhouse effect within a holistic programme. Leicester’s ecological merit was indeed well recognised as it was designated Britain’s first ‘environment city’ in 1990. This national title gained global recognition in 1992 and Leicester became one of the twelve international cities in the world to participate in the United Nations Earth Summit.⁴⁶ An integrated environmental strategy was well anchored in Leicester’s municipal ideology, which influenced local political choice in dealing with car restrictions. Leicester demonstrated a real ecological concern regarding noise and damage to natural habitats and its urban environment.⁴⁷

By contrast, *la Ville de Reims* was always criticized by environmentalists for its lack of initiatives to set up measures to protect the environment from car users. *L’Union* noted that ‘[l]es verts dénoncent le manque d’ambition et le mépris de la municipalité rémoise (the environmentalists denounce the lack of ambition and the contempt of the municipality).’⁴⁸

Sustainable approaches regarding transportation only became apparent in the 2000s. Reims’ urban environment had been forged around the aspect of car mobility. As *l’Union* pointed out *la voiture est reine* (the car is queen).⁴⁹ Indeed, the municipal power had always supported both the *sacro-sainte automobile* (sacrosanct car) and the development

⁴³ Local policy in Leicester directed urban planning through the creation of open spaces such as Victoria Park and Welford Road Recreation Ground. By 1950, municipal policy favoured the creation of large landscape parks for relaxation and recreation. [See D. Nash and D. Reeder (eds), *Leicester in the Twentieth Century* (Stroud, 1993), p.34].

⁴⁴ Nash and Reeder (eds), *Leicester in the Twentieth Century*, p. 37.

⁴⁵ ROLLR, DE 5532/9, Council Minutes: ‘Environment City-Leicester and the National Campaign’, 1986.

⁴⁶ P. Heap, ‘City’s green effort ‘working’, *Leicester Mercury*, 18 November 1993.

⁴⁷ The Leicester guide, published in the 1995 by Leicester Promotions, described Leicester as a ‘Green and pleasant’ city: ‘The city tries to incorporate concern for the natural world into all its activities, promoting recycling, energy efficiency, organic produce, and the protection of wildlife and green spaces. Partners from local businesses, pressure groups and community representatives are constantly developing fresh initiatives and codes of practice’. [Quotation from ROLLR, L/DI/103, Leicester Promotion, *City Guide* (Leicester, 1995), p. 24.]

⁴⁸ N. Gouin, ‘Se déplacer en ville: le règne de la voiture s’achève’, *l’Union*, 1 September 1999.

⁴⁹ A. Moyat, ‘Plan de Déplacements Urbains: Ce qu’ils en pensent...’ *l’Union*, 2 March 1999.

of the A4 motorway. This reflected a political choice in promoting the '*culture de l'automobile* (the car culture).'⁵⁰ Furthermore, the *Circuit Reims-Gueux*, located seven kilometres west of Reims, was a Grand Prix racing road course that hosted the first Formula 1 Championship in 1950, which further legitimised car promotion in the city. This *culture de l'automobile* and Reims' emblematic automotive heritage made embedded attitudes and the way of life difficult to change.⁵¹ When the local authorities found themselves having to face the reality of a transport policy shift, the task was initially difficult to handle.

This apparent homogenous trend that involved increased car mobility and in turn affected the city's physical shape with the expansion towards peripheral areas, as we can see, interacted with individual geographic, demographic and political determinants in the case of Reims and Leicester. It seems that local peculiarities can resist the pressure applied by globalisation for the cities to conform to similar patterns.

Reims' and Leicester's adaptation to a transport policy shift at local level

During the period of the 2000s, cars remained the most important mode of transport in both Reims and Leicester. Travel by car represented 57 per cent of modes of transport in Reims in 2006 and in comparison, public transport accounted for only 9 per cent (Table 4.3). In Leicester, the predominance of car travel was equally evident with the share of car travel representing 55 per cent and public transport 16 per cent (Table 4.4). Public transport was hardly able to compete with this trend, given that 'the automobile is more than just a technological object – it is in a very real sense a whole way of life.'⁵²

At a generic level, cultural and planning attitudes were increasingly built around car travel especially with the development of highways and motorways in order to access the peripheral areas of cities.⁵³ Hence, planners have recognised the powerful magnet of cars

⁵⁰ AMC, 276W364, Diagnostic 12 March 1996.

⁵¹ '*Le musée automobile de Reims*' (Reims' automotive museum) reflects the strong automotive heritage of the city. The museum opened in 1985 thanks to the private collection of vintage cars of George Charbonneaux's son, Philippe Charbonneaux (1917-1998), an industrial designer specialising in car design. He was famous for the Ellipsis concept car developed in 1997 and he was also responsible for the R8 car design in 1962 as well as the R16, a prototype of 1965. These are exhibited in the museum.

⁵² A. Latham, D. McCormack, K. McNamara and D. McNeill, '*Mobility*' in *Key concepts in Urban Geography* (London, 2008), p. 10.

⁵³ The decentralisation of the populations in both Leicester and Reims led to an increase in commuting trips and most of them were made by cars.

in terms of social behaviour. However, the promotion of public transport, including cycling and walking, gained further importance by the 1980s. At a local level, mobility that is environmentally friendly became one of the ideals to aspire towards within the context of sustainable development. The approach of Leicester and Reims to the transport problem had changed by the 1980s due to a renewed concern for the environment and heritage. Nonetheless, it is important to analyse the different political motives behind the promotion of environment-friendly mobility where public space, in particular the city centre, had to adapt to innovations.

Table 4.3: Mode of transport in Reims in 2006.

Method	Percentage
Walking	30
Cycling	2
Car	57
Public transport	9
Other	2

Source: AUDRR, *Les Chiffres Clés 2010 Région de Reims* (Reims, 2010), p. 13.

Table 4.4: Methods of commuting in Leicester 2001.

Method	Percentage
Walking	16
Cycling	5
Car	55
Public transport	16
Other	8

Source: ONS, 'Neighbourhood statistics, 2001 census: travel to work' <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/> [Accessed 14 September 2014].

Leicester, considered to be Britain's first 'environment city' in the 1990s, had a reputation for its stress on ecology and the quality of life for its citizens. Indeed, assessing the environmental needs of citizens was a key factor in shaping the city's image.⁵⁴ This was

⁵⁴ *The Blueprint for Leicester*, which is based on public consultation and organisations' opinion, aimed to find out the needs for each individual and to improve the local quality of life in the city. It was stated that 'nearly all comments stressed less traffic and better air quality as important goals' and 'Leicester's parks and open spaces were greatly valued and often mentioned as one of the best points about the city' [Quotation from L/en/78, Leicester City Council, *Blueprint for Leicester Findings* (Leicester, no date), p. 5]. In the *Sharing a Vision For Our City* leaflet, published in the 1990s, the Council expressed its vision for the future of Leicester and its determination to maintain its environmental strength: 'By bringing together the recognition of the need to generate wealth to serve out social needs, and concern for the natural environment we will make out city sustainable'. The Council also added, 'the vision builds, not only on Leicester's traditional ability to regenerate itself economically, and its traditional provision of social care, but also on our leading role on the environment.' [Quotation from ROLLM, L/en/68/1, Leicester City Council, *Sharing a Vision For Our City* (Leicester, no date), p. 2].

part of Leicester's long-standing commitment to sustainable development.⁵⁵ Environmental concerns were given a high priority and since the 1970s restrictive measures had been implemented to discourage commuters from bringing their cars into the city centre and to favour pedestrian zones. The intent was not to put off shoppers from coming into the city centre, but the City Council's aim was to establish more integrated modes of transport.⁵⁶ Furthermore, '[i]n [the] autumn of 1977 the city and county councils approved proposals which extended the pedestrian preference area in Gallowtree gate to the immediate vicinity of the clock tower.'⁵⁷ A £120,000 Clock Tower pedestrianisation scheme was launched in 1978 where all private cars were prohibited from the city's hub.⁵⁸ By 1986 Loseby Lane, Church Gate and Haymarket had pedestrian preference, and buses were excluded from Gallowtree Gate.⁵⁹ By the late 1990s, new bus lanes had been provided in Uppingham Road, Welford Road and Saffron Lane.⁶⁰ Fifty kilometres of cycle lanes had also been completed.⁶¹

There was a genuine desire amongst the local authorities of Leicester to integrate public spaces with different modes of transport that favoured pedestrianisation and cycling. They aimed to provide a better environment for pedestrians in which they could move freely around the shopping areas too.⁶² Car park tariff structures were already implemented by the 1980s and the City Council clearly stated in 1986 that 'control car parks would attract the short-term shoppers rather than the long-stay commuters as previously'.⁶³ This was a determinant to control the number of cars going into the city centre. Illegal parking was also severely banned in the city centre by 1986.⁶⁴ In order to avoid illegal parking three proposed car parks - Newark Street, Lewis's and High Street - aimed to increase the number of spaces in the city centre by 19 per cent for visitors (with an extra 1,100 parking spaces made available). The Action Programme for Leicester city centre proposed several

⁵⁵ From 1975 to 1990, the council's total energy consumption was reduced by over 15 per cent. The local authority had always aimed to increase people's energy awareness, which is a good example of this well-established environmental concern in Leicester. The Energy Efficiency Centre was created in 1990 to promote the use of renewable energy in the city.

⁵⁶ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *City Centre Action Programme* (Leicester, 1986), p. 2.

⁵⁷ 'Special announcement clock tower pedestrian preference', *Leicester Mercury*, 30 June 1978.

⁵⁸ 'Cars banned for the big walkabout', *Leicester Mercury*, 16 June 1978.

⁵⁹ ROLLR, DE 5532/9, Council Minutes, 'Environment City-Leicester and the National Campaign', 1986.

⁶⁰ Leicester City Council, *City of Leicester Local Plan: Monitoring Report 1991-1997* (Leicester, 1998), p. 13.

⁶¹ ROLLR, L/En/86, Leicester City Council, *Leicester's local Agenda 21: Action Plan* (Leicester, no date), p. 5.

⁶² ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *City Centre Action Programme* (Leicester, 1987), pp. 7 & 8.

⁶³ ROLLR, DE 5532/9, Council Minutes, 'Environment City-Leicester and the National Campaign', 1986.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

areas for new or extended open spaces, which promoted a traffic-free area around the Clock Tower as one of the objectives.⁶⁵

In the 2000s, Leicester continued its sustainable development concern with more objectives in mind. The City Council's goal was to 'continue to manage change to the natural and built environment through partnership and the planning system in a way that respects its special qualities and complexities, its vulnerability and importance to everyone.'⁶⁶ The 1997 Central Leicestershire Strategic Transport Study (CALTRANS) final report aimed to assess future needs and potential transport measures. The report documented that 80 per cent of daily trips to the Leicester local transport plan area were made by car and that only 13 per cent was the percentage for public transport use during 1997.⁶⁷ As a result, the Central Leicestershire Local Transport Plan was established in 2000, aiming 'to develop a transport system which enables everyone to take part in all aspects of everyday life at a reasonable cost.'⁶⁸ It seems that Leicester's local authorities wished to provide an environmentally-friendly transport system.

On the other hand, in Reims the establishment of an environmental concern seemed chaotic in comparison and this, has led to numerous criticisms from environmentalists. The local municipalities had attempted some initiatives by the 1980s, but these were far from being restrictive in the same sense as happened in Leicester. The local authorities deployed marketing tactics to encourage people to use collective transport. *Les Transports Urbains Rémois* (TUR) aimed to change people's habits and attitudes by improving their local image.⁶⁹ By 1991, a *Plan de Développement de l'Utilisation des Transports Collectifs* called *Déphine* was implemented which promoted rapidity, comfort and the protection of the environment.⁷⁰ *La Citadine*, created in 1992, aimed to encourage people living in the city centre to leave their car in the garage and to use the small bus instead.⁷¹ Reims' attractive ticket prices for the use of public transport were the

⁶⁵ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *City Centre Action Programme*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ ROLLR, L/SO/68, Leicester City Council, *Leicester's Community Plan* (Leicester, 2000), p. 34.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Leicester City Council, *Leicester Regeneration Company Baseline Study: Final Report* (Leicester, 2002), p. 156.

⁶⁹ The collective transport in Reims is called *Transports Urbains Rémois*, (TUR).

⁷⁰ BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Le bus change d'image', *District Magazine*

⁷¹ La Citadine is a small bus created for people living in the city centre or on the outskirts.

cheapest in France.⁷² Indeed, transportation accounted for the biggest part of the budget spent by the Council and transportation expenses represented 41 per cent of the operating budget of the city. The Ministry of Transport's implementation of the *Versement Transport* (created in 1971), obliged conurbations of more than 100,000 inhabitants to pay a tax for public transport.⁷³ The tax is paid by firms of more than nine employees and contributes to the funding of collective transport. This stable financial basis allows French cities, such as Reims, to obtain a large amount of money to improve transport services. By contrast, 'In Britain, there is no such continuity and public transport operators are dependent on force revenues and subsidies received from the local authorities for contracted services'.⁷⁴ This could explain the fact that, in Leicester, the capital spent in transportation and highways only represented 29 per cent in 2006-07 whereas for Reims 40 per cent of the capital was spent in transportation in 2006.⁷⁵

Efforts were implemented in promoting public transport in Reims despite the fact that 80 per cent of the population did not use the TUR in 1996.⁷⁶ While Leicester implemented measures for an integrated use of public space, Reims failed to do so; and in 1992, *l'Union* pointed out that some bus lanes had been removed with priority given to cars. Public transport needed to be separated from the main traffic to increase buses' rapidity.⁷⁷ Bus priority measures, pedestrian routes and cycle lanes were poor in Reims by comparison to Leicester but this did not seem to worry the local authorities who had traditionally favoured the promotion of private car use as part of Reims' urban physical character.

⁷² The *District Magazine* of May 1995 in Reims made a bus ticket's price comparison which clearly emphasised Reims' public transport's attractive prices: a single bus ticket in Reims cost 5 Francs, whereas in cities such as Nancy the ticket was 7 Francs or Brest 6.80 Francs.

⁷³ D. Danister, *Transport Policy in the UK, USA and Europe* (New York, 2002), p. 177.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.179.

⁷⁵ Capital spent by services for education represented 53 per cent. As underlined in the second chapter, training and education was a means to solving unemployment in Leicester [see Leicestershire County Council, *Medium Term Financial Strategy 2006* (Leicester, May 2006), p. 28.]

In Reims, this *Versement Transport* tax funded more than half of the TUR: when calculating the ratio *Versement Transport*/transport expenses, the ratio evolved from 53 per cent in 1993 to 56 per cent in 1999. In comparison to other provincial cities in France, this ratio represented 42 per cent in 1995. This shows that enterprises in Reims contributed more than the national average in transport funding. This aspect was not the case in Leicester, as the major issues raised by the Blueprint was that of public transport costs and the general complaint that bus fares prevented people from travelling.

⁷⁶ The number of bus lines increased from 12 lines in 1976 to 19 in 1996. The city accounted for 65 buses in 1976, whereas in 1996 it accounted for 150 buses. Also, the TUR carried 14 million people annually in 1976 and it had more than doubled in 1995 with 30 million people per annum; AMCR, 276W364-365, 'Répartition des Déplacements tous Modes de Milieu Urbain', 1996.

⁷⁷ 'Stationnement et Déplacements (3)', *l'Union*, 17 July 1992.

In contrast to Leicester, there was no political motivation to favour pedestrianisation in the 1990s.⁷⁸ Furthermore, local pressure from traders was strong in Reims with the general thought that restricted vehicular access would have an impact on local businesses. Leicester's pedestrianisation programme though led only to a small number of complaints and was entirely integrated within the main shopping area of the city centre.⁷⁹ It was reported that the public response was favourable to the programme of pedestrianisation in the city centre, according to a public attitude survey in 1993.

While Leicester city centre was experiencing on-street parking charges and controlled car parks, there were 200 free parking places available in 1992 for motor vehicles in *les Promenades* of the city centre of Reims.⁸⁰ In 1996, the city centre of Reims accounted for more than 10000 places of which 60 per cent were free of charge.⁸¹ It was easy to park freely in the city centre in areas such as *Boulingrin* and *les promenades*. This lack of environmental concern seems to have been specific for Reims given that other cities, such as Strasbourg, were, by the 1990s, restricting cars within the city centre and promoting pedestrianisation. Hubert Charpentier, a former Socialist deputy, argued in 1992 that Reims had an archaic approach and that traffic regulation seemed impossible - for any improvement would be expensive.⁸² According to Charpentier, 'Reims a une conception archaïque et se préoccupe pas d'environnement (the city of Reims has an archaic conception and is not concerned about the environment).'⁸³ The environmentalists denounced the local municipalities of Reims and they were hoping that by the early 1990s car restrictions would be implemented thanks to a coherent mobility plan preventing motorcar access to *la Place D'Erlon* - one of the main streets of the city centre which was experiencing uncontrolled car access.⁸⁴ However, due to more national and local pressure, a turning

⁷⁸ AMCR, 276W364-365, 'Répartition des Déplacements tous Modes de Milieu Urbain', 1996.

⁷⁹ The 1995 City Centre Action Programme stated that some opposition to pedestrianisation was reported when part of Belvoir Street was included in the pedestrianisation priority zone, but the project was abandoned when traders expressed their concern regarding the negative impact it could have on businesses.

⁸⁰ 'Stationnement et Déplacements (3)', *l'Union*, 17 July 1992.

⁸¹ In 1999, Reims possessed 21 kilometres of cycle routes and only 1.4 per cent of the people were concerned with cycle mobility. Strasbourg accounted for 230 kilometres of cycle routes and 9 per cent of the people used this mode of mobility.

⁸² 'Stationnement et Déplacements (3)', *l'Union*, 17 July 1992.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Environmentalists such as Gerard Crouzet or Frederic Payen denounced in the early 1990s the policies led by the municipalities which clearly favoured private cars. [see N.G, 'Raymond Joannesse, membre des Verts', *l'Union*, 21 September 1999].

point occurred in Reims by 2000, thus marking a certain convergence with Leicester in terms of local municipal discourse towards a sustainable city.⁸⁵

When the *Plan de Développement Urbain* (PDU) was adopted in 2001, which aimed to reduce pollution and car traffic and further promote collective transport, the local authorities decided to extend the existing tariff for car parks and to set up parking relays in which people would be obliged to pay. They also aimed to implement a hierarchy of green and red zones with on-street parking charges for short-term commuters in the hope of dissuading people from using their cars and in favour of public transport.⁸⁶ This mobility change was perceived as a troublesome subject as the local authorities knew they would have to convince a large majority of the population who preferred travelling by car.⁸⁷ The local authorities decided to radically alter local attitudes for the coming years knowing that they would face a majority of complaints.

In contrast to Leicester, which had forged policies according to an ‘environmental image’, changes were difficult to implement in Reims.⁸⁸ Indeed, Leicester’s case demonstrates a budding environmental consciousness since the 1970s which paved the way for more restrictive measures regarding sustainable development, with the result that the city centre had a much more regulated system and a more sophisticated traffic control system was employed. Following the Rio Summit in 1992, there was strong local pressure in Leicester to reinforce and maintain its ecological heritage and its commitment to sustainable development. Leicester’s prestigious status as an ‘environmental city’ revealed a local aim to continue to strive towards a philosophy of sustainable development. As the *Leicester Mercury* stated in 1994, ‘Leicester is setting an example under the flag of environment city’.⁸⁹ Indeed, environmental efforts had revealed great achievements and

⁸⁵ In 1999 the local journal *l’Union* reported that car traffic increased by 2.5 per cent per year since 1989. In response to this car traffic domination, the association *Reims cité humaine pour les droits des piétons* was created in 1999 and aimed to promote action that would improve the quality of life of pedestrians and protect their rights with regard to the local authorities.

⁸⁶ The idea was to create a price difference between these two zones: the green zone was the less expensive and the red one the most expensive. The aim was to orientate people towards the green zone, which is further away from the city centre; AMCR, 276W363-363.

⁸⁷ In a context of local transport policy shift and with the implementation of the PDU, one could find articles in *l’Union* of 16 May 2001 such as ‘*un sujet qui fâche*’ (a troublesome subject) or ‘*déplacements urbains: les automobiles dans le collimateur*’ (Urban mobility: cars are under threat).

⁸⁸ *The City Guide* stresses this strong environmental image of Leicester as a means to attract visitors. It stated: ‘Many of the city’s woods, parks and protected meadows can be visited via the Green Ringway, a waymarked cycle and pedestrian route which will eventually encircle the city. It links older cycle routes such as the Great Central Way and Forest Way.’ [Quotation from ROLLM, L/DI/103, Leicester Promotion, *City Guide* (Leicester, 1995), p. 24].

⁸⁹ S. Hall, ‘Environment city title is extended’, *Leicester Mercury*, 3 March 1994.

Leicester's environmental success was further boosted thanks to a new environmental agency launched in 1993 called Environ, an ecological charity which promoted environmental initiatives in the city through campaigns raising awareness towards green motoring initiatives.⁹⁰

Given that the car remained the most popular mode of mobility in both cities, one could not minimise the measures necessary to incorporate and embed the idea of a sustainable city in people's minds. Although such radical steps were undertaken later in Reims, I argue that the strategic use of sustainable development acted as a means to gain control of public spaces and to change local people's relationship with their urban environment. The critical view that cars were unhealthy for a living environment coupled with the promotion of collective transport and pedestrianisation took place in a context in which the respective local authorities of both Reims and Leicester aimed to improve the cities' images through the improvement of public spaces. For example, Leicester's environmental strategy was one of communicative action, which would improve the marketing of the city by enhancing its image throughout Britain. The City Council argued, 'by formal designation as an Environmental City recognition should become national knowledge and bring much well-deserved attention and credit to the city.'⁹¹

In Reims, the local authorities had always been seduced by the project of the tramway and this idea moved forward in 2003 when Jean Louis Shneiter and the other mayors of the *Agglomération de Reims* officially announced the aim to create a line from the south-west to the north of the city.⁹² As Jean Falala argued in 1990, the tramway would be the symbol in terms of sustainable development and protection of the environment but it was mainly seen as a tool to remodel the city's image.⁹³ In January 1990, it was argued in the *District Magazine* that 'le tramway équivaut à un coup de projecteur. Il est question de

⁹⁰ The environmental group had received £6,500 cash from the government to boost a green driving project in order to reduce pollution from vehicles in the county; K. Watson, 'Environ show the greener way ahead', *Leicester Mercury*, 17 August 1993.

⁹¹ ROLLR, DE 5532/9, Leicester City Council, Council Minutes, 1986.

⁹² A study called *Quels transports pour Reims?* was published in 1984 and pointed out that a tramway project for the city was clearly possible. By November 1989, the minister of transport M. Delebarre proclaimed that the state was ready to help Reims by providing a subsidy for the tramway.⁹² Le *Conseil de District* of Reims showed a great interest in wishing to develop this project and the aim was to convince the local powers but also the local population. By the 2000s, this project lay in the heart of the *Plan de Déplacements Urbains* whose objective was to reduce pollution by the use of sustainable public transport and also to find a mode of transport complementary to buses; BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Ligne de Tramway une vraie colonne vertébrale', *Communauté Magazine*, no.75, October 2003.

⁹³ BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Améliorer les transports', *District Magazine*, no.1, January 1990.

notoriété et d'image de marque c'est vrai (the tramway would put the spotlight on Reims. It is a question of notoriety and branding image, that's certain).'⁹⁴ The tramway, emblem of the sustainable city would act as a tool of communication and would enhance the image of the city as historic and as *carrefour européen*. One important aspect that needs to be underlined is the fact that the historical assets of Reims found compatibility with the promotion of pedestrianisation. Indeed, this mobility change took place in a context of the *patrimonialisation* (heritage promotion) of the public space. By 2004, the pedestrianisation of the cathedral place was one of the main objectives for attracting more tourists and enhancing the image of this historical monument.⁹⁵

Distinct local ideologies and political contexts shaped the different local approaches when dealing with the issue of local mobility and the use of public space. However, local mobility further promoted the concept of the 'environment city', which was a fashionable as well as a necessary label to aim for in protecting the environment and on which the city's image for sustainable development depended.

The position of Reims and Leicester within the context of increasing global mobility

The urban hierarchy, which existed before and after the post-war period, reflected an economic power centralised in the capitals of Paris and London.⁹⁶ In a context of globalisation, this urban hierarchy became less evident by the 1980s. Indeed, a will existed within both Britain and France to establish a balance between cities and to give more credence to medium-sized cities. In France, DATAR created, between 1971 and 1975, the *Contrats de Villes Moyennes* thus allowing medium sized-cities to regenerate their respective town centres and to improve the general quality of life.⁹⁷ In March 1988, the British government implemented the 'Action for Cities' initiative that aimed to regenerate cities.⁹⁸ This scheme also aimed to boost medium-sized cities. Hence, the phenomenon of decentralisation, which had occurred in France in 1982 and in England in the early 1990s, gave more freedom to medium-sized cities, allowing them to use their

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ AMCR, 276W60, Aménagement du parvis de la cathédrale, 2003-2004.

⁹⁶ The 1947 Act, Town Planning, was implemented to regulate the land used in the country with the aim of creating a homogeneous territory. In France, after the publication of *Paris et le Désert Français* in 1947, in which Gravier pointed out Paris' dominance, creating parity between cities became the major aim of the government.

⁹⁷ Diact, 'Les villes moyennes françaises: enjeux et perspectives', <http://www.datar.gouv.fr/> [Accessed 19 October 2014].

⁹⁸ The Royal Town Planning Institute, *Caring for Cities-Town Planning's Role* (Belfast, 1990), p. 13.

assets to maximize the strengths of their local identity in a context of globalisation. Given the renewed focus, in both France and Britain, on medium-sized cities, more peripheral cities became interconnected to a flux of networks and infrastructures that favoured both national and global mobility. However, in order to understand Reims' and Leicester's specific links, and the way they repositioned themselves with the global world, one has to examine regional specificities as well as their respective historical pasts and underpinning national ideologies.

As previously stated, distinct geographic and demographic aspects determine and shape local political decisions. Indeed, the characteristics of the East Midlands' polycentric culture and the inter-regional linkage of the Nottingham-Derby-Leicester triangle played an important role for the city of Leicester. Reims, on the other hand, does not possess this 'asset'. In order to boost their image, DATAR promoted, in the late 1980s, a *réseau des villes*, in order to encourage economic complementarities between agglomerations. However, the *réseau des villes Reims, Epernay, Châlons-Troyes*, which was created in 1987, did not manage to prosper.⁹⁹ The collaboration between these heterogeneous cities appeared not to work, especially given the demographic imbalance between agglomerations and specific infrastructures – for instance, Reims Champagne Airport failed to prosper unlike the East Midlands Airport (EMA).¹⁰⁰ The regional cluster formed between Leicester, Derby and Nottingham constituted a considerable strength *vis-à-vis* the competition posed by London's airports. Whereas these three cities experienced favourable global transport links, Reims' situation suffered because of its proximity to Paris (Maps 4.2 and 4.3).

⁹⁹ *Un réseau des villes* corresponds to a partnership or an alliance between different cities. The aim was to reinforce the inter-regional linkage of medium-sized cities in a territory as opposed to a centralised organisation of the country in which Paris would play a leading role; AMCR, 276W364-365, 'Répartition des Déplacements tous Modes de Milieu Urbain', 1996.

¹⁰⁰ The partnership Reims, Epernay, Châlons and Troyes accounted for 424,765 habitants in 1990 and the Reims' population accounted for half of this number. Epernay only represented 8 per cent of this number.

Map 4.2: East Midlands Airport at the centre of the three cities sub-area.

Source: ROLLR, G/RE/7/1, East Midlands Regional Planning Forum, *The Review of the Regional Strategy: Issue Report* (Leicester, 1996), p. 5.

Map 4.3: Reims Champagne Airport.

Source: BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Spécial 30 ans', *District Magazine*, March 1994.

The EMA opened in 1965 with 118,305 passengers in its first year and has since experienced a considerable growth of both passengers and cargo. From 1991 to 2000, the number of passengers increased by 94 per cent (Table 4.5). In 2004, 4.4 million passengers per year were using the airport, so doubling its use from 2000.¹⁰¹ The Reims-Champagne Airport, though, was not as attractive and successful. Passenger use decreased by 41 per cent from 1987 to 1995 (Table 4.6).

¹⁰¹ ROLLR, L/co/43, East Midlands Airport, *Master Plan 2006* (December 2006), p. 14.

Table 4.5: Total passengers at EMA and UK in 1991, 1996 and 2000.

Year	1991	1996	2000	% Change 1991-2000
Total passengers (000s) EMA	1,145	1,822	2,227	+94
Total passengers (000s) UK	92,124	134,184	178,083	+93

Source: Department of Transport, *Future Development of Air Transport in the United Kingdom: East Midlands* (London, 2002), p. 6.

Table 4.6: Total passengers at Reims-Champagne Airport in 1987, 1993 and 1995.

Year	1987	1993	1995	Change 1987-1995
Total passengers	25,972	22,069	15,374	- 41%

Source: AMCR, Box 276W471, AUDRR, *Tableau de Bord no.8* (Reims, 1998), p. 88.

Daily flights such as ‘Reims-Lyon’ were scheduled and destinations remained mainly national rather than international. The line ‘Reims-London’ first started on 30 April 2003 and aimed to give people from Reims the opportunity to travel outside France. A fifteen-year contract was then signed between Ryanair and the *Chambre de Commerce et d’Industrie* (CCI), with the aim of reviving the airport and of increasing regional competitiveness in an increasingly globalised market. Welcoming more British tourists, given that Britain was the first export market for Champagne, was seen to be a good initiative. Hence, Ryanair was at the time a promising airline company, ranked fourth as an international company in Europe (in 2003).¹⁰² However, despite the optimistic vision of *la Ville de Reims*, Reims-Champagne airport closed (in 2006). The airport could not compete with Paris’ airports – Charles de Gaulle, Orly or Paris Beauvais.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Vatry airport, which opened in 2000, was located in the Champagne-Ardenne region as a strategic place dedicated to European freight.¹⁰⁴ This airport was included in the national-rebalance policy scheme in 2003 and also enjoyed national support from the French government– given the objective of relieving congestion in an over-crowded Orly and Charles de Gaulle. This scheme in effect gave more importance to regional and secondary airports.¹⁰⁵ The airport was then called Paris-Vatry for commercial purposes. The Reims

¹⁰² BCR, PERCHXG 57, ‘Aéroport Reims-Champagne: Décollage Imminent’, *Communauté Magazine*, no.72, March 2003.

¹⁰³ The airport Paris Beauvais is located at around 70 kilometres from Paris in the Picardie region. It was the first French airport invested by Ryanair in 1997 and was called *Aéroport de ‘Paris’ Beauvais* for commercial purposes.

¹⁰⁴ The airport was located at 65 kilometres from Reims and 150 kilometres from Paris.

¹⁰⁵ O. Ducuing, ‘L’Europort de Vatry prepare son décollage’, *Emballages Magazine*, September 2000.

Champagne airport did not enjoy the ‘*Paris*’ label and, given the unsuccessful and heterogeneous *réseau des villes*, it lacked a dynamic image.

The case of the EMA was significantly different. As in France, the aviation policy that emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century was designed in order to encourage the development of regional airports – and EMA was included in this scheme. The national government published the *Air Transport White Paper* in 2003, which implemented a well-defined and strategic scheme to increase airport capacity in the UK up to 2030.¹⁰⁶ Adding to this strong national support, the success of EMA relied on its strategic central location of the airport. It is argued in the EMA master plan, ‘EMA has one of the largest catchments of any airport in the UK with 10.6 million people living within 90 minutes’ drive’.¹⁰⁷ The demographic context was a significant factor in the success of EMA. Carriers such as BMI Baby, Easyjet and Ryanair played a major role in extending customer choice and in promoting international mobility at a low cost. EMA was also an important employment and economic site in the region. It supported 9,270 jobs and generated £231million in income for the regions in 2005.¹⁰⁸ As expressed in the EMA master plan, there was a potential further to develop scheduled services to destinations outside Europe, such as the Indian sub-continent and the United States. This was an ideal proposition given that local businesses and communities had commercial and familial links to these parts of the world. Access to new markets in Asia and America, as well as India, could also be improved. This ambition reflects the global dynamism of the East Midlands.

The rate of export and import trade (either in tonnes or millions sterling) of the Champagne-Ardenne and the East Midlands is a sound indicator that the Champagne-Ardenne region traded mainly with countries of the European Union.¹⁰⁹ In 1997 and 2002, more than 80 per cent of its export and import trades were made with EU countries with 60 per cent made with border countries such as Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany (Tables 4.7 and 4.8). Export and import trades with non-EU countries remained low and did not even reach 20 per cent. The situation was different in the East Midlands, as export

¹⁰⁶ ROLLM, L/co/43, East Midlands Airport, *Master Plan*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ The data that has been found on the Champagne-Ardenne and East Midlands import and export trades is different in terms of ‘unit’. These units of measurement are not relevant here. What is interesting is the distribution of trade, either with EU and non-EU countries, which determines the global perspective of each region.

and import trade (in millions sterling) with EU countries and non-EU countries was more balanced. For example, in 2004 import trade with the EU measured 48.6 per cent and 51.4 per cent was with non-EU countries (Tables 4.7 and 4.8).

Table 4.7: Export and import trade with EU and non-EU countries in Champagne-Ardenne (tonnes) with percentages in brackets.

Exports	EU	Outside EU	Total
1997	4,928,274 (83.7%)	959,440 (16.3%)	5,887,418
2002	5,067,195 (87.3%)	886,106 (12.7%)	5,953,301
Imports	EU	Outside EU	Total
1997	3,517,133 (87.3%)	510,425 (12.7%)	4,027,558
2002	3,376,623 (81.9%)	747,607 (18.1%)	4,124,230

Source: AMCR, 276W363, Observatoire Régional des Transports des Marchandises, *Les Chiffres Clés 2002 des transports en Champagne-Ardenne* [leaflet].

Table 4.8: Export and import trade with EU and non-EU countries in East Midlands (millions of £).

Exports	EU	Outside EU	Total
2000	5,379(51.3%)	5,105 (48.7%)	10,484
2004	7,575 (54.4%)	6,340 (45.6%)	13,915
Imports	EU	Outside EU	Total
2000	4,471 (47.6%)	4,915 (52.4%)	9,386
2004	6,129 (48.6%)	6,478 (51.4%)	12,607

Source: 2000: Office for National Statistics, *Regional Trends*, no.36 (London, 2001), p. 171; 2004: Office for National Statistics, *Regional Trends*, no.39 (London, 2006), p. 232.

Both cities evolved in different regional contexts with the strong global aspect of the East Midlands echoing the ethnic diversity of Leicester. This aspect reflects Britain's long-established link with its former Empire, and the Indian sub-continent. A flow of migrants started to migrate to Britain when the British Nationality Act in 1948 gave the right to every Commonwealth citizen to migrate, which coincided with the call for post-war workers. The different migration flows that Leicester experienced since the 1950s made a unique contribution to the city and shaped the global links of Leicester, which, in 2005, consisted of more than 30 per cent migrants or second-generation migrants.¹¹⁰ The city

¹¹⁰ J. Panesar, 'A history of Leicester', *BBC* (2005), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/leicester/> [Accessed 15 October 2014].

experienced the development of active community groups, which, as mentioned in the previous chapters, possessed important trading and business backgrounds. Evington Road and East Park Road spawned many shops and services owned by the Asian community. Evington Valley accounted for 61 per cent of Asians in 1997.¹¹¹ In the 1970s, Belgrave Road and Melton Road became emblematic Asian districts with a large number of shops selling clothing and footwear and many restaurants, meeting the needs of the Asian community.¹¹²

This aspect of flourishing community grouping and the intensity of community life from migrants coming from Algeria, Portugal or Morocco were not so strong in Reims. Immigrants only accounted for 5.5 per cent of the population in Reims in 2006.¹¹³ Also, as underlined in the previous chapter, the republican French national policy tried to avoid the formation of ‘communities’ and, according to Erik Bleich, the British and French colonial models greatly influenced immigrants’ integration: ‘Britain relied on indirect rule in its empire while cultivating ethnic and cultural difference’ whereas ‘France employed direct rule and tried to assimilate people in its colonies’.¹¹⁴

In Leicester, integration was based on community, cultural identity, ethnicity and the promotion of multiculturalism, whereas in Reims assimilation and integration towards a common republican culture were asserted. The colonial history of both countries reflects contemporary practices in dealing with community integration and this aspect is particularly applicable to the evolved regional contexts of Reims and Leicester. By encouraging multiculturalism, the colonial history of Britain and its integration policy had a strong impact on Leicester’s relationship with the outside world.

Reims could not be considered so multicultural and as a result the will to promote a strong global link outside Europe was not as palpable as in Leicester. What is highlighted in local documents and archives is a strategic geographical position premised on the origins of the city. Reims was called *Durocortorum* and was seen to have been a prosperous

¹¹¹ ROLLR, L/UD/48, Leicester City Council, *Prescription for Improving Life Chances in Evington Valley 1997-2002* (Leicester, 1997), p. 7.

¹¹² ROLLR, L/SH/27, Chesterton Planning and Consulting, *Central Leicestershire Retail Study* (Milton Keynes, 1994), p. 20.

¹¹³ The term immigrant included foreigners, foreign people born in France and French people who were born outside France; INSEE Champagne-Ardenne, *Les Immigrés de Champagne-Ardenne* (2006), p. 1.

¹¹⁴ E. Bleich, ‘The Legacies of History? Colonization and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France’, *Theory and Society*, 34, no.2 (2005), p. 171 & 172.

Civitas Remorum, the capital of *la Gaule Belgique Seconde* in the second century A.D (Map 4.4). The capital played the role of an important *centre culturel Latin* (Latin cultural centre).

Map 4.4: Reims (Durocortorum) before the Roman conquest.

Source: AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 9.

Reims enjoyed a ‘natural’ strategic position in Europe and tried by the 1980s to regain this status. In the context of the European Union and globalisation, Reims reasserted its European importance. Indeed, since the construction of the *Autoroute 4*, the municipal authorities’ vision was turned more towards Europe with the aim of positioning Reims as a *métropole européenne* (European metropolis).¹¹⁵ Strong efforts were implemented to assert its European status. *La ville de Reims* and the CCI decided to work in partnership in 1986 to position the city as the European crossroads of the 2000s. As *Matot Braine* stated: ‘la ville et la CCI: un main dans la main exemplaire pour la promotion de Reims carrefour Européen (the Council and the Chamber of Commerce: an exemplary partnership work to promote Reims as a European crossroad).’¹¹⁶ Furthermore, during the same year, *Matot Braine* also suggested that Reims was the gateway to Europe in an

¹¹⁵ BCR, PECHXG 57, ‘Une Reconversion Réussie’, *District Magazine*, no.20, March 1994.

¹¹⁶ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, ‘Reims un carrefour européen aux portes du XXI^e siècle’, *Matot Braine*, 16 December 1986.

article entitled: ‘Reims un carrefour européen aux portes du 21st century (Reims: a European crossroads at the turn of the 21st century).’¹¹⁷ This article brought to the fore the city’s peculiarity of being at the centre of Europe: ‘A soixante-quinze minutes de Paris, Reims regarde désormais à l’Est et au Nord (Seventy-five minutes away from Paris, Reims sees itself as part of the North East Region of France).’¹¹⁸ Consequently, by the 1990s the city was positioned on both the London-Milan and North-East Mediterranean axis, with the creation of another motorway (A26) in 1990 (Map 4.5). However, experiencing competition with Paris and other cities such as Strasbourg, in June 1990 the association of the *Villes du Grand Bassin Parisien* was created between the so-called ‘*villes cathédrales*’ with the aim of decentralising the strength of the *Région Parisienne*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ *Les villes Cathédrales* correspond to cities situated around Paris and its region such as Reims, Orléans, Evreux, Beauvais, Montargis and Rouen; AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions*, p. 63.

Map 4.5: Reims represented as a European crossroad in 1991 by the local publication, District Magazine, thanks to an efficient road network.

Source: BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'Eurotunnel un atout pour Reims', *District Magazine*, no.4, January 1991.

Reims had always been considered a second-tier city until the arrival of the TVG in 2007 (Illustration 4.1). The creation of the line *TGV-Est européen* was a long process, and in September 1984, five regions (*Lorraine, Alsace, Champagne-Ardenne, Franche-Comté* and *Bourgogne*) decided to create the *Association de Coopération Interregionale du Grand-Est* in order to encourage the construction of a *TGV* line in the east of France.¹²⁰ In Paris, the minister of transport, Jean Claude Cayssot, signed the financial convention for the development of the *TGV-Est*, expected in 2007.¹²¹

¹²⁰ A. Felter et A. Schontz, *Le TGV-Est: La LGV-Est Européenne* (Metz, 2007), p. 61.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

Illustration 4.1: The TGV-Est européen.

Source: BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'TGV : le chantier avance à grande vitesse', *Communauté Magazine*, no.83, January 2005.

Reims' strategic position clearly benefitted from the arrival of the *TGV-Est européen* and symbolised its achievement in becoming an important European city. As predicted in the *District Magazine* in 2006, the arrival of the TGV in Reims would enhance and promote further mobility of people and capital as well as the existing mobility network within the city.¹²² It also enabled Reims to emphasis its goal as a regional capital and to erase the image of secondary city. *Reims Métropole* highlighted the way the TGV was seen to have changed the city in 2008, one year after its arrival in the city: 'son arrivé a changé les habitudes de mobilité des habitants qui se reportent volontiers vers ce mode propre et rapide. Elle a donné à l'agglomération de nouveaux moyens de se faire connaître dans les villes reliées comme Lille, Rennes, Nantes, Bordeaux ou Strasbourg (the arrival of the TGV has changed the mobility habits of inhabitants who are willing to use an environmentally friendly and fast mode of transport. It has also given the city new means to promote its image in the other cities that are also connected by the TGV such as Lille, Rennes, Nantes, Bordeaux and Strasbourg).'¹²³

Undeniably, globalisation has increased in pace since 1980, with the development of air travel and the arrival of the TGV in some important French cities and in particular Reims.

¹²² BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'La coordination des acteurs au coeur de la réussite', *Reims Métropole*, no.89, January 2006.

¹²³ BCR, PERCHXG 57, 'TGV un an déjà !', *Reims Métropole Magazine*, no.104, June 2008.

However, Reims has invariably struggled to cultivate or to assert its own regional identity. Leicester, though, is more defined by its association or links with its fellow regional cities. It is certainly the case that medium-sized cities have had to adapt to the limits of their geographic position or status. This said, exploiting historical or regional characteristics has helped to improve their respective economic positions in the context of globalisation.

Conclusion

By the 1980s, an apparent homogenous situation had occurred: the global increased use of cars and the simultaneous development of sustainable policies in Western nations and their transport infrastructures – such as airports and the TGV. In an age of globalisation, the growth of mobility appears irreversible – a trend that is also an important indicator of how medium-sized cities and their local municipalities have adapted to global conditions. This said, when analysing local and global mobility in the cities of Leicester and Reims, one has to bear in mind that local policy decisions were determined by distinct national ideologies as well as the geographic context within which post-industrial cities have evolved. By the 1980s, more concern was directed towards pollution from cars and issues of environmental protection, and as a result ‘soft mobility’ was promoted at a local level with regards to the general shift in transport policies. These generic trends were reflected in the contrasting ways Reims and Leicester pursued differing regional approaches. Leicester had inherited a pro-environmental tradition that was globally recognised and was to be maintained throughout the following decades. On the other hand, the shift in Reims towards sustainable modes of transport was more difficult to implement due to an embedded political tradition that had promoted the use of privately owned cars. Inevitably, Reims and its local authorities had to become responsive to a global pressure in terms of promoting ‘soft mobility’. Although by the millennium a convergence had occurred between Reims and Leicester, it was already evident that differing conceptions of transport policies *vis-à-vis* the environment shaped the way in which each city’s global image was proposed and disseminated.

In conclusion, it is clear that Reims and Leicester present two differing examples of how a post-industrial city re-positioned itself in a global market. Leicester utilised its secondary city status by exploiting a multicultural reputation in order to extend its global links and to promote the development of trade with countries outside the EU. This aspect reflected the national integration policy, which took advantage of the links between

multiculturalism and regional vocations. Reims, on the other hand, which was the most vibrant city in the Champagne-Ardenne region, possessed fewer global links. Some community groupings were developed in Reims, but it was never strong enough to assert what was meant to reflect the national policy of assimilation. Hence, Reims struggled to develop trading routes outside Europe. However, as the capital of *la Gaule*, Reims was able to cultivate a regional-global identity. The arrival of the *TGV-Est* in 2007, seen as the symbol of ‘European linkage’, both reflected its regional vocation and improved its European city status. In other words, the distinct geographical context and the historical heritage of Reims and Leicester were important factors, contributing to the reshaping of their post-industrial identities. Although medium-sized cities cannot be classified as ‘global cities’, the significant connections between global and local forces must be acknowledged to better nuance the effects of globalisation.

Chapter Five: Out-of-town Retail Development and its Impact on Reims' and Leicester's City Centre from 1980 until 2008

The economic activity of retailing and the activity of shopping have undergone great changes. Planned shopping centres, which were first introduced in American suburbia, became a common feature in Europe by the late 1970s and European property developers financed, planned and designed shopping centres of over 50,000 square metres.¹ Ownership of retail outlets had become increasingly concentrated and there had been demands from developers and national/international retailers for new forms of retailing such as superstores and retail warehouses in peripheral areas of the city.² Out of centre developments became the ideal location for retail parks, hypermarkets and superstores and this phenomenon was combined with the process of suburbanisation as underlined in the previous chapter. This trend involved higher car and household equipment ownership, which led to new forms of shopping with easy access to superstores, hypermarkets and bulky durable goods retail warehouses.³ As a result, the city centres were partially abandoned by shoppers who could enjoy the convenient layout and easy car parking provided by out-of-town stores.

Out-of-town retail developments, which affected western countries, can be understood as the consequence of global exportation. According to both Giddens and Tomlinson, cultural exportation within cities leads to the loss of the local as a meaningful place. Giddens argues that modernity has led to 'displacement': people have become aware that, due to the process of globalisation, they no longer owned their local public space.⁴ Globalisation thus means a globalising culture that subsumes every aspect of life.

My aim is to challenge the traditional dichotomy that defines global and local forces, by exploring the extent to which one does not rule out the effects on either side. My chapter

¹ J. A. Dawson, 'Shopping Centres in France', *Geography*, 66, no.2 (1981), pp. 143 & 146.

² This type of trading is different from traditional shops as it is characterized as large single storey buildings located in the peripheral areas of the city where the rent is cheaper. The use of large floor space enables good storage facilities and provides car parks. Shopping centres offer durable goods such as DIY, Electrical goods, products and furniture.

³ The hypermarket concept comes from France. By comparison to Britain France experienced the most advanced increase and development of hypermarkets.

⁴ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 141.

intends to analyse how the local and the global are not necessarily contradictory forces but compatible. Contrary to Tomlinson and Giddens' pessimistic view of globalisation, I argue that aspects of locality have not been totally damaged: Reims and Leicester aimed to assert their local identity through a redefinition and renewal of their city centres. As a result of competition from peripheral shopping centres, commercial interests in town centres made steps to improve their facilities and the very environment of central areas. I argue furthermore that a city's specific characteristics are more visible in a context of globalisation. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first analyses out-of-town retail development since 1980 and the second one explores the city centre's adaptation to this change.

Out-of-town retail developments in Reims and Leicester from 1980-2008

Giddens argues that culture is unified and shoppers are conscious that modern shopping malls are chain stores that have the same design in every city.⁵ In the same sense as Giddens, Tomlinson argues that a cosmopolitan culture is emerging in our world which undermines local cultural identities.⁶ Undeniably, supermarkets have replaced local and artisan shops thus marking the emergence and growth of global market forces and a homogenous process that has threatened aspects of localism.

In the late 1940s, small and independent shops characterised the retail sector.⁷ However, the post-war period marked a considerable change in the retail sector with the development of the self-service trend in both France and Britain, which led to an increase in the enlargement of shops. The 1970s marked a period of dramatic change with the development of modern models of retail such as supermarkets, superstores, hypermarkets and shopping centres owned by large groups of public companies.⁸

The changing nature of shopping provision in residential areas reflected the public need for modern shopping facilities, and so changed the behavioural patterns of shoppers. Indeed, the daily trip to the local corner shop became inconvenient and this trend was combined with the increase of higher ownership of cars and household equipment and the process of suburbanization in peripheral areas. The number of supermarkets in both

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ J. Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 29.

⁷ A. Seth, *The Grocers: The Rise of the Supermarket Chains* (London, 2001), p. 1.

⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

Britain and France increased: in France, 2,056 supermarkets were counted in 1973 and, from only having 376 in 1960, Britain had 7,000 supermarkets in 1980.⁹ Demands from large and national developers and retailers for a new type of retailing affected the traditional shopping core of the city. Shops located in the peripheral areas of the city could enjoy a less expensive and more profitable rent than in the high street.¹⁰ The retail warehouse parks developed in a context of the car-shopper, which enabled convenient access to shopping facilities. Indeed, as the *Leicester Mercury* pointed out, '[t]he rationale for the existence of a small walk to shops selling convenience goods has been eroded by the development of supermarkets and superstores in locations where wide catchment areas can be served by public and/or private transport.'¹¹ Local non-food stores were threatened by the increased development of multiple retailers and out-of-town shopping centres. Retailing adapted to both economic and social change, and peripheral areas became the ideal location for a commercial revolution modelled on the American style of shopping facilities.

By the 1950s, the heart of Leicester was a huge shopping centre and 'radiating from the Clock Tower there [was] a quintet of shopping thoroughfares'.¹² Most shops were concentrated on Gallowtree Gate, Granby Street, High Street, Humberstone Gate and Haymarket. Known for its wide variety of hosiery industries, 'visitors to Leicester remark on its clean, neat appearance, its well filled shops and its well-dressed people.'¹³ Leicester's craftsmanship was diverse, dealing in a wide range of products from clocks, window blinds, packing cases and paper bags to jet engines. The open retail market in Leicester was an essential part of Leicester's retail tradition, which dated back to the year 1298 and is still considered to be one of the biggest in Europe. Leicester city centre inherited a tradition of durable goods shopping but ownership of retail outlets and their location changed by the late 1970s and early 1980s. The public left the high street to enjoy easy car parking and efficient facilities in out-of-town shopping centres.

⁹ A. Metton, 'L'expansion du commerce périphérique en France', *Annales de Géographie*, 91, no.506 (1982), pp. 463 & 479; ROLLR, L/sh/20/1, John Dean and Leicester City Council, *Retailing in Leicester: A Review of National Trends, Current Policies, Existing Shopping Provision and Shopping Habits: Consultation Draft* (Leicester, 1988), p. 65.

¹⁰ M. Chris, 'Fosse Park out of town high street problems', *Leicester Mercury*, 21 November 1989.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Authority Leicester Corporation, *The City of Leicester Official Industrial Handbook* (Leicester, 1946), p. 18.

¹³ Ibid.

One important aspect of change has been the increase in retail floor space. A trend towards larger shops was one of the common features of this process in order to increase efficiency and to reach economies of scale. In Leicester, retail floor space increased from 172,751 square meters in 1971 to 386,899 square metres in 1997, which represents a considerable increase of 124 per cent (Table 5.1). Superstores such as Sainsbury's located in Belgrave, Asda on Narborough Road south, Gateway in Oadby, the Co-op in Glenfield, Tesco in Beaumont Leys and the Co-op in Thurmaston already existed in the 1980s and another superstore was proposed in Hamilton.¹⁴

Table 5.1: Retail floor space in Leicester and the city centre (m²).

Year	1971	1993	1997
Leicester	172,751	260,698	386,899
City centre	98,660	125,889	170,257

Sources: L/SH/27, Chesterton Planning and Consulting, *Central Leicestershire Retail Study* (Milton Keynes, 1994), p. 102; Leicester City Council, *Leicester Key facts: Retailing* (Leicester, 1998), pp. 4 & 3.

Superstores were mainly distributed in the outer area of Leicester, which accounted for 25 per cent of the superstores; only 14 per cent were distributed in the inner area of the city. The rest of greater Leicester accounted for 57 per cent of superstores in 1986.¹⁵ This trend was combined with the development of better transport facilities and the increase in car ownership. As a result, the motorways retail area near the junction M1/M69 led to the development of a massive shopping complex in 1986. This ambitious scheme called 'Centre 21' was proposed by the 1980s, which would be a regional shopping centre development in Enderby adjacent to an existing Asda store (Illustration 5.1). This scheme, 'Fosse Park', was the only project in the area to be accepted by the Environmental Secretary Nicolas Ridley and it was developed by both national and local companies such as the London and Edinburgh Trust and W. J. Parker, the Leicester meat wholesalers.¹⁶ The Fosse Park centre had the same shops as the High Street in the town centre such as Next, Marks and Spencer, Olympus Sport and MacDonald's.¹⁷ This was noted in the

¹⁴ ROLLR, L/sh/20/1, John Dean and Leicester City Council, *Retailing in Leicester*, p. 69.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.70.

¹⁶ J. Stone and L. Bayley, '600 jobs in Marks Plan for new store', *Leicester Mercury*, 4 October 1988.

¹⁷ C. Marsland, 'Fosse Park out of town high street problems', *Leicester Mercury*, 21 November 1989.

Leicester Mercury: ‘what has been created is really an out of town High Street and it highlights the changing face of shopping in Britain’.¹⁸

Illustration 5.1 : The route to Fosse Park.

Source: ‘Easing the way to a Fosse Park fast flow’, *Leicester Mercury*, 14 December 1989.

In the ninetieth century, Reims was known for its well-established food branches. *Les Docks-Rémois*, *Goulet Turpin* and *les Comptoirs Français* were part of a large local shop network that provided food commodities in the Paris region and in the north east of France. These local branches accounted for more than 2,000 units in Reims before being undermined by new national societies such as Carrefour and Leclerc. All those local retailers have now been absorbed by big national retailers, the head offices of which are in Paris.¹⁹ In 1968, more than half of the retailers were concentrated in the city centre: 51 per cent as opposed to 49 per cent located in the district centres. The small independent retailers were predominant and they accounted for 88 per cent of retail floor space in the city. Stores of more than 50 employees (considered as big retailers in the 1960s) only

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Agence d’Urbanisme et d’Aménagement de la Région de Reims [hereafter AUDRR], AUROI8ECO MFN1582, AUDRR, *Schéma du Développement Commercial Expérimental de la Région de Reims* (Reims, 1997), p. 17.

represented 12 per cent of the retail floor space in Reims (Table 5.2). However, by the 1970s a change occurred as the percentage of retailers of more than 50 employees increased to 25.5 per cent in 1970 and independent and small shops decreased by 74.4 per cent in the same period.²⁰

Table 5.2: Retail floor space in Reims in 1968.

Floor space distribution	m²	%
Independent retailers	119,200	88
Retailers (50+employees)	15,800	12
Total Reims	135,000	100
City centre	68,500	51
Peripheral areas and districts	66,500	49

Source: AUDRR, AUR/CEN 4, AUDRR, *Lignes Directrices pour l'Aménagement du Centre de Reims* (Reims, 1974), p. 69.

From 1974 to 1992, retail floor space in Reims multiplied by 3.6 (109,400 square metres in 1974 and 398,907 in 1992).²¹ This considerable growth was due to the development of the first two hypermarkets in the peripheral areas in the 1970s, which added 25,000 square meters to the total floor space of the city. Since 1970, a break up has occurred in the traditional balance between the city centre and the peripheral areas with the development of hypermarkets on the fringe of the city. The city centre of Reims lost its retail dominance and the peripheral areas became the ideal location of large and national retailing companies. Thirteen stores of more than 6,200 square meters represented 41.5 per cent of the total retail floor space of Reims in 2000, and only 2 stores (*Galerie Lafayette* and *Printemps*) were located in the city centre. The other eleven stores were located in the peripheral areas of Reims.²²

One particularity of France was the fast growth of hypermarket centres. Indeed, '[t]he hypermarket concept originated in France and it is here that its evolution is most advanced'.²³ The French particularity was the development of hypermarkets with massive *centres commerciaux*, that is to say the development of specialist stores within the main store called *galerie marchande* and reflecting the American shopping centre. Reims' local

²⁰ AUDRR, AUR/ CEN 4, AUDRR, *Lignes Directrices pour l'Aménagement du Centre de Reims* (Reims, 1974), p. 70.

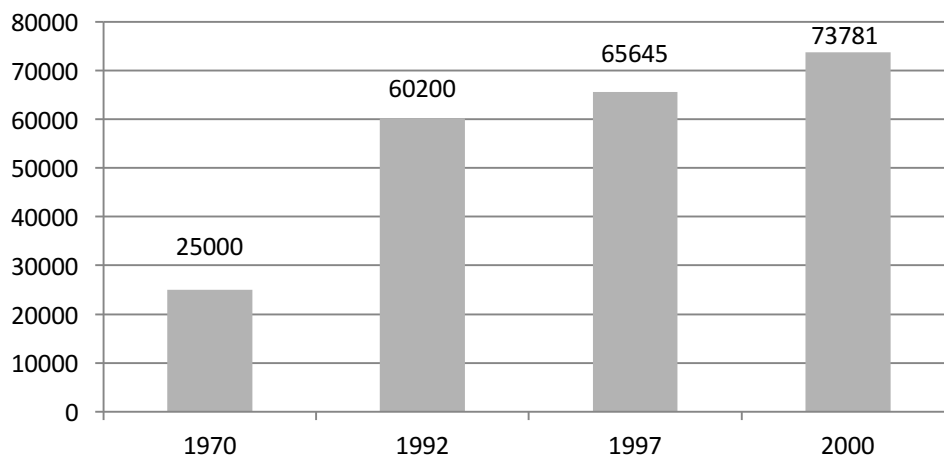
²¹ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, *Matot Braine*, 8 December 1992.

²² AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 37.

²³ J. A. Dawson, 'Shopping Centres in France' *Geography*, 66, no.2 (1981), pp. 143 & 146.

authorities had always promoted travel by cars and the development of its motorway passing through the heart of the city, as underlined in the previous chapter, facilitated access to the numerous peripheral *centres commerciaux*. The number of hypermarkets considerably rose since their first development in the 1970s in Reims and their retail floor space increased by 142 per cent from 1970 to 1992 (Graph 5.1).²⁴ Since the 1990s however, their number has not increased but they have expanded their retail space.

Graph 5.1: Hypermarkets retail floor space in Reims from 1970 to 2000 (m²).



Sources: 1970-1992: BCR, PERCHFOL 152, *Matot Braine*, 15 December 1992; 2000: AUDRR, *Atlas de Reims et de ses Régions: Un Territoire en Mouvement* (Reims, 2003), p. 37; 1997: AUROI8ECO MFN1582, *Schéma du Développement Commercial Expérimental de la Région de Reims* (Reims, 1997), p. 27.

In 1968, the hypermarket *la Montagne* opened, became [known as] Cora in 1976.²⁵ Around the hypermarket, a *zone commerciale* emerged with tenants such as Decathlon, But, Jardiland, and Leroy Merlin (Illustration 5.2). The retail park Cora-Cormontreuil was the biggest in the region, accounting for 15,000 square metres of retail space in 1997, more than one third of the total commercial floor space in the peripheral area of Reims that year.²⁶

²⁴ The city accounted for 325 square metres of hypermarkets retail floor space per 1000 inhabitants by comparison to the national average which only represented 100 square metres per 1000 inhabitants.

²⁵ AMCR, 276W559, *Projet d'extension du magasin But*.

²⁶ AUDRR, AUROI8ECO MFN1582, AUDRR, *Schéma du Développement Commercial*, p. 26.

Illustration 5.2: Zone commerciale Cora-Cormontreuil.

Source: 'Grandes surfaces : Juppé veut faire le ménage', *l'Union*, 25 October 1995.

It is certain that, on the surface, the same pattern occurred with the development of shopping centres in both Leicester and Reims. Thus, the local seemed threaten by global cultural imperialism based on out-of-town retail developments that promoted large scale shopping and shaped cities in the same mould. However, in both France and Britain there was a will to protect cities' local aspects by aiming to preserve those independent retailers and the traditional patterns of local shops. While cities' fringe became privileged locations for large retail distribution, this process directly put pressure on traditional retailers and city centre retail dynamism. The development of out-of-town retail centres was challenging to Leicester and Reims given the competition with the waves of hypermarkets and retail parks. As a response to this global phenomenon, central governments aimed to find an alternative to halt this process.

Since the end of the 1960s the French government has implemented planning control over retail space in order to protect local and traditional shopkeepers from the rapid expansion of large retailers. In France, the Royer law (1973) limited the size of businesses and new stores of more than 1,500 square metres in cities of more than 40,000 inhabitants and those units needed to receive approval from the *Commissions Départementales d'Urbanisme Commercial*. However, the 1973 law failed to stop the growth of the market share of supermarkets, which increased from 13.6 per cent in 1970 to 21.8 per cent in

1980.²⁷ By the 1990s, the government started new initiatives to limit the power of *les grandes surfaces*.²⁸ In 1994, the Prime Minister Alain Juppé expressed his unhappiness over the growth of *grandes surfaces* which did not respect traditional urban planning rules: for example, in his description of large single-storey warehouses as ‘hangars’.²⁹ The president of *la Confédération des Petites et Moyennes Entreprises (PME)*, Lucien Rebuffel, agreed with Juppé. He made the following summary of Juppé’s statement: ‘[sa déclaration est] d’intérêt général contre les grandes surfaces qui poussent au gaspillage, détériorent le paysage français (the general interest is not served by out-of-town shopping centres because they lead to waste and damage the French landscape).’³⁰ As a result, the Minister of Commerce and Craft Industry, Jean Pierre Raffarin, wished to establish judicial means and new policies to limit the power of *grandes surfaces* (malls) and to control their competitive practices that threatened small and local traders. His aim was to revise the Royer law. The Raffarin law implemented in 1996 reduced to 300 square metres the threshold for receiving approval from the *Commissions Départementales d’Équipement Commercial (CDEC)*.³¹

By adopting a different approach, the British central government was aiming for the same idea in order to fight against out-of-town retail development. By the 1990s, the aim was to ‘tighten up planning control over off-centre development, thus supporting the retail function of town centres.’³² The National Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) published in 1996 aimed to maintain the vitality of town centres and find a balance with the development of out-of-town shopping facilities by introducing the sequential test to town centres. This national policy aimed to promote, sustain and enhance the vitality and viability of existing town districts and local centres with a plan-led approach to the promotion and development of town centres. In order to limit the expansion of out-of-town retail centres, the British approach decided to prioritize the retail dynamism of town centres. How did these policies impact at the local level?

²⁷ S. Howe (ed.), *Retailing in the European Union: Structure, Competition and Performance* (New York, 2005), p. 208.

²⁸ Self-service shops of more than 400 square metres.

²⁹ ‘Le gouvernement veut mettre au pas les grandes surfaces’, *l’Union Archives*, Mercredi 25 October 1995.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The Sapin law of 1993 change the CDUC in Commissions Départementales d’Équipement Commercial (CDEC).

³² G. Clifford, ‘Off-Centre Retailing in the UK: Prospects for the Future and the Implications for Town Centres’, *Built Environment*, 24, no.1 (1998), pp. 16 & 30.

In Reims, the implementation of laws appeared limited. Although the number of hypermarkets has not increased since the 1980s, one of the main features of the 1990s was the stores' expansion in size. The hypermarket *Cora* expanded in 1997 with new shops in its *galerie marchande* (shopping gallery) but also with the expansion of some shops in the retail parks. When a request for extension of the national furniture brand *BUT* was proposed in 1997, local authorities argued it would discourage people to go to Paris for furniture shopping.³³ Out-of-town commercial development played a leading role in the regional recognition of Reims, because in the meantime the city centre completely lost its retail dominance. Indeed, *Matot Braine* noted an alarming fact about Reims' city centre in 1986: 'Comparativement à la dernière enquête effectuée en 1980, l'attractivité du centre ville s'est dégradée sérieusement (Comparatively to the previous survey undertaken in 1980, the city centre has become markedly less attractive).'³⁴

Table 5.3: Change in retail floor space for units of more than 400 m² in Reims.

Year		1974	1980	1992
City centre	m ²	45,520	44,170	37,265
	%	41.6	32.4	9.3
Peripheral areas	m ²	35,740	61,910	232,806
	%	32.6	44.9	58.4
Districts	m ²	28,210	31,380	128,836
	%	25.6	22.7	32.3
Total Reims		109,470	138,000	398,907

Sources: 1974: AUR/CEN 4, AUDRR, *Lignes Directrices pour l'Aménagement du Centre de Reims* (Reims, 1974), p. 69; 1980-1992 : AMCR, 276CW522, Observatoire Economique de l'Agglomération de Reims, *Repères Statistiques* (Reims, 1994), p. 12.

When analysing the evolution of commercial units of more than 400 square metres, city centre retail units represented 41.6 per cent of retail floor space in Reims in 1974; this decreased to 9.3 per cent in 1992 (Table 5.3). This considerable decrease reflected the loss of the city centre's retail dynamism and dominance. In comparison, the retail units of the peripheral areas represented 32.8 per cent of the total floor space in 1974, increasing

³³ AMCR, 276W559, Projet extension du magasin But.

³⁴ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims: le commerce intra-muros en danger ?', *Matot Braine*, 4 April 1986.

to 58.4 per cent by 1992 (Table 5.3). Reims never passed drastic legislation to protect the attractions of city centre shopping from the new threat provided by hypermarkets.

The *Galerie des Sacres* was one example of the city centre's lack of retail dynamism. It was characterized in 1985 by *La Société d'Équipement des Deux Marnes* as the '*fleuron du commerce Rémois*' (the jewel of Reims' commerce).³⁵ This luxurious *galerie* was supposed to symbolize 'Reims from the past' and 'Reims today' as it was built in 1983 between the *Parvis de la Cathédrale* and *la rue de Vesle*, the main shopping core of the city centre. However, it never managed to fully attract retailers, as it was too expensive. By 1990, it was completely deserted. It was not commercially successful: in five years only four out of the 14 outlet units were occupied. In 2000, it changed its nature by the creation of *une agence d'interim* (job centre) instead (Illustration 5.3).

Illustration 5.3: The Galerie des Sacres in 2000 preparing to host the agence d'intérim.

Source: A. Moyat, 'Une nouvelle vie pour la galerie des sacres', *l'Union*, 10 June 2000.

In response to this phenomenon, some organizations such as *les vitrines de Reims* (Reims' shop windows) were created in 1995. This partnership gathered local traders and

³⁵ A. Moyat, 'Une nouvelle vie pour la galerie des sacres', *l'Union*, 10 June 2000.

shopkeepers and the Chamber of Commerce to maintain retailing vibrancy in the city centre and to create a defensive unity against out-of-town retail developments. According to Bernard Baisieux, instigator of this partnership in Reims, the aim was to protect the image of the city centre traders by further promoting the retail aspects of the city centre of Reims. ‘*Les vitrines de...*’ was a label that emerged at a national level as in the cities of Nancy or Lille. This label was not specific to Reims as it was initiated by *la Fédération Nationale des Centres Villes* in which Bernard Baisieux was one of the secretaries.³⁶ Nonetheless, it demonstrated that local traders were conscious of the negative impact of out-of-town retail developments on their business. Claude Clément, the president of *les vitrines de Reims* since 1995, stated in 2005 that retail in the city centre of Reims was poor with some traders losing up to 20 per cent of their turnover. Restrictive access for cars in the city centre as opposed to the free car park in the peripheral area was the reason for the city centre’s retail decline: ‘[o]n ferait mieux d’y implanter des industries (one should rather create industries in the peripheral area).’³⁷

Local traders clearly fought against the transfer of some businesses from the city centre to the peripheral areas, such as the project ‘*Cultura*’ that had plans for relocation in the *Zone Commercial Cormontreuil*. Anger was palpable amongst the local traders who expressed their discontent towards the Chamber of Commerce and the industry of Reims and Epernay believing that the promotion of out-of-town developments went against the public money given to town centres by the *Le Fond d’Intervention pour la Sauvegarde de l’Artisanat et du Commerce* (FISAC).³⁸ A collective gathering was formed in 2005 with the delegates of *les vitrines de Reims* and those of *la Fédération pour la Promotion du Commerce d’Epernay* as well as local retailers from Sézanne and Montmirail.³⁹ They expressed their discontent and their objectives in a letter to the national government as well as to the local authorities. Their aim was to raise the awareness of the public authorities towards the retailing difficulties of town centres.⁴⁰ The immediate response to their action demonstrated a lack of support from both the government and the local authorities towards the local traders.

³⁶ J.F.S, ‘Les commerçants du centre-ville jouent la carte du trio en un’, *l’Union*, 9 October 1995.

³⁷ A. Moyat, ‘Commerce affaire, stationnement le blues du président des vitrines’, *l’Union*, 6 June 2005.

³⁸ Ibid; The FISAC is an economic scheme created in 1989 and financed by the government to help local traders and craftsmanship.

³⁹ Sézanne, Montmirail and Epernay are cities located in the *département de la Marne* close to Reims.

⁴⁰ A. Moyat, ‘Commerce affaire, stationnement le blues du président des vitrines’, *l’Union*, 6 June 2005.

It was argued in the *Leicester Mercury* that ‘Fosse Park, almost perversely, seemed to attract shoppers to Leicester because it had a better image.’⁴¹ This scheme kept expanding and by the late 1980s a new out-of-town Marks and Spencer store was planned with 18,593 square metres of retail space. This new store opened its doors on the 24 October 1989 (Illustration 5.4).⁴² In the first few weeks after Fosse Park opened, people showed a real enthusiasm for the ‘out-of-town shopping centre’ as they could enjoy easy parking and access. This shopping centre was not only a magnet for shoppers but also for shopkeepers. As the *Leicester Mercury* pointed out, ‘for the shopkeepers, the key motivation to move to a Retail Park is the rent and rate cost pressures which are making profitable high street trading increasingly difficult.’⁴³

Illustration 5.4: The New Marks and Spencer store in 1989 at Fosse Park.

Source: J.Stone, ‘Off the Marks with £1m a week’, *Leicester Mercury*, 2 November 1989.

As Roddy Macherson-Rait, manager of Marks and Spencer at Fosse Park argues: ‘I think we have hopefully stopped a lot of consumers going to Birmingham, Nottingham and Milton Keynes by giving them a greater selection of shops.’ Fosse Park gave a real impulse to Leicester’s commercial dynamism. In a context of urban competition, this scheme was indeed perceived as a real benefit for Leicester both in terms of shopping and employment given the increased catchment.

The development of out-of-town trading areas reflected the changing nature of shopping with regards to fashion and image. The Conservative councillor John Waite argued: ‘prior

⁴¹ B. David, ‘Trading places find Harmony’, *Leicester Mercury*, 22 August 1992.

⁴² ‘Plenty in store for future’, *Leicester Mercury*, 24 October 1989.

⁴³ C. Marsland, ‘Fosse Park out of town high street problems’, *Leicester Mercury*, 21 November 1989.

to Fosse Park, Leicester was probably a secondary or tertiary city for shopping'⁴⁴. Thanks to efficient roads facilities and a growth in car ownership as underlined in the previous chapter, people were willing to drive long distances to go shopping and Fosse Park was accessible to people living in places such as Coventry, Nuneaton and Rugby. Fosse Park was indeed presented as revolutionary and as meeting the needs of car users: 'If you have ever visited America you will have been astounded at the sheer size of their shopping complexes. Even the tiniest hamlet has a square or mall with thousands of parking spaces and amazing choice of goods and services on offer. But now Leicester people no longer have to cross the Atlantic to find them.'⁴⁵

Comparable to the peripheral retail park of Cora-Cormontreuil in Reims, the Fosse Park scheme was a shopping complex that aimed to boost Leicester's image and profitability as a regional centre. In both Reims and Leicester, out-of-town retail centres were driven by a political imperative to give to the respective cities a heightened regional image. In the same sense as with Reims, the development of an out-of-town scheme led to some local disagreements. In 1988, Donald Harris, the inspector at the public inquiry argued 'the centre 21 proposal would seriously damage the vitality and the viability of Leicester City Centre as a whole by bringing the growth in its durable trade to a halt and cause a slump in investment in durable shopping.'⁴⁶

With this retail expansion and the development of new stores, it was calculated that in 1992 Fosse Park was diverting 8.7 per cent of trade from Leicester city centre, compared to 4 per cent in 1987.⁴⁷ John Dean, City Planning Officer, argued in 1992 that '[w]hile Fosse Park had not had a devastating effect on the city centre...it nevertheless has damaged it.'⁴⁸ The manager of Marks and Spencer in Fosse Park was convinced that since the Fosse Park scheme had opened such retail trading was to a degree harmonious with the city centre and also added an extra dimension of modernity to the city. Mr. Sheridan, the manager of Littlewoods at the Haymarket in the city centre argued: 'it is very difficult to pin down the precise statistics but clearly Fosse Park has had some impact on city-centre trading.'⁴⁹ The city centre manager Mr. Jim Murphy of Woolworths in

⁴⁴ 'Plenty in store for future', *Leicester Mercury*, 24 October 1989.

⁴⁵ P. Lidiker, 'Start of a bright new era for the 1990s and beyond', *Leicester Mercury*, 8 December 1989.

⁴⁶ 'No to centre Jubilation as appeal decision is announced', *Leicester Mercury*, 1988.

⁴⁷ B. David, 'Trading places find Harmony', *Leicester Mercury*, 22 August 1992.

⁴⁸ H. Peter, 'Inquiry call over Fosse Park new stores', *Leicester Mercury*, 1992.

⁴⁹ B. David, 'Trading places find Harmony', *Leicester Mercury*, 22 August 1992.

Haymarket also argued ‘we are not in a position of great concern, although things are difficult in the high street.’⁵⁰

There is no denying that out-of-town retail developments impacted on the city centre’s retail monopoly and yet Leicester city centre’s trading managed to sustain a competitive edge in comparison to Reims. As one can observe from the diagram, the floor space of the city centre inevitably decreased. The share of retail floor space of Leicester city centre represented 36 per cent of the total retail floor space in the city of Leicester in 1971 and decreased to 31 per cent in 1997 (Charts 5.1 and 5.2). However, the centre of Leicester managed to maintain its dynamism.

Chart 5.1: *The share of retail floor space in Leicester and its city centre in 1971.*

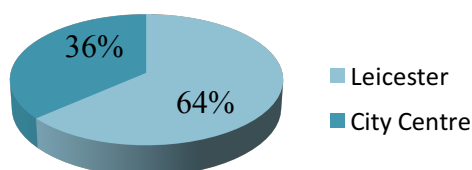
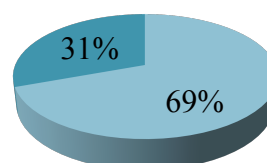


Chart 5.2: *The share of retail floor space in Leicester and its city centre in 1997.*



Local shopkeepers in the city centre inevitably feared the viability of the city centre would be jeopardized by the competitive impact of Fosse Park. Nonetheless, one particular aspect of Leicester was the city council’s support towards city centre traders. A strong local incentive from the Leicester City Council aimed to rebuild the confidence of retailers in the city centre. The *Leicestershire Structure Plan 1991-2006* expressed strategic policies to protect and enhance existing shopping centres in the County. The aim was to ‘reinforce the importance of Leicester city centre as a sub-regional centre with a focus on durable goods retailing.’⁵¹ On the other hand, Reims failed to find a solution to the decline of its retail forces in the city centre due to political ineptitude and a lack of vision. Whereas Leicester City Council recognized at an early stage the challenge to

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ ROLLR, L/SH/31/1, CgMs, *Retail Site Assessment for Leicester City Council* (Leicester, 1998).

respond actively and so pursued a policy of promoting and enhancing the city centre with the aim of maintaining its retail dynamism.

By the early 1990s, a real ‘store war’ started in Leicester where, by comparison with Reims, the local authorities demonstrated a real support and willingness to meet the need of traders. The City Council Planning Chairman Councillor Brian Shore promised that ‘Leicester [would] compete and compete effectively for trade.’⁵² Leicester city centre traders cultivated strong support for the local authorities and Leicester’s authorities took more drastic measures to restore the confidence in local businesses. These different local choices hide a deep historical heritage that shaped the way local authorities dealt with the problem of out-of-town retail development and its impact on the city centre.

The city centre’s adaptation to change

In both France and Britain, a competitive pressure emerged from the new off-centre retail parks which weakened the retail dynamism of city centres. As a result, local authorities were obliged to find an alternative to a form of global cultural imperialism. New measures were proposed to enhance the city centre’s image in order to maintain its attraction. Indeed, the City of Leicester Local Plan, published in 2006, stated that ‘the quality of the city centre is not only important for those who live and work there, but also for the image of Leicester as a whole and its ability to attract investment and visitors.’⁵³ In the *Atlas Urbain de Reims*, published in 1997, it was highlighted that the image of the city was also the prime objective as ‘le développement de zones commerciales s’est traduit par un paysage urbain composé de parkings et de “boîtes” aux entrées de ville (the emergence of commercial centres has led to an urban landscape formed of car parks and “boxes” at the entrance of cities).’⁵⁴ The revitalisation of the city centre would therefore play an important role in giving back a meaningful aspect to the city in a context of globalisation. However, one notices a difference between French and British planners: ‘French planners saw the city centre as something broader than a concentration of employment and retailing; more a ‘civic’ centre’.⁵⁵ This statement suggests that the city centre’s urban

⁵² ‘City faces up to shopping challenges’, *Leicester Mercury*, 7 October 1992.

⁵³ Leicester City Council, *City of Leicester Local Plan 2006: Pre-Publication Copy for Internal Use* (Leicester, 2006), p. 51.

⁵⁴ This statement reflects what Alain Juppé called “*les hangars*” to characterize out-of-town shopping development; AUDRR, *Atlas Urbain de Reims 1997* (Reims, 1997), p. 59.

⁵⁵ C. Couch, O. Sykes and W. Borstinghaus, ‘Thirty years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The importance of context and path dependency’, *Progress in Planning*, 75, no.1 (2011), p. 43.

management had to be understood through the strong historical and physical determinism of each respective city.

The physical urban environment of Leicester and Reims is an important aspect for analysis revealing their local potential and the way the local authorities implemented measures to value locality in reaction to peripheral retail developments. It is necessary therefore to explore the peculiarities of Leicester's and Reims' heritage in order to understand how each city centre adapted to new economic and social changes. For instance, Leicester inherited a strong retail heritage and its open market had always played a major role in the retail tradition of the city. The market area in Leicester is located in a central position and is surrounded by High Street, Cheapside, Market place East, Horsefair Street, Hotel Street, St. Martins, Loseby Lane and Arts Lane (Map 5.1).

Map 5.1: Distribution of retail units around the permanent market in Leicester city centre.

Source: Leicester Regeneration Company, *Baseline Study: Final Report* (Leicester, 2002), p. 75

Positioned in the heart of Leicester's retail activity, this open market has been in the same location since 1298 and is renowned for being the best open market in the country.⁵⁶ For

⁵⁶ W. K. Smigielski, *The Redevelopment of Market Area* (Leicester, 1963), pp. 1 & 3.

many years, the surrounding shops have economically benefitted from its success. Leicester enjoys a city centre that is compact and this creates a real harmony between the different retail units and the market (Map 5.1).

In the early 1900s, the market place was a civic space with entertainment for the people. In 1930, when the roof was built on the market square, the civic centre disappeared, but the open market undeniably symbolised the oldest form of shopping in Leicester, and this has been promoted and refurbished with the aim of maintaining the dynamism of its retail potential.⁵⁷ Konrad Smigielski, the city's first Chief Planning Officer, decided in the 1960s to rehabilitate the market place with a new roof as a means of promoting a local asset. The market place gained conservation area status in 1974. It seems that the market's physical location, in the very heart of the city, has always been a real driving force behind the commercial vitality of Leicester. In a context of globalisation where out-of-town retail facilities irreversibly developed in most Western cities, the tradition of a permanent market plays a major role in the commercial dynamism of Leicester's central area and thus explaining why Fosse Park had not significantly affected the vitality of Leicester city centre.

When the British government decided to sustain and enhance city centres in 1996 in order to promote the prime location for retail development, Leicester was the archetypal city in the fight against out-of-town development. Indeed, there had always been a strong local incentive to preserve the dynamism and compatibility between the shops and the market. When the City Centre Action Programme was created in 1995, Leicester enjoyed high demand for multiple companies to be located in the city centre.⁵⁸ From 1994 to 2001, retail units increased by 10.5 per cent in Leicester, in contrast to Nottingham in which units only increased by 3 per cent and in Derby where they decreased by 4 per cent (Table 5.4).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ This action aimed to make the city centre more attractive with the pedestrianisation of Humberstone Gate coupled with the redesign of the Clock Tower area.

Table 5.4: Number of outlets in Leicester, Nottingham and Derby city centre in 1994 and 2001.

City	1994	2001
Leicester	836	903
Nottingham	1,112	1,148
Derby	643	616

Sources: 1994: L/SH/27, Chesterton Planning and Consulting, *Central Leicestershire Retail Study* (Milton Keynes, 1994), p. 3; 2001: Leicester Regeneration Company, *Baseline Study: Final Report* (Leicester, 2002), p. 79.

The Shires shopping centre was under development in the late 1980s but retail giants, such as Debenhams, were the only store to join Leicester's Shires shopping centre in 1989 (Illustration 5.5).⁵⁹ However, by 1991 its retail space was fully let.⁶⁰ Although retail confidence in Leicester remains strong with a high demand for units, '[r]egionally Leicester fulfils a critical role in retail provision, competing closely with Nottingham.'⁶¹ Leicester's Shires shopping centre had been in competition with the Victoria Centre in Nottingham, which was reputed to be better than the shopping facilities Leicester possessed.

⁵⁹ 'One down 70 to go at the Shires site', *Leicester Mercury*, 1 August 1989.

⁶⁰ By comparison to Reims, which struggled to find investors (as it has been underlined in the first part of the chapter with the example of the *Galerie des Sacres*), retailers were willing to invest in the city centre of Leicester as it attracted more and more traders.

⁶¹ ROLLR, L/sh/36, CgMs, *Central Leicestershire Retail Study 2003* (Leicester, 2003), p.10.

Illustration 5.5: The Shires in 1992.

Source: 'A wonderland for shoppers!', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 November 1992.

As underlined in the previous chapter, geographical determinism plays a major role given that Nottingham directly competed in terms of retail attraction with Leicester. The development of the Shires shopping centre turned out to be a real success, by bringing back all the shoppers that had deserted the high street for more convenient shopping centres in the Midlands. Optimism was felt within Leicester City Council regarding retail dynamism in the city. According to a survey from the *Leicester Mercury* published in 1994, Leicester city centre was considered the number one destination for shoppers from the East Midlands. Furthermore, 250,000 shoppers a week came to the Shires from the suburbs of Northampton and Coventry.⁶² The Shires also aimed to be extended with a new 47,000 square foot Churchgate extension planned to be completed by the 1994.⁶³ The *Leicester Mercury* pointed out in 1995 that business was booming in Leicester,

⁶² 'City centre is top of shops', *Leicester Mercury*, 25 March 1994.

⁶³ This new extension attracted the Virgin megastore and Waterstone's and further nationally known stores were expected to take space. Existing shops such as Laura Ashley and MacDonald's were also expanding.

ranking the city shopping facilities in the top 25 in Britain.⁶⁴ Leicester city centre was ranked as the ninth most important retailing destination in the UK in 1999 to thirtieth four years before.⁶⁵

The city's rising position in the table was due to the extension of the Shires completed in December 1994 which led to retail resurgence and, according to the *Leicester Mercury* to a 33 per cent growth in retail turnover. This shopping centre attracted 15 million visitors in 1995, an increase from 13 million in 1992.⁶⁶ Ms Penny Boker, Marketing Director argued, 'we are in a situation now where we can rightly claim to be a regional city with all the high street stores you would expect. I think we compare very favourably with cities in striking distance.'⁶⁷ Mr Doug Owles, the Shires centre boss, was also optimistic about Leicester's future, arguing in 1994: '[w]e know from our own research there is now a strong pull to Leicester among people within the area who used to go to Nottingham. There has definitely been a swing back to Leicester'. He also added that, 'we have won the regional Christmas war for shoppers and for the first time we are in the same bracket in terms of sheer numbers as the Victoria Centre in Nottingham, traditionally seen as the greatest shopping magnet in the East Midlands. That is a tremendous achievement in just four years and it isn't only great for us but for Leicester as a whole.'⁶⁸ Both the City Council and city retailers had enabled Leicester to be 'back on the shopping map' and to make 'the best possible impression on the new visitors'.⁶⁹ Such retailing success and optimism had much to do with a market city retaining its strong local retail heritage and assets.⁷⁰

As underlined in the previous chapter, another particularity of Leicester is its migration heritage, with Asian families managing to preserve and maintain the dynamism of local

⁶⁴ W. Mansell, 'City's shopping area soars up to the business league', *Leicester Mercury*, 21 April 1995.

⁶⁵ ROLLR, L/Sh/33, Leicester City Council, *City Centre Performance Indicators* (Leicester, 1999), p. 10.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ L. Hemingway, 'New Look for Shires', *Leicester Mercury*, 17 March 1994.

⁶⁸ 'Success in store wars', *Leicester Mercury*, 11 December 1995.

⁶⁹ 'Shopping war needs support of everyone', *Leicester Mercury*, 11 December 1995.

⁷⁰ The retail dynamism of Leicester was one of the most promoted assets to attract tourism. *The City Guide*, published in the 1995 by the marketing agency, Leicester Promotions, revealed some interesting key facts about Leicester's retail heritage: 'Commerce is the lifeblood of Leicester. Our famous covered market is amongst the largest in Europe and dates back seven hundred years. It is the vital heart of a trading city and a key part of our identity. In the nineteenth century, the city became one of the great engines of Victorian production, but never lost its character as a market town. Enterprise culture has always thrived here and the flourishing of thousands of Asian-owned businesses in the last twenty-five years is but the latest example'. [Quotation from ROLLR, L/DI/103, Leicester Promotion, *City Guide* (Leicester, 1995), p. 2].

corner shops. Investment by ethnic minorities in the Leicester's retail force was of great importance, with 30 percent of city shops owned by Asians.⁷¹

In Leicester, expanding the retail circuit was the key to creating a new city centre community. The Leicestershire Economic Partnership revealed an interesting piece of information in 2005: 'it's a little known fact that by 2009 Leicester will have a larger shopping centre than the Bull Ring in Birmingham. An imaginative redevelopment will create a retail circuit connecting an expanded Shires to a refurbished Haymarket, the Cultural Quarter, and new office developments near the railway station, populated with green space, niche shops, cafés and bars. Add the fact that nearly 900,000 people live in the Leicester catchment area and it's little wonder that national retailers such as John Lewis are looking to set up shop here.'⁷² Earlier than expected a 350 million investment from Hammerson and Hermes (a European estate company) doubled the size of the existing Shires shopping centre (retitled Highcross Leicester) and this opened in 2008. The planned extension of the Highcross Quarter added further value by providing additional clothing and accessory retailers.

In Reims, a completely different situation occurred. While Leicester aimed to consolidate its important retailing role in the national and regional hierarchy, the city centre of Reims decided to focus on other assets. Reims did not have any direct regional retailing competitors in the same sense as Leicester and could not be characterised as a dynamic market city.⁷³ The city centre of Reims is characterised instead by its strong historical aura with the presence of *la Porte Mars*, which dated from the third century and defined the entrance in the city centre of the Gallo-Roman city. The *Cryptoportiques*, located in *la Place du Forum*, also marked an emblematic element of the city's history known as the capital of *la Gaule*. The *art déco* architecture and its nineteenth century 'Haussmannian' architecture is reflective of the Parisian style of the city.⁷⁴ The major architectural landmark is the Cathedral, which represents the emblematic Gothic heritage of Reims dating from the thirteenth century. The retail units in the city centre are mainly located in *la rue de Vesle*, the heart of the retail activity of the city and *la rue Talleyrand*

⁷¹ ROLLR, L/sh/20/2, John Dean and Leicester City Council, *Retailing in Leicester*, p. 10.

⁷² ROLLR, L/ec/77, Leicester Economic Partnership, *City Growth Leicester Summary Document* (Leicester, 2005), p. 10.

⁷³ As underlined in the previous chapter, the city of Reims is the most influential and biggest city in the region.

⁷⁴ AUDRR, AUR22OURI3 2561, *Redynamisation du Centre-Ville: Volet Analyse Urbaine* (Reims, 2004), p. 5.

with different *galeries marchandes* under arcades. Nonetheless, the city centre's retail space in Reims is less cohesive and the numerous imposing historical monuments have always created a division with the commercial continuity of the city centre (Map 5.2).

Map 5.2: Reims' city centre, a fragmented physical urban space.

Source: AUR22OURI3 2561, *Redynamisation du Centre-Ville : Volet Analyse Urbaine* (Reims, 2004), p. 6.

The historical monuments do not have links with the commercial space, so isolating the two poles of attraction for tourists. Reims has not inherited a harmonious retail space. The shops have always had to adapt to the physical environment of a city centre where historical monuments create a complex discontinuity in the commercial spaces. For example, some areas such as *Place Royale* or *l'Hôtel de Ville* are noticeable with their monumental character and create an enclave within the urban fabric. Reims' city centre is not as compact with the Cathedral isolated from commercial activities and located in the south of the city centre (Map 5.2). The historical indoor market, called *les Halles*, which was built in 1928 by the architect Freyssinet, is located to the north of the city centre and is also isolated from the commercial area of the *rue de Vesle* (Map 5.2). It is no surprise then that this indoor market has been abandoned and left ruined (Illustration 5.8). After initial plans for demolition by the local authorities, the market, which was supposed to enhance retail dynamism within the central area, was classed as a historical

monument in 1990. No commercial unity was created around this market and no real emotional attachment was perceptible in the same sense as in Leicester. Indeed, no initiative was implemented to refurbish and renew this building, which was in a state of decay. The local authorities started to think about the establishment of a permanent market only by the mid-1990s with the aim of renewing this building by 1999.⁷⁵

Illustration 5.6: *Les Halles, former permanent market in the city centre of Reims, left in ruins in 1995.*

Source: 'Les Halles redeviendront un marché permanent', *L'Union*, 6 December 1995.

Rather than creating new shopping schemes as in Leicester, the local authorities maximised all their interest in Reims' strong historical heritage, thus revealing a local concern in sustaining national Republican value. The French cultural homogeneity of the pre-war and early post-war period had been jeopardized by the economic, social and cultural changes of globalisation. As Philip Dine argues, '[t]hat unitary model of national identity has increasingly been challenged by new political actors, new commercial players, and new cultural practices'.⁷⁶ National attempts to prevent the expansion of supermarkets in 1973 and in the 1990s failed. That is why in order to reshape this unitary model and to find an alternative to global cultural imperialism, the city of Reims decided

⁷⁵ S. Patrick, 'Reims les halles retrouveront leur vocation première en 1999', *l'Union*, 6 December 1996.

⁷⁶ D. Philip, 'Leisure and consumption' in M. Cook and G. Davies, *Modern France: Society in Transition* (London, 1999), p. 247.

to focus its attention on the Republican value of the city centre. It is important to note that Reims was in the heart of the emergence of the national history of France as underlined in the previous chapter, the city was the capital of *la Gaule* and it played an important role in the development of the national feeling that was to emerge during the reign of the kings of France. The coronation of Clovis took place in the ninth century in Reims (Illustration 5.9). Clovis was the first king of France to be baptized Christian and this event marked the shift from the pagan Roman Empire to the birth of *la France chrétienne* (Christian France).⁷⁷ Charles De Gaulle argued that this historical event was the moment when the national history of France started.⁷⁸ As a result, by the twelfth century Reims became the place where the coronation of kings of France took place.⁷⁹ There is a strong local initiative from the City Council to strengthen this heritage and promote this local asset by raising awareness of common historical heritage. For example, the celebration of the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the baptism of Clovis king of France took place in the city centre in September 1996 in the presence of Pope John Paul II (*pape Jean Paul II*).⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Clovis was chosen as king of France by the Franks tribe who then gave its name to the country 'France'.

⁷⁸ C. Migeon, 'Franks et Gaulois: Le Roman des Ancêtres' in Les Cahiers Science et Vie, *Les Origines de la France et de la Langue Française*, no.149 (2014), p. 43.

⁷⁹ French kings were crowned in Reims from 1131 with Louis VII to 1825 with Charles X.

⁸⁰ J. F. Scherpereel, 'Le XVe centenaire du baptême de Clovis enfante dans la douleur', *l'Union*, 14 December 1995.

Illustration 5.7: *Baptism of Clovis in Reims.*

Source: J. F. Scherpereel, 'Le XVeme centenaire du baptême de Clovis enfante dans la douleur', *L'Union*, 14 December 1995.

In contrast to Leicester city centre which is mainly defined by its retail activity, the city centre of Reims is a place of cultural events promoting its historical heritage with the Cathedral naturally embodying the representation of the Republican value. More than an emblematic tourist attraction, it was always believed that it should be the focal point of the city centre. According to the architect, Jean Baptiste Michel, the commercial failures of Reims such as la *Galerie des Sacres* in 1990, were due to the fact that 'la ville "tourne le dos" à sa Cathédrale (the city centre "turns its back" to the Cathedral).' ⁸¹ As a result, the local authorities decided in 2002 to redevelop the *Parvis de la Cathédrale* (Illustrations 5.10 and 5.11). Instead of relying on a shopping centre to bring retail dynamism to Reims, the city refurbished the *Parvis de la Cathédrale* (Reims' Cathedral square) in the hope of linking the main commercial units of the central area. While creating *un effet vitrine* (a shop window effect), that is to say a luxurious retailing centre which would create a good complement to the historical character of the city, the main

⁸¹ AMCR, 276W603, E. Scherpereel, 'Réflexion: la Cathédrale n'est plus dans l'axe', *l'Union*, 21 April 2003.

objective was to open up the Cathedral to the rest of the central area.⁸² This scheme would aim to reconnect the historical monument with the commercial units of the centre and to provide a better site of attraction as well as positioning the Cathedral as part of the emblematic heart of the city centre.

Illustration 5.8: Existing Parvis de la Cathédrale in 2002.

Source: AMCR, 276W603, 'Réaménager le parvis pour créer un lien avec les rues commerçante', *Marne Hebdo*, 3 October 2002.

Illustration 5.9: The proposal for the new Parvis de la Cathédrale expected in 2007.

Source: AMCR, 276W603, S. Claeys-Pergament, 'Nouveau parvis de la Cathédrale : ça crisse sur les lices', *L'Union*, 9 September 2003.

⁸² AUDRR, AUR22OURI3 2561, *Redynamisation du Centre-Ville*, p. 5.

The analysis of Leicester's and Reims' city centres' development reveals a resistance to out-of-town shopping development and highlights two different models of redefining and promoting the 'local'. Leicester's local interest in developing new shopping projects in the city centre in order to preserve durable goods shopping facilities reveals its strong British 'entrepreneurial' mentality. Contrastingly, the constraint of a more fragmented urban environment in Reims obliged the local authorities to rely on the city's strong historical aura to restore a sense of unity. The resurgence of the city centre is characterized by a will to preserve the continuity of local heritage and its attendant assets.

Conclusion

The new political economy of the 1980s led to the development of new areas of urbanisation, which were the consequence of cultural globalisation. The process of globalisation has encouraged the location of new retail spaces on the peripheries of urban areas which has weakened the commercial vitality of city centres. Cities have since become more diffuse with the development of out-of-town shopping centres and in turn the cultural identities of cities have become more complex and less clearly defined. This is why it has been important for cities to maintain a local image with the city centre playing an important role in response to the homogenising effects of globalisation. While France decided to halt the development of hypermarkets without any success, the British government decided to act directly in support of the retail dynamism of city centres. Leicester was indeed the archetype city for such measures, with both shoppers and the local authorities forming a cohesive partnership in order to preserve the historical aspects of a market city. Leicester's market positioned in the very heart of the city centre naturally formed a compact block in the retail dynamism of the city centre thus countering the threat of Fosse Park. Leicester being a market city, the City Council's prime objective was to implement measures to promote its retail tradition as well as its importance as a sub-regional centre. Reims, known for its retail dominance in the north-east of France thanks to its traditional *succursales* or *grandes maisons de distribution alimentaire* created in the end of the twentieth century, witnessed the development of numerous hypermarkets and their *centres commerciaux* at the peripheral area of the city by the 1970s. This development failed to be stopped by the national government, which maintained the construction of the motorway (*Autoroute 4*) through the heart of Reims in order to facilitate further their access. Hence Reims did not possess any unique retail

force, and therefore needed to rely on its own strength, that is to say the historical aura that naturally promoted the Republican value of the country. The traditional dichotomy between the global and the local appears irrelevant given the strength of local responses and the will to emphasise local peculiarities. Noticeably, localism emerges through different aspects, such as Leicester's retail activity and Reims' historical heritage, and reflects the different functions of the two central areas.

Chapter Six: Branding the City's Image in Reims and Leicester, 1980-2008

Due to the driving force of civic pride, the ambition of local authorities of promoting their respective localities has, since the nineteenth century, been a regular feature.¹ Shapely examined how the continuity of civic pride during the post-war period encouraged British local authorities and developers to create a distinctive urban identity and 'to sweep away the old city and build for the future rather than repackaging the past.'² The 'booster language', expressed in local authorities' development plans, reflected the desire to market the city.³ The practice of place 'boosterism' from local actors has not changed and is not a new phenomenon; however since the 1970s, the emergence of entrepreneurial mentality and urban competition has changed the nature of this practice. Indeed, the 'rise of the so-called entrepreneurial city and the marketing of places has been one of the defining features of the entrepreneurial modes of urban governance that has come to prominence since the 1970s'.⁴

The increasing pace of globalisation and the structural economic changes which have occurred in Western countries since the 1970s, are the factors responsible for the growth in competition between cities, intensifying as a result the practice of place promotion.⁵ As noted in Chapter One, scholars such as Ashworth and Voogd started to focus, in their work entitled *Marketing and Place Promotion*, on the use of marketing methods in urban governance and planning schemes in the late 1980s. These marketing techniques came into conscious use by various urban bodies to convey a positive image of the city to outsiders.⁶ These methods of advertising marked a new era in urban management and changed the nature of the branding of cities. Although city branding is difficult to define,

¹ P. Shapely, 'Civic pride and redevelopment in the post-war British city', *Urban History*, 39, no.2 (2012), p. 311.

² Ibid., p. 314.

³ Ibid.

⁴ M. Kavaratzis, 'From city marketing to city branding', *Place Branding*, 1, no.1 (2004), p. 59.

⁵ C. Colomb, *Staging the New Berlin: Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989* (London, 2012), p.14.

⁶ Ashworth and Voogd quoted in M. Kavaratzis, 'From city marketing to city branding', *Place Branding*, 1, no.1, (2004), p. 59.

it was recognised that marketing theories became part of urban governance during the 1990s.⁷

City branding is an entrepreneurial strategy and a neoliberal process, which helps cities to compete in the global market and to achieve further business. They often base their advertising strategies on the promotion of the cultural wealth found in them, interesting aspects of their histories and their unique architectural landscapes in the hope of selling themselves as an attractive destination. However, it has already been recognised that local authorities strategically need to provide cities with a meaningful image within a global monoculture. Developing a symbolic and cultural identity could be seen as the need to fulfil several criteria: to engineer civic pride through the creation of new buildings, to engender an improved sense of community within the city, to increase both the perception and the strength of the public domain and to bestow a sense of development and direction upon these spaces. In a context of deindustrialisation, increasing mobility and urban competition, local actors realised the importance of place promotion by the late 1980s.

This chapter examines how the local authorities of both Reims and Leicester have, since the 1980s, used ideas of localism to attract both tourism and investments, but also enhanced a sense of attachment to the cities through the promotion of local festivals. The relation between local political mentalities and place branding construction is less considered in branding literature. I argue that there are strong political motives behind the process of city branding which are reflected in their constructed image. Rather than focusing on the conceptual construction of place branding, this chapter aims to understand how the cities' industrial past and also their local characteristics have affected the image profiling of both Leicester and Reims, and how the power of the different local ideologies is reflected in their constructed images.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the impact of deindustrialisation on both Reims' and Leicester's images. The second analyses the way local authorities brand cities to attract investors and acquire the image of a post-industrial city. The last part explores the different festivals promoted by Reims and Leicester and the political motives behind their branding strategies.

⁷ Kavaratzis, 'From city marketing to city branding', p. 60.

Overcoming the impact of deindustrialisation and realising the value of place promotion in the 1990s

During the inter-war period Leicester was a prosperous industrial city and the quality of its wide range of products was much appreciated by its consumers.⁸ An indication of this was that the city's goods were praised as bearing the 'true stamp of the Leicester craftsman'.⁹ Its buoyant manufacturing base enabled the city to attract visitors, shoppers and buyers from many overseas places. The first Leicester Trade Fair was organised in May 1949 and was emblematic of Leicester's industrial power. The 'Leicester can make it' tag enabled manufacturers to produce a wide variety of goods, such as umbrellas, jet engines, aero engines, bricks and bobbins.¹⁰

In the *Leicester Industrial Handbook*, this economic prosperity was said to be felt by visitors as they could hear 'the music of manufacture, the clap, clap, clap of power belts and the munch much munch of hungry machines.'¹¹ However, as demonstrated earlier in this thesis, Leicester's world's greatest manufacturing centre collapsed due to the phenomenon of deindustrialisation and the economic recession of the 1970s. The image of the so-called prosperous industrial city became tarnished and was undermined with the decline of long-standing firms in traditional industries which could not compete with foreign competition. Leicester's reputation had been entirely built upon its past manufacturing successes, and this scenario led to a real challenge for Leicester's local authorities – as they needed to erase from the public perception the negative image of the city being an industrial relic whose best days were now firmly in the past. Consequently, by the mid-1980s Leicester City Council realised that by further boosting Leicester's advantage as 'the best shopping area in the Midlands', the city would acquire a new image.¹² The local authorities had always shown their interest in maintaining Leicester as the dominant shopping centre in the county– the compactness of its central core encouraged retail development opportunities and local retailers had already recognised in

⁸ Leicester's economic prosperity relied on its buoyant industrial sector which employed two thirds of the 283,000 people living in Leicester. Unemployment was non-existent. The city was known as 'Leicester clothes the world'.

⁹ Authority of Leicester Corporation, *The City of Leicester Official Industrial Handbook* (Leicester, 1946), p. 20.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² 'Joint effort to boost city centre', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 February 1986.

the late 1970s that shopping had to become an exciting experience.¹³ Since that time, the vibrancy of its city centre has been promoted in brochures that sought to attract visitors with slogans such as ‘a wide choice of shops’, and referred to Leicester’s traditional market and its modern indoor Haymarket Centre, opened in 1973 (Illustrations 6.1 and 6.2).¹⁴ Both brochures are similar, putting forward the Clock Tower and the retail dynamism of Leicester’s city centre with the use of the same slogan ‘a complete day-out in Leicester’ which highlights the pleasurable and exiting experience of shopping in Leicester. However, the 1981 brochure stresses even more the leisure potential that Leicester’s city centre can provide to visitors with a picture of Abbey Park’s lake. This shows the local incentive of promoting the vibrancy of the central area, not only as shopping centre but also as a place of recreation and relaxation

Illustration 6.1: Promotion brochure of Leicester (published 1978).

Illustration 6.2: Promotional brochure of Leicester (published 1981).

Source: ROLLR, Ephemera 914.2, ‘Leicester A Day Out’.

Source: ROLLR, Ephemera 914.2, ‘Leicester General Leaflets’.

¹³ Mike Butler, member of the Leicester Promotion Campaign and general manager of Lewis’s in Leicester argued in the *Leicester Mercury* in 1978 that ‘[W]e have got to make our inner-city areas thriving competitive and less tatty. Shopping has to become less of a chore, more an exciting experience’.

¹⁴ Leicester’s covered market was considered to be the biggest in Europe.

A unique initiative was implemented in 1986 when eight local firms from Leicester city centre, plus the Council, contributed to a fund that would serve to promote the city's virtues and to challenge negative perceptions.¹⁵ Peter Soulsby, Council leader, pointed out in 1986 that the joint forces and cooperation of the firms and the council would benefit Leicester city centre in its role as a more comfortable environment for attracting visitors.¹⁶

In the meantime, the *City Centre Action Programme* was published in 1986 to introduce the main initiatives regarding the environmental and transport improvements of the city centre. Leicester City Council was already investing more than £500,000 annually in order to enhance the environment of its central area.¹⁷ The promotion of an attractive environment in its city centre was considered important in order to maintain the advantage of a market city and to change the public image of Leicester. Indeed, the Action Programme suggested the enhancement of the central area as a shopping centre through pedestrianisation schemes, particularly around the Clock Tower in the form of a civic square, as well as road improvements.¹⁸ The construction of the Leicester Central Relief Road started in 1987 with the development of a £4 million scheme with the aim of solving traffic congestion adjacent to the railway station and in Charles Street.¹⁹ Leicester City Council was proactive in trying to promote a positive image of the city. However, rather than fulfilling branding objectives, the main idea initially was to alter the public's perception of Leicester as the city 'undeservedly suffers from the Midlands' image of industrial decay and chimneys belching smoke.'²⁰

In Reims, the case was different, as the city did not convey such a strong industrial image. As a result, the local authorities did not have to be as proactive in trying to erase the negative image of a deindustrialised city. Although there is no doubt that Reims' economic prosperity also relied on important manufacturing centres such as the wool industry and the glass industry, most of these industries completely collapsed in the 1960s: the policy of industrial decentralisation at the end of the Fourth Republic and the development of the Common Market in 1957 exposed Reims to foreign competition at an

¹⁵ Local firms included Leicestershire Co-operative Society, Littlewoods, Marks and Spencer, National Car Parks, the Haymarket Centre, Rockhams, Sears and Woolworth's.

¹⁶ 'Joint effort to boost city centre', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 February 1986.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *City Centre Action Programme* (Leicester, 1987).

¹⁹ 'Public will continue to have a say', *Leicester Mercury*, 16 April 1987.

²⁰ 'Blueprint to revive city tourist industry', *Leicester Mercury*, 31 December 1986.

early period.²¹ Visual indicators of its industrial past were less visible by the end of the 1960s as industrial woollen buildings were demolished in favour of new residential buildings. Hence, no strong emotional attachment to an industrial past was evident in this city.

By contrast to Leicester, Reims' image did not rely entirely on its manufacturing power but mainly on its strong historical character and its wines of Champagne. Following the decline in its economic activity, Reims had to face the reality of economic recession. However, the city made use of its historic role as the site of the coronation of the kings of France to create a unique local brand.²² *Matot Braine* noted that : '[s]on passé prestigieux de cite des sacres, la notoriété incontestée des vins de Champagne et sa situation géographique font d'elle un lieu de passage incontournable (its prestigious past as the 'coronation city', the undisputed popularity of its sparkling wine and its geographical position enable Reims to be an important destination).'²³

The 'territorial brand' of the wines of Champagne gained impetus with the impact of globalisation.²⁴ During the coronation of Charles IX in 1561 and Louis XIII in 1610, only wine from Reims was served on the royal tables and no wines from outside the Champagne region were allowed.²⁵ Hence, the production methods of these wines evolved and new techniques emerged to improve its taste and increase its production. In the second half of the seventeenth century, thanks to the Benedictine monks, and most particularly Dom Perignon who made a great contribution to improve the making process of the vine of Champagne, the reputation of the 'sparkling wines' of champagne became further established.²⁶

²¹ The wool industry was one of the biggest industries in Reims at the end of the nineteenth century. Reims' vineyard had always been praised for its wine. As a result, the Charbonneaux family started to produce glass bottles of wine after 1870, due to high demand from the producers of Champagne; Gracia Dorel-Ferre (dir.), *Atlas du patrimoine industriel de Champagne-Ardenne. Les racines de la modernité*, CRDP Champagne-Ardenne (Reims, 2005), pp. 37 & 103.

²² In a context of globalisation delocalisation became the rule in order to find cheap manpower. Know-how such as textile, shoes and glass manufacturing became easily imitable. By comparison, *l'agro-alimentaire* (the food industry) in France, which remains one of the French strong selling points, managed to be preserved with a unique know-how.

²³ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'L'impact du tourisme sur l'économie Rémoise', *Matot Braine*, 15 May 1992.

²⁴ S. Charters and N. Spielman, 'Characteristics of Strong Territorial Brands: The Case of Champagne', *Journal of Business Research*, 67, no.7 (2014), p. 1465.

²⁵ The quality and the prestige of the wines of Champagne crossed the borders. Indeed, foreign monarchs such as Pope Leo X, Henry VIII of England and Charles Quint, gained further glory by becoming vineyard owners in the Champagne region.

²⁶ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Le Champagne au fil des siècles', *Matot Braine*, 8 et 12 Mai 1992.

According to Stephen Charters and Nathalie Spielmann this 'territorial brand' is considered as 'one of the strongest and most effectively managed territorial brands in the world'.²⁷ The creation of the CIVC (*Comité Interprofessionnel du Vin de Champagne*) in 1941 aimed to protect its identity. Indeed, the Champagne industry has always striven to create a monopoly firmly anchored in the social imagery of the region and of the city. As Charters and Spielmann argue, 'territorial brands are inseparable from their place of origin, the individual brand owners are situated in a social and community context, rather than a merely economic one.'²⁸ Indeed, after the damage of the First World War, the Champagne industry played a major role in promoting its product: during the reconstruction of the Cathedral it sponsored a stained glass window which reflected the making process of Champagne.²⁹ The Champagne industry managed to create the values of cultural belonging attendant on its product by further asserting its local identity and uniqueness in the region. It is important to underline that the industry has also played an active role in the local community, as exemplified by Jean Taittinger, a member of a famous Champagne producing family, who was mayor of the city from 1959 to 1977.

In a context of globalisation Champagne started to have a real financial impact both at the national and international level. In 1971, the biggest and the most important *Maison de Champagne*, *Moët & Chandon*, negotiated the creation of a holding with the Hennessy Company, which then formed a merger with the fashion house Louis Vuitton, known as LVMH.³⁰ Champagne exportation increased rapidly and by 1986, 200 millions of bottles were exported, with 237 million in 1988 and 250 million in 1989.³¹ As a result, Reims had always been associated with this luxurious image, enabling the city further to assert its image as a tourist destination.³²

Since the process of deindustrialisation, the city has possessed a well-established and discernible identity that is recognised worldwide. British, German, Italian and Spanish tourists frequently visit the city; around 2 million tourists annually have visited the city

²⁷ According to Charters and Spielmann a territorial brand is not individual but collective and is specific to a place; Charters and Spielmann, 'Characteristics of Strong Territorial Brands', p. 1465.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ S. Liszek, *Champagne un Siècle d'Histoire Sociale* (Montreuil, 1995), p. 169.

³¹ Ibid. p.173.

³² Champagne is indeed a driving force for tourism as visitors can enjoy visiting vineyards and the *Maisons de Champagne* in the city.

since the 1980s.³³ The flagship products of the city, its Cathedral and its champagne industry, have helped the city to compete in the national and ultimately international tourism market. This is illustrated by the promotional picture published in the local newspaper, *Matot Braine*, in 1992 (Illustration 6.3). In 1991, 1.5 million visitors visited the Cathedral and 350,000 people came for the Champagne caves.³⁴

Illustration 6.3: Promotional picture of Reims with its Cathedral and its Champagne in a local journal (1992).

Source: BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Le tourisme en France', *Matot Braine*, 15 May 1992.

Although Reims possessed important assets, it gave the impression to some local actors that it remained passive regarding urban environmental improvements and urban planning

³³ BCR, PERCH FOL 162, 'Les moyens de la réussite', *VRI*, Febraury 1992.

³⁴ BCR, PERCH FOL 152, 'L'impact du tourisme sur l'économie Rémoise', *Matot Braine*, 15 May 1992.

projects.³⁵ Gilles Denis, Councillor, pointed out in 1997 that, while numerous cities started to redevelop their city centres and to promote their potential, Reims did not follow suit. Schemes such as pedestrianisation and car park development in the city centre were realised later.³⁶ While Leicester's local authorities were concerned with the redevelopment of the city centre at an early stage, Reims only took important initiatives by the end of the 1990s with the renewal of the *Place D'Erlon* and the development of the *Parvis de la Cathedral* in 2007.

Leicester did not possess such a strong historical character or a famous local brand like Champagne. As a result, local actors showed a more proactive determination to enhance the city's image during the process of deindustrialisation. The promotion of its retail assets and city centre improvement schemes demonstrated local faith in restoring its post-industrial reputation. However, these efforts were not enough for raising Leicester's profile. Aspects of an old industrial city were difficult to erase in a changing global world making it difficult to compete in the national and international market of tourism. In 1986 Darryl Stephenson, Assistant Chief Executive at Leicester City Council, argued that 'Leicester has become known as a tourist base only because of five years of hard selling and the lower prices in hotels.'³⁷ Leicester did not possess flagship tourist destinations and struggled to attract overseas tourists. Non-UK residents visiting Leicestershire represented only 15 per cent of tourists in 1994 and decreased to 9 per cent by 1999 (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). In Reims, 50 per cent of tourists came from abroad in 1995 with 40.6 per cent coming from European countries such as Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands (Table 6.3).³⁸ Another important point of contrast was the number of hotels. Leicester had 19 hotels in 1999, inferior to Nottingham's 26 hotels, and far inferior to Reims and its 60 hotels. Hence, Leicester's average room occupancy in the larger hotels was around 55 per cent in 1992, which represented the lowest rate in comparison to similar cities.³⁹ This was perhaps not helped as Leicester struggled to establish a discernible urban identity.

³⁵ J. F. Scherpereel, 'Les Rémois sont l'avenir de Reims à condition de jouer les atouts', *l'Union*, 9 September 1997.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ 'Blueprint to revive city tourist industry', *Leicester Mercury*, 31 December 1986.

³⁸ AMCR, 276W471, Agglomération Rémoise tableau de bord, no.8, 1996.

³⁹ Nottingham, Leicester's main competitor, was considered as having better known attractions as it was well renowned for its Robin Hood legend; ROLLR, L/S0/64, Leicester Promotions, *A Hotel Demand Study for Leicester* (Leicester, 1999), pp.10 & 15.

Table 6.1: Tourism in Leicestershire in 1994 and 1999 (millions).

Year	1994		1999	
Tourist origins	Millions	%	Millions	%
Trips UK residents	1.00	85	1.8	91
Trips overseas residents	0.17	15	0.18	9
Total	1.17	100	1.98	100

Source: ROLLR, L/SO/71, Leicester City Council, *A Visitor Development Strategy for Leicester 2002-2007* (Leicester, 2002), p. 9.

Table 6.2: Origins of tourists visiting Reims in 1995.

Country of origin	Percentage
France	33.9
Reims	15.4
Europe	40.6
USA	5.9
Other	4.2

Source: AMCR, 276W471, AUDRR, *Tableau de Bord no.8* (Reims, 1998), p. 125.

Table 6.3: Number of hotels in Reims in 1975, 1982 and 1992.

Years	Hotels	Rooms
1975	34	1160
1985	45	1507
1992	60	2354

Source: AMCR, 276W471, AUDRR, *Tableau de Bord no.8* (Reims, 1998), p. 126.

Leicester was criticised as a tourist destination, and in the 1990s David Crease and Andrew Keeling from the East Midlands Tourist Board argued that ‘the city and even the county are in need of a shot in the arm.’⁴⁰ Cherry Fleet, marketing manager at the Belmont Hotel, also argued that Leicester was considered to be what Terry Wogan was referring to as the ‘lost city’.⁴¹

⁴⁰ ROLLR, L/SO/34, Leicester City Council, *Leicester Says Yes to Tourism: Leicester Tourism Development Programme* (Leicester, 1990), p. 49.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Although certain initiatives had been implemented, when promoting Leicester's potential as a leisure destination the Council still had a long way to go. As a result, acknowledging the difficulty of attracting tourism, the Leicester Tourism Development Action Programme was created in 1990 to implement a marketing strategy for Leicester. The English Tourist Board created a partnership with Leicester City Council, Leicestershire County Council, and the East Midlands Tourist Board, the Regional Enterprise Unit, Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce and members of the private sector.⁴² These partners recognised the need to promote Leicester's potential as a tourist destination and to implement a marketing strategy to attract visitors.

Although local authorities were aware that Leicester possessed numerous assets, the challenge was to find its unique selling point and something worth selling to the world. The Leicester Tourism Development Action Programme therefore targeted Leicester's international community as it is considered a model for racial co-operation.⁴³ Indeed, Leicester was proud of its multiracial city and this would enable the city to gain benefits from this peculiarity. As a result, slogan ideas were suggested such as 'Leicester a world of difference' which could encourage visitors to discover and appreciate the cultural diversity of Leicester.⁴⁴ Another slogan proposed was 'Leicester birthplace of tourism.'⁴⁵ Indeed, Leicester was the home of Thomas Cook and his first organised trip was a railway excursion from Leicester to Loughborough in 1841.

None of these slogans was chosen, but Leicester had never been afraid to be innovative. This was best demonstrated by the creation of Leicester Promotions in 1993, which was a private sector agency supported by Leicester City Council with the aim of marketing Leicester to the rest of the world. Leicester Promotions finally created a slogan, 'Leicester Full of Surprises' in 1994 to identify the city.⁴⁶ As a result, within a promotional campaign, fascinating facts about Leicester were used to market the city in Britain and abroad. Leicester Promotion's objective was to attract tour operators and to make the public realise that Leicester has more assets than they may have thought.⁴⁷ This slogan clearly demonstrated that the city lacked a single point of interest and it appeared

⁴² Ibid., p. 1.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ 'Tourists enticed to a city full of surprises', *Leicester Mercury*, 14 September 1994.

⁴⁷ For example, Leicester's Jewry wall is the highest Roman building in Britain and the Diwali celebrations are the biggest outside India.

that Leicester Promotions was trying to ‘convince’ rather than to ‘brand the city’. Despite local efforts, Leicester’s image suffered from some harsh judgment. *The Rough Guide to England* described Leicester as ‘a drearily modern place saved from mediocrity by its role as a focal point for Britain’s Asian community.’⁴⁸

In 1995, local authorities divided the city into seven areas, known as ‘quarters’, in order to further increase the character of the city centre. Indeed, the proposed new zones for the city were intended ‘to give more identity to the different parts of the city.’⁴⁹ Although, the City and County Council officers were convinced ‘Leicester could be sitting on a tourism goldmine’ in the late 1980s, local actors such as Leicester Promotions and the Council were unable to deliver a focused strategy that would determine what the city’s unique selling point could be.⁵⁰ This led to a lack of distinctiveness in the city’s ‘product’ and image.

While Leicester was in search of a special self-image, Reims’ *Office du Tourisme*, an organisation created to sell Reims to the world, was already promoting the city’s focal points (Cathedral and Champagne) in European capitals in the early 1990s. Realising Reims’ tourism potential, Jean Falala was one of the first mayors of France to understand the importance of the financial impact of tourism and so he contributed substantial financial investment into Reims’ *Office du Tourisme*.⁵¹ By being represented at workshops in London, Oslo, Milan and Madrid, Reims’ *Office du Tourisme* asserted itself and the organisation especially reinforced its promotional efforts when in 1994 UNESCO nominated the Cathedral, the Palais du Tau and the Abbey of Saint-Rémi as World Heritage Sites.⁵²

The economic recession impacted differently on each city’s image. By contrast to Reims, which possessed a strong historical character and a champagne industry that boosted its local identity in a context of globalisation, Leicester’s local authorities were primarily focused on restoring the city’s post-industrial image. Changing the public’s perception of the city seemed to be one of the inevitable steps for attracting visitors. Leicester was more

⁴⁸ *The Rough Guide to England* quoted in K. Wright, ‘City’s rough treatment’, *Leicester Mercury*, March 1994.

⁴⁹ ‘Ambitious plans-but now it is over to you’, *Leicester Mercury*, 26 July 1995.

⁵⁰ ‘City on a tourist goldmine’, *Leicester Mercury*, 1 February 1987.

⁵¹ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, ‘L’impact du tourisme sur l’économie Rémoise’, *Matot Braine*, 15 Mai 1992.

⁵² BCR, PERCHFOL 162, ‘Les moyens de la réussite’, *VRI*, February 1992; BCR, PERCHFOL 152, ‘Le tourisme en France’, *Matot Braine*, 15 Mai 1992.

ingenious than Reims in trying to promote its city with the creation of promotional slogans, and its environmental enhancement of the central area. By contrast, Reims's case demonstrated a well-established image that placed it in a better position to overcome the economic recession and which benefitted the city as a tourist destination.

Branding the city to acquire the image of tertiary city and service-based economy

Realising that industrial decline was jeopardizing the city's traditional manufacturing strength, the Leicester Promotion Campaign further increased its efforts in the mid-1970s to ensure its reputation for economic prosperity.⁵³ Although there existed a blind faith that Leicester's industries would survive the recession, the local authorities also acted to sell Leicester's mercantile and entrepreneurial virtues to the world. As a result, a campaign emerged in March 1976 that aimed to raise the city's profile for bosses thinking of expanding or relocating their businesses. At the time counties in England were developing advertising strategies to attract businesses and industries in a context of manufacturing decline, and there existed in Leicester a promotional campaign that emphasised the city's peculiar assets, such as communications, and low office rents for attracting businesses.⁵⁴ This campaign also promoted the central position of Leicester in the UK.⁵⁵ Promoting Leicester's strategic geographical position was used 'to attract new blood' and to create an awareness of Leicester as the ideal destination for factory accommodation (Illustrations 6.4 and 6.5).⁵⁶

⁵³ 'Leicester Promotions' is a private sector marketing agency supported by the Leicester City Council.

⁵⁴ 'Ideal place to start up - that's Leicester', *Leicester Mercury*, 22 June 1982.

⁵⁵ 'Campaign to put city at the centre gets underway', *Leicester Mercury*, 10 March 1976.

⁵⁶ 'Right at the centre', *Leicester Mercury*, 11 February 1977.

Illustration 6.4: Promotional picture from the Leicester Mercury (1977), putting Leicester 'right at the centre'.

Illustration 6.5: Campaign motif design to promote Leicester 'right at the centre' in 1977.

Source: 'Right at the centre', *Leicester Mercury*, 11 February 1977.

Source: 'A new prosperity comes to the city', *Leicester Mercury*, 11 February 1977.

This proactive campaign was an important move for Leicester's economic survival. Although the collapse of its traditional manufacturing firms had tarnished Leicester's image, it is important to note that local actions implemented in the 1970s to redress Leicester's economic potential served the city well over the forthcoming decades. This forged its entrepreneurial and business spirit. Confidence in its professional community and in its wealthy entrepreneurial potential was palpable. Sir Mark Henig, former Lord Mayor of Leicester, argued that by relocating or expanding their businesses in Leicester, employers were choosing a place where 'traditionally businesses began, thrived and grew.'⁵⁷ The entrepreneurial talent of Leicester was strongly placed; especially given that citizens had grown up in an industrial culture with some families having created businesses for generations.

As mentioned in the second chapter, the city indeed benefitted from the valuable business expertise of the Asian community which had boosted the local economy and complemented the potential of mainstream business communities. Furthermore, the City

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Council encouraged an entrepreneurial mentality thanks to imaginative schemes, such as the Magazine Workspace and the Enterprise Workshop. In the early 1980s these initiatives aimed to boost and help small firms and to reduce unemployment.⁵⁸ Leicester had much to offer as a business location, thanks also to local famous names such as Walker's Crisps and United Biscuits. The Leicester promotion campaign 'continued to beat the drum with confidence' and appeared to be a success as by 1985 'the campaign office dealt with enquiries from forty companies and helped find more than 156,000 square feet of accommodation associated with 289 jobs.'⁵⁹ At least 500 new jobs were created in 1986.⁶⁰

The city was considered to be the ideal place for businesses: 'Leicester is full of opportunities. Some of the UK's most successful businesses are located here. Two world-class universities are based within the city and a third is just outside. The people of Leicester demonstrate a capacity for innovation, creativity and entrepreneurialism beyond the average for other parts of the UK. The city's young and ethnically diverse population cultivated these traits and has contributed to the strong rate of business formation.'⁶¹ Contrastingly, Reims' local authorities never led such a proactive marketing campaign at such an early stage (1970s) with a view to attracting businesses, implying a less developed entrepreneurial mentality existed in France, as underlined in previous chapters. Hence, ethnic businesses were far less developed in Reims, and consequently were not promoted as economically vital. Other assets, such as its Champagne image and its embedded historical image, compensated for Reims' industrial decline. While Leicester's local actors were trying to sell the city as a business location, Reims' local authorities were more focused in the 1970s on their *délire expansionniste* (expansionist delirium).⁶² They predicted that the city would reach 400,000 inhabitants in the 1980s. However, following a decline in its economic activity, Reims had to face a new reality, and had to adapt its urban economic image towards the tertiary sector. Due to the decline of its traditional *succursales* or *grandes maisons de distribution alimentaire*, Reims' local authorities only realised by the late 1980s that further actions should be implemented to attract long-term

⁵⁸ 'Why Leicester is the place to be', *Leicester Mercury*, 7 June 1983.

⁵⁹ 'The talent is there - now let's expand', *Leicester Mercury*, 15 November 1983; 'Leicester promotion campaign success', *Leicester Mercury*, June 1985.

⁶⁰ *Leicester Mercury*, June 1985; 'Promotion drive created 500 city jobs', *Leicester Mercury*, 17 February 1986.

⁶¹ ROLLR, L/ec/77, Leicestershire Economic Partnership, *City Growth Leicester: Summary Document* (Leicester, 2005), p. 3.

⁶² J. F. S. 'Christian Brut, adjoint au maire et sociologue', *l'Union*, 9 September 1997.

private developers and investors. The city was positioned in the heart of a dynamic agricultural region and it was considered that Reims' Champagne industry should be further promoted. As a result, to change Reims' economic image and to attract further businesses into the city, a *téchnopole* was created in 1987 that aimed to host companies and research centres specialising in the *agro-alimentaire* field. These objectives were intended to reinforce the image of a tertiary city entitled '*tertiaire supérieur*' (tertiary sector).⁶³ In 1992, one *Rémois* out of twenty worked on that site, and 132 enterprises were already established with a *pépinière d'entreprises* that specialised in the *tertiaire innovant*.

The agronomic centre of research opened in 1994 on this site and the Council financed this project. As the *agro-alimentaire* industry remained the leading industry in Reims, this *technopole* reflected the potential of the tertiary agro-industrial sector, one of the driving forces of the economy of Reims.⁶⁴ However, Reims' initiatives to promote the city as a business environment were far less assertive and proactive than in Leicester. The past prosperity of Leicester's great manufacturing centre led to the emergence of a strong business spirit that was intrinsic to its promotional discourse.

Leicester's potential as an entrepreneurial city was reflected in the Leicester Promotions campaign which aimed to attract major conferences in order to give an impetus to the local economy. The National Association of Probation Officers organised its annual conference in Leicester with 1,000 delegates for the first time in 1994.⁶⁵ In 1995, it was noted that conferences boosted the local economy and brought £1.2 million to Leicestershire over the previous two years, whereas before Leicester Promotions was created the figure was £168,000.⁶⁶ Leicester Promotions was more confident in selling Leicester as a business location than as a leisure destination.

⁶³ BCR, PERCHFOL 162, 'Technopole en forme point fort du pôle technologique l'agroalimentaire', *VRI*, February 1992.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ 'It's good to talk, as county makes money', *Leicester Mercury*, 28 September 1994.

⁶⁶ L. Bayley, 'Promotion drive puts city firmly on the map', *Leicester Mercury*, July 1995.

Table 6.4: The mix of markets in Leicester hotels in 1989 and 1999.

Year	1989	1999
Business Tourism (%)	83.5	72.0
Leisure Tourism (%)	16.5	28.0

Sources: 1989: ROLLR, L/SO/46, Leicestershire County Council, *Tourism Strategy for Leicestershire, 1991* (Leicester, 1991), p. 27; 1999: ROLLR, L/SO/64, Leicester Promotions, *A hotel demand study for Leicester* (Leicester, 1999), p. 24.

Relatively to leisure tourism business tourism in Leicester was more developed. Business users, such as visitors to local companies or people attending conferences, were the main occupants of Leicester hotels. Business tourism accounted for 72 per cent of rooms occupied, whereas leisure tourism accounted for 28 per cent in 1999 (Table 6.4).⁶⁷ Although room occupancy at weekends was low, hotels were fully booked during the week, thanks to the city's industrialists and the commercial sector attracting business visitors.⁶⁸ This could be explained by an offensive campaign and a well-established entrepreneurial mentality dating back to the 1970s.

Although business-related tourism in Reims was less developed than its leisure tourism sector, it generated more income.⁶⁹ However, Reims struggled to attract business tourism in general, as the entrepreneurial mentality of Reims was less evident than Leicester's. For example, Reims' local authorities only took measures in the early 1990s to create a conference centre. The mayor, Jean Falala, argued on 7 April 1992 that Reims had to become '*un pôle tertiaire de haut niveau* (a highly competitive tertiary centre).'⁷⁰ Consequently, a *Centre des Congrès* (conference centre) to host conferences was suggested to act as the necessary economic tool to promote and encourage business tourism (Illustration 6.6).

⁶⁷ ROLLR, L/SO/64, Leicester Promotions, *A hotel demand study*, p. 24.

⁶⁸ Leicester mainly attracted business conferences organised on weekdays; 'Putting city on the map', *Leicester Mercury*, 9 August 1988.

⁶⁹ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims Champagne congrès la vitrine économique de Reims', *Matot Braine*, 18 December 1992.

⁷⁰ BCR, PERCHFOL 162, 'Projet Urbain l'avenir du centre-ville', *VRI*, February 1992.

Illustration 6.6: Reims Champagne Congrès, the iconic building presented in 1992 to boost business tourism.

Source: BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims Champagne Congrès : la vitrine économique', *Matot Braine*, 18 December 1992.

Reims Champagne Congrès was created in 1994 and aimed to be the *vitrine économique* (the economic shop window) of Reims.⁷¹ As the city did not possess a well-established business mentality in the same sense as Leicester, the local authorities needed to be more imaginative, hence the iconic building, *Reims Champagne Congrès*. The instrumentalisation of the 'Champagne' brand served to enhance the city's prestige. In the regional journal *Matot Braine*, the conference centre was even described as *la cathédrale d'affaire* (business Cathedral).⁷² The journal noted that : 'cette réalisation infrastructurelle permettra de stimuler la confiance dans les chances de Reims et de sa région pour la grande bataille de développement économique que se livrent les métropoles européennes (the development of this building would boost the confidence of both Reims and its region during the economic development competition that faces all European metropolises).'⁷³

Although Leicester did not possess any globally recognizable historical building that shaped the character of the city in the same way as in Reims, its local authorities had always been more confident than Reims in promoting the city as a business location. Creating 'an attractive vision' in the city centre revealed therefore the incentive of the City and County officials to not only attract tourism but to also better position Leicester

⁷¹ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims Champagne Congrès: la vitrine économique de Reims', *Matot Braine*, 18 December 1992.

⁷² BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims champagne congres bâti pour les affaires', *Matot Braine*, 8 June 1993.

⁷³ BCR, PERCHFOL 152, 'Reims Champagne Congrès: la vitrine économique de Reims', *Matot Braine*, 18 December 1992.

economically by promoting its retail strength at the regional level.⁷⁴ As the City Development Sub-committee Chairman Councillor Peter Soulsby argued in 1995: ‘A high-quality city centre is vital for the half a million people in the region it serves, as well as for attracting investment and tourism to Leicester.’⁷⁵ This was the key for generating further investments, and for encouraging private developers to invest in the long term.⁷⁶

It was acknowledged in 2001 that the city still had ‘an over-dependence on declining types of manufacturing, with low average incomes.’⁷⁷ As a result, the Leicester Regeneration Company (LRC), a partnership between the public and the private sector, was created in 2001. The aim of the LRC was to transform Leicester into a ‘high skill and value-added economy’ in which redevelopment work would enhance the image of the city. The aim was to make ‘retail as a first-choice career, rather than a fallback.’⁷⁸ The development of the Highcross shopping centre in 2008 was emblematic of the retail success of promoting Leicester as a market city.⁷⁹

The 2000s marked a turning point for Reims. The city gained in confidence and took on a more assertive stance in promoting the city as a business location. Indeed, knowing that the TVG project aimed to pass through Reims by 2007, the ‘invest in Reims’ label was created in 2003 to give more value to its economy. This label aimed to assist and promote the tertiary sector of Reims and to encourage businesses to locate in the city. There was a strong will amongst the local authorities to redouble efforts and so the aim was to create a ‘*schema d’accueil*’ with tertiary attractions and services facilities around the new TGV station.⁸⁰ The city went even further and created a brand in 2005 called ‘*Reims Métropole*’. This was the new name given to Reims and its agglomeration. Jean Louis Shneider argued in 2005: ‘*Nous sommes capables de jouer dans la cour des grands* (We

⁷⁴ M. Atkinson, ‘Battle plan for the 21st Century’, *Leicester Mercury*, 28 July 1995.

⁷⁵ M. Atkinson, ‘Master plan aiming to boost image of city’, *Leicester Mercury*, 29 July 1995.

⁷⁶ The City and County Council officials aimed to fight back against Nottingham, perceived as a better destination, and the attractions of Fosse Park, so strategies were implemented in the 1990s to boost Leicester city centre’s fortunes. It seems that their determination paid off as the *Visitor Development Strategy* report noted in 1999 that ‘retail and associated infrastructure developments in the city council are where the greatest progress has been made in recent years. A new pride and enthusiasm in the city are evident and credit is due to the City Council for making this happen’ [quotation from ROLLR, L/SO/65, Leicester City Council, Visitor Development Strategy for Leicester (Leicester, 1999), p. 10].

⁷⁷ Leicester City Council, *Maximising Benefit of Retail Regeneration* (Leicester, no date), p. 2.

⁷⁸ ROLLR, L/EC/73, Leicester Economic Regeneration Partnership, *Leicester Local Employment Strategy 2004-2007* (Leicester, 2003), p. 40; Leicester City Council, *Maximising Benefit*, p. 9.

⁷⁹ In 2006, work started on the Shires shopping centre to make a bigger shopping centre called Highcross Leicester. Highcross aimed to host the second largest John Lewis store in the country as well as new retailers.

⁸⁰ A. Moyat, ‘Pour communiquer la car s’appellera Reims métropole’, *l’Union*, 4 May 2005.

are able to play with the big boys).’⁸¹ These initiatives promoted the arrival of the *TGV-Est* in 2007 and asserted its image as an important *Métropole Européenne* – the city would only be 45 minutes away from Paris and thirty-five minutes from the Charles-De-Gaulle Airport. Although these ambitious projects were a means of adapting to a context of urban competition, they reveal the developing entrepreneurial ethos of Reims.

City branding is not merely about tourism but has also to do with investors and attracting businesses to compete and adapt in the post-industrial context of globalisation. The success of a medium-sized city cannot depend solely on branding the city as a leisure and cultural destination. The distinct cases of Leicester and Reims reveal individual backgrounds and opposing methods that are sensitive to their respective urban contexts. Ironically, the process of deindustrialisation served Leicester by the 1970s in terms of its promotion strategies. On the other hand, Reims’ business promotion became apparent in the 1990s. Branding strategies revealed an underlying aim of placing medium-sized cities, such as Leicester and Reims, in a new position and role within the global market. Nonetheless, imaginative branding strategies thinly conceal certain deep weaknesses: the efforts of Leicester to brand the city as a leisure destination or the ambitions of Reims to brand the city as a business location.

The application of an ideological brand in Leicester and Reims

Given that ‘economic functionality alone does not explain the attraction and popularity of city branding’, the socio-cultural aspect in branding strategies is also important.⁸² Not only is branding the city used to enhance its status and prestige in order to attract investors and tourism, but branding also helps to establish order and certainty in ‘what is in principle a chaotic reality.’⁸³ Ingrid Burkett argues that although ‘community is under attack from both political and ideological processes such as globalisation and postmodernism, paradoxically new local sites of resistance in relation to these very same processes emerge.’⁸⁴ Indeed, with the threat of globalisation upon local identity, the importance of conveying a sense of attachment, positive feeling and coherence within an

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² T. Hauben, M. Vermeulen and V. Patteeuw (eds), *City Branding: Image Building and Building Images* (Rotterdam, 2002), p. 34.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ I. Burkett, ‘Traversing the Swampy Terrain of Postmodern Communities: Towards Theoretical Revisionings of Community Development’ *European Journal of Social Work*, 4, no.3 (2001), pp. 233 & 246.

identifiable urban environment is augmented. This is why analysing cultural events and festivals that act as sources of civic pride increases an appreciation of how cities develop a conceptual image of local identification and civic consciousness. Nonetheless, the political motives that drive the construction and promotion of a local image need to be acknowledged.

Both Leicester and Reims are identifiable by different local cultures as reflected in their respective festival traditions and public philosophies. While Leicester encourages ethnic festivals so as to promote an image of diversity, Reims' cultural character is entirely forged via the history of France and its Republican values. Indeed, Britain established a positive approach towards multiculturalism based on the principle of 'race relations' in order to ease integration.⁸⁵ The report by the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, published in 1997, defines the UK as a 'community in communities.'⁸⁶ Britain relied on the diverse cultural and religious backgrounds of ethnic minorities for the purpose of social integration. In contrast, the French Republican model stands in opposition to the British system, for it 'recognised the legitimacy of collective identities only outside the public sphere' as a means of integrating the population within the common identity of the Republic.⁸⁷ Indeed, the assimilation into a common historical frame of reference is considered a fundamental principle in creating 'in particular the acceptance of a common public space that is separated from religious faith and expression.'⁸⁸ Hence, France has always maintained a suspicious attitude towards religion since the separation of the Church and State promulgated in the law of 1905. The *laïcité* (French secularism) emerged from the Jacobin tradition and symbolised the long battle of inhibiting Roman Catholic influence on the state and French public schools.⁸⁹ France is a secular state, meaning the confinement of religious rites and practices within the private sphere.

⁸⁵ M. A. Schain, 'Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain and the United States', *Social Research*, 77, no.1 (2010), p. 211.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 207.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ C. Killian, 'From a Community of Believers to an Islam of the Heart: "Conspicuous" Symbols, Muslim Practices, and the Privatization of Religion in France', *Sociology of Religion*, 68, no.3 (2007), pp. 305 & 320.

As mentioned in the first chapter, Leicester is considered Britain's most diverse city.⁹⁰ As Paul Winstone, Race Relations Officer argued in 1990: 'I would say we lead the country for this minority-mindedness in Britain, possibly Europe.'⁹¹ The city's multicultural atmosphere has always been encouraged by specific local decisions. In 1976, local authorities applied a policy towards multiculturalism that favoured the interests of minorities through the development of bilingual streets.⁹² Recognising Leicester's potential in its ethnic minorities, the local authorities showed support and cooperation towards the expression of diversity. As a result, Leicester promoted various ethnic festivals and religious celebrations. For instance, during the Hindu consecratory rites in Abbey Park in 1987, which were some of the first to be held outside India, the *Leicester Mercury* stated that 'Leicester became part of India for hours yesterday as more than 15,000 Hindus from all over Britain took part in religious ceremony and rites.'⁹³

⁹⁰ According to the 1991 census, ethnic minorities represented 28.5 per cent of the city's total population, whereas the UK average was 5.5 per cent.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² ROLLR, L/SO/34, Leicester City Council, *Leicester Says Yes to Tourism*, p. 54.

⁹³ The 'Mahayagna', which is also called the Hindu consecratory rites, took place for the first time in Abbey Park in 1987 where the Swami, a Hindu priest, preached a message of tolerance and peace; 'Hindus flock to see Swami', *Leicester Mercury*, 1 June 1987.

Illustration 6.7: Ethnic dancing events in Leicester city centre, in front of the Clock Tower (early 1980s).⁹⁴

Source: David Wilson Library [hereafter DWL] Special Collections, LMA/ Prints/ Leicester Fiesta (35/3).

⁹⁴ No information is given regarding this picture. However, one can observe women dancers, in the city centre of Leicester, who are probably performing Hindu religious dancing.

Illustration 6.8: Women dancers during the Hindu Festival of Navrati in Granby Halls (2 October 1989).⁹⁵

Source: DWL, Special Collections, LMA/ Prints/ Leicester Fiesta (35/3).

⁹⁵ In October 1989, 3,000 people gathered in Granby Halls to attend the Navrati festivals and to enjoy folk music with worship and religious dancers. The Lord Mayor of Leicester, David Taylor and the MP for Leicester East, Mr Keith Vaz, were among the special guests.

Illustration 6.9: Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre displaying Leicester Diwali lights (1995).

Source: DWL, Special Collections, LMA/ Prints/ Leicester Fiesta (35/3).

The public expression of ethnic culture in Leicester demonstrates the extent to which ethnic festivals were ideologically driven (Illustrations 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9). Although the underlying British philosophy and management of integration and diversity inevitably influenced local decisions, ethnic minorities have always been recognised as a fundamental driver of urban development and social cohesion in the city of Leicester. As Herdle White, organiser of the Caribbean Carnival pointed out in 1990: ‘there is a genuine multi-racial backing for the carnival and of the thousands who take part, perhaps not more than 60 per cent are West Indians.’⁹⁶ Bringing people together from a diverse range of local communities has also been the case for other festivities such as Leicester’s Belgrave

⁹⁶ ROLLR, L/SO/34, Leicester City Council, *Leicester Says Yes to Tourism*, p. 48.

religious festival in 1991. The local Hare Krishna President, Jagat Purusha said: 'I would like to invite members of all communities throughout the East Midlands to join in.'⁹⁷

Since April 2000, Leicester City Council has been looking at the improvement of the heritage provision of the city in a completely new way, not only by preserving its heritage buildings and collections but also by sustaining its community traditions: 'Leicester is the home of people from many cultures and their heritages have enriched the city.'⁹⁸ The main objective of the local authorities has been to reflect the cultural diversity of Leicester through heritage provision. In other words, community traditions have to be preserved. Leicester's vision is based on encouraging people to accept distinct cultural identities – 'appreciating everyone's heritage has a direct, beneficial impact on the lives of all Leicester citizens.'⁹⁹

Leicester is an apposite case for contemporary discourse about cosmopolitanism, or greater world openness. From the mid-twentieth century, the various processes of globalisation (such as mobility, migration, and business networks) have led to a reconsideration of this concept in which sociological studies have explored the relevant impact on local communities. Cosmopolitanism is considered as 'a particular form of societal treatment of cultural otherness in that it not only tolerates differences between people but stimulates comprehension of the other.'¹⁰⁰ Cosmopolitanism refers to the understanding of a community's cultures for the development of political and cultural life. In Leicester, there exists a local incentive to encourage people to comprehend internal heterogeneity through the experience of sharing each other's cultural life.

Within this context, the Leicester slogan 'one passion, one Leicester', created in 2008, reflected the idea of a common vision established within a plural society. More than a brand for attracting tourism and outside investors, this slogan is the reflection of a well-established ideological reality aiming to provide facilities and services according to people's religious, cultural and linguistic needs. The Community Plan, published in the late 1990s, expressed the City Council's goal of adapting its policies according to the

⁹⁷ Hare Krishna is a Hindu religious movement; 'Hindu festival set for the city', *Leicester Mercury*, 26 June 1991.

⁹⁸ L/SO/72, Leicester City Council, *Heritage Services: Best Value Review: Interim Report* (Leicester, 2002), p. 7.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Beck and Grande quoted in F. Pichler, 'How Real Is Cosmopolitanism in Europe?', *Sociology*, 42, no.6 (2008), pp. 1109 & 1110.

diversity of its population by ‘providing services which are sensitive to people’s religious, cultural, linguistic and access needs; developing policies and services to enable the acceptance and resettlement of asylum seekers in the city; ensuring the provision and use of quality cultural and leisure services events and activities, which reflect the rich diversity of the city’s communities and people.’¹⁰¹ The local ideology of Leicester is driven by the premise of cultural diversity, and its branding strategies reflect the incentive that Leicester wants to remain a model for multicultural cooperation.¹⁰²

The French ideal of *égalité* mainly promoted the integration of people thanks to common historical references and an exclusive knowledge of the Republic. In Reims, the cultural heritage is promoted entirely according to the history of France. The local newspaper, *l’Union*, states: ‘[l]es Rémois aiment leur patrimoine et le prouvent (People of Reims love the historical heritage of their city and they demonstrate it).’¹⁰³ Local discourse places emphasis on a common set of historical references, and *les journées du patrimoine* (heritage days) in Reims are an indicator of the abiding attachment of the local population to their city.¹⁰⁴

Reims’ management of diversity was radically at odds with Leicester’s, as divergent faiths and religious rites were excluded from the public sphere. Only festivities that represented the history of France were celebrated. Reims was less encouraging towards minority groups and ethnic festivities. Ethnic diversity as put forward by Leicester is incompatible with the French Republican model, for it was perceived as an obstacle to social integration. Diversity is only acceptable when conforming to the French cultural model.

Since 1983, Reims celebrated *les fêtes Johanniques* (Joan of Arc festival) to revive the pinnacle of her ascension in Reims (Illustrations 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12).¹⁰⁵ Joan of Arc

¹⁰¹ ROLLR, L/SO/68, Leicester City Council, *Leicester’s Community Plan* (Leicester, no date), p. 16.

¹⁰² *The Race and Equality Scheme 2002-3*, published by the Leicester City Council, stated: ‘Leicester City Council exists to promote the integrity and sustainability of Leicester through cultural diversity, social justice, community cohesion, economic prosperity and environmental quality. Its vision for integrating Britain’s most diverse city depends on developing sustainable communities, where diversity is cherished as a unique asset and people of all communities feel at home’. [Quotation from ROLLR, L/SO/74 Leicester City Council, *Race Equality Scheme 2002/03* (Leicester, 2002), p. 3].

¹⁰³ ‘Patrimoine et pourquoi pas des bâtiments industriels en 1998’, *l’Union*, 23 September 1997.

¹⁰⁴ Jack Lang, member of the Socialist party and culture Minister from 1981 to 1986, founded *les journées du patrimoine* (heritage days) in 1980; P. Seghi, ‘La gestion du patrimoine n’est pas l’apanage de l’état’, *l’Union*, 9 december 1997.

¹⁰⁵ Joan of Arc is at the front of a folkloric parade, which went from the Abbey of Saint-Rémi to the Cathedral - to finally re-enact the coronation ceremony of Charles VII in the Cathedral of Reims.

called the ‘Maid of Orléans’ represented one of the symbols of Reims. Not only was she perceived as the heroine of France for her devotion to the country during the English domination of the hundred years’ war but she also gave her support to Charles VII who was then crowned king of France in 1429 in the Cathedral of Reims.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, Joan of Arc was an important national symbol. French people became conscious of a universal or binding French identity through an expression of hatred against the English invaders.¹⁰⁷ A parade re-enacting this period of history, started from the Abbey of Saint-Rémi to the Cathedral, helped to engage local people in the values of the Republican model. As *l’Union* pointed out during the 2005 festivities: ‘la cité des sacres a retrouvé son histoire (the coronation city has reconnected with its history).’¹⁰⁸

Illustration 6.10: ‘Fêtes johanniques’ in June 1992: a medieval parade in front of the Cathedral.

Source: BCR, PERCHFOL 162, ‘L’option qualité’, *VRI*, December 1992-January 1993.

¹⁰⁶ Joan said she received visions from the Archangel Michael, Saint Margaret and Saint Catherine. She managed to reorganise the state and helped the kingdom to maintain its borders against English domination from the North.

¹⁰⁷ P. Testard-Vaillant, ‘Ces Roi qui ont Dessiné l’Hexagone’ in *Les Cahiers Science et Vie, Les Origines de la France et de la Langue Française*, no.149 (2014), p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ ‘La cité des sacres en fêtes Johanniques’, *l’Union*, 12 June 2005.

Illustration 6.11: A girl acting as Joan of Arc in 1992.

Source: BCR, PERCHFOL 162, 'Reims en fêtes', *VRI*, 1992.

Illustration 6.12: Joan of Arc and Charles VII in 2005.

Source: 'Que les fêtes Johanniques commencent!', *l'Union*, 11 June 2005

Reims also played an important role in modern European history. On 7 May 1945, Nazi Germany surrendered and the truce was signed at Reims by General Jodl, in a local school house, which became *Lycée Roosevelt*, the 'little red school' (Illustration 6.13).¹⁰⁹ The High German Command ordered their forces to give up the combat on 8 May at 11:01 pm. At 3 pm, the sirens and bells of all the churches rang to announce the end of the Second World War. General Eisenhower emphasised the fact that the capitulation papers signed in Reims were important for France because the whole country had suffered much during the war.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Historical references are considered important in Reims. The local newspaper *l'Union* even pointed out that history books do not retain the fact that the German Surrender was signed in Reims on 7 May 1945. On 9 May 1945, the confirmation of the German Surrender was signed in Berlin. On the German side by the Marshal Keitel, General Stumpf and the Admiral Von Friedeburg (already present in Reims), on the URSS side by the Marshal Joukov and on the French side by the general Jean de Lattre de Tassigny.

¹¹⁰ '7 Mai 1945 à 2h41, l'Allemagne nazie capitule dans la Salle de guerre', *l'Union*, 23 April 2015.

Illustration 6.13: Nazi surrender signed in Reims in the little red school on 7 May 1945.

Source: '7 Mai 1945: l'histoire s'écrivait à Reims', *L'Union*, 7 May 2005.

Illustration 6.14: *Historical vehicles parade in 2005 in the streets of Reims to remember the joy of 1945 and celebrate peace in Europe.*

Source: 'Reims fête l'Europe de la paix', *L'Union*, 8 May 2005.

The Surrender Museum was created in Reims in 1985 for the fourteenth anniversary of the German capitulation in 1945. For the sixteenth anniversary in 2005, cultural and historical events immersed people from Reims in the history of the city in a commemorative ceremony. English, Soviet, American and French flags were represented in the streets of Reims in commemoration of the Allied overthrow of the Third Reich. Michel Aliot Marie, Minister of Defense, the American Albert Meserlin, cameraman of Eisenhower who took pictures of the Surrender in 1945 and Susan Hibbert-Heald who typed the Surrender text were present in Reims during this event.¹¹¹

The examples of the Joan of Arc festival and the sixtieth anniversary of the Surrender contrast with Leicester's cultural events where religious groups are allowed special privileges within the public sphere. In the early 2000s, the *Office du Tourisme* pointed out its will to emphasise further the historical aspect of Reims and the coronation of the

¹¹¹ '60ème anniversaire de la reddition: la ville en liesse aujourd'hui', *L'Union*, 7 Mai 2005.

kings of France by improving the physical environment from the Cathedral to the Abbey of Saint-Rémi. They also asserted the brand of Reims as '*Reims Carrefour spiritual européen*' (Reims, spiritual European crossroad).¹¹² It is interesting to note certain contradictions as, knowing France's position on the aspect of *laïcité*, the cultural character of Reims is partly built according to a Christian heritage with the promotion of numerous religious monuments such as the Cathedral, the Abbey of Saint-Rémi and festivities that have religious implications such as the *Fêtes Johanniques*. This appears to be incompatible with the idea of *laïcité*. Contemporary principles of *laïcité* could be understood as a way of overcoming the difficulties of assimilating religious diversity according to the terms of a common heritage of the Republic 'that leaves little room for plural identities.'¹¹³

Conclusion

Leicester's and Reims' local authorities realised the potential of branding for achieving competitive strength by the 1990s. Reims, which benefitted from both the image of Champagne and globally renowned historical monuments, did not struggle to create a post-industrial identity as the city had always been known as a tourist destination. By contrast, Leicester was less famous, and its local authorities needed to work harder to produce a positive image for visitors; erasing the gloom of deindustrialisation while competing at the same time with the cultural attractions of its nearby rival, Nottingham. While the City Council has been widely criticized for its lack of ambition, Leicester is nonetheless the archetypal example of a resilient city with Leicester Promotions managing to draw from an industrial past and well-established business spirit for promoting the city as an appealing business destination. By comparison, despite having flagship tourist destinations, this analysis reveals Reims' relative inability to promote itself as an entrepreneurial city. In the 2000s, the local authorities finally became more assertive and positioned the city as *une métropole européenne* that would host the *TGV-Est* (fast speed train) in 2007. City branding is a long-term process and is a strategic tool in helping cities to secure an ambitious position in this global world as both a tourist and business destination. However, city branding cannot be understood as solely a neoliberal tool which directly results from the intensification of globalisation and urban competition,

¹¹² AMCR, 276W417, Office du Tourisme.

¹¹³ Killian, 'From a Community of Believers to an Islam of the Heart', pp. 305 & 320.

but rather as indicative of the different local political characteristics and motives. Reims and Leicester used their respective political outlooks and strategies to inform and shape a sense of localism within the context of a mono-cultural globalism. This analysis of the two cities' identity construction through intrinsic cultural initiatives demonstrates that local branding is intended to enhance a perceived image of a cultural and social community. City branding is a politicized issue, which reveals that local political intentions drive the cultural initiatives of Reims and Leicester. While Reims' branding strategy reflected the Republican model of common historical references, Leicester's was built around the expression of cultural and religious diversity in the public sphere. This chapter demonstrates that, not only can global and local forces act together, but the use of localism can also attract recognition for a city from around the world. Analysing Reims' and Leicester's branding strategies reveals that, in a time where global hegemony and cultural imperialism are said to dominate, concentrating on a city's unique local aspects can make them stand out from the crowd and distinguish it from its competitors. Therefore, globalisation – rather than making cities homogenous - can actually encourage the increased use of localism by city authorities as a defensive response against global hegemony.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The intensified pace of globalisation since the 1980s has brought to the fore the need to account for the localism of medium-sized cities in terms of economy, identity and culture. In the first chapter, certain research questions were raised relating to the understanding of the ‘urban’ in the age of globalisation through the examples of Reims and Leicester:

1. What effects has globalisation had on medium-sized cities like Reims and Leicester?
2. How have the authorities in Reims and Leicester adapted their cities to the effects of globalisation?
3. What differences are there in British and French cities in their response to globalisation and how does it reflect national political cultures?
4. How do political reactions to the intensification of globalisation make a city’s specific characteristics more visible and reinforce local identities?

These questions were addressed by looking at key statistical data, local plans, planning documents, council reports and newspaper articles of the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. My comparative study has revealed an ideological antagonism between Republicanism and urban entrepreneurialism. The focus on local practices and processes has demonstrated how global forces are experienced differently at the local level. While Leicester was required to embark on a neoliberal project, influenced by the Thatcher government, France was dominated by welfare reforms through the socialist policies of Mitterrand’s government that did not give legitimacy to a neoliberal ideology. This conclusion is divided into two parts: an initial discussion of the measures by which the local authorities of both Reims and Leicester responded to the challenges of globalisation, followed by a focus on the resurgence of urban localism and cultural values.

Responding to the challenges of globalisation

Globalisation, a macro-level phenomenon, has supposedly given new strategic functions to the so-called global cities which are considered the most high-profile cities and ‘the

basing points for global capital'.¹ Consequently, this creates a natural urban hierarchy in contemporary scholarly debate which gives supremacy to big cities as being globally integrated in the world economy and as centres of urbanity. In the context of globalisation, the concept of winners and losers is highly subjective as the development of less prominent cities, such as Reims and Leicester, shows. Local political forces within cities also need to be assessed in order to determine their performance.² That is why analysing global interactions with different local processes is key to showing that urban environments do not only draw strength from connections to the world economy.

Responding to the threat of globalisation was one of the most challenging initiatives of the 1980s, a decade marked by deindustrialisation, increasing unemployment and social deprivation. The aim of local authorities in Reims and Leicester was to manage to find an efficient model of urban development that met the needs of a more complex society subjected to economic austerity and social deprivation. Whilst not being conscious of the nature or notion of 'globalisation', the local authorities of both cities were aware of a new international economic pressure. The *American International Economic Survey* published on 22 April 1982, which aimed to forecast economic growth for the major industrial nations, stated that 'Britain, Japan and France are leading the world out of the recession' and further noted that '[a] world recovery may be shaping up. Japan, the UK and France are in the vanguard.'³ Indeed it was difficult for experts and economists to predict the recession at the time or even to anticipate a complete industrial decline.⁴ Reims and Leicester were therefore in a state of uncertainty and the recession revealed the principal weaknesses of their economy, more particularly that of Leicester, which traditionally relied on a strong manufacturing base.

By the early 1980s, some restrictive measures and urban regeneration policies were implemented to adapt to the intensification of this global economic recession – the restructuring of Reims' and Leicester's local economy into a more service based economy appeared to be important as a means of adjusting to the constraints of a post-industrial society. Furthermore, the new labour markets of both France and Britain were intended

¹ J. Friedmann, 'The World City Hypothesis', *Development and Change*, 17, no.1 (1986), p. 69.

² I. Hassen, 'British and French Urban Policies: Two Different Approaches 1980-2008' in A. Chen and S. Alifragkis (eds), *Architectural and Urban History and Historiography* (Athens, 2015), pp. 113 & 119 & 121.

³ 'Britain is one of leaders out of recession', *Leicester Mercury*, 22 April 1982.

⁴ 'We don't know it all –economist', *Leicester Mercury*, 28 January 1981.

to solve growing unemployment with the emergence of work flexibility measures (i.e. less job security). The national aim of reducing unemployment had paved the way to new concerns, such as social exclusion and urban deprivation in the poorest neighbourhoods of cities. As a result, inner cities initiatives were implemented in Reims and Leicester to improve the life of deprived neighbourhoods, such as the Inner Area Programme in 1978, the City Challenge Programme in 1993 and the *Développement Social des Quartiers* in 1989. Whilst they experienced similar challenges, the responses of the two local authorities revealed two different urban strengths. Indeed, the cities relied on two distinct national ideological movements that were used as strategic tools to survive within this global frame.

This thesis demonstrates the ideological conflict between urban entrepreneurialism, as exemplified via Leicester, and Republicanism and collectivism (via Reims). Indeed, Britain promoted a neoliberal ideology, which was influenced by the Conservative government and used capitalism to promote labour market reforms and to attain profitability whilst weakening employment protection regulation. Indeed, the analysis of statistical data has demonstrated the development of a more flexible labour market structure in Leicester with the increased use of part-time work (reaching 31.2 per cent in 2008) as a means of reducing unemployment. Such flexibility shows different impacts on cities as a lower unemployment rate of 9.8 per cent was registered in 2007 in Leicester by contrast to Reims' rate of 11.5 per cent (Chapter Two, tables 2.8 and 2.9).

Adding to the intensive deregulation of the labour market, the main objective of central government in Britain was to create jobs through the creation of small firms and the promotion of training. Leicester's case confirmed the development of an enterprise culture at the forefront of the urban agenda in the 1970s, which reflected the national policy of liberalisation and the city's industrial background. The example of Leicester fits into the model of a neoliberal trend and was more responsive to the ideology of the market. Leicester City Council had, since the early 1980s, established a well-developed business plan to halt decline by offering services to encourage and help people to start their own businesses. The creation of the Business Advice Centre in 1982 is one example that aimed to stimulate business creation by providing support and advice to new entrepreneurs. Contrastingly, the entrepreneurial spirit only started to become evident in

the 1990s in Reims, thus reflecting a deep-rooted national suspicion towards entrepreneurship that considered it incompatible with egalitarian French culture.

Since its collapse as a great manufacturing centre, the determination of the local authorities to both redress Leicester's economic decline and to maintain a business spirit was evident. This paved the way for a well-established entrepreneurial spirit and explains the fact that the average number of enterprises started from 1995 to 2000 was higher in Leicester (11 per cent) than in Reims (9.1 per cent). This entrepreneurial spirit encouraged 'self-help' as opposed to promoting the supportive role of the state.⁵ Indeed, business creations and community participation were constantly encouraged in the Inner Area Programme in 1977 and further reinforced in the era of 'new localism' under the City Challenge initiative in 1993. Both programmes emphasised the logic of economic competitiveness by encouraging the importance of business creation and training as key for urban regeneration. Although Leicester City Council did not always agree with the central government's desire to favour economic projects rather than social schemes, business creation remained vital to the urban regeneration of the city. Local incentive stressed the urgent need to set the city on the road to recovery, which revealed an active response to the challenge of globalisation and consequently created a favourable environment for an entrepreneurial mode of urban renewal.

Furthermore, Asian groups and, more particularly, East-Asian refugees who possessed commercial backgrounds, contributed to Leicester's economy by bringing their trade and business expertise to the city. Local economic actors cleverly managed to take advantage of this particular opportunity, thus leading to a rather distinct business culture in Leicester. The Leicestershire Chamber of Industry and Commerce collaborated with Asian businessmen to expand commercial contacts with the Asian sub-continent and East and West Africa. Asian business knowledge was therefore considered to be valuable by the Leicestershire Chamber of Commerce and Industry and received local support and advice to expand further new ethnic businesses to maintain the prosperity of existing businesses.

While local authorities recognised the importance of small and medium-sized businesses in the economic regeneration of Leicester, the Asian community helped Leicester in maintaining the knitwear and clothing industry as well as reviving the business culture of

⁵ ROLLR, L711, Leicester City Council, *Inner Area Programme 1981-84: Summary of Framework for Action* (Leicester, 1980), p. 3.

Leicester during the post-industrial economic transition. As a result, great cooperative work was established between the Asian community and the mainstream companies, mutually complementing the expertise of both sides and further forging the business confidence of Leicester. This alliance with ethnic minorities was in accordance with the market-led policy of Leicester, which, while reinforcing its local economy, paved the way for a strong entrepreneurial mode of urban integration.

Although the example of Reims demonstrated a convergence towards neo-liberal measures in France by the 2000s, neo-liberalism as an ideology was not the primary driving force in response to the challenge of globalisation. According to Daniel Beland and Hansen Randall, the French government does not possess a ‘new right’ as compared to the US or the UK: ‘[t]here is naturally a “political right” but neoliberal ideology enjoys only a precarious legitimacy in France.’⁶ Indeed this research has demonstrated that state intervention combined with a renewal of French Republican thought by the 1980s remained the main defensive response to global economic pressure. This Republican renewal, which is based on the concept of *solidarité*, considered the pivot of national social provision, was widely promoted in political discourse from both the right and left wing and helped to create unity in a context of economic uncertainty. Within this context, social intervention and the promotion of *solidarité* were deemed adequate as means of adapting to the threat of the economic crisis as well as of reducing unemployment and easing social integration. This ‘social’ emphasis was a recurring theme in *la Politique de la Ville*, which was the driving force against social exclusion (*lutte contre l’exclusion*). The term ‘social exclusion’ was at the centre of the urban agenda in Reims and revealed the duty of the state to protect its citizens. These notions were widely used to justify the socialist political choice of state intervention and other socialist measures implemented under Mitterrand’s presidency, such as nationalisation and the *Revenu Minimum d’Insertion* (RMI) created in 1988.

Although some neoliberal policies started to be adopted in the late 1980s when Mitterrand was obliged to nominate Chirac as Prime Minister, leader of the Conservative party (RPR) in 1986, a strong state tradition of providing social provision to citizens remained. Reims is a city that has a well-anchored social tradition. It has the largest social housing building

⁶ D. Beland and H. Randall, ‘Reforming the French State: Solidarity, Social Exclusion and the Three Crises of Citizenship’, *West European Politics*, 23, no.1 (2000), p. 47.

programme in high-rise multi-dwellings amongst cities of more than 150,000 inhabitants in France. This is due to the long-established social housing organisations created by the local industrialist George Charbonneau who, inspired by the doctrine of social Catholicism, forged the social tradition of Reims. This heritage is reflected by Reims' council housing stock which in 2006 accounted for 42 per cent of social rent. This contrasts with Leicester's social housing stock, which accounted for only 21 per cent of social rent in 2001. Reims' council housing heritage reflects the national concepts of *solidarité* and social cohesion, which provided a favourable environment for *la Politique de la Ville* to become the vector of Republican thought.

From the 1980s, local authorities concentrated on solving the social problems in *les quartiers*. Rather than encouraging people to 'make change themselves' in the same sense as Leicester or encouraging economic projects as means to reduce unemployment and poverty, the *Développement Social du Quartier Croix-Rouge*, implemented in 1989, focused its urban initiatives on *le développement social urbain* with a particular emphasis on the word 'social'.⁷ Indeed, the key words of this urban policy were '*développement*' and '*solidarité*' in order to favour the inclusion of excluded populations weakened by the economic crisis. Analysis of these urban initiatives of Reims reveals that citizens possessed a 'social quality' in France, which meant that the population could face certain social risks such as unemployment, exclusion and poverty. This gave a particular status to French citizens who were directly connected to the state and *la Politique de la Ville* reinforces the central role of the state as the protector and guarantor of a decent standard of life. As a result, investing in council housing and collective public infrastructure rather than in training and business projects was a means for urban integration where '*l'habitat*' (housing) was at the forefront of the political concern to provide *une identité globale* (a common identity) to all citizens under the principle of social equality.

While Leicester's model demonstrated the will to seek social inclusion through the promotion of small businesses, Reims's favoured social care in dealing with economic uncertainty. At the time, this was a vehicle for the argument of a common Republican identity. Planning documents in Reims mainly focused on the Republican insistence on creating a common identity rather than on economic competitiveness. However, this emphasis turned *les quartiers* into a citizenship problem as, under the principle of social

⁷ AMCR, 276W350, DSQ Croix-Rouge, 1989.

equality, the assimilation of common Republican values was the guiding light of the political agenda.

Whilst promoting the exercise of individual will, choice and freedom, Leicester's case demonstrates some weaknesses in its social housing stock, revealing some apparent poverty. However, unity and local support towards communities created a stronger local economy and an entrepreneurial mentality specific to Leicester, so making the city's position acutely responsive to globalisation. By contrast, in Reims a defensive response to global challenges encouraged equality through a common Republican identity and the entitlement of individuals to social support from the state, which, whilst tackling unemployment, mainly aimed to solve social problems.

The resurgence of the local

This thesis has given evidence for similar changes in the urban environments of both Reims and Leicester due to the increased use of cars and more efficient transport facilities, which encouraged residential mobility and the development of out-of-town retail and business parks in the outlying areas of the city. Indeed, Reims and Leicester both experienced higher demographic growth in their suburban areas which reshaped their geographical space. This change coincided with evolving regionalism and reflected their historical characteristics and post-industrial identities.

Leicester, located in the middle of England, has a strategic position in Britain and having benefitted from the construction of the M1 in 1966 possesses good accessibility to the national motorway network. The city was with Derby and Nottingham included in the three cities sub-area of the East Midlands: Leicester enjoyed being part of a strong regional cluster as opposed to the powerful attractions of London and Birmingham. This great demographic attraction within the East Midlands explains the success of East Midlands Airport (EMA), which experienced a passenger increase of 94 per cent between 1991 and 2000 (Chapter Four, table 4.5).

Reims, the biggest and most influential city in the Champagne-Ardenne region, also enjoyed a unique status. The strategic regional role benefitted the city - local newspapers characterised Reims as '*métropole régionale*' thanks to its importance as a financial centre in the north east of France including the headquarters of regional banks and

insurance companies. However, the city alone and the weakness of its surrounding demography could not maintain the attraction of its regional airport, which failed both to succeed and compete with the proximity of Parisian airports. Indeed, medium-sized cities need to rely on the proximity of other similar cities in order to create a powerful defence against the attraction of bigger cities.

Although no explicit global aspirations were mentioned in their planning documents, the local authorities of Reims and Leicester stated specific ambitions that aimed to distinguish them from their urban competitors. In the early 1970s, while trying to overcome its secondary status as a relatively minor city located next to Paris, the mayor of Reims Jean Taittinger ‘s’est battu comme un lion (fought like a lion)’ to obtain the *Autoroute 4* (A4) as a means of boosting the economic dynamism of the city as well as its European status.⁸ Reims’ local authorities frequently mentioned their desire for the city to become a ‘*carrrefour européen*’. Historically Reims enjoyed some unique characteristics: it used to be the capital of *la Gaule* and occupied a central position in Europe. These assets legitimately enabled the local authorities to position the city’s influence at the European level, which became stronger with the arrival of the *TGV-Est européen* in 2007.

Furthermore, benefitting from globally recognised historical monuments such as the Cathedral, Reims’ local authorities have always been confident in promoting the city as a tourist destination. Although the city centre’s fragmented space diminished the retail dynamism of the centre, the local authorities relied on its strong historical heritage and most particularly on its Cathedral, symbol of *la France chrétienne*, as a means of differentiation and attraction. Reims’ world-renowned historical links, epitomised by its connection with the Champagne brands, helped the local authorities to rebuild its post-industrial identity. The city played a central role in the history of France and could therefore position itself as being naturally a cultural destination for tourists. The Cathedral was considered the focal point of the city centre and the decision to refurbish the *Parvis de la Cathédrale* in 2002, which aimed to reposition this monument at the very heart of the centre, gave credence to the national Republican ideology of stressing common historical references to citizens.

⁸ L’Union, ‘L’autoroute devient la voie Jean Taittinger’ (25 January 2014), <http://www.lunion.fr/> [Accessed 12 July 2016].

Leicester, on the other hand, appeared to be subsumed in the regional cluster formed by Nottingham and Derby. There was a strong local incentive to stand out from those cities, especially from Nottingham's cultural attractions. Leicester's attributes were compared to Nottingham's historical assets and most particularly its commercial attraction, the Victoria shopping centre. The business and retail dynamism of Leicester, considered its 'lifeblood', turned out to be the major way of differentiating itself from its main competitor. Leicester is a market city that benefits from a compact city centre with a vibrant historical covered market in the very heart of town. As a result, the local authorities have always implemented strategies to revive this asset in order to compete with Nottingham and the out of town shopping developments, such as Fosse Park. Since the development of the City Centre Action Programme in 1986, which aimed to attract shoppers, tourists and businesses through pedestrianisation schemes and shopping area improvements, this retail heritage was the priority of the local authorities, leading to an annual investment of which annually £500,000 in the redevelopment of the central area. Added to this, having gained confidence thanks to global recognition for its philosophy of sustainability, Leicester's environmental character benefitted the city not necessarily in terms of attraction but mainly in terms of shaping the physical environment of Leicester with the aim of reducing pollution and congestion – more particularly in the city centre. As the Royal Planning Institute pointed out Leicester 'boasts a vibrant and attractive shopping core' which enabled it to compete effectively with the Fosse Park shopping attraction.⁹

The city retailers and the City Council showed determination in maintaining the market city appeal of Leicester, which ultimately revealed its well-established 'entrepreneurial' and 'commercial' spirit. The expansion of the Shires with the opening of Highcross in 2008 marked the achievement of a long-held local commitment in positioning the city as one of the top shopping destinations in the country. This pro-active action compensated for the lack of globally recognised historical identity that de-valued Leicester as a tourist destination.

The local authority's decision making with regard to regeneration stressed the resurgence of the city's local characteristics.¹⁰ As a result of the increased use of branding strategies

⁹ The Royal Town Planning Institute, *Caring for Cities-Town Planning's Role* (Belfast, 1990), p. 32.

¹⁰ I. Hassen, 'British and French Urban Policies: Two Different Approaches 1980-2008' in A. Chen and S. Alifragkis (eds), *Architectural and Urban History and Historiography* (Athens, 2015), pp. 119 & 120.

in the 1990s, it became common practice to convey a prestigious image of the city and to project an ideal lifestyle within it. The powerful force of the local was a means of driving urban integration and global recognition.

Leicester was a successful shopping destination and a business magnet for investors, and multiple efforts have been implemented since the 1990s to promote Leicester as a tourist destination. Yet, the city still had the image of an unknown destination. As the visitor development strategy pointed out in 2002, '[p]erceptions of Leicester are fragmented and, for some time the city has lacked cohesion in its identity [from] the lack of a unifying brand, marketing proposition or call to action'.¹¹ In the 2000s, there emerged a more assertive branding strategy that set out to put its unique cultural character in the foreground. The creation of the slogan 'one Leicester one passion' in 2008 helped to promote Leicester to the outside world as well as its positive approach towards multiculturalism. This slogan reflected Leicester's commitment towards multicultural cooperation and its desire to 'remain a model of European practice' for community integration.¹² The city's aim was 'to promote trust and understanding between the faith communities and good relations among all communities in Leicester.'¹³ As Leicester's Community Plan also pointed out 'we must continue to strengthen our multi-cultural and multi-faith city by supporting and promoting healthy community relations, in which different voices can be heard, trust is built, understanding is developed and potential sources of conflict are resolved creatively. We want to build a city where everyone has a place at the table, a city that is viewed and experienced as "home" for everyone.'¹⁴ Leicester recognised the potential of multiculturalism as a strength for the public expression of diversity through numerous ethnic festivals: '[a] premier city in Europe with a thriving and diverse society in which everyone can have a decent, happy and fulfilling life'.¹⁵

By contrast, Reims, in order to promote a well-assimilated image, used references to its Christian history for its branding strategies. The slogan, '*Reims carrefour spiritual européen*' reflected its religious character in the public sphere through the Joan of Arc

¹¹ ROLLR, L/SO/71, Leicester City Council, *A Visitor Development Strategy for Leicester 2002-2007* (Leicester, 2002), p. 11.

¹² ROLLR, L/SO/74 Leicester City Council, *Race Equality Scheme 2002/03* (Leicester, 2002), p. 3.

¹³ ROLLR, L/SO/68, Leicester City Council, *Leicester's Community Plan* (Leicester, 2000) p. 34.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ ROLLR, L/SO/72, Leicester City Council, *Heritage Services: Best Value Review: Interim Report* (Leicester, 2002), p. 12.

festival and numerous religious monuments were deemed central to its urban environment. This aspect appears inconsistent with the historical principle of French secularism (*laïcité*) originally aimed against the Catholic influence. By the 1980s, the revival of Republican values had paved the way for a controversial French secularism that limited the expression of diversity. Reims' branding strategy was in line with the national philosophy of cultural assimilation. Indeed, while the active role of the state expressed duty towards social cohesion and equality, this particular 'protective status' legitimized the expression of a more assertive Republican nationalism.

The nature of globalisation involves interconnectivity, a stretching process, conditions of sameness and wholeness, and the integration of economies and societies. However, its acceleration, combined with the processes of deindustrialisation, unemployment and flexibility, resulted in a local reaction: the need to restore the ethos of localism and the attendant value of belonging and local identity in order to compete economically.

The 1980s was a turning point in urban history as the growth of a more service-based economy and new regeneration policies were linked with a renaissance of Western cities. The intensification of globalisation had surprisingly led towards a paradoxical phenomenon of 'localisation' in cities by restoring local values and their ideological advantages. This research has demonstrated that the interaction of the global and the local was advantageous for cities in a climate of global homogeneity. Indeed, municipal powers had a more active role in improving the negative image of cities, sites of unemployment, poverty and urban decline, and in creating the distinctive city-image. The impact of globalisation has to be viewed in a more nuanced fashion, acknowledging the effect of local political pressures.

This research has demonstrated that urban change was ideologically driven by conscious political choice from the local actors. As Waters underlines '[t]he concept of globalisation is an obvious target for ideological suspicion because, like modernization, a predecessor and related concept, it appears to justify the spread of Western culture and of capitalist society by suggesting that there are forces operating beyond human control that are transforming the world.'¹⁶ The power of globalisation as a homogenising force is contentious as both cities drew their strength from their respective national ideologies and

¹⁶ M. Waters, *Globalization* (Hoboken, 2nd ed., 2002), p. 6.

wisely joined these conceptions to their well anchored local peculiar traditions in order to respond to new urban challenges. This ideological power became increasingly important in the 2000s as distinct ideological expressions could be found in both cities' branding strategies. This aspect marks the emergence of a new twenty-first Century urban context, shaped by politically-driven branding strategies.

Local ideologies will inevitably be used as a way to stand out from competitors and as a tool for re-profiling the city. I argue that a new urban order has emerged with medium-sized cities responding to the culture of local resurgence. With modest-sized localities exploiting specific local values, the urban hierarchy of globalisation has to be reassessed.

Reims and Leicester have more recently gained increase global appeal thanks to their specific local peculiarities. The artisan activity of Champagne in Reims and its region has recently been praised by UNESCO. Adding to its historical monuments (the Cathedral, the Palais du Tau and the Abbey of Saint-Rémi) which received World Heritage Status in 1994, the vineyards of the region and the Champagne houses of Reims obtained World Heritage status in July 2015, leading to an increase in tourism from different part of the world such as Brazil, Japan and India.¹⁷

The discovery of the remain of Richard III, the last Plantagenet king, by University of Leicester archaeologists in 2013 has enabled Leicester to base its identity on globally recognised historical reference points, lacking since deindustrialisation profoundly altered the city's image. The recent success of Leicester City Football Club in winning the Premier League in May 2016 has further raised Leicester's profile on the world stage¹⁸ and has revealed at the international level Leicester's unique characteristics as being a multicultural and united city: '[t]he city's champion image is a creative vehicle for promoting Leicester's philosophy of multicultural tolerance to the rest of the world.'¹⁹

While responding differently to the challenges that globalisation poses, both cities are currently capitalising on an important global appeal that should allow the local authorities

¹⁷ France 3 Champagne-Ardenne, 'L'inscription à l'UNESCO a-t-elle un effet sur le tourisme à Reims ?', (13 April 2016), <http://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

¹⁸ I. Hassen quoted in P. A. Warzynski, 'How Leicester is becoming a global brand thanks to City and Richard III', *Leicester Mercury* (18 May 2016), <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

¹⁹ I. Hassen, 'The Foxes kicked off Leicester's global attraction', *Think Leicester* (17 May 2016), <http://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/press/think-leicester> [Accessed 20 July 2016].

to further develop branding strategies promoting the cities' local characteristics to the rest of the world in the long term. However, this research could pave the way for further study as it would be relevant to evaluate whether the patterns of Republicanism and liberalism, analysed in this thesis, persist in medium-sized cities in the future or represent a particular historical phase. Finally, exploring whether these different ideologies weaken or reinforce cities could also lead to a topical analysis.

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