

Small Towns in France: Dedicated National Policies and Local Application

Hélène Mainet, Hélène Roth UMR Territoires, University Clermont Auvergne

European Lecture Series "Small Towns in Focus"24th Novembre 2025

Introduction

- Small Towns in France: issues of definition and of attention
- National Policies Dedicated to Small Towns
- Example of Local Application (Saint-Eloy-les-Mines)
- Discussion/general issues for ST



Small Towns in France: issues of definition and of attention



ST, an unidentified object in French official statistics:

- no official definition (commune/urban unit/urban area)
- and the statistical criteria have changed (from Urban Unit to Density grid)

Figure 1 – Répartition de la population française en 2017 selon la taille de l'unité urbaine **Urban Units**

	Population	Part (en %)	Nombre d'unités urbaines	Nombre de communes
Agglomération de Paris	10 785 092	16,1	1	411
200 000 à 1 999 999 habitants	16 824 170	25,2	35	1 325
100 000 à 199 999 habitants	3 819 001	5,7	26	333
50 000 à 99 999 habitants	5 052 310	7,6	72	641
20 000 à 49 999 habitants	4 358 378	6,5	144	813
10 000 à 19 999 habitants	3 368 678	5,0	242	798
5 000 à 9 999 habitants	4 225 139	6,3	612	1 268
2 000 à 4 999 habitants	4 428 918	6,6	1 335	1 991
Hors unité urbaine	13 919 171	20,8	///	27 388
Ensemble	66 780 857	100,0	2 467	34 968

///: absence de résultat due à la nature des choses

Lecture: 7 % de la population française vit dans les 1 991 communes qui composent les 1 335 unités urbaines de 2 000 à 4 999 habitants.

Champ: France.

Source : Insee, recensement de la population 2017, composition communale des unités urbaines 2020.

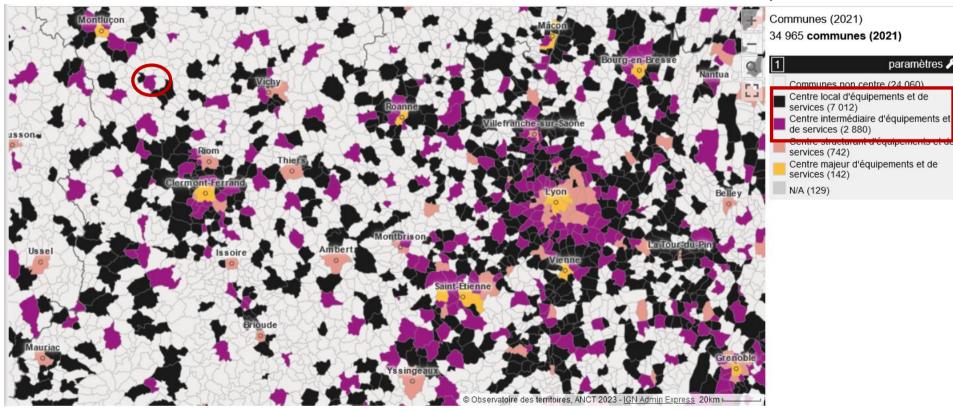
Density grid

	Type de commune	Population	
Villes	Grands centres urbains	25 258 625	39%
	Centres urbains intermédiaires	8 222 136	13%
	Petites villes	3 913 141	6%
	Ceintures urbaines	6 344 970	10%
	Urbain	43 738 872	67%
Rural sous influence des villes	Bourgs ruraux	6 752 850	10%
	Rural à habitat dispersé	5 625 605	9%
	Rural à habitat très dispersé	399 899	1%
	Rural sous influence urbaine	12 778 354	20%
	Bourgs ruraux	3 410 095	5%
Rural autonome	Rural à habitat dispersé	4 324 700	7%
	Rural à habitat très dispersé	1 250 518	2%
	Rural autonome	8 985 313	14%
	Ensemble	65 502 539	100%

Source : Olivier Boulga-Olga, d'après l'Insee, données 2021

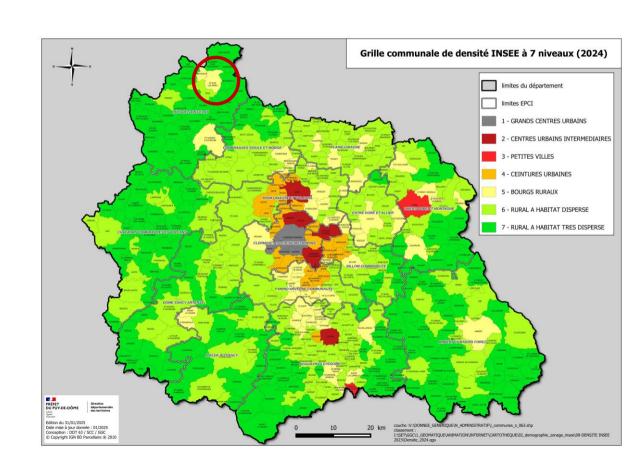
Need to identify ST by their level of facilities

Official classification of Centrality levels/communes



Example of Saint-Eloy-les-Mines

- Municipality/commune: 3,400 inhab. 2022
- Urban Unit of 3 municipalities: 5,300 inhab. 2022
- an intermediate equipment and services centre
- a market town ("bourg rural")



= Different definitions of Small Towns

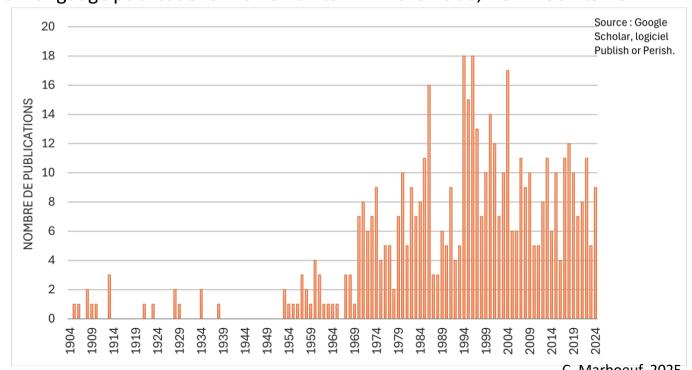
Definitions of Small Towns in France According to Different Sources

	For Associations of Elected Officials	For Researchers	For the State
Small Towns	Municipalities with	Urban units with	Municipalities and
	2,500 to 25,000	5,000 to 20,000	their inter-
	inhabitants	inhabitants (Laborie,	municipalities with
	(Association des	1978; Mainet, 2008)	fewer than 20,000
	Petites Villes de		inhabitants and
	France)		exercising centrality
			functions (ANCT,
			2020)



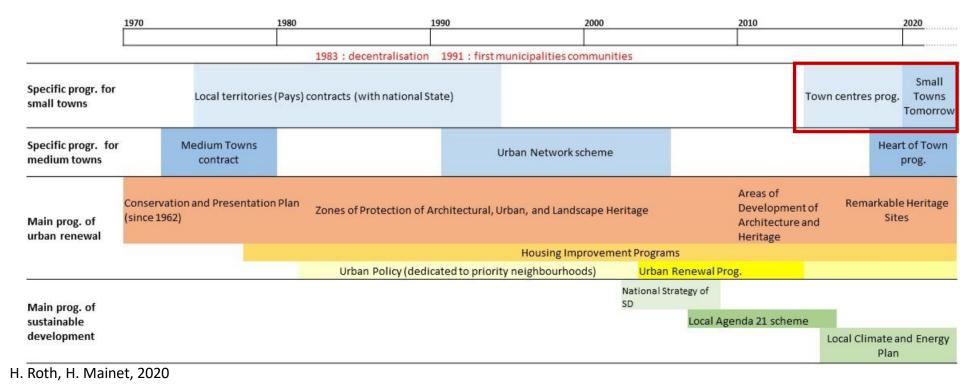
Recent attention from researchers and public actors: « small towns moment » in France

French-language publications with 'small town' in their title, from 1904 to 2024



C. Marboeuf, 2025

Timeline of main national development and urban renewal policies in France



Recent evolution of public debate and public policies dedicated to Small Towns



National policies dedicated to ST: beyond diversity?

The Centres-Bourgs (« Town Centres ») programme 2014-2020

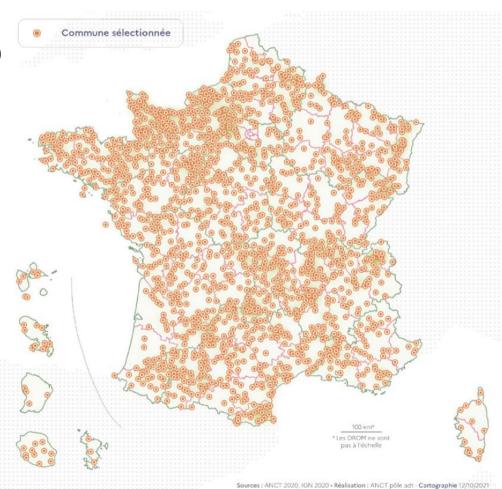
Bohain-en-Arleux . Vermandois 54 « winners »/selected municipalities Pont-Audemer Sierck-les-Bains Centres-bourgs Commercy Lizy-sur-Types d'espaces Orbec Schirmeck Ourca Guingamp Louvigné-du-Désert Joinville Giromagny Montbard Classement des communes lauréates Pouancé Doué-laà l'appel à manifestation d'intérêt Fontaine Avallon 4 centres-bourgs les-Bains Buzançais selon le zonage en aire urbaine Châteaumeillant St-Maixent Tournus les-Mines Thizy-les-Montmorillon Bourgs des couronnes périurbaines Bandraboua Bourgs Barbezieux-(grand pôle urbain, couronne des St-Hilaire St-Bonnetgrands pôles ou espace multipolarisé) le-Château Grand-Bourg St-Yrieix- St-Marcellin la-Perche Bourgs des bassins de vie ruraux (petit et moven pôle urbain, Decazeville La Réole St-Pierre espace isolé hors influence des pôles) Guillestre Marveiols Pont-St-Esprit Lauzerte Villeneuve-Lodève de-Marsan Castellane Bram ... Nay @ Maripasoula Lavelanet Vico

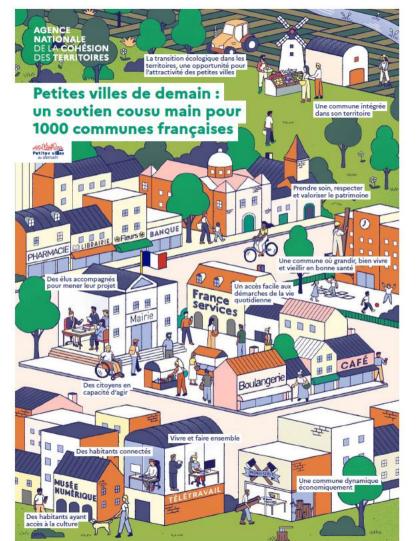
Réalisation: CGET service cartographie 2019

The « Small Towns of Tomorrow » (STT) programme 2020-2026

1,646 winners (« small towns » less than 20,000 inhabitants/communes or inter-municipal communities) : no lower threshold

- Funding of project engineering
- Help to get fundings for specific actions
- Creation of a « ST Club »/network



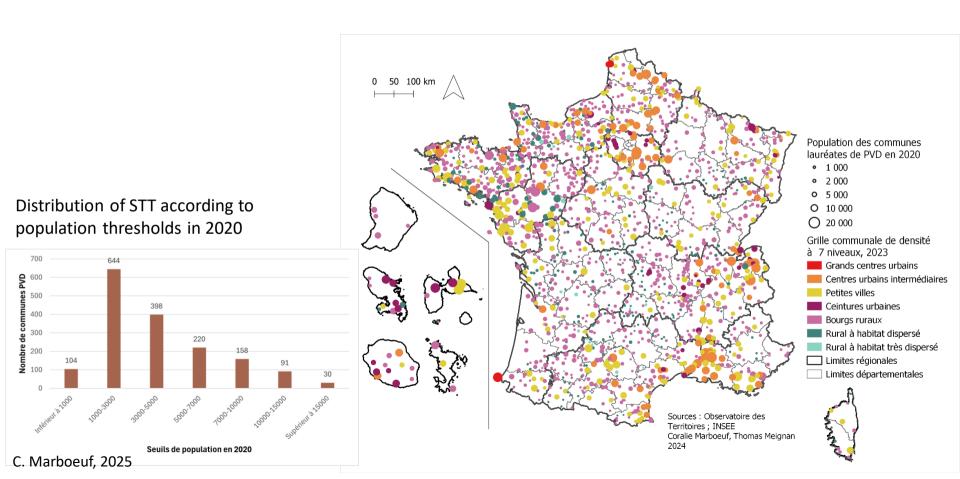




Main objective: a « tailor-made » programme to « improve the **living conditions** of residents **in small towns and surrounding** areas by supporting local authorities in pursuing dynamic and environmentally friendly development paths »

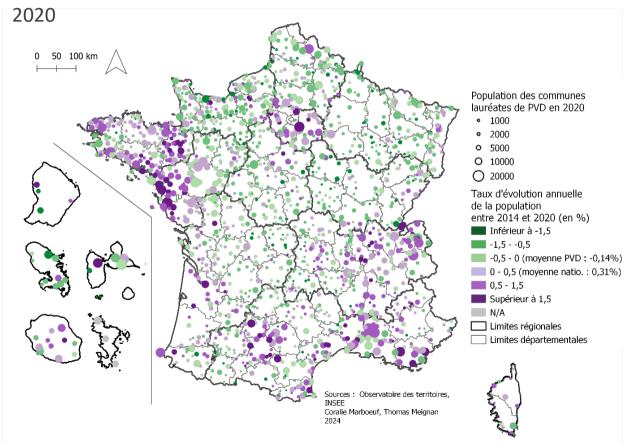
- = Strong focus on **local centrality**
- = Stereotypical images of a ST beyond strong diversity of situations

STT winners: a diversity of size and location (from very integrated to very peripheral)

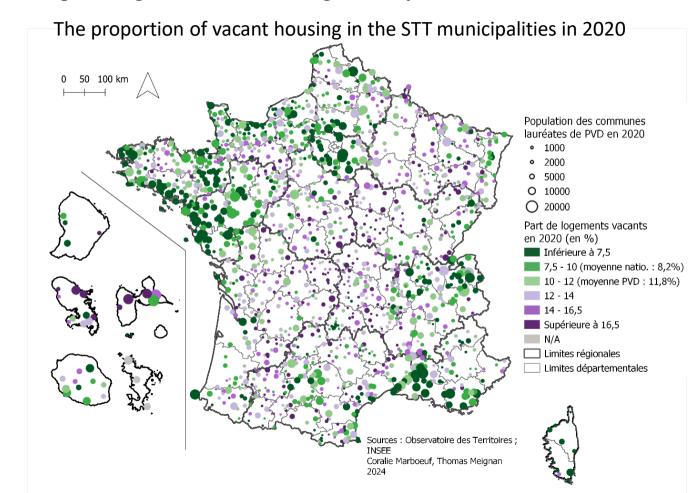


STT winners: a diversity of demographical trends (from very dynamic to very declining)

Annual population growth in STT municipalities between 2014 and



STT winners: a diversity of local planning issues (ex. housing vacancy)



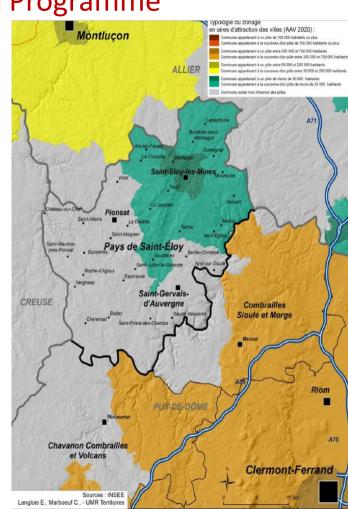
Example of Local Application of the National Programme

The case of Saint-Eloy-les-Mines (France): from the « Town Centres » programme to the « Small Towns of Tomorrow » programme

A declining former mining small town



Evolution of the population (from 7,000 inhab. in the 1960s to 3,500 today)



Actions planned in Saint-Eloy as part of the STT programme (in 2021)					
Fields	Estimated cost excluding VAT(€)	Prospective partners			
using	€18,000,000	Social landlords, Housing National Agency, Public Land Agency, etc.			

Crafts, Region, Department

State, Bank of Territories, Region, Department

Bois Massif Central, Mon Territoire Numérique, etc.

associations

Public Land Agency

Territoires, etc.

Total estimated cost: €32,000,000 (as a comparison, municipal annual operating budget is 5.5 million and the investment budget is 3 million).

Bank of Territories, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Chamber of Trades and

State, Department, Inter-municipal authority, Family allowance fund, local

State, Banque des Territoires, Region, Department, Massif Committee, Vivier

National Agency for Territorial Cohesion, National Housing Agency, Banque des

Dossier de candidature PVD

€300,000

€3,000,000

€3.000.000

€6,400,000

€650.000

€700,000

Hou

Services

buildings

Land resources

engineering

Public Spaces

Commercial activities

City-owned buildings, including

energy-efficient renovation of

Internal management and

Actions planned in Saint Floy as part of the STT programme (in 2021)

Périmètre d'OPAH-RU Linéaires d'aide au ravalement de façade

Focus on housing

- delimited « regeneration area » for private housing and social housing

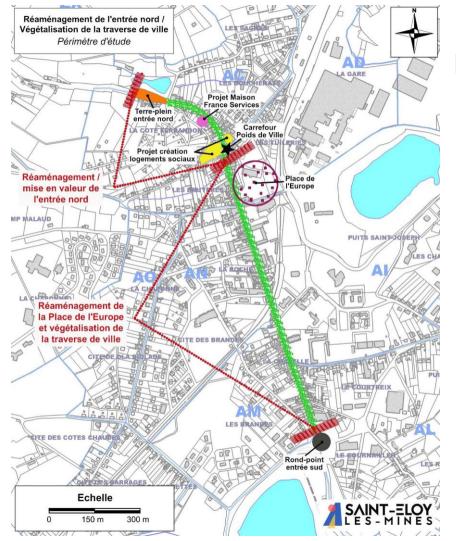
- main streets





Social housing regeneration programme (Les Chapelles area)





Focus on town centre/main street





Documents from AMI Centres-Bourgs and PVD documents

Discussion/general issues for small towns

• Issue to adapt national « vision » to local needs

Standardization effect? Convergent conception of the small town and of narratives and policies of revitalization (few elements concerning productive economy)

Issue of time/perennity of the programmes

Issue of policies not only dedicated to devitalized small towns

- Differenciation effect through local appropriation of the program but also competition between ST, due public policies structured around calls for projects
- Importance of investors/variety of actors
- Importance of local engineering and the use of consulting offices for territorial diagnostics
- Lack of private investors



Thank you for your attention

Hélène Mainet, Hélène Roth

UMR Territoires, University Clermont Auvergne

helene.mainet@uca.fr
helene.roth@uca.fr

European Lecture Series "Small Towns in Focus"24th Novembre 2025