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Conference Paper

Public employment and urban dynamics: some elements for analysis.

38th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Europe Quo Vadis? - Regional Questions at the Turn of the Century", 28 August - 1 September 1998, Vienna, Austria

Provided in Cooperation with:

European Regional Science Association (ERSA)

Suggested Citation: Boureille, Bernard; Commercon, Nicole (1998) : Public employment and urban dynamics: some elements for analysis., 38th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Europe Quo Vadis? - Regional Questions at the Turn of the Century", 28 August - 1 September 1998, Vienna, Austria, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Louvain-la-Neuve

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**Public employment and urban dynamics :
some elements for analysis¹**

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**38TH CONGRESS OF THE
EUROPEAN REGIONAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**

28 AUGUST - 1 SEPTEMBER 1998 IN VIENNA

Introduction

Today to raise questions about public employment leads us to identify the changes in this field produced by the economic kinds of logic and the very dynamics of the territories concerned, on a given territory and on various spatial and time scales. Public employment whose structural change has become considerably complex through the "Glorious Thirty Years" appears like a relatively privileged segment in the midst of the employment systems, in the context of the structural economic crisis of these last decades.

However will these recorded privileges be able to resist the whole body of great economic changes underway, particularly the globalising trend of contemporary economic systems and the economic policies thus engendered ? In these circumstances, is the relation town-employment not likely to change at least according to the following modes ? From a quantitative point of view, in some towns, with the more or less brutal disappearance of the Fordian system, local public employment remains the only domain of activity still of some range. It is well known that it has an importance which varies according to the size and the position of the towns in the regional hierarchy, but also according to the economic dynamics characterizing each urban entity. From a qualitative point of view, because it is more tuned in to public policies in search of a greater flexibility of human resources, public employment is defined as a field of experimentation for new norms (massive use of C.E.S²., multiplication of C.D.D³., jobs for young people...) partly considered as elements of the insertion or re-insertion scheme concerning people who look for jobs ; moreover, still on this qualitative level, in certain domains of public employment, the search for economic efficiency brings about the setting up of modes of coordination of agents which favour reticulated forms combining organisations of public type as well as private, on a partner basis.

Is it not possible then to consider that through the interplay of such re-organizations, territory recompositions are born from new networks engendered by the new forms of organisation of public employment ? Similarly, are these re-organisations not at the origin of gaps between the areas of work local markets ? In some cases, does the space of public jobs recruitment widen in a greater proportion than the space of private employment ?

Beyond a presentation of the public service and the stakes in terms of territory that it develops, what will be put in relief will be both a typology of the urban areas concerned and some clarification about the local dynamics preserved through the keeping - or not - of public jobs.

I. The public service and its territorial stakes

1.1 What Public Service today ?

Giving Public Service a general status in 1946, the French State confirmed a long tradition of public service about which, however, vagueness has lasted for a long time as concerns the definition of public service as well as, consequently, that of public employment. And until the last great measures of 1992, through the general statutes of 1959, then that of 1982, and the laws of Titles I, II, III, IV spreading from 1983 to

1986⁴, what is observed in the course of history is an attempt at clarifying a situation always moving and getting more complex, in so far as public service itself has been the expression of changes in society and society-ruling governments.

So the change is from a strongly ruling State born of the XIXth century and finding its roots in the centralization inherited of the Old Regime to a providential State developed in the course of this century and a present situation of mutation about the central question of sharing, whether it may concern power with decentralisation, or work and resources with the increasing rate of unemployment ; new partners of the state have appeared with the development of territorial collectivities and integration into the European Union , those adding to the crisis of confidence towards the state ; the Union was put into question when confronted to the economic difficulties that appeared in the 70's, which put limits to the State resources, while more and more social needs were appearing, social cohesion was raising more and more problems, market economy was imposing its rules , and the institutions of the Community were defending a restrictive conception of public service in a neo-liberal perspective.

Indeed, the European construction was built on the idea of market and competition which demolishes the theory of a monopoly of public service in some fields of activity and is in conflict with the notion of solidarity. So we could see that administrative organisations were transformed into companies with legal entity status, yet still fulfilling missions of general interest while keeping the civil service status, as it is the case for the Post Office ; moreover civil services became open to the European Union member states⁵. Lastly, since 1983, public expenses were curbed, which was reinforced by a transfer of competence to the territorial collectivities within the context of decentralisation , often without many means, a transfer which raised again the question of solidarity and territorial equity⁶ that lies at the heart of the preoccupations linked with the planning policies⁷ ; the role of the state school in rural areas is a true example of that problem which allows us to refer to the notion of " a relevant space to carry out a global action of development...to organise services for the people population " within the bounds of the countries defined by the ATR law passed in 1995⁸.

Today the Public Service suffers from administrative compartmentalization and global policies, from the delays in modernizing - in spite of some recent will⁹ to do so - , from the delays in increasing its efficiency without altering the mission of service. So, the ways to solutions consist in diversification, adaptability, flexibility, deconcentration of services, contractualization and externalization, institutional innovation, even modification of the power of making decisions in the midst of the main public enterprises¹⁰. Beyond the attempt of the legislator at simplifying, and in spite of all, there follows a situation which is in fact relatively complex in the various areas (the public service of the State, the Regional public service, the public service of the Hospital), in the various types of jobs in terms of classification, competence, working time, careers... And J.Rigaudiat does not fail to denounce these facts too in his report about the management of public employment : "the status is often presented as a yoke hemming in the management of employees in a body of impersonal rules, which altogether precludes motivation among agents, action against errors, and also adaptation to the evolution of posts"¹¹.

In the same report, J.Rigaudiat tries to clarify the notion of public service and observes that his definition referring to a specific employer, a particular status, and public service mission only appears to be simple. The author develops the idea that in fact, first of all, the criterion relative to an employer may be declined according to three modes : the first one, which is also the widest allows to build up the body of organisations that take part

in the public service ; on the contrary, the second one, which is the narrowest, only keeps the institutions mainly ruled by public finance and linked with the salary negotiations in the public service ; as for the third, it is tied to the judicial nature of the employer, and then " the field of public employers coincides with that of the statutory jobs and contracts of public law"¹². Next, the second criterion is that of the statutes of public service ; these statutes result from a long historical process in the course of which an administrative service was specified, a republican political regime was established and a judicial order, applying to civil servants¹³, was defined. The general statutes of 1959, then 1982, and the laws of July 1983 and January 1984 relative to the public service of the State, then completed with the legislative schemes of January 1984 and January 1986, relating successively to the territory and health public service, tend to consider public employment more in terms of careers of civil employees than in terms of occupations¹⁴. Lastly, the notion of civil service is evolutionary and its contents vary in scope. It is well known that, in the judicial French tradition, the public service is not an objective reality, in the sense that it does not exist by itself, but comes from the will of public power¹⁵.

Such conception is re-inforced by the fact that the corpus of economic theories could not fully justify the notion of public service since, from this point of view, only the concepts of a natural monopoly (re-considered by the recent one of contestable market) and of public good allow to found the notion of public service ; finally, public service is founded on three principles for its functioning : continuity, equality, mutability/adaptability ; and the content that is accepted, as a consequence, is a matter of conventions¹⁶, which is expressed by C.Martinand when he states that "a public service, or service publically useful is a service which ensures missions of general economic interest, and whose public mastery management has been explicitly decided by a relevant 'public authority', whether it be the European Union, a State or Territorial Collectivities, as an answer to social necessities resulting from technical, economic, social, cultural or ethical specificities"¹⁷.

1.2. problems about the public employment

Public service presents strong territorial stakes, for its very existence which must allow the State to fulfill its missions of general interest in matter of security, justice, the keeping of public order, the orientation of economy, the response to the social demand for the improvement of living conditions, the cement of social cohesion ... Thus J.Chevalier sums up the function of public service : "The essential aim of public service consists in putting economic, cultural and social goods within reach of all : so it appears as an agent for re-distribution, which must contribute to reduce social inequalities, owing to the way it operates"¹⁸. In this way, its presence is imperative over the whole territory¹⁹, but true questions are raised from the moment that territories on the fringe of the great centers of decision are concerned, in the places where basic public service does remain and there stands the spectre of demographic decline, of the economic crisis in small centers of Fordian-type production, of the decrease of the financial capacities of local territorial collectivities. When faced with the announced requirements about the adaptability of public service and the rise of market economy, on these territories on the fringe and dominated by small or middle-sized towns, what becomes of the expression of public service fulfilment, that is to say public employment ?

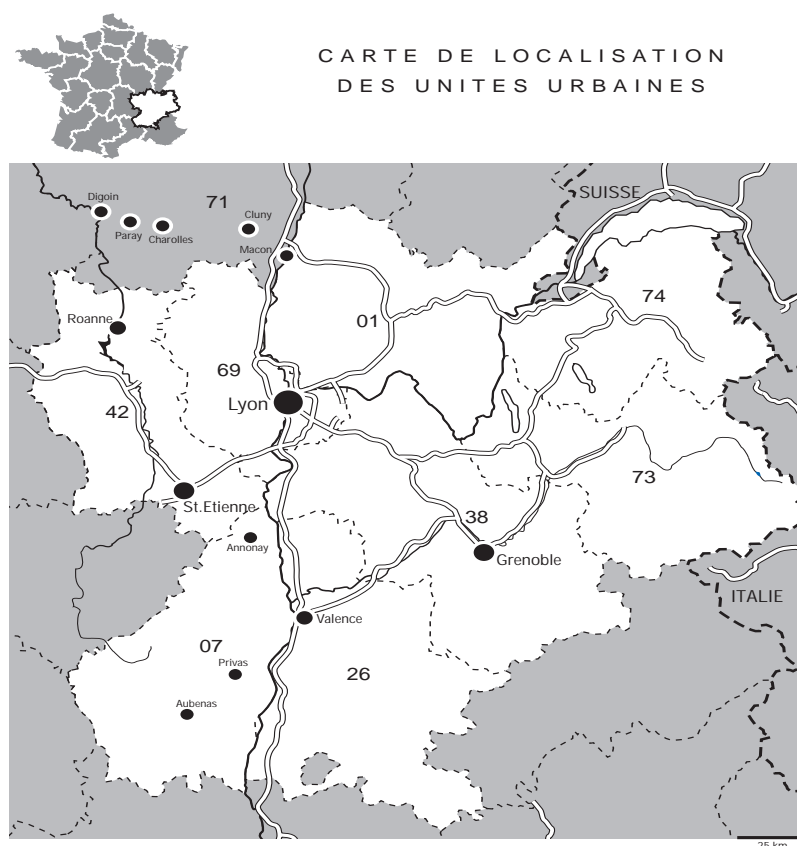
Taking into account the fact that it is necessary to analyze these various territorial stakes, a multi-sided approach has been chosen ; it combines the criterion of the employer in its wider version and that of the public service envisaged in a dynamic perspective.

II. Territorial analysis

II.1. The problems raising through a research : methods and sources

Considering the wide range of situations proposed by "state service, that unrecognized entity"²⁰ three main sectors have been selected : the Post Office, National Education, the Health service ; indeed they are characterized by diversity representative of state service and they are present on the territories observed with small and middle-sized towns, located either in metropolized spaces around Lyon (Roanne, Mâcon, and to more relatively the small towns in the South of Saône-et-Loire), or under-metropolized spaces like those of Ardèche with the towns of Annonay, Aubenas, Privas.

Figure 1 : Localisation map of urban units



Trough these spaces and sectors of public service, two bodies of questions direct our research :

- what does public service represent in these configurations and what role does it play in the employment scheme on its whole ? Does it keep an important part of the activity in these small centres where local economy is on the decline ?

- in social terms, is it possible to detect evolutions in public service as refers to occupation, qualification, "status"... ? Are there specific trajectories according to the type of jobs and the type of towns ?

Two categories of sources have been mobilized, those provided by INSEE and those relative to each employment area, in each special unit considered chosen.

To the data from INSEE relative to the general censuses of population and focusing on geographic spaces selected according to the various levels of data allowing to get a simple framing of global as well as local situations, there must be added the file "system of information about state agents". The existing variables have been sorted out and the corresponding data have been extracted in a longitudinal perspective as far as it is possible.

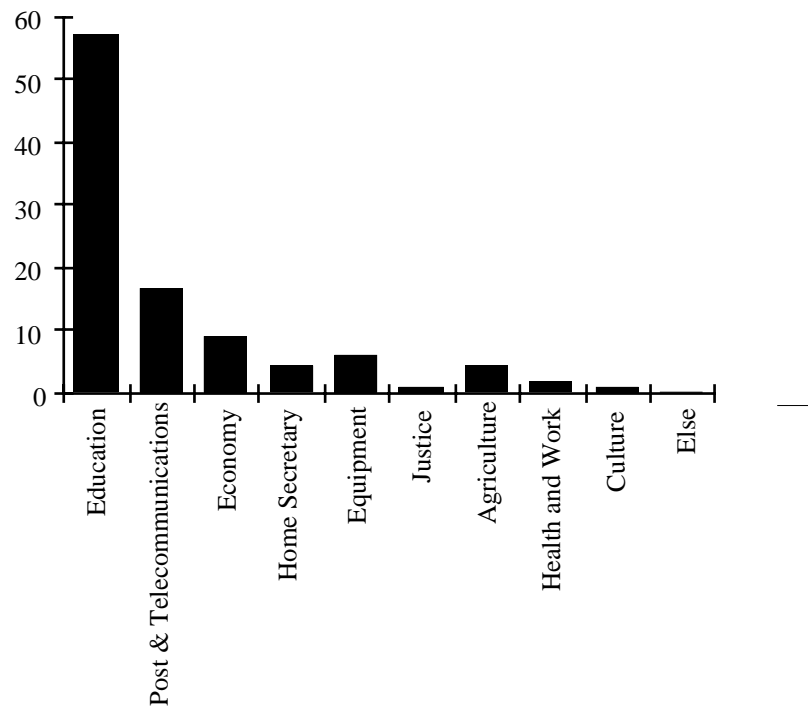
On scattered spatial units of various size, statistical sources can only allow to discern data specific to each case (one place after the other, one sector after the other) ; according to the domains considered, the modes of aggregation selected by supervising administrations do not necessarily isolate the expected spatial levels, which sometimes implies delicate comparisons, even though homogeneous capture may have been approached, as it is the case, for example, of what concerns primary education or some data pertaining to the sector of health collected by the CRIH (Regional centre for health information)

II.2. Some significant results

Statistical processing and inquiries on the field allow us to put in relief some original spatial specificities in matter of public employment.

Within the frame of the longitudinal analysis²¹ of public service jobs taking in account the various spatial units selected, the objective to reach consists in drawing up a typology of the evolutions of urban units according to the way they handle state public service, being given that over a half of public employment are to be found in the only Ministry of National Education in general (figure 2).

Figure 2 : Public employment (percentage) according to the the Ministry Departments

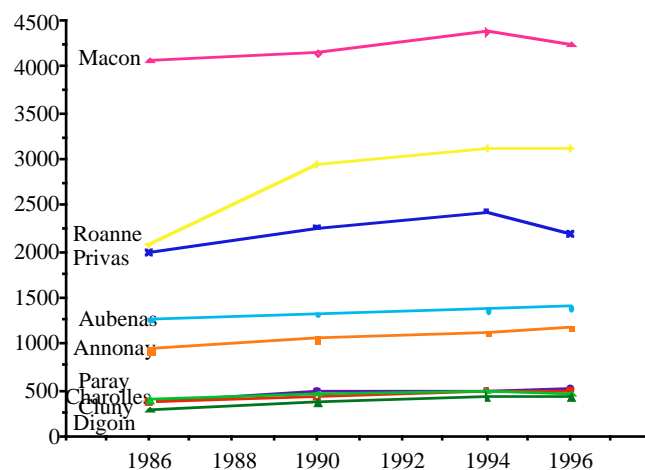


Considering the restraints of the INSEE file, the data could be extracted for four years (1986,1990,1994,1996) and concern the variables that characterize localized public employment, such as :

- category of agents
- assembled socio-professional category
- administrative position
- employment conditions
- age
- assembled ministry

On the first level of analysis of localised public employment, in the decade studied, we notice a relative stability of the staff employed within the state public service ; only the number of jobs in Roanne increase significantly between 1986 and 1990 ; the urban hierarchy observed in this field reflects the occupational space division (figure n°3). Moreover, the towns considered reflect ageing as concerns the staff employed (figures 4 and 5), development of part-time jobs - a testimony to the increase in precarious jobs - (figure 6) and strong feminization more or less increased.

Figure 3 : Number of State public service jobs (1986-1996) - outside P & T, per urban unit



Increasing ratio per year (average)

Unités urbaines	1986-90	1990-94	1994-96
Digoïn	+ 5,63%	+ 3,61%	- 0,72%
Mâcon	+ 0,43%	+ 1,33%	- 1,53%
Privas	+ 3,27%	+ 1,90%	- 4,92%
Aubenas	+ 1,18%	+ 1,00%	+ 0,29%
Annonay	+ 3,06%	+ 1,52%	+ 2,28%
Roanne	+ 9,32%	+ 1,33%	+ 0,26%
Charolles	+ 3,56%	+ 4,29%	+ 0,20%
Cluny	+ 3,53%	+ 1,87%	- 2,48%
Paray	+ 7,29%	+ 1,17%	+ 0,59%

Figure 4 : Evolution of the average age of employees in the State public service

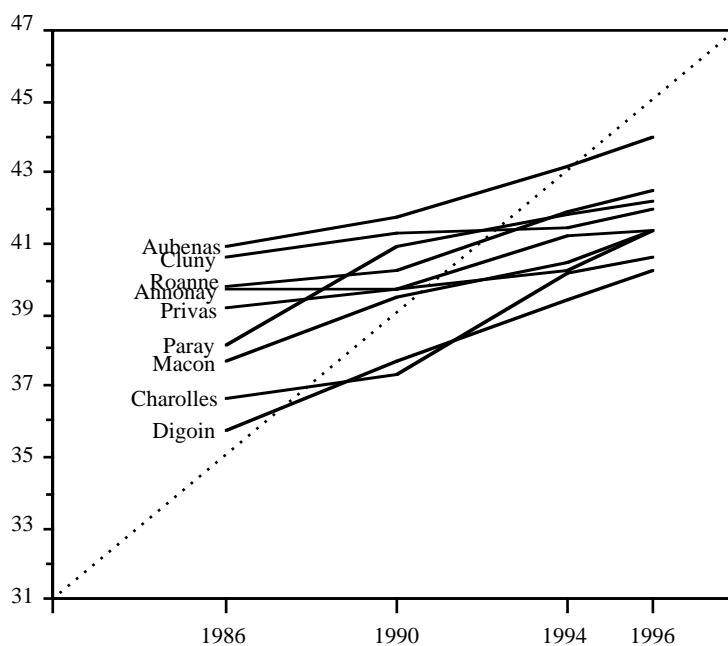


Figure 5 : Evolution of the proportion of under 35 year-old employees

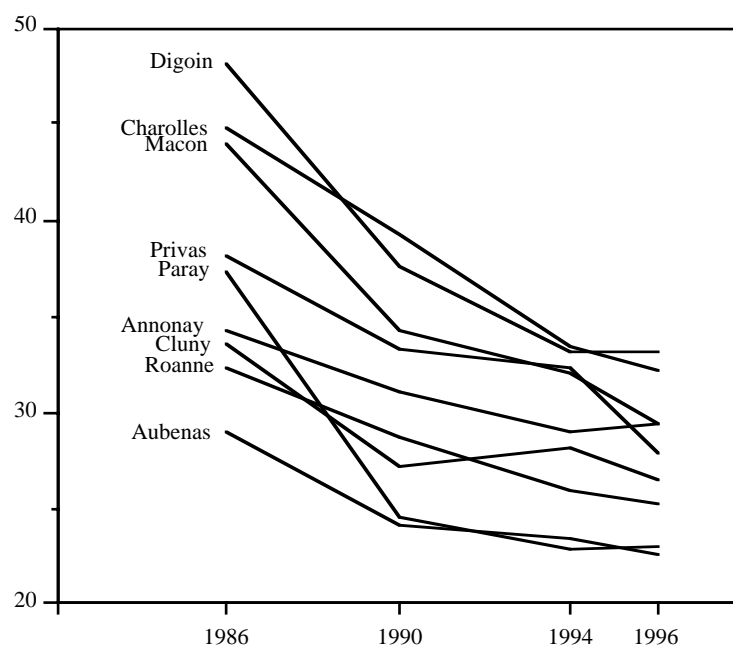


Figure 6 : Proportion of part-time jobs in public employment

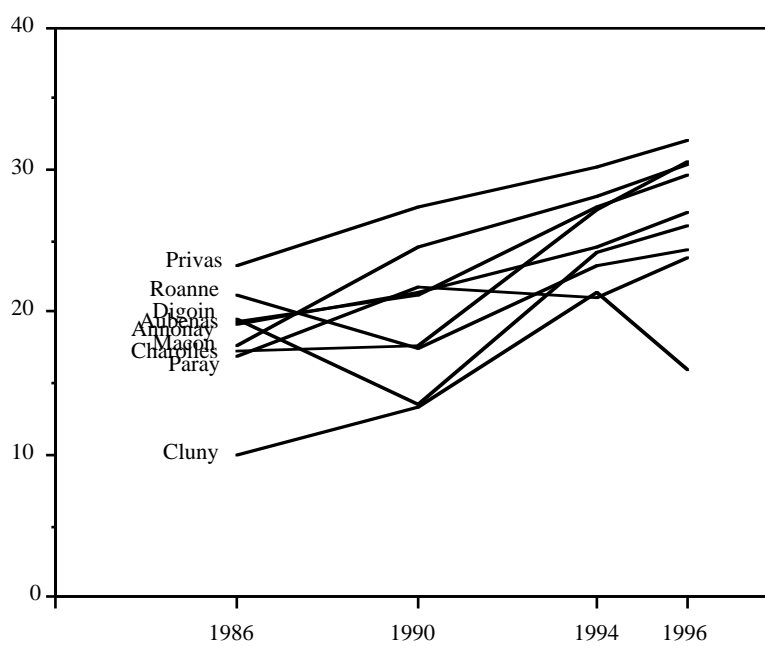
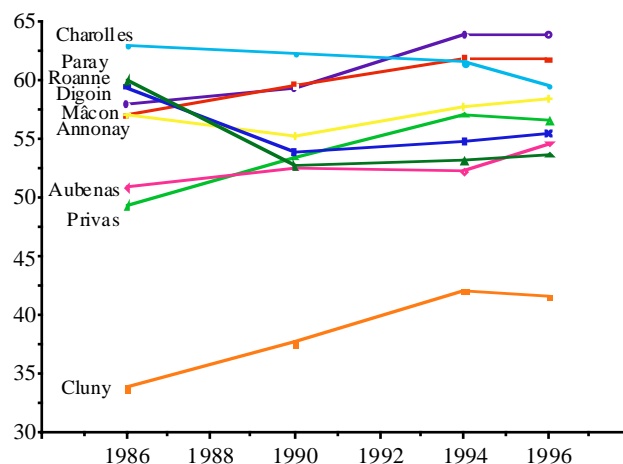


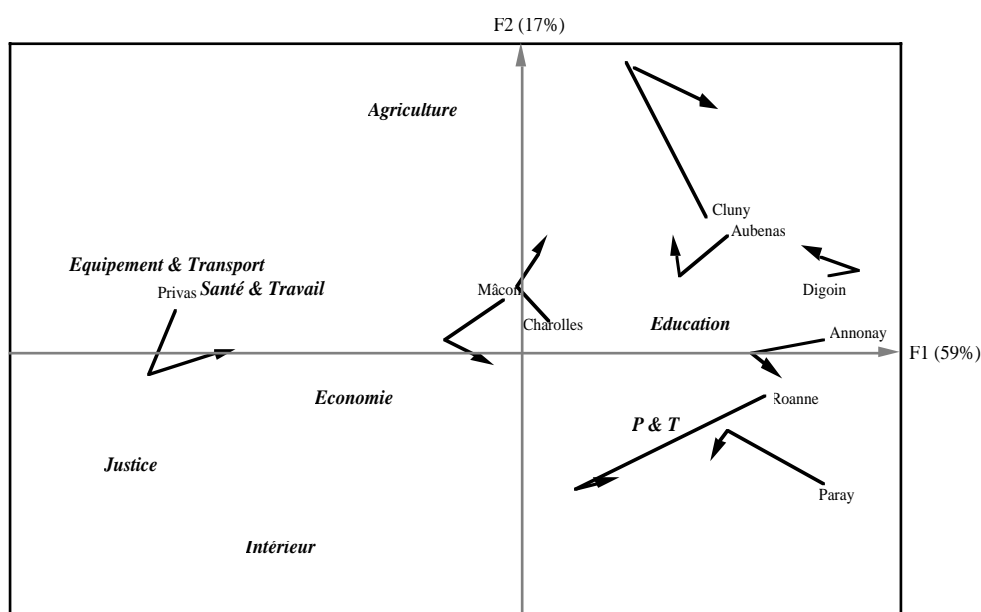
Figure 7 : Evolution (percentage) of the number of women in public employment



On another level of analysis, the method used consists - for each of these variables - in finding out the trajectories of urban units by means of a factorial analysis in the dynamic mode, as a first step (in the first stage) ; then (as a second step/ in the second stage) , using the LONGI method²², in looking, for each of these entities, for what characterizes a common evolution and what concerns specific dynamics.

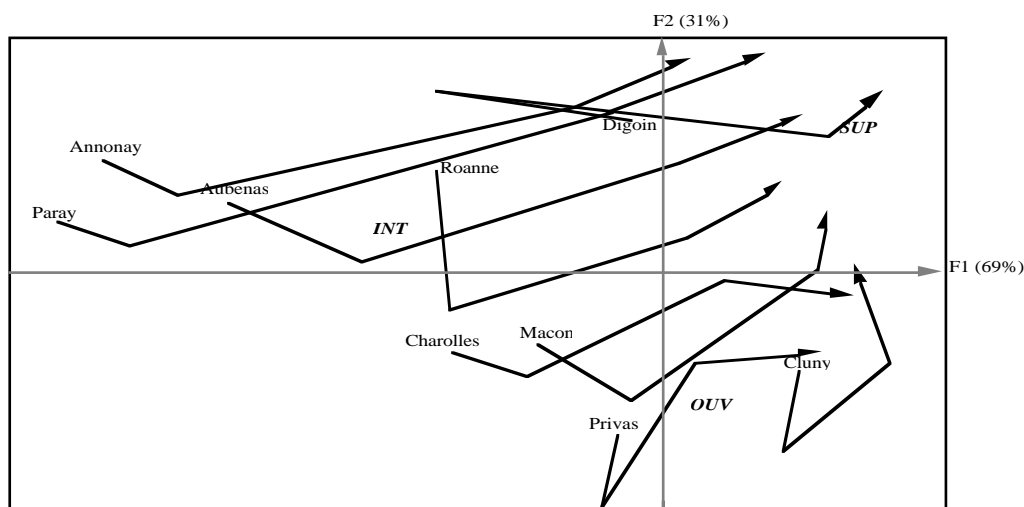
All through the 1986-1994 period, we notice a distinct stability in the urban unit profiles, as regards the Ministry employers. Indeed the evolution of public employment within the urban units of Annonay, Digoin, Paray le Monial, Roanne, Aubenas and Cluny still bears the mark of the ministry of Education and that of the Post Office and Telecommunications, and is opposed to the one observed in Privas which comes under the logic of the other Ministries (Equipment and Transport, Health and Work, Justice, Interior, even Economy) - (figure 8).

Figure 8 : Factorial map of Ministry occupations (in 1986, 1990 et 1994) localised in the urban units



Relating to the variable Assembled socio-professional category (CSR) that is declined according to three modes (executives/managerial staff and higher intellectual occupations, intermediary professions, employees and manual workers) the factorial analysis sets in relief a global trend of converging situations, for the benefit of the best qualified categories. In fact, if the various urban units first show real diversity in profiles, explained by the first two factorial axes, we finally observe (1996) a lesser diversity in profiles then explained by the first axis, which sets in opposition the higher professions and intermediary ones.

Figure 9 : Factorial map : evolution of urban units according to the CSR.



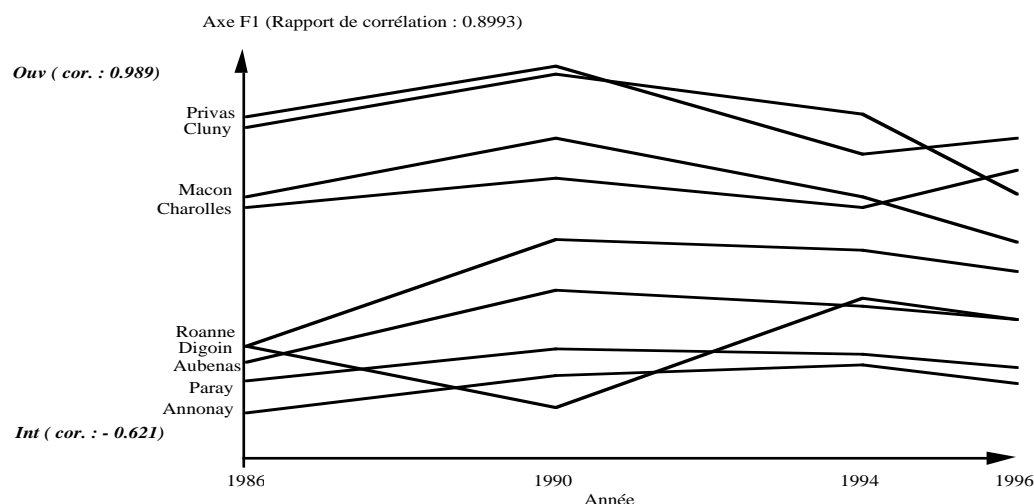
Then the LONGI method allows us to sharpen the study of these trajectories, in what concerns the common evolution of urban units, towards more centrist views about profiles at the level of higher qualified categories, at the expense of intermediary professions. Such evolution is particularly strong between 1990 and 1996 (figure 10).

Figure 10 : LONGI method ; commun evolution of agglomerations, relating to CSR



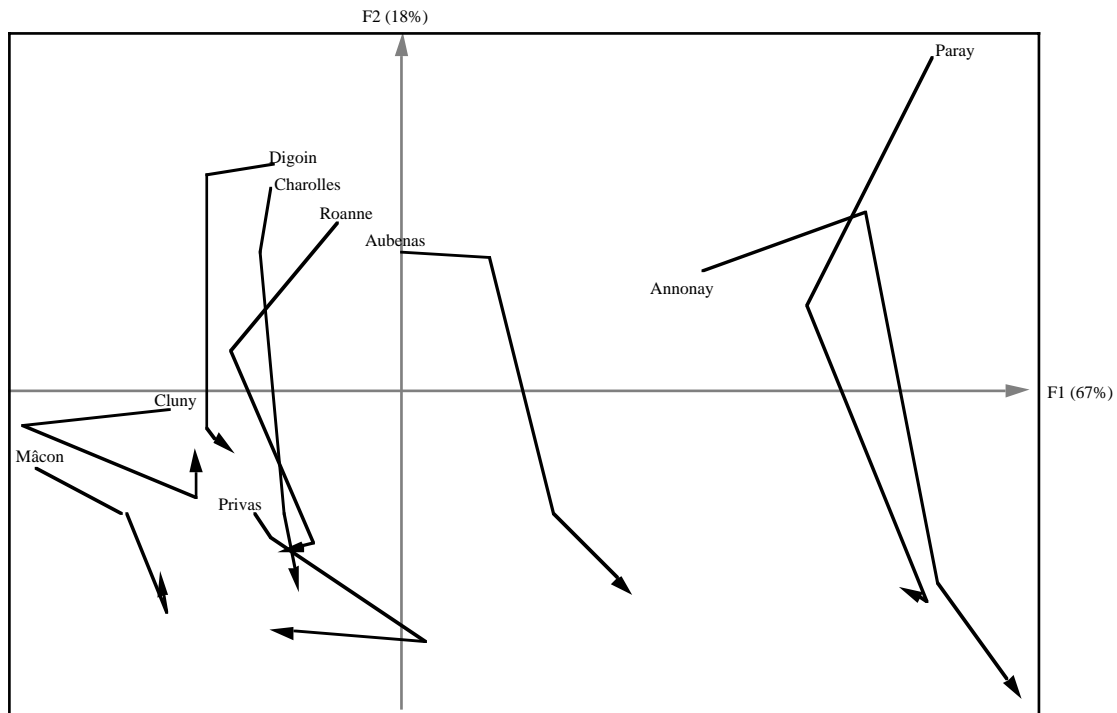
But above all, it underlines what is specific about such evolution, that is to say strong permanent features : the urban units that presented a great proportion of intermediary occupations remain the same (Digoin, Aubenas, Paray le Monial, Annonay, even Roanne to a lesser extent) and those which had a high proportion of employees and manual workers remain the same too (Privas, Cluny, Mfcon et Charolles) (figure 11).

Figure 11 : LONGI method ; specific evolution of agglomerations, relating to CSR

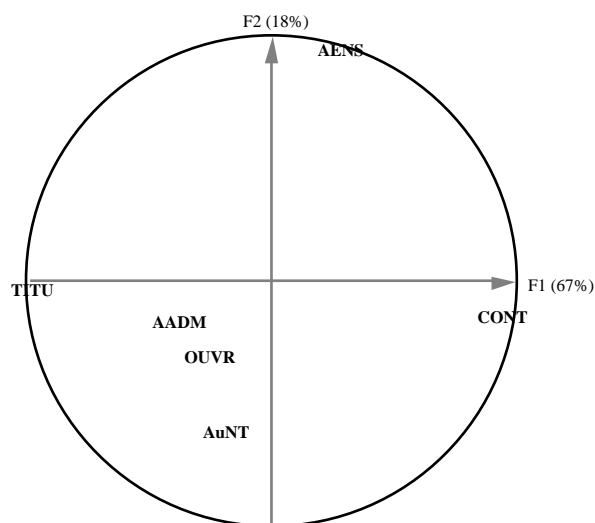


Referring to the variable 'agent category' whose following modes have been kept : tenure, contract, auxiliary in administration or teaching, manual work, other non-with-tenure (among which CES), the centered factorial analysis allows us to get a factorial plan restoring 67% of the information contained in the data tables on the horizontal axis (F1) and 18% on the vertical axis (F2). Judging by the circle of correlations, the first axis sets in opposition the category 'with tenure' on the left to that of 'with contract' on the right. Thus the agglomerations situated on the left of the factorial map have a proportion of 'with tenure' higher than that of the towns situated on the right of the graph. So Mâcon is to be found on the left (80% 'with tenure' in 1986) and Paray on the right (51% 'with tenure' in the same year (in 1986)). The proportion of 'with tenure' is inversely linked to that of 'with contract'. The urban units situated on the left have a percentage of 'with contract' which is smaller than that of the agglomerations located on the right, for example Cluny (3% of people 'with contract' in 1990) is opposed to Annonay (33% of people 'with contract' in 1996). For each site, the trajectories show the evolution of the agent categories in importance. The shifts from the left to the right show a decrease in the proportion of 'with tenure' and/or an increase in the proportion of 'with contract'. Yet the most important shifts are oriented from top to bottom, that is to say in connection with the second inertia axis which isolates the category 'Auxiliary in teaching' whose decrease between 1990 and 1994 seems to be linked with an increase of the category 'Other non-with-tenure' (figure 12).

Figure 12 : Centered factorial analysis on profiles



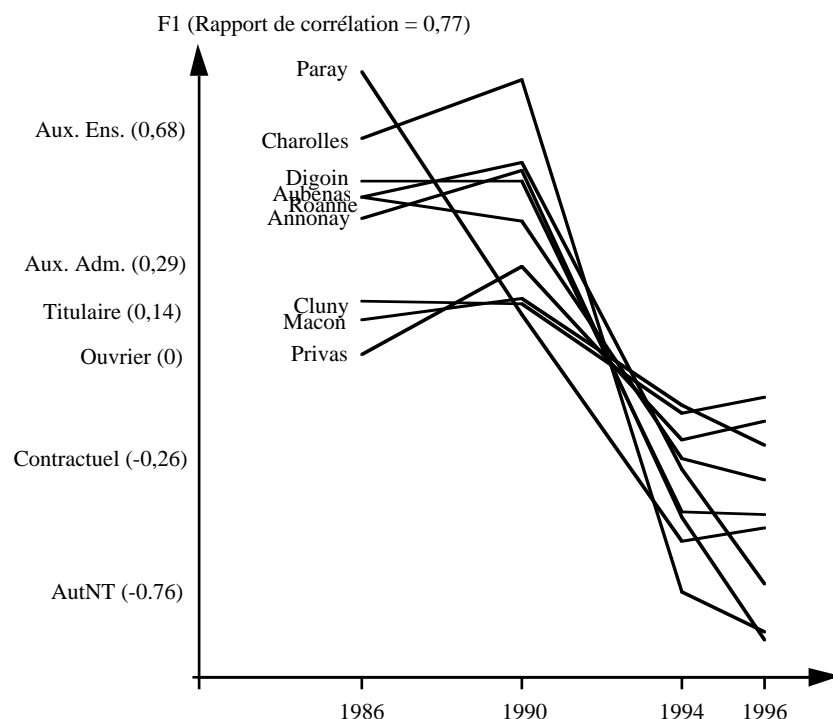
Trajectories of the nine agglomerations relative to the agent categories



Correlation of the initial variables with the first two components

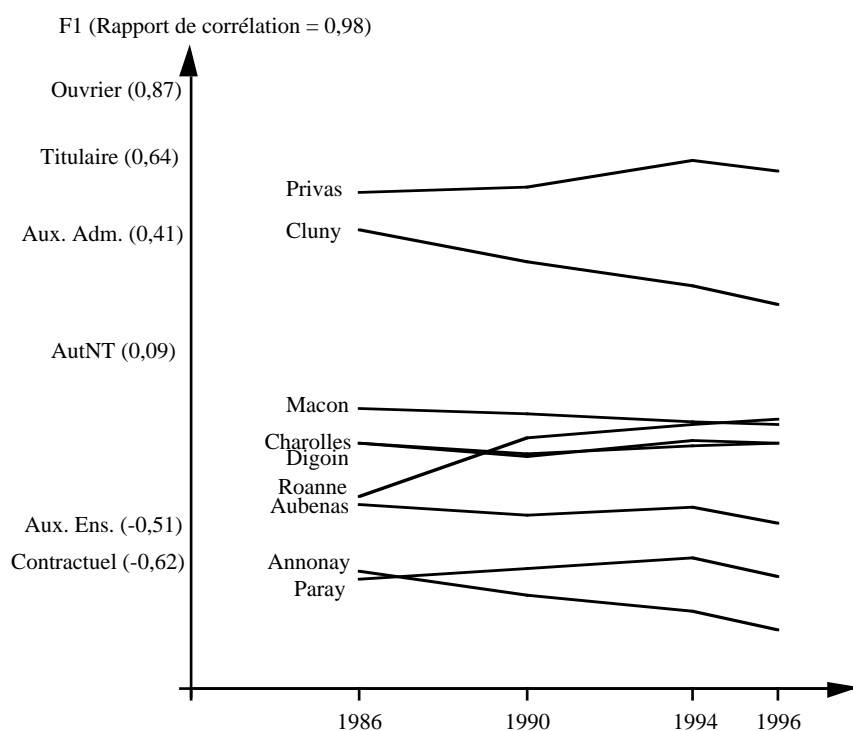
Here again, the LONGI method allows us to refine the study of the trajectories in what concerns the common evolution of the urban units. The latter is essentially characterized by a change in the forms of the precariousness process that can be seen in public employment and which does consist in a gradual reduction of auxiliary occupation in teaching, but also in an important increase, between 1994 and 1996, of other non-tenure occupations (obviously C.E.S. jobs) ; (figure 13).

Figure 13 : LONGI ; distribution according to agent category - Common evolution of the urban units



However, in spite of this common trend, there still last some local specificities at the level of public employment structure : the urban units that are affected to the lesser degree by precarisation (Privas and Cluny) keep their high rate of tenure and manual work.

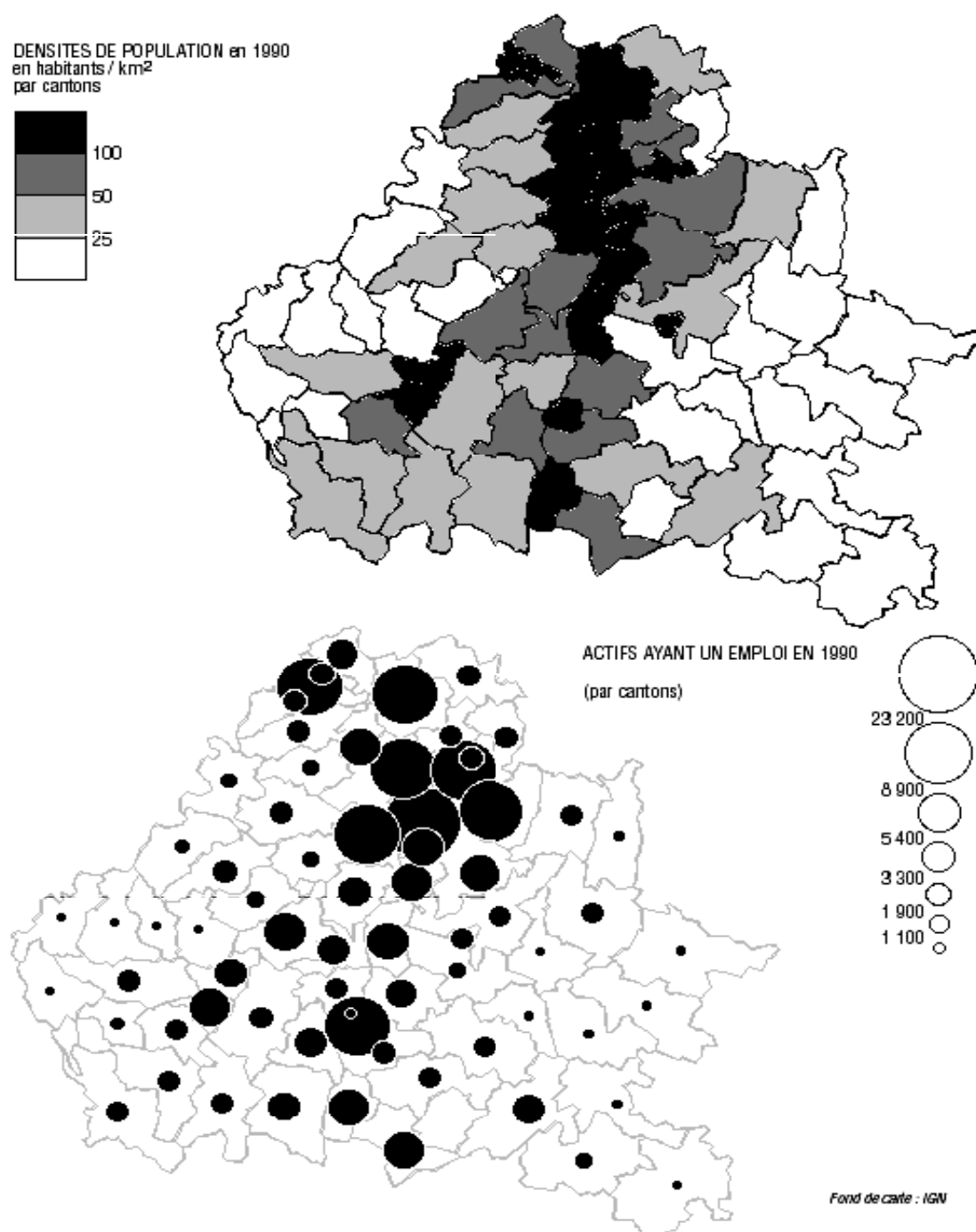
Figure 14 : LONGI ; Distribution according to agent category - Specific evolutions of urban units



Among the various kinds of territorialized research, the case of the Drôme and Ardèche departments seems particularly rich as to their geographical peripheric location, the observed development of the contractualization process in matter of employment, and the dynamics present in the employment basins.

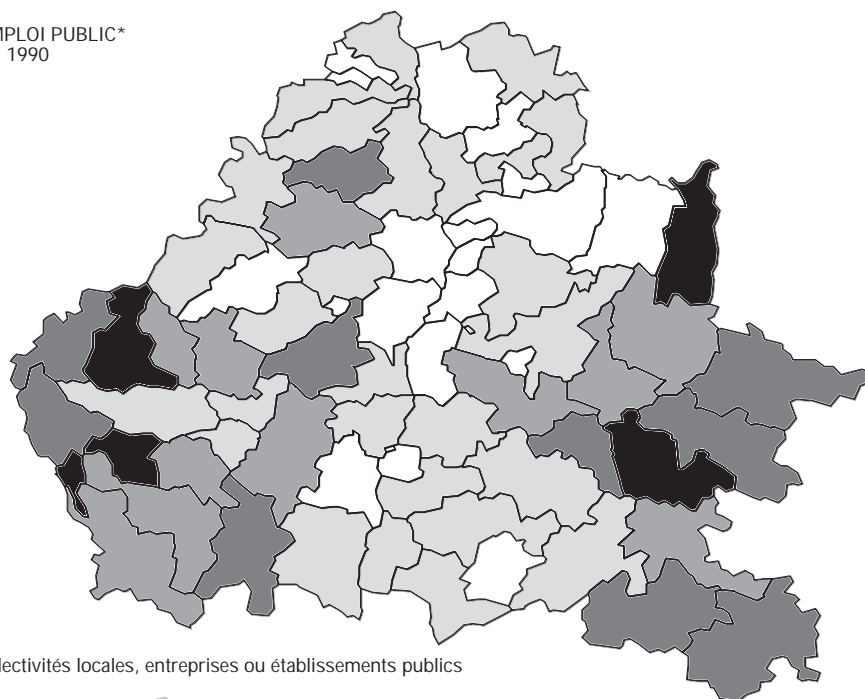
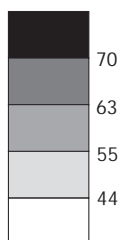
The Drôme and Ardèche départements offer a contrasted situation, between the urban and industrial Rhône valley attracting activities and people and a rural agricultural periphery on the decline (figures 7 and 8). Yet the share of tertiary employment is not in conformity with such spatial division (figure 10), as far as the main towns in the départements as well as the cantons within rural areas engender one not insignificant public employment which appears as a source of survival for these rural spatial zones. (figure 9).

Figures 7 et 8



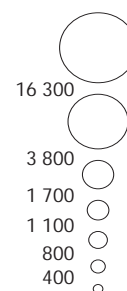
Figures 9 et 10

POURCENTAGES DE L'EMPLOI PUBLIC*
SUR L'EMPLOI TOTAL EN 1990
par cantons



* emploi public : Etat, collectivités locales, entreprises ou établissements publics

NOMBRE D'ACTIFS
DANS LE TERTIAIRE
par cantons



Fond de carte : IGN

If the tertiary sector represents 54,9% and 58,1% of working people, respectively, in Ardèche and Drôme, public employment is equivalent to 51,9% and 44,25% of the tertiary sector. And within public employment, education and health represent the greater part of the jobs with 23,2% and 22,4% of working people in Ardèche and 24,1% in Drôme. But the peripheric spatial zones really have the greater relative part of public jobs, contrary to the industrial urban valleys ; for instance the urban cantons of Montélimar, Valence, Saint-Vallier and even industrious Annonay offer only 40 to 44% of public jobs out of the total number of jobs, whereas the cantons of the Ardèche plateau, Vercors, Diois, the Baronnies reach shares between 55 and 90% ! In other words, public employment reflects a picture of the territory which appears as the

negative of that of the density of population and employment, including the tertiary sector particularly, that is to say the populated spaces of the Rhône valley. In some way, in terms of public employment, the centralities are inverted, which however does not mean a public service necessarily much developed and at least as important as that of the more active spaces ; the example of education, with a diffuse distribution by definition, is significant in this respect, the primary school allowing the deep rural zones to survive owing to the presence of at least one form (212 communes out of 339 in the Ardèche departement have at least one primary school or at least one form).

The sector of health, equivalent to that of education in these two départements, presents an offer in terms of care much more centered spatially in urban centers, particularly in the Rhône Valley, letting the small local structures provide the necessary needs for complementary specialisation or collected financial subsidies, so as to persist.

If the effects are not noticeable as concerns the strict teaching work, in which field the status of auxiliary non-with-tenure jobs is gradually disappearing, it is widely different in the service of health : in the two departments, precarious jobs represent up to 20% in average, even 40 to 50% in the small hospitals ; thus the hospital in Viviers has only 31% of staff with tenure. Moreover, these precarious jobs concern the greater part of employees without a diploma. However, if this work is especially about administration and maintenance, we can see that precarious jobs develop in the very service of care with nurse, nurse's aide and even physiotherapist jobs.

The employment basins of education spread out farther than those of hospital staff because of the constraints imposed by professional obligations, but two remarks are valid for both sectors. On the one hand, the contract employees have settled on their working place or its neighbourhood, the weaker rural spaces are little represented in the residential basins ; more exactly we can notice the development of relay spaces, that is to say small urban units in the back country, intermediary between valley and mountain, which attract residential sites much more. In other words, through the interplay of public employment, a real hierarchical organisation of territories is created, in connection with the rank occupied in the way of public service offer.

Conclusion

Through the analysis made and presented here, two outstanding reflections must be set in relief.

Firstly, it proves to be true that the global notion of public service does not make much sense. The reason is that, beside the fact that each sector, according to its own economic constraints, develops specific strategies as regards the management of its human resources (introduction of a more or less important precarisation, a relative limitation on recruitment...), the evolution of public employment takes on original characteristics according to the territorial dimension on which it appears. We observe that towns with the same rank, in the sense of the hierarchy of administrative territories (Prefectures for instance), present different profiles : if in Roanne, as for other towns of inferior rank, the evolution of public employment is principally influenced by the Ministry of Education and that of the Post Office and Telecommunications, in Privas, the evolution essentially results from the management of employment by the other Ministries.

Secondly, public employment clearly appears as the last socializing link of marginalized spaces, marked with a spiral of economic and demographic decline. Indeed, these areas

lying at the periphery of metropolized spaces - here the outer Lyon region - then appear like as many small centralities in life basins preserved by the presence of public employment. Thus it can easily be understood that such employment re-distributes, within the urban hierarchy, these small towns and market villages whose rank is precisely founded on its more or less important presence.

¹. This paper is enriched by the research of a pluridisciplinary group (geographers, economists, statisticians) set up for the study about "Public employment systems and dynamics" co-directed by B. Boureille and N. Commerçon, and answers to the demand of the Permanent Secrétariat of the Urban Plan ; it has been presented at the Cycles and Debates of the Urban Plan on urban spaces, territories, employment (16-12-1997). This team is mainly compound by N. Commerçon, F. Plassard, B. Prost (UMR 5600) and by B. Boureille, D. Goujon, M. Normand (CREUSET).

². The measure about the employment-solidarity contracts (C.E.S.) is one of the main schemes existing in favour of the employment of young people, but also that of people that have been unemployed for a long time. This scheme concerns employment outside commerce and progressively replaced, after 1990, the jobs for Collective Use (T.U.C.). cf. M.-T. Join-Lambert (1997).

³. Contracts limited in time.

⁴. The law passed on 19-10-96 established the general statutes of civil servants for all state agents, classifying them into two groups : the former exercise authority duties, the latter provide management services. The general statutes of 1983 spread out these rules to the agents of territorial collectivities and hospitals and referred to competitive exams as a means of recruiting.

⁵. Article 5 bis, general status of civil servants

⁶. Cf. C. Henry, 1997, p. 166.

⁷. Cf. G. F. Dumont, 1994, "les services publics doivent être répartis équitablement sur le territoire", p.

⁸. Cf. articles 22, 23, 24, law 4-2-1995, defining the concept of "pays".

⁹. Cf. Direction des journaux officiels, 1992, *Modernisation du service public*, ministers meeting, 16 june, Paris, 156 p.

¹⁰. Cf. M. Baslé and A. Alcouffe, 1998, p. 5.

¹¹. J. Rigaudiat, 1994, *Gérer l'emploi public*, Paris, Commissariat général du Plan, la Documentation Française, p. 96.

¹². J. Rigaudiat, 1994, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹³. L. Rouban, 1996, p.7.

¹⁴. See especially J. Rigaudiat, 1994 and L. Rouban, 1996.

¹⁵. Cf. P. Baudry and J.-C. Boual, 1994, p. 134.

¹⁶. J. Gadrey, 1998, agrees with it in his analysis of the postal service, p. 66.

¹⁷. Cf. C. Martinand, 1995, p. 112.

¹⁸. Cf. J. Chevalier, 1994, p. 104.

¹⁹. Facing the social demand, the total strength of the Regional public service has tripled within 20 years, the largest increase (65%) being between 1969 and 1980.

²⁰. So, J. Rigaudiat begins his report, 1994, *op. cit.*

²¹. Statistical processing are due to M. Normand.

²². The reader interested in this may find a presentation of the LONGI method principally in : J. Pontier, A.B. Dufour, M. Normand, 1990 ; J. Pontier, P. Jolicoeur, M.-O. Pernin, 1987 ; J. Pontier, M.-O. Pernin, 1989.

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