



Paris: More than the Ville de Paris

BASIC INFORMATION ¹		World Rank ²	Similar to
Urban Area Population: 2005	10,400,000	21	Rio de Janeiro, Istanbul, Lagos, Nagoya
Urban Land Area: Square Miles: 2005	1,175	15	Milan, Beijing, Washington, Buenos Aires, Jakarta
Urban Land Area: Square Kilometers: 2005	3,043	15	
Population per Square Mile	8,900	528	Vienna, Frankfurt, Urumqi, Moscow
Population per Square Kilometer	3,400	528	
Urban Area Projection: 2007 ³	10,570,000	21	---
Urban Area Projection: 2020	11,770,000	26	---
Metropolitan Area Population: 2005 ⁴	11,400,000	---	---

(1) Continuously built up area.

15 March 2007 (Revised 13 September 2007)

THE PARIS WE ALL LOVE

I love Paris. Everyone loves Paris. At least part of Paris.

Who can fail to be impressed by the ville de Paris,⁵ western civilization's ultimate central city? There are monumental, government and religious buildings without compare. There is Hausmann's straight streets that created marvelous opportunities for some of the finest 19th century architecture, and do so much to make Paris traffic more tolerable than that of London (at least they did so until the current mayor started taking lanes out of operation to slow down cars and has largely succeeded). More than a century later, it is easy to forget the distress that residents were put through as Hausmann tore up the place. The Hotel Meurice is still in operation along the Palais Royale, where General Dietrich von Choltz declined Hitler's "is Paris Burning" order. Otherwise what is so pleasing today would have been as sterile as reconstructed Munich or Osaka.

The Hotel de Ville (city hall) is one of the most successful ornamental municipal buildings in the world. The Eiffel Tower has been imitated around the world, most notably in Tokyo and Las Vegas,

and not very convincingly. The dense, tasteful development mercifully hides the offensive and out-of-place Pompidou from all but the most adjacent eyes. Indeed, where would be its appropriate place? One possibility would be in front of the Bilbao Guggenheim, which would have the dual advantages of liberating the Marais neighborhood of this monstrosity, while blocking views of the even more absurd museum in the Basque (Plates 48-50, 136, 137 & 180).

Yet, despite all there is to offer in the core, Paris is much more. Most of Paris is missed by tourists (and even urban planners). What people see of Paris is generally in a very small core of the first through fourth arrondissements or at most within the 1860 boundaries of the ville (city), which amounted to less than 13 square miles (34 square kilometers). Paris is, in many ways, a paragon of 20th and 21st century suburbanization.

THE PARIS URBAN AREA

Where most people live and work is not where the tourists go. Most of Paris is the less interesting and more contemporary suburbs (banlieues), which are as much Paris as the Louvre and Notre Dame. To the east, south and north there are

attractive neighborhoods of single-family dwellings. Surrounding Paris is more than 1,000 square miles (3,000 square kilometers) of suburbs (Figures 3 & 4). The suburbs of Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston are not so extensive. In Paris, the suburbs account for more than 80 percent of the population, while the ville de Paris comprises less than 20 percent (Figure 1 & Table 1).

Paris Metropolitan Area & Urban Area
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

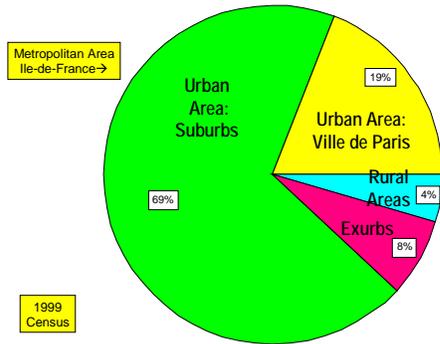


Figure 1

Paris Metropolitan Area & Urban Area
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AREA

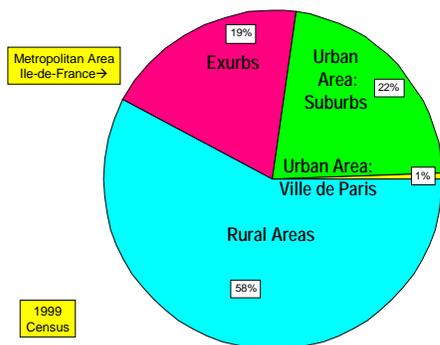


Figure 2

The ville de Paris comprises approximately one percent of the metropolitan area's land area. The suburbs comprise another 22 percent, while more than 75 percent of the land is outside the urban area (Figure 2).

The Urban Form

The urban form is comparatively efficient in Paris. How much so can be judged by comparison to the disaster that urban planning has created in London. The French did not adopt the ideological, anti-suburban planning policies that swept the United Kingdom in the form of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. French urban areas have no greenbelts and have allowed their urban areas to develop comparatively naturally. This does not mean that they have forgotten to preserve open space. They maintain significant areas of natural preservation in the Paris area, which tend to be suburban and somewhat radial. This more natural urban area keeps green space accessible, while minimizing travel times and distances.

In their naiveté, English planners thought that the populations that would move outside the greenbelts (and in London, this has been more than 100 percent of the growth) would be “self-contained,” that people would work near where they live.

Yet in the London area new towns outside the greenbelt, people travel far from their homes to their employment, demonstrating that people will not be constrained by myopic planning ideology. Many Londoners have to cross ten miles (16 kilometers) of needlessly open space, which increases travel and makes it harder for public transport to provide a high level of service.

Paris has been shown to be more productive than London, in large part because of its superior roadway system and its generally faster work trip travel times. In Paris, the new towns are adjacent to the existing development, as is most of the suburban development. It makes for a far better functioning urban area, according to a report commissioned by the Corporation of London (city of London). Moreover, the share of travel by public transport remains higher in the Paris metropolitan area than in the London metropolitan area.⁶

Paris Metropolitan Area & Urban Area

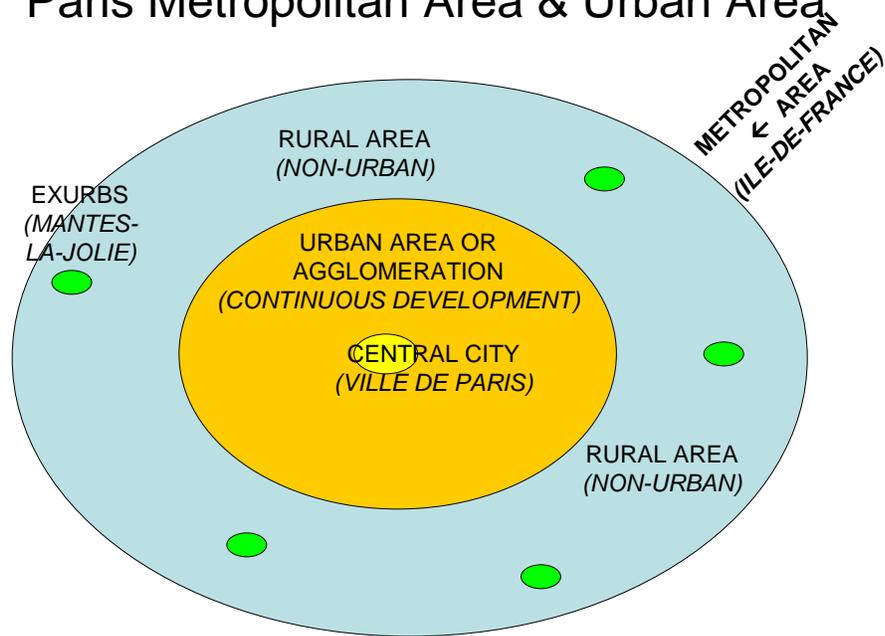


Figure 3: Paris Metropolitan Area & Urban Area: Representation

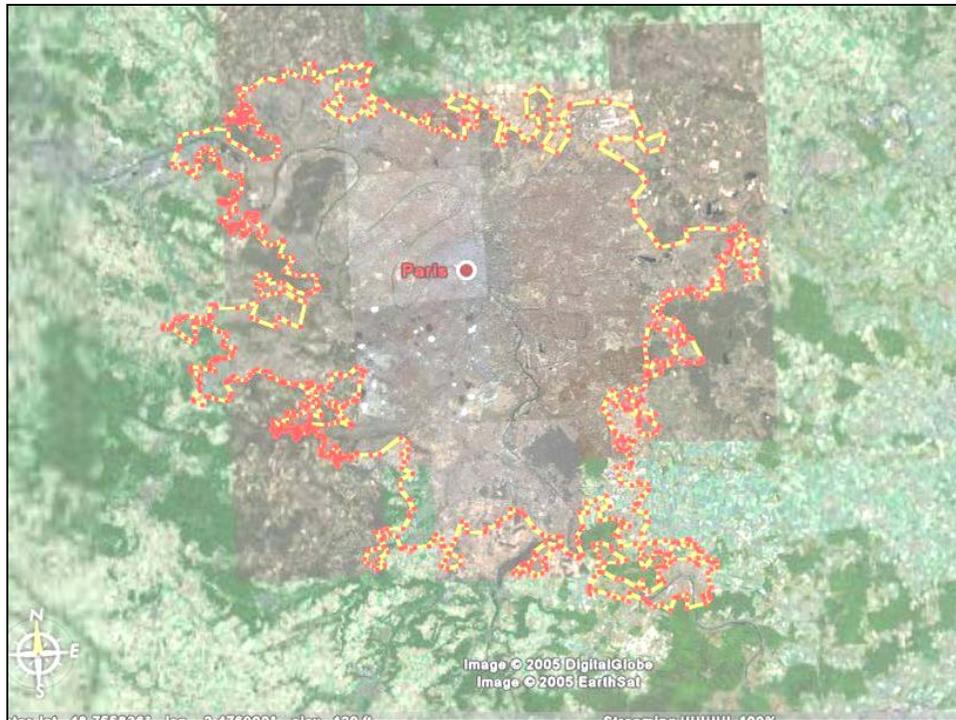


Figure 4: Paris Urban Area

THE VILLE DE PARIS

The ville de Paris is filled with museums. There is, however, no more spectacular museum than the city itself. A good place to start is the Place de Republique, just a few blocks from the Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers

(CNAM), where I teach. The Place de Republique must be among the most pleasing urban spaces in the world. There is an impressive statue, in its own small block, in the middle. To each side there are well groomed linear parks. Surrounding it all is a one-way avenue that could count as another of the Paris circles, though like the Place de la Concorde

traffic circle, it is rectangular. Eight streets feed the Place de Republique (Plates 58, 59, 152).

CNAM itself was founded during the French Revolution, when it was taken from the church.

The complex had been the Abby Saint-Martin-des-Champs, founded in the 11th century. Marvelous old sanctuaries have been converted into a museum and a library (Plates 97-101)

Sector	Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Density	Land Area (Square Kilometers)
Ville de Paris	2,154,000	41	52,500	106
Petite Couronne (Inner Ring Suburbs)	4,255,000	248	17,200	642
Grande Couronne (Outer Ring Suburbs)	3,991,000	886	4,500	2,295
Urban Area	10,400,000	1,175	8,900	3,043
Balance of Grande Couronne	1,000,000			
Metropolitan Area (Ile-de-France)	11,400,000			

Estimated by Demographia based upon INSEE 2005 estimates and Google map inspection

The Churches

There are the incredible churches, ranging from the largest, the ultimate Cathedral of Notre Dame to Sacre Ceour (Sacred Heart) on Montemarte, the Madeline Church between the Opera and Concord, with St. Augustine's not far away (Plates 85, 86, 88, 98, 117-121, 122, 125, 126, 129, 131-135, 144).

At Madeline, I made my Roman Catholic rhetorical debut delivering a bidding prayer in English at Vespers, having been invited by a priest who seemed unconcerned about my heretical Anglican affiliation. How times have changed. Not that long ago adherents of both religions were warned to avoid the other's services to avoid punishment in the hereafter.

Notre Dame still draws crowds, and not just tourists. Sunday nights find the cathedral filled for Vespers and Mass, perhaps the only such place in Europe. The beautiful Vesper service, only 30 minutes long, is a regular part of my walking tour given to visitors, who regardless of religious affiliation, if any, find it an inspiring experience (perhaps because most cannot understand what is being sung).. Of course, the ville de Paris is filled with churches, left over from an era of daily obligation and walking.

One of the most important churches is outside the ville de Paris, in St. Denis, the Basicila of St. Denis. Many of the French kings are buried here, including Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. St. Denis himself is said to have been beheaded on Montmarte (mountain of the martyr) and then walked at least four miles (six kilometers). During

the entire trip he preached a sermon and the benediction occurred when he died at the site of what was to become the site of the Basilica. The church itself is surrounded by some of the worst examples of modern architecture, from an out-of-place glass and steel addition to an otherwise tasteful Hotel de Ville, to modern streetscapes as unattractive as "Clockwork Orange" (Plates 121-124).

Traveling around the Ville de Paris

All of the ville de Paris is very walkable. My preferred method of travel in Paris is not the Metro. Effective as it is, what is underneath Paris looks little different from under London, Tokyo, New York. Indeed, a Metro tour of Paris looks very much like one of Kolkata. On the other hand, Metro tours of Delhi and Bangkok, where the systems are generally elevated are more rewarding, but suffer from the inevitable myopia that can only be corrected by a rental car tour.

The bus is better. But there is no better way to see central Paris than by walking. The core of Paris is so compact than in 30 minutes or so, you can walk just about anywhere. Just about anywhere, that is, in the 1st through 4th arrondissements. A more intense and satisfying urbanization is hard to find anywhere outside these 2.2 square miles. On the left bank of the Seine River, the 5th and 6th arrondissements are similarly compact. Between these core arrondissements are most of the Paris tourist sites. However, they represent a small part of the ville de Paris and an even smaller part of the Paris metropolitan area or urban area.

Steep Inner Paris Population Decline

There is much more to Paris than this attractive core. Indeed, the core is not so attractive to everyone. This core of the ville de Paris reached its population peak in 1861, when Bonaparte III was emperor, Prince Albert was still alive in London, Abraham Lincoln had just started his first term and Commodore Perry's visit to Japan had not been long before. Since then, the population has dropped by nearly three-fourths, mirroring the experience of central London, New York's Lower East Side and central Tokyo.

Ville de Paris Decline

In the 1860s, the ville de Paris was expanded to near its present size, from 13 square miles (35 square kilometers) to approximately 35 square miles (90 square kilometers). A later expansion added the peripheral parks, Vincennes and Boulogne). Even in this larger geography, the population decline has been as significant. Nearly all large core cities (municipalities) in the high income world that have not expanded their boundaries have lost population. None that achieved a peak greater than 2.5 million has lost a greater share of its population than the ville de Paris.⁷ The peak was achieved in 1921, at a population count of 2,906,000. From 1954 to 1999, the ville de Paris lost approximately 25 percent of its population (a loss of 700,000), from 2,850,000 to 2,125,000. The decline, however, has been reversed, with a 2005 estimates showing a small increase, to 2,154,000. It seems likely, however, that Paris will never return to its early 20th century peak as is also likely to be the case with many other Western European, Japanese and

American municipalities that have modestly reversed their decades long losses in recent years (such as Copenhagen, London, Boston and Chicago).

The losses in the ville de Paris occurred for various reasons. Perhaps the most important was the decline in household size. There was also a massive exodus to the suburbs, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, as the car assumed dominance in Europe and people were able to afford the more comfortable automobile oriented suburban life style. There were less important causes as well, such as combining smaller flats into larger ones as people demanded more space. Some areas saw flats replaced by commercial development.

Density in the Ville de Paris

The highest ville de Paris densities are no longer found in the historical core. Rather, densities are highest in the outer arrondissements (Table 1). The XI arrondissement had the highest density in 1999, at 105,000 per square mile (41,000 per square kilometer). This is high density, but there are significant areas in the world that have higher density. For example, the entire municipality of Manila has a density of 100,000 per square mile (40,000 per square kilometer),⁸ parts of the upper east side of Manhattan (New York) have densities of 200,000 per square mile (80,000 per square kilometer) and 10 of Mumbai's 24 wards Mumbai have densities above 100,000 per square mile (40,000 per square kilometer), including Marine Lines at nearly 300,000 per square kilometer (120,000 per square kilometer).⁹ Nonetheless, there is no denying that the ville de Paris is dense.

Sector	Population	Square Miles	Density	Square Kilometers	Density
Arrondissements 1-4	101,396	2.2	46,980	5.6	18,139
Arrondissements 5-7	160,753	3.4	47,410	8.8	18,305
Arrondissements 8-11	333,866	4.9	68,530	12.6	26,460
Arrondissements 12-14 ¹⁰	440,968	7.4	59,662	19.1	23,035
Arrondissements 15-16 ¹¹	387,135	6.3	61,341	16.3	23,684
Arrondissements 17-20	701,128	9.4	74,289	24.4	28,683
Calculated from INSEE data					

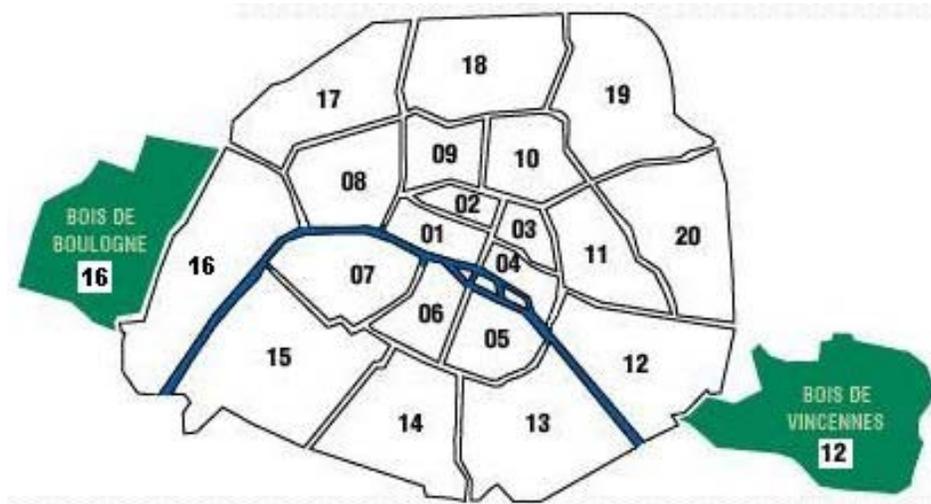


Figure 5: Ville de Paris Arrondissements

Commercial Development: Ville de Paris

The ville de Paris is losing employment rapidly. From 1990 to 1999, nearly 200,000 jobs were lost in the commercial core (arrondissements I to XII). More than one associate has suggested that the future of Paris may simply lie in being an urban amusement park for tourists.

By 1999, only 18 percent of employment was in the commercial core, with 15 percent in the outer arrondissements (XIII-XX) and the majority, 67 percent outside the ville de Paris, in the suburbs. Within the ville de Paris, the strongest business center seems to be in the Etoile –Charles de Gaulle area. However, there are office locations throughout the commercial core. Part of the reason that office development has stagnated in Paris is building restrictions, precipitated by the out-of-place Montparnasse Tower, a 59 story monolith completed in 1972. The public reaction to Montparnasse was to force virtually all future skyscraper development outside the ville de Paris. Montparnasse Tower is nearby Gare Montparnasse (railway station), which is notable among Paris stations for its lack of character (Plates 107, 111, 180, 181).

Residences

In the part of the city where Hausmann had the most impact, the residential buildings tend to be seven stories along the major avenues and boulevards. This consistency in height is one of the features that make central Paris so visually pleasing. Pre-Hausmann, smaller buildings

predominate in the Marais, the large area to the east of Boulevard Sebastopol with narrow streets. Outside the Boulevard Clichy-Grenelle ring, the landscape changes radically. There is a greater variety of buildings, ranging from housing projects that would be more in place in the poorer suburbs, to modern residential buildings much taller than the seven story norm of the core. However, this is a part of Paris not seen by many tourists.

The Gares (Railroad Stations)

Other Paris stations are more pleasing, such as Gare de Lyon, from which the TGV trains leave for the south, Gare du Nord, which receives Eurostar trains from London and Thalys trains from the low countries and Germany, Gare de l'Est, where the new Strasbourg TGV (TGV Est) will terminate and Gare St. Lazare, with its huge volumes of SNCF suburban trains. Gare d'Austerlitz is less impressive in its architecture, but would surely make a better Montparnasse that what is there (Plates 67, 68, 71-74, 76-78, 156).

THE SUBURBS

The suburbs are a combination of typical detached housing development and European new town designs, with a sprinkling of low-income high-rise housing blocks (Plates 1-2, 4-41, 171-173).

The detached suburban neighborhoods look like their contemporaries in Atlanta, Cincinnati, Calgary or Sydney. Parisians go to "Dom Expos," to look at model suburban houses, like "housing

stages" in Tokyo and the "Hus Expo" in Stockholm or "Boulevards of Dreams" in Australia. Auto malls (concentration of automobile dealers), a staple of suburbanization in North America, will also be found in the suburbs of Paris (Plates 1, 33).

And as elsewhere in the Western world, virtually all of the growth in the last four decades has been suburban. In Paris, the growth has been outer suburban, with all (and then some) of the 2.5 million new residents in the metropolitan area being added to what is referred to as the Grande Couronne (the second ring or outer suburbs).

The suburbs of Paris are, however, different than the suburbs of the United States. The lowest income households in the Paris area live in the inner suburbs, particularly in the department of Seine-Sainte-Denis. Much of the civil unrest of 2005 occurred in this area. There, some say, police themselves tend to stay away from some neighborhoods. It seems clear that the architects of the ilk who designed the demolished Robert Taylor Homes along the Dan Ryan in Chicago did plenty of damage here as well.

The inhumane architecture is by no means universal, but it does extend beyond the precincts of the ville of St. Denis. The best example is the brutalist-style architecture (the label alone demonstrates that it should never have been built) development at Marne le Valley. There is also some dreadful architecture in some of the new towns, a congenital affliction of new towns around the world (though, interestingly, not Cairo).¹²

Some of the inner suburbs, such as St. Maur and Malakoff are dense like Paris, having largely been developed before the automobile came into broad use. But outside the inner suburbs, the single family detached house is king. All of this is routinely missed by tourists and urban planners. It is understandable that it should be missed by tourists, who understandably have little interest in visiting environments that remind them of home. But for urban planners, it is another matter. To simply presume that what one can see from a café in the small tourist core or a train constitutes the urban area is to miss most of it.

Variety in Suburban Housing

But, unlike in the United States and Canada, the suburban houses vary considerably from their

neighbors. This would doubtless warm the hearts of new-urbanists for whom the repetition of North American suburbs is an offense so great that they would reduce living standards to change it.

One reason for the variety is suggested by William Lewis, of the McKinsey Global Institute --- it is lower productivity. McKinsey research has shown that French home builders are 20 percent less productive than in the United States or Australia.¹³ One of the reasons is that it is difficult to obtain sufficient land to produce large tract developments, which means that most houses are built all by themselves, with none of the economies of scale that attend to US and Canadian home building.

Thus, the variety of the Paris suburbs comes at a price. If French home building were as productive as in the United States, and there is no reason why it could not be, then the Parisian home buyer would get 25 percent more house for the money. This constraint is obvious in suburban Paris housing. Generally, the houses are fairly small by North American standards, appearing to average somewhat above 1,000 square feet. In the United States the median single family detached houses averages approximately 1,500 square feet. New US houses are being built at a median of approximately 2,200 square feet. In the Paris suburbs, the houses under construction appear to be less than 1,500 square feet.

There is another dimension as well. Many households simply cannot qualify for mortgages on the more expensive Parisian suburban homes, but would be able to if prices were lower --- that is, if productivity were greater and incomes higher. It is not surprising that Paris suburban home ownership rates trail US and Canadian suburban rates. In the two North American nations, suburban home ownership exceeds 70 percent. In the Paris area, it is little above 50 percent.

The detached housing makes Paris suburban densities lower than might be expected. Average Paris suburban densities are barely 10 percent greater than Los Angeles suburban densities (Los Angeles has the highest density suburbs in North America). Moreover, the density of new suburban development has been less in Paris than Los Angeles over the past four decades.

Suburbanization Begins in the Ville de Paris

In fact, strong suburban influences exist even within the ville de Paris. Barely one kilometer from Notre Dame's altar is Les Halles, a shopping center that can compare favorably to many in the suburbs of Canada or the United States, or anywhere else. This is where Parisians come to do serious shopping. There is a three story FNAC store, with books, an extensive electronic entertainment section and one of the largest displays of personal computers and accessories in the Paris area. Because Les Halles is underground, it is easily missed by tourists and urban planners who might think that the attractive little shops along the pedestrian oriented streets are "where it's at." And, unlike the pedestrian oriented streets, Les Halles is missing the extensive array of sex shops, with their doormen, who are known to be rather aggressive in their marketing techniques to male passersby.

Les Halles has perhaps 150 stores and is located on four underground levels. There are also a few shops on the ground level that have the look of the little box stores found on the periphery of strip mall developments in both the United States and elsewhere in Western Europe.

Suburban Commercial Development

However, much of the urban area's commercial development has moved outside the core. Approximately 70 percent of the jobs are outside the Boulevard Peripherique. These jobs and residences are in an area of more than 1,000 square miles --- nearly 30 times the area of the ville de Paris and 500 times that of the core everyone loves. A large portion of the new commercial development has been on the Boulevard Peripherique, especially on the suburban side. This is six to eight lane motorway claimed to have the highest traffic volume in Western Europe. Many of the area's tall buildings are on the Boulevard Peripherique, which gives parts of the right-of-way the look of the North Central Expressway in Dallas or the Energy Corridor in Houston.

In the automobile oriented suburbs, the commercial space occupied per employee is 17 times that of the core of Paris (arrondissements I-XII), while in the more mass transit oriented inner suburbs, the ratio is 8:1.¹⁴

La Defense: To the west, the department of Hauts-de-Seine, is home to what may be the world's largest edge city (non-central business center), La Defense. La Defense has approximately 35 million square feet of office space (3.5 million square meters). As many as 175,000 employees work there --- more than all but a few central business districts (downtowns) in the United States. It is also one of the few such centers in the world where public transport is important. It was developed on one of the main Metro lines (#1), immediately outside the ville de Paris. There is also a regional metro (RER) line, suburban rail lines and a tram line. Approximately 80 percent of La Defense employees use public transport to get to work (Plates 112-115)

Shopping in the Suburbs

Where the Francilienne meets the A-4 (Marne-la-Vallee) is a unique combination of enclosed shopping mall and strip mall. A *Carrefour* hypermarket and a *Leroy Merlin* D.Y.I. (home improvement store) anchor a more than 0.5 kilometer long center with business so brisk that the parking lot seems in a perpetual traffic jam, beyond the ability of the traffic officers who oversee it.

There is good reason to shop here, or at any of the other large suburban shopping malls. Prices are lower. It does not take long to understand the advantages of suburban pricing after paying the usurious prices typical of many inner city shops. Many who live in the ville de Paris travel by car to save money in the suburbs, or follow the Metro advertisements to the few hypermarkets to be found at the suburban end of some metro lines.

But for the wider selection of big box stores, one must go further out into the suburbs, as in other urban areas around the world that have been customized by the automobile (all in the high-income world other than Hong Kong and perhaps Singapore). This includes the large shopping centers that generate greater traffic congestion than in North America, both because of limited opening hours and land use restrictions that have made them less numerous, but larger. Commercial businesses also occupy considerable space in the suburbs.

TRANSPORT

Like all but a very few high-income world urban areas (Tokyo-Yokohama, Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto and

Hong Kong), Paris travels by automobile. Outside the ville de Paris, traffic flows comparatively well, though is more congested than in the less dense urban areas of Canada, Australia and the United States. One of the great adventures is driving in the traffic circles (roundabouts, or rotaries) of Paris. The ultimate is Etoile-Charles De Gaulle, inside of which is the Arc de Triumphant. Twelve streets feed the circle, such as the Champs-Elise, Avenue Keller, the Avenue of the Grand Armes and the extension of Boulevard Hausmann, the Avenue de Freeland. In addition, what Parisians call the world's widest street, the Avenue Foch, also ends at the circle. Of course, the Argentines would counter that the Avenida 9 Julio in Buenos Aires is the widest and a variety of similar claims might be made by others, not least for the soon to be built 22 lane Katy Freeway in Houston (Plates 46-47).

The rectangle around the Place de la Concorde operates as a circle and is probably the second most complex traffic circle in the area. The circle at Nation is a near duplicate in form of Etoile-Charles De Gaulle and has 10 feeding streets. The development at Nation, however, is much more modest.

Freeways and Streets

Fortunate for Parisians, the area is well served by freeways (autoroutes or motorways), perhaps the most extensive in Western Europe. Again, this is missed by most tourists, who perceive that everyone in Paris travels by public transport. Travel within and to the ville de Paris is predominantly on public transport. However, outside the ville de Paris, the automobile is king -- and the travel volumes are much greater. Approximately three quarters of all travel is by car (Figure 3)

There are three freeway rings, though the outer two are incomplete in the West. The inner, Boulevard Peripherique rings the ville de Paris.

There is the second ring road, the A-86, which has been opened for years, except for the portion under Versailles. That section, in tunnel, is now under construction by a company that will also be the toll operator. But there is more. Then there is the Francilienne, an incomplete outer beltway, which encircles most of the urban area. The A-104, Francilienne is the third ring.

A decade ago, a toll motorway was opened under La Defense, which deposits commuters far out in the suburbs. Radiating from the Boulevard Peripherique there are motorways to Rouen, Lille, Reims, and Lyon (the motorway to Orleans begins on the A-86). The A-1, to Charles de Gaulle Airport has recently been expanded to 8 lanes. The A-6, toward Lyon has up to 12 lanes.

Paris has one of the world's few one-way freeways, in the Voie Pompidou. This roadway hugs the right bank of the Seine from the Boulevard Peripherique in the south to near Gare de Lyon, where it becomes two way. Paris built a one-way freeway for good reason --- there was not enough room to do otherwise. Perhaps the world's only other one-way freeway, in Adelaide, was built out of sheer stupidity --- there was enough room but not enough foresight to understand that people travel both ways at virtually any time of the day. There is a one-way express roadway for a small part of the distance on the left bank as well (Plates 45, 168).

Almost all of the Paris urban motorways operate without tolls, though toll booths are near the edge of the urban area on the Autoroutes that lead to other parts of the nation.

In addition to the freeways there is an extensive network of national routes, which are often multi-lane in each direction and grade separated. However, they tend to be slow surface streets closer as they come closer to the ville de Paris.

The ville de Paris itself has an impressive roadway system, thanks to Hausmann and no thanks to the current administration at the Hotel de Ville. There are essentially two boulevard rings, one that includes the Boulevard St. Germain and the Boulevard Hausman. The outer ring includes the Boulevards Clichy, Boulevard Batignoles, Boulevard Rouchetourt and Boulevard Grenelle (Plates 85-88).

In recent years, the municipality administration has closed many lanes on streets and turned them over to buses and taxis. On many streets, cars are now relegated to a single lane in each direction. There are hosannas from urban planners whose crusade to defeat the automobile knows no bounds. There are bounds, however. The result has been more intense air pollution, greater traffic congestion and nearly one billion euros annually in economic losses. The intended beneficiary of all

this, public transport, has experienced little additional ridership.¹⁵

Public Transport

The Paris area also has perhaps the most effective public transport system of any large urban area in the high-income Western World. The Paris Metro, it is said, has stations within 300 meters of everywhere in the ville de Paris. The regional Metro (RER) provides through suburban rail service and, combined with Metro lines 1 and 14 carries 60,000 riders in each direction during peak hours between Chatelet and the Gare de Lyon (Plates 60, 70, 75 & 79).

There is also an extensive suburban rail system that is not a part of RER. A number of the historic Metro station signs have been preserved around the city and there are “theme” stations, designed to highlight features of particular neighborhoods, such as the Sorbonne the Place de la Concorde and CNAM. The Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) Station on Line 1 evokes justifiable pride in Americans. The station is appropriately, an art-deco design, consistent with the architectural style of his time. Perhaps indicating the more difficult French-Anglo relationship, Winston Churchill, that ultimate admirer and friend of France has just a small street named after him. For all of the difficulties between the three nations, they have been more in accord rather than at odds for the last two decades.

The Paris Metro also has one of the most modern lines in the world. Line 14, which operates from Gare St. Lazare to Olympiads. This line is fully automated and has doors on the station platforms that open along with the doors of the trains, as in the St. Petersburg Metro.

However, like elsewhere in the Western world, the public transport system principally serves the core. For the large share of people who commute from suburb to suburb, the radial Paris public transport system requires transfer in the core.

Needless to say, people with cars will not take the time (and the economic output of Paris is better for it). Surveys have shown that in suburban areas with superior RER (regional rail metro) service more than twice as many jobs can be reached by car as by public transport in an hour.

Airports

Paris is served by two major airports, Orly and Charles de Gaulle (Roissy). Orly is the older of the two and served as the international airport until Charles de Gaulle was opened. The two airports are on the opposite sides of the ville de Paris. Orly is in the middle of the southern suburbs, while Charles de Gualle is on the northern fringe of the urban area.

Charles de Gualle has two principal terminals. Aerogare 1 comes out of a mold not dissimilar to that of the Marne le Valley architecture and is one of the least customer friendly terminals to be found in a major affluent world airport. Gates require long moving sidewalk trips, some in glass tubes that might be appropriate for science fiction movies, but not for people serious about getting to their destinations. Again, like so much built in the 1960s and 1970s, a triumph of architecture over practicality.

Terminal 2 could not be more different. It is one of the most customer friendly terminals in the world, with comparatively short walks to the gates and a far superior arrangement for ticketing (Plates 149-151).

Both terminals prosper from the superior French efficiency in customs and immigration. It is not unusual to be outside baggage claim less than 20 minutes after having left a seat in the airplane.

Terminal 3 is newer and utilitarian. It principally serves budget airlines, which have proliferated with airline deregulation and the enlargement of the European Union to include the eastern European nations.

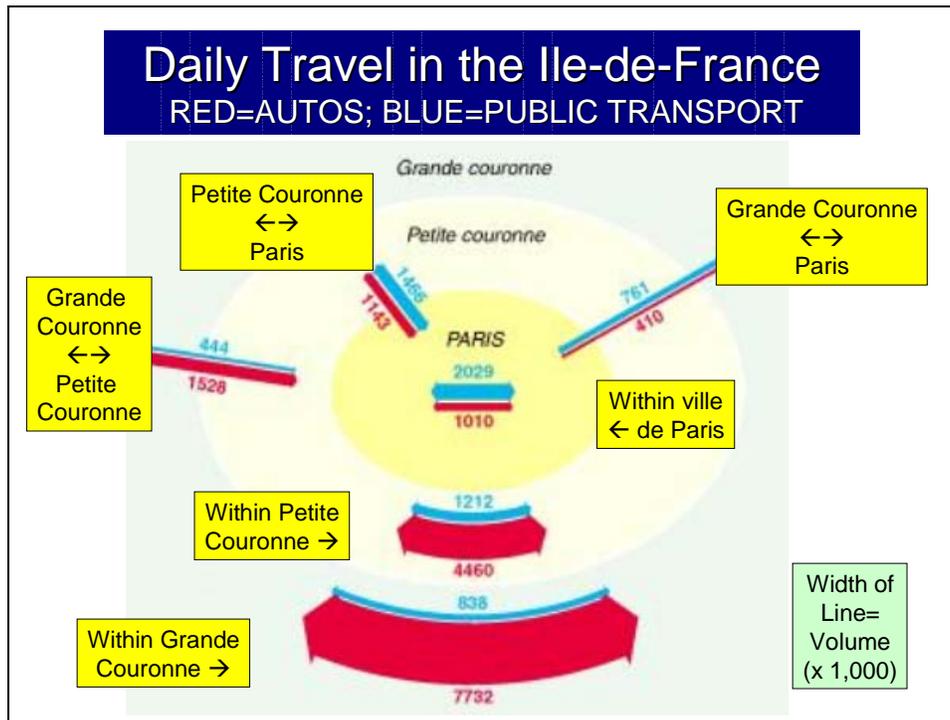


Figure 6: Passenger Transport in the Ile-de-France

Links
Urban Terms: http://www.demographia.com/db-define.pdf
Paris Urban Area Population & Density History: http://www.demographia.com/db-parisua.htm
Ville de Paris Population History: http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-history.htm
Pairs Area Employment by Area: http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-empl.htm
Paris Demographic Index: http://www.demographia.com/dbx-paris.htm

¹ For definitions of urban terms see <http://www.demographia.com/db-define.pdf>.

² Rankings: 2005 among urban 707 areas with more than 500,000 population (<http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.com>)

³ Urban area rankings: Projections among 205 urban areas with more than 500,000 population (<http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua2015.com>)

⁴ Ile-de-France. No ranking because of the lack of reliable international criteria The only known reliable metropolitan area ranking is limited to the largest 20 (Richard L. Forstall, Richard P. Greene and James B. Pick, *Which Are the Largest: Why Published Populations for Major Urban Areas Vary so Greatly*.)

⁵ The ville de Paris represents only a comparatively small part of the Paris metropolitan area or urban area population, as is indicated below.

⁶ See Center for Economics and Business Research, Ltd and Observatoire de l'Economie et des Institutions Locales University of Paris XII, 1997. *Two Great Cities: A Comparison of the Economics of London and Paris*.

⁷ <http://www.demographia.com/db-intlcitylossrt.htm>.

⁸ <http://www.rentalcartours.net/rac-manila.pdf>

⁹ <http://www.demographia.com/db-mumbaidistr91.htm>

¹⁰ Excludes Bois de Vincennes.

¹¹ Excludes Bois de Boulogne.

¹² <http://www.rentalcartours.net/rac-cairo.pdf>,

¹³ Despite the continuing productivity superiority of Australian home builders, housing has become excessively unaffordable, especially in the last decade, because of "smart growth" or "urban consolidation" land rationing policies. The result is that the average price of land for residential development has increased at more than any of the 90 elements measured by the Consumer Price Index. Generally, the land for residential development should comprise one-third or less of the house plus land price. In Australia, it is now nearly 60 percent. This is described in greater detail in the *Third Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey* (<http://www.demographia.com/dhi-ix2005q3.pdf>).

¹⁴ <http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-commml.htm>.

¹⁵ http://www.fromtheheartland.org/blog/2006/04/paris_mass_transit_priority_1b.php.



Dom Expo - Plaisir

1



Suburbs: St. Quentin

2



Boulevard Peripherique

3



4



5

Suburbs



6



7

Suburbs



8



Montparnasse Area

9



Montparnasse Area

10



11

Suburbs



12



13

Suburbs



14



15

Suburbs



16



17

Suburbs



18



19

Suburbs



Gagny

20



21

Suburbs



22



23

Suburbs



24



25

Suburbs



26



Suburbs

27



Suburbs

28



29

Suburbs



30



31

Suburbs



32

Suburbs



33

Suburbs



34



35

Suburbs



36



37

Suburbs



38

Shopping Center Parking Lot: Val-de-Marne



39

Suburbs



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41

Suburbs



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43

Boulevard Peripherique



44



Entrance to Voie G. Pompidou from Bd. Peripherique

45



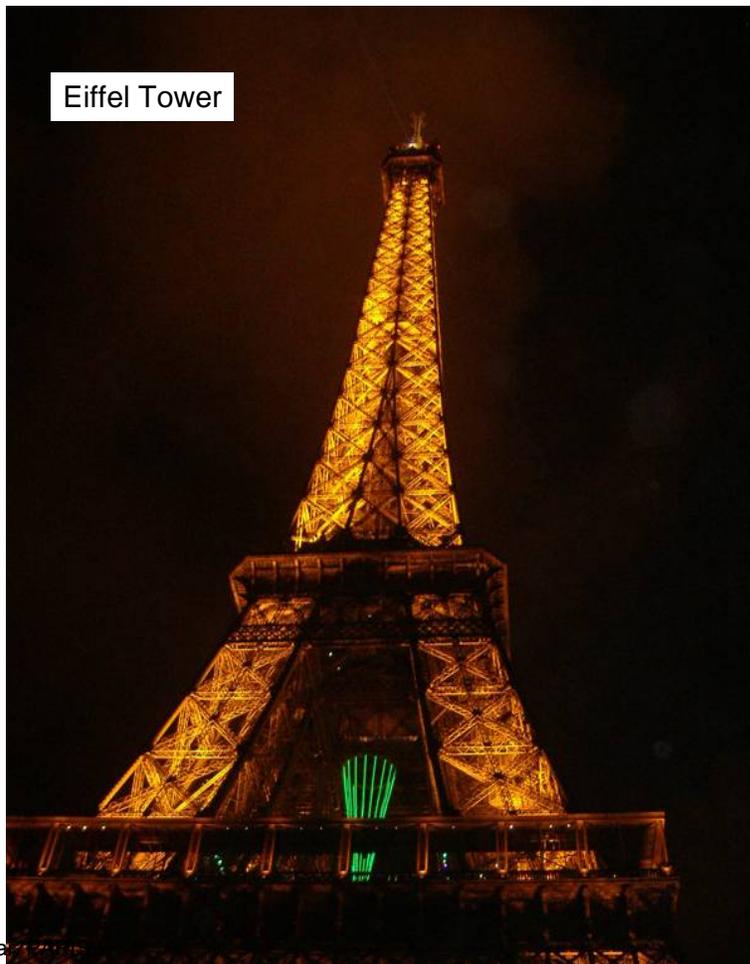
Champs-Elysee & Arc de Triomphe

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Arc de Triomphe | Etoile-Charles de Gaulle

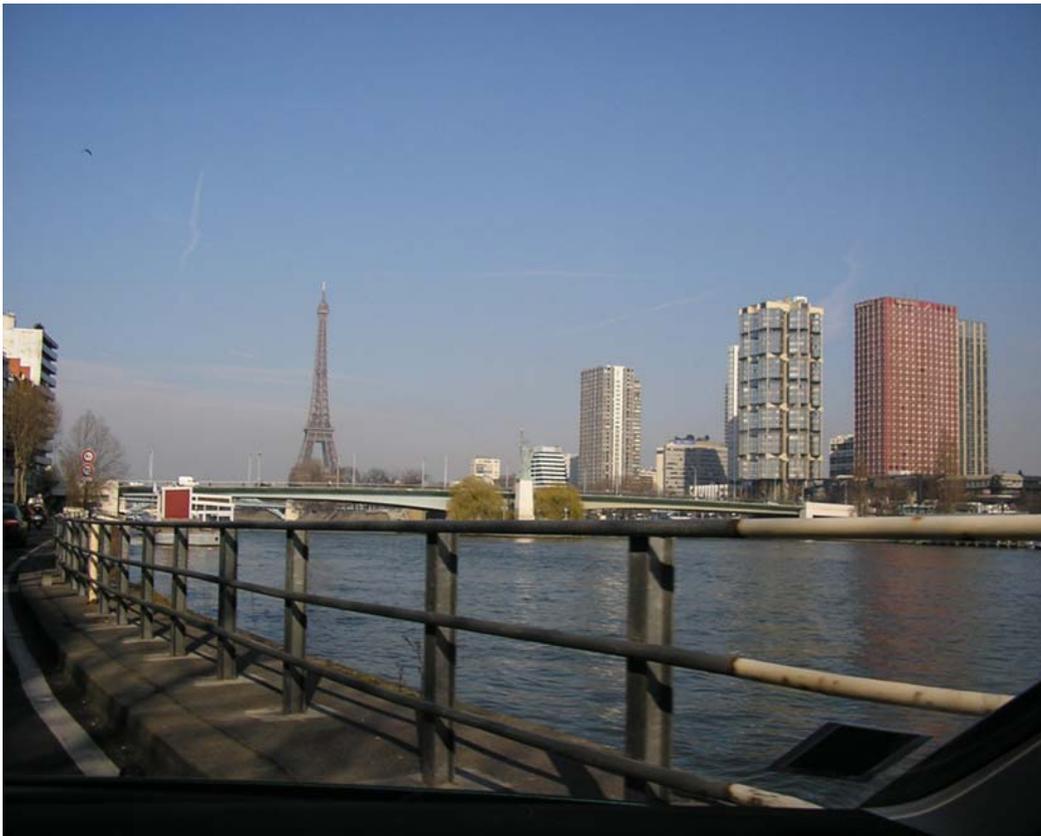


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Eiffel Tower

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Eiffel Tower & Office Buildings at Former Citroen Site

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Office Buildings at Former Citroen Site



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Pantheon



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Rue Montgoueil (Pedestrian Quarter)



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RN-20: St-Germain-Les-Arpajon



RN-20

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Place de République

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Ville de Paris

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Place de Republique

58

Place de Republique



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60



Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Gare St. Lazare

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RER Train

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Metro

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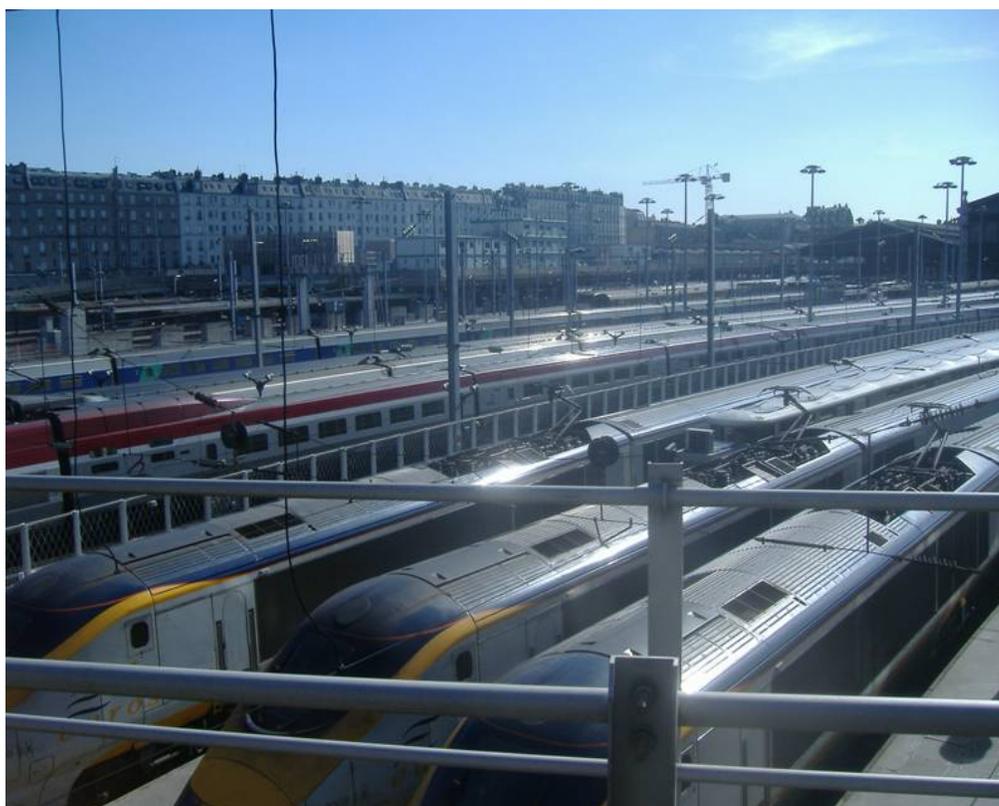
Metro

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Gare de l'Est

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Gare du Nord

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Gare du Nord

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Gare de Lyon

74



Metro

75



Gare du Nord

76



Gare St. Lazare

77



Gare St. Lazare

78



Metro

79



Metro

80



Ville de Paris

81



Ville de Paris

82



Ville de Paris

83



Place de Clichy

84



Boulevard de Batignoles: Sacre Ceour in Distance

85



Boulevard de Batignoles: Sacre Ceour in Distance

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Boulevard de Batignoles

87



Boulevard de Batignoles: Sacre Coeur in Distance

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Ville de Paris

89



Ville de Paris

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91

Ville de Paris



92

Ville de Paris



Ville de Paris

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Boulevard de Sebastopol Toward Ile-de-la-Cite

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Ville de Paris

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Ville de Paris

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Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers



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Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers

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Across the Street from Gare du Nord



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Northeast from Eiffel Tower

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East from Eiffel Tower: Invalides in Foreground

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Northwest from Eiffel Tower | Near: Trocadero | Far: La Defense

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La Defense

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La Defense

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La Defense

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Garnier Opera



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Garnier Opera



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Basilica St Denis

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Basilica St Denis | Louis XVI & Marie Antoinette

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Hotel de Ville St Denis

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St Denis

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Basilica du Sacre Coeur

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Basilica du Sacre Coeur

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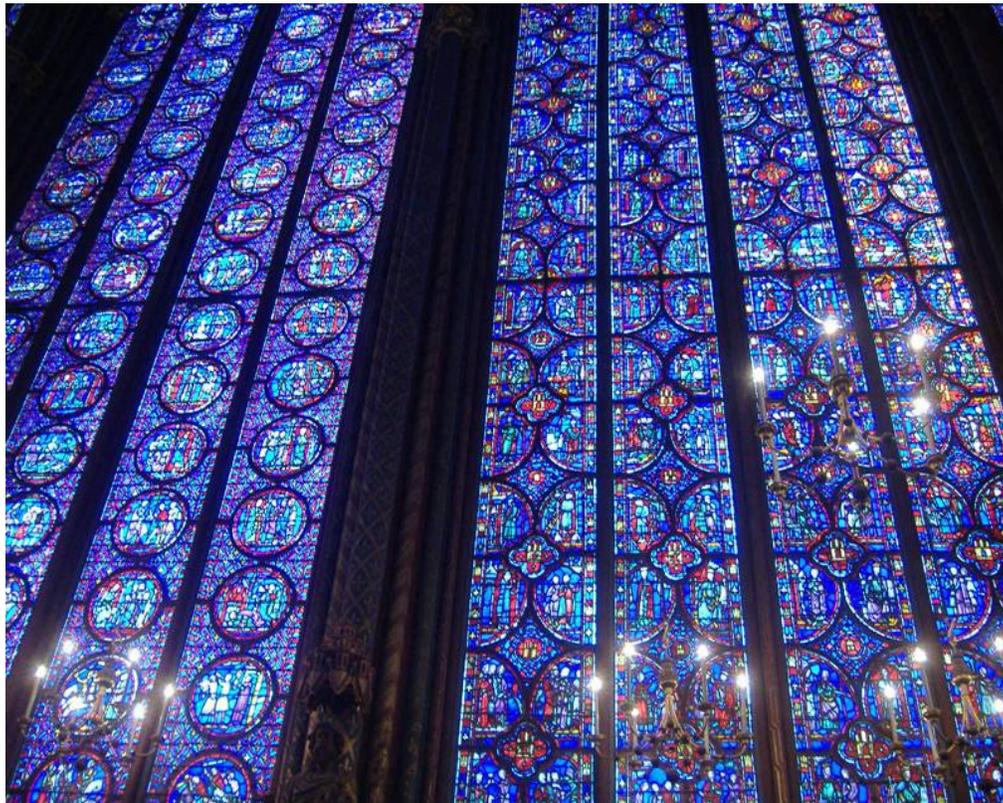
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Eiffel Tower from Montmartre

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St. Chapelle

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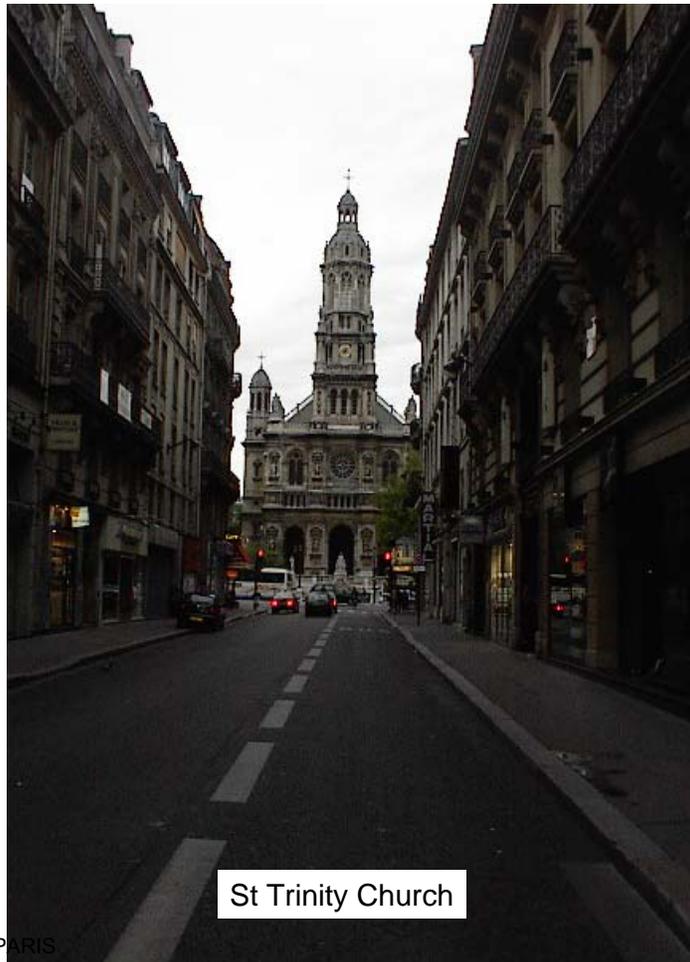
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Madeleine Church

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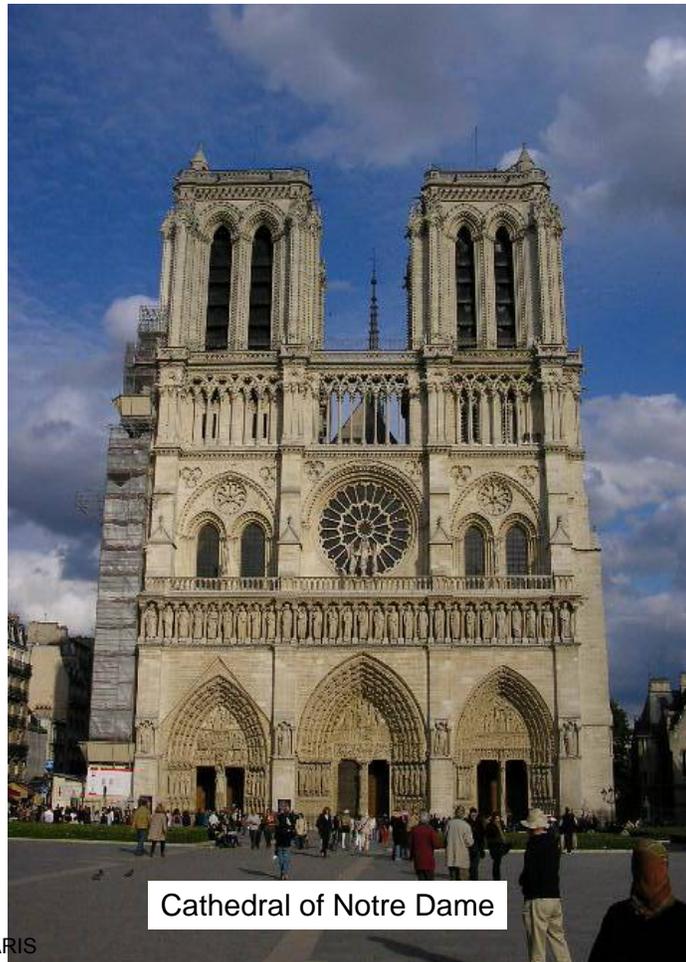
St Trinity Church

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St. Augustine Church

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Cathedral of Notre Dame

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Cathedral of Notre Dame

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Hotel de Ville (Paris)

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Hotel de Ville (Paris)

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Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois

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Marne le Valley



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Gare du Nord | Left: Eurostar | Middle: Thalys



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Montparnasse Station

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Montparnasse Area

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Montparnasse Area

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Montparnasse Area

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Northern Suburbs

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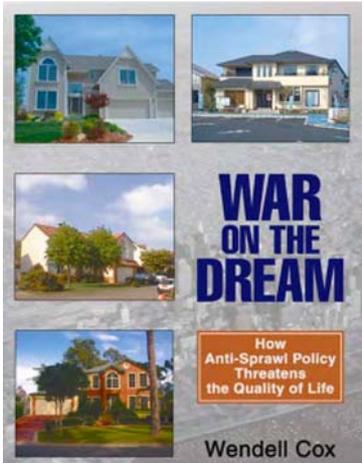
Western Suburbs

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Northern Suburbs

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War on the Dream

How Anti-Sprawl Policy Threatens the Quality of Life

By Wendell Cox

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http://www.iuniverse.com/bookstore/book_detail.asp?issbn=0595399487

Summary and Chapter Titles:

<http://www.demographia.com/wod1.pdf>

Urban Tours by Rental Car: About the Series

Urban Tours by Rental Car offers perspectives on urban development obtained by automobile tours through urban areas. Rental cars are not the favored method for visiting cities, especially those outside one's own country. Instead, tourists and urban planners favor packaged tours or local public transport systems. Both are splendid ways for seeing the city as it used to be --- the very reason for most tourist visits. The historical core areas contain monuments, prime government and religious edifices and quaint neighborhoods that are often centuries old. This is particularly important to tourists from the newer urban areas of the American, Canadian or Australian West, where history extends not far before World War II. It is further understandable that few tourists travel thousands of miles to see the newer suburban areas that look very much like home. But most tourists do not profess to be students of the urban area.

For the urban planner interested in understanding the whole urban area, it is not enough to study the core alone, regardless of its architectural attractiveness, romanticism, history or affirmation of an individually preferred life style. No one, regardless of the depth of their education can develop reliable conceptions from an unrepresentative sample, and urban cores are the very essence of unrepresentative samples. Both public transport and packaged tours miss the larger part --- the expanse of sprawling residential and business development that rings virtually all major urban areas. They may be of little interest to many urban planners, but they should be.

Stripping away regional architectural facades, one might as well be in the suburbs of Phoenix, Portland, Perth or Paris. Here, the automobile is king, because no public transport system has been developed that can effectively serve destinations outside the core (at least at a price any society can afford). While public transport market shares are higher in European suburban areas than in the New World, much of the difference is attributable to lower incomes and less automobile access. Indeed, public transport's principal weakness, lack of automobile competitiveness, is itself a contributing factor to the rising motorization occurring from the suburbs of Copenhagen and Nagoya to the suburbs of Lagos and Mumbai. To oversimplify this phenomenon as being a "love affair with the automobile" is the equivalent of saying that Singaporeans or Brazilians have a love affair with air conditioning. Human beings prefer comfort to discomfort and they prefer free time to time over which they have no control.

It is no wonder that tourists return to the United States thinking that all Paris looks like the second arrondissement (less than one percent does) and that urban planners think all of Milan looks like the architectural treasures that surround the Cathedral. In fact, the sprawling suburbs of Europe, Japan, Canada and Connecticut resemble one another in many ways. For any seeking to study the urban area in its entirety --- not just the favored haunts of core-dwelling elites --- there is no alternative to "getting behind the wheel." Thus, *Urban Tours by Rental Car*