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2020 FFJ/Michelin Foundation Fellow

December 2021

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Abstract

This study searches for French urban mobility practices with the dilemma of planned versus lived spaces with a focus on the specific urban planning practice of pedestrianization. The contradictory interplay of residential, commercial and transport-led mobility is studied in Paris through direct observation, primary and secondary data collection. Moreover, the possible impacts of the on-going pandemic on this interplay of personal mobility, residential mobility and commercial mobility is recognized as a major factor –a game changer– in the Paris study. The Paris study findings are compared to Japanese pedestrianization practices from a perspective of municipally-led and gentrification-induced mobility practices as part of the urban neoliberal agenda.

The Paris field study was made from February to June 2021. It composed mainly of an online survey with Paris (Île-de-France) residents and a corresponding paper survey with shopkeepers of three local shopping streets in Paris, including Rue Montorgueil-Rue des Petits Carreaux (in 2nd arrondissement), Rue Cler (in 7th arrondissement) and Rue Daguerre (in 14th arrondissement). Both surveys were translated into French and had multiple choice questions regarding the respondent's personal situation, daily mobility habits and ideas on municipal pedestrianization efforts. The shop survey also had questions on the type of commerce, the effects of COVID-19 on one's business and ideas on the effects of shopping street pedestrianization on one's business in terms of number of customers, sales and shop value. The online resident survey was responded to by 119 people. The shop survey was done on Rue Montorgueil (31), Rue des Petits Carreaux (11), Rue Cler (25), Rue Daguerre (45), and the side streets of these shopping streets (9) on paper with the willing shopkeepers, who amounted to 121 altogether. Although the small size of the study surveys is a limitation of this study, the additional oral communication with the English-speaking shopkeepers about mobility and pedestrianization practices in Paris helped to mitigate this limitation. The online resident survey had been kept on purpose at Paris (Île-de-France) level with the intention of getting as much opinion as possible of Parisians on municipal pedestrianization efforts.

The survey analysis that had been conducted at two different geographical levels—Paris (Île-de-France) and specific local shopping streets—on purpose indicated that Parisians can take a different stance against the on-going changes in the urban mobility regime of Paris, depending on their outlook as a resident or a local business. In that sense, their attitudes are not carved in stone, but they are quite flexible. Furthermore, the application of nonparametric tests of Chi-square test of independence and Fisher's exact test indicated statistically significant relationships among the data variables, such as age and ideas on pedestrianization (resident survey); duration of residence in Paris

(Île-de-France) and ideas on pedestrianization (resident survey); and place of residence and mode of transport to work (shop survey). Additional critical comments were made by some of the shopkeepers on Rue Cler and Rue Daguerre. Pedestrianization seems to create common problems for shops' regular product deliveries, when their customers want to make large purchases at once, or if they have luggage (as mentioned by hoteliers) in particular. A couple of shopkeepers also heavily criticized a lack of municipal support for local independent businesses, and urban planners who did not ask about their opinions regarding their street's pedestrianization as well as a wrong prioritization of pressing urban issues. Despite all these significant critiques, the study also found enormous support for the municipal pedestrianization efforts.

This study also looked at the real estate values by taking a snapshot of Paris apartment and shop values on two online sites, including: paris-housing.com and thestorefront.com to search for a possible connection between higher than average real estate prices, used as a proxy for gentrification and pedestrianization. The study acknowledges that private agencies may modulate their database and housing offers in accordance with a specific group of customers, hence their online catalogues may not represent the actual price averages as a whole. Yet other potential databases were out of reach for the researcher because of language and economic barriers. Based on this simple real estate data analysis, although the m2 rental values for apartments and shops that are located near pedestrian streets seem to be higher than the Paris average in a few cases, this is not enough to conclude that there is a statistically significant relationship between pedestrianization and real estate values. It would require a consideration of the mediating factors, such as the assets' own qualities, centrality, convenience, and availability of facilities and greenery nearby to cancel out their effects besides a more long-term data to compare the pre- and post-pedestrianization rental values.

The paper concludes that despite the common tendency to prioritize active transport modes, such as walking and bicycling by the urban mobility regimes belonging to countries at different development levels, the mobility-based urban change policy and practices cause differing outcomes in different contexts. These can range from the more beneficial, such as resilience against environmental and health crises to the more controversial, including involuntary moves of people and shops (displacement) and more expensive, over-aestheticized cities of consumption (touristification and gentrification) with strengthened socio-economic demarcation lines between their citizens. The research underlines the possibility that popular urban policy discourses, in this case, a pedestrian-friendly city might create just the opposite ends depending on their way of implementation and contextual factors. At the same time, this paper argues that only by taking into account the opposite political stances of: the right to stay put, place-making, dwelling, anti-displacement, occupy and slow city movements in relation to the use of city space just as much as fluidity, liquidity, and mobility, more even forms of urban mobility can be achieved in the crisis-tested contemporary cities of the world.

Keywords

Mobility, Pedestrianization, Shopping streets, Gentrification, Planned versus lived spaces

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The paper concludes that despite the common tendency to prioritize active transport modes, such as walking and bicycling by the urban mobility regimes belonging to countries at different development levels, the mobility-based urban change policy and practices cause differing outcomes in different contexts. These can range from the more beneficial, such as resilience against environmental and health crises to the more controversial, including involuntary moves of people and shops (displacement) and more expensive, over-aestheticized cities of consumption (touristification and gentrification) with strengthened socio-economic demarcation lines between their citizens. The research underlines the possibility that popular urban policy discourses, in this case, a pedestrian-friendly city might create just the opposite ends depending on their way of implementation and contextual factors. At the same time, this paper argues that only by taking into account the opposite political stances of: the right to stay put, place-making, dwelling, anti-displacement, occupy and slow city movements in relation to the use of city space just as much as fluidity, liquidity, and mobility, more even forms of urban mobility can be achieved in the crisis-tested contemporary cities of the world.

Keywords: mobility, pedestrianization, shopping streets, gentrification, planned versus lived spaces.

1. Introduction

Goods, services, capital, and people live in a continuous state of flux (Bauman, 2000; Castells, Fernández-Ardèvol, Linchuan Qiu, and Sey, 2006) in the globalized world. This (hyper-)mobile condition in people's living that was achieved largely by advanced technologies created both opportunities for them in terms of international relations, work, and culture, but it caused issues of socio-spatial disparities and global risks (Beck, 1992 [1986]). For example, the latest COVID-19 pandemic continues to infect thousands of people, cause many deaths, and it also limits to a large extent the daily personal mobility of millions of people around the world by captivating them into their homes. Hence, mobility matters whether it is the direct mobility of people, money, goods, and services or the indirect mobility of viruses, financial crises, and other global issues.

Mobility is a broad concept, including various types of mobility, such as personal mobility, residential mobility, and migration. Lefebvre and Harvey were talking about capital mobility in their analyses of circuits of capital (Gottdiener, 1985). Mobility also concerns the issues of mobility-subjects, mobility-objects and mobility-scapes (Divall, 2014: 38). How different groups of people travel in the city to access their work, homes, shopping and other personal services, education, health or cultural facilities, and recreational areas like public parks is a significant issue for their quality of life. People's daily urban mobility resonates economically, socially, ecologically, and politically.

The specific topic of transport mobility, including commuting has become a major area of concern for local governments, particularly in the current context of the pandemic. For this reason, it is not surprising to see news such as, "Paris mayor unveils '15-minute city' plan in re-election campaign" in the Guardian (Willsher, 2020). Similar ideas emerge in academic vocabulary, such as compact city, smart city or the assertion that "Ideally, to satisfy everyday needs, you never have to leave your neighborhood." (Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen, 2016: 4) Yet, there are continuing inequalities in terms of people's access to mobility –expressed as motility (Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye, 2004), despite the "democratization of mobility" (Divall, 2014: 40) in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

If there are transnational, "kinetic" (Adey et.al, 2014: 14) or "hyper-mobile" (Sheller, 2014: 48) elites or "mobility pioneers" (Kesselring and Vogl, 2008; Sheller, 2014: 49) that remind of gentrifiers on the one hand, we see "nomadic movements, or the forced or semi-forced movements of people displaced by, for example, war, famine, religious persecution or economic circumstances" (Divall, 2014: 40) on the other. The mobility literature often quotes Doreen Massey's concept of "power geometry" to refer to such social inequalities that were deepened by especially, the technological understandings of mobility (Adey et.al, 2014: 11).

Kaufmann (2016) explains to us how the dominant model of aspiration in France, which has been a combination of the use of automobile and single-family dwellings in the outer suburbs, had effects on the supply and demand of housing and public policy in general. This social disposition that reinforces a dichotomous vision of the city as the historical centre versus the outer suburbs also curbs the possibilities for alternative lifestyle expectations that connect different parts of the city or what Divall (2014) links to "counter-hegemonic or 'subversive' – systems" (39). In that sense, France seems to have pursued until now the capitalist, autocentric transport regime that also led to some crisis; the recent yellow vests movement is an example.

Yet, this work questions the other end of the dichotomous city view based on the currently dominant urban planning assumptions that promote living small in one's neighbourhood with limited

personal and transport mobility, together with the idea of pedestrians as consumers to assist the urban shopping streets in decline. On the contrary, this paper argues that mobility policy and practices led by public-private initiatives, such as the pedestrianization practice can cause contradictory outcomes, such as involuntary moves of people and businesses that is displacement besides over- or under-planned, dull, and more expensive cities depending on the mobility policies' nature and implementation. In this way, it underlines the possibility that widely adopted urban discourses, such as pedestrianization, compact city or smart city might create just the opposite ends, such as an overplanned, dull, plus more expensive city.

This study is particularly about people's mobility on foot versus automobility or public transport mobility in contemporary cities. It seeks to explain how different types of mobility help or undermine each other under different socio-political and administrative circumstances. For this purpose, it also looks at the Japanese case as a point of reference for Japan, being a similarly developed country that has the same issues of for example, shrinking cities and retail decline, and yet that is less car-centric in major cities, and therefore, without so much policy emphasis at present on pedestrianization. The study focuses on the French urban planning practices of mobility that contain the dilemma of planned versus lived spaces, considering that the society does not always abide by the plan and most often creates its own uses as convenient (Lefebvre, 2014 [1974]; Sennett, 2019).

2. Gentrification and mobility

Gentrification as a post-industrial urban change process is usually explained by either rent gaps that happen in the neglected central urban areas or by people's –including the hyper-mobile elite or mobility pioneers– preferences to live in these central city areas. In the post-COVID World, the possible tendency of re-suburbanization's (Tendil, 2020) bringing gentrification of the city centres to a halt is being debated. If that actually happened, could it help to solve the issues of shrinking cities and retail decline in medium-sized cities of the developed countries that are a common issue for both France and Japan? (Buhnik, 2018; Delage et.al, 2020) These retail changes are also caused by deregulatory legal changes that reduce the protection of small and medium-sized shops; this had been the case for Japan concerning the change in The Large Scale Retail Store Law (Tsuchiya and Riethmuller, 1997). Retail decline is a large issue that even leads to “food deserts” (Iwama et.al, 2021) in vulnerable parts of Japan. Will people continue to seek centrality in the city no matter what so that they can access conveniently to their work and urban amenities? This study develops a cautious outlook to the issue of mobility through a lens of gentrification.

Gentrification as an urban upgrading process causes real estate and lease rights to change hands. Therefore, it results in either residential mobility or commercial mobility, and sometimes both in city neighbourhoods. These residential and commercial changes involve voluntary or involuntary moves of apartments' or retail premises' existing tenants. If the commercial mobility is voluntary as in the case of French shopkeepers that sell their lease rights for capital gain, it is referred to as replacement. If it is a forced residential or commercial mobility because the existing tenants cannot afford the increased rents after gentrification, urban scholars label this negative outcome as displacement (Mermet, 2017: 1171). Bantman-Masum (2019) showcases in the West 11th district of Eastern Paris how displaced migrants can become commercial gentrifiers where they settle. Furthermore, not only people or commercial establishments and brands move, but also the borders of the gentrified area that is “the gentrification frontier” (Smith, 1996) expand and get mobilized.

The possible connection between gentrification and transport infrastructure developments in cities like Paris is analysed in various research (Doucet, 2019; Enright, 2013). While some work have a more positive approach to sustainable urban transport developments in collaboration of different levels of government (Halpern and Le Galès, 2015), others warn against the negative gentrification effects of mass transport development projects, such as the Grand Paris Express (Enright, 2013). In the latter scenario, the question of whose personal mobility is targeted through urban planning activities regarding public transport improvements matters. For example, a top-down pedestrianization, applied more as concretization to a shopping street or public square that is often the case in the Turkish cities might create the unexpected outcomes of not opening that place to the use of public, while producing instead, an overplanned and underused urban space.

Similar contradictions in the planning history of Paris were acknowledged as follows: “The stated objectives have often been uncontroversial, relating to poor housing standards and to the need for greater provision of cheap accommodation, but the outcomes have involved considerable social change within many of the affected areas” (Carpenter, Chaviré, and White, 1994: 225). A few decades ago, the redevelopment of the Les Halles area in Paris created similar controversies of planned versus lived spaces. There were as usual supporters (Zetter, 1975) and critics like Guy Debord or Louis Chevalier (Merrifield, 2017: 88 and 212) of this redevelopment too. More recently, the semi-pedestrianization of rue des Rosiers by the Paris local authority seems to have fostered commercial gentrification in the Marais. Again, SEMAEST led to a similar local state-led gentrification effect, while it actually tried to protect the retail mix of the Beabourg-Temple part of the Marais (Mermet, 2017: 1175). The depiction of retail decline as a prominent cause of inner-city decay (Delage et.al, 2020) often leads to state-led or state-supported efforts of revitalization and commercial gentrification.

In sum, any urban planning practice per se cannot always be all good for the city inhabitants, because it just sounds good or vice versa. For example, a “15-minute city” sounds definitely good, considering transport-related costs, including environmental costs and transport distress, especially after the on-going COVID-19. Yet, such a minimized city also harbours the risk of captivating people’s lives to their vicinity and limiting surprise and mobile encounters. Similarly, in certain shopping street pedestrianization practices, harsher conflicts, resulting from a displacement of the old tenants due to rent increases might occur, in addition to a change in the street’s retail mix.

3. Pedestrianization

Pedestrianization is first of all, about walking, which is an action made for various purposes. Pedestrianization is defined as the “conversion of a road to pedestrian use, often planted and provided with street furniture and amenities” or the “removal of vehicular traffic to create a pedestrian zone or mall [US]” (Evert et.al, 2010). Although pedestrianization is commonly assumed to be beneficial for people, urban life and the environment, there are also critics of pedestrianism. Blomley (2014) criticizes the pedestrianist logic or pedestrianism in the usage of sidewalks by giving references to Jacobs, Whyte, Goffman and de Certeau. He argues that this pedestrianist logic takes away from the sidewalks the civil humanist logic or the possibility of “mobile (social) encounters” (474) and other uses on them as public spheres.

Concerning urban planning history, Stavrides (2018 [2016]) mentions “cities without qualities” that resulted from the modernist programs of separating pedestrian and vehicle uses of the city. Haussmann, Le Corbusier and others planned and established cities which became places without any contestations and unpredictable interactions or unregulated encounters in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century (Stavrides, 2018: 134- 135). Jacobs (2017 [1961]) also criticizes the aforementioned orthodox city planners for their anti-urban, anti-street and anti-social policies that seek after solutions to the urban problems outside the city. Yet it is also important not to neglect the different needs of cities of the early and late modern eras while tracing the pedestrianization critique to the past urban planning efforts. Next, we look at the histories of pedestrianization in Japanese and French cities.

3.1 Pedestrianization in Japan

Although the English literature on pedestrianization in Japan is limited, it provides in broad brushstrokes a historical outline of the urban planning practices to reduce motor vehicle traffic volumes in major Japanese cities, such as Osaka and Tokyo with an emphasis on the local shopping streets and other commercial areas. Yet, the terminology used to describe the urban revitalization efforts by public and private stakeholders that also contain at least, partial changes in the urban mobility regimes of Japanese cities is not necessarily pedestrianization. Traffic calming is quite commonly mentioned in studies on urban mobility in Japan.

Traffic calming (*apaisement de la circulation*) is defined as “measures to reduce vehicle speed, excessive traffic volume, and other safety concerns on neighborhood streets” (Rahman, Sakamoto, and Kubota, 2007: 96). Traffic calming started with the pedestrianization of shopping streets in Germany in the 1960s (the British Environmental Traffic Management was also adopted in 1963) and continued with the traffic-calmed residential areas (*woonerf*) in the Netherlands in the 1970s. In the 1980s, area wide traffic calming (*verkehrsberuhigung*) commenced in Germany, and local area traffic management programs began to be observed in Australian cities. This is also when the first traffic-calmed residential area design was implemented in Osaka’s Nagaike-cho district in Abeno Ward as an initial attempt for a modern traffic calming (*kōtsū seionka*) in Japanese cities.



Figure 1 Traffic calming in "Yuzuriha Road" in Osaka's Nagaike-cho (Source: <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/コミュニティ道路>)

This initial step in creating Japanese pedestrian streets (community streets or roads in the Japanese language) was followed by formulating area-wide traffic calming in Japanese cities as “road-pia” after 1984. *Road-pia* is interpreted as “an area in which pedestrians and residents have both safety and comfort secured for them” (Yamanaka, Yamaguchi, and Tuchihashi, 1998: 378). It involves elements of both urban design for environmental upgrading and direct traffic safety measures, such as speed humps, entry narrowing and raised junctions. These early efforts for traffic calming in Japanese cities were followed by 1996 “Community Zone” (Zone 30) that implemented traffic calming devices, such as speed humps, chokers, and chicanes in more than 150 areas in Japan.

This community zone idea was later reformulated as a “Living Zone” (*Kurashi no Michi Zōn*) in 2003 to involve more area residents’ voices in planning such places (Rahman, Sakamoto, and Kubota, 2007). The overall aim was to create barrier-free, pedestrian and cyclist priority areas in the city with enhanced living environments through traffic calming devices, green areas and removal of electricity poles. For example, we learn from a particular redevelopment story of Ginza Street in Tokyo that the removal of the electricity poles was indeed a major concern for the urban planners along with the abolition of tram, promotion of pedestrianization, renewal of street lights, and planting the right kind of trees (Miyashita and Nakajima, 2018). All these changes played a role in creating a “nationalistic townscape” against a Western promenade (ibid: 3). A similar redevelopment entitled, the ABLE City project (2005) in the post-bubble context of Tokyo’s Marunoichi also included pedestrianization and revegetation (Languillon-Aussel, 2014: 7). Public space improvements by private developers have become another means of urban redevelopment in Japan (Dimmer, 2012).

The Japanese urban mobility regime improvements after the second half of the 20th century focused on traffic regulations regarding car parking and bicycle usage in the city. Foreexample, the Vehicle Custody Space Law (1962) helped to solve urban residents’ car parking problem at night. In addition, the parking charges were kept high and differentiated based on the area’s land value. This issue of the change of real estate values in relation to urban mobility patterns and pedestrianization also appears in a Hong Kong study (Leung, 2009) and a second study on the grade separation of pedestrian systems, such as underground and skywalk systems (Cui, Allan, and Lin, 2013). Japanese traffic regulations used to consider bicycles as light vehicles that should share the road with the cars. The emergency refugee ordinance in 1970 had allowed bicycles to use the pavements to reduce the death tolls until 2007, when the Road Traffic Law was modified to separate bicycling from walking. For this purpose, the Adjustment Policies on Cycling Space in Tokyo were adopted in 2010 to prepare for special lanes for bicycles on the roads (Li, 2016: 766).

Transport occupied a significant place in Japanese town making as well. To and Chong (2017) depicted this centrality of transport in small and medium-sized Japanese towns in the below scheme that represents the Japanese town plans in the pedestrian, railway and automobile transport eras. Accordingly, the Japanese cities developed residentially and commercially on a perpendicular axis to the train station during the railway era (Njeru and Kinoshita, 2019: 46). However, during the automobile city, a suburban development with its separate shopping alternative is observed.

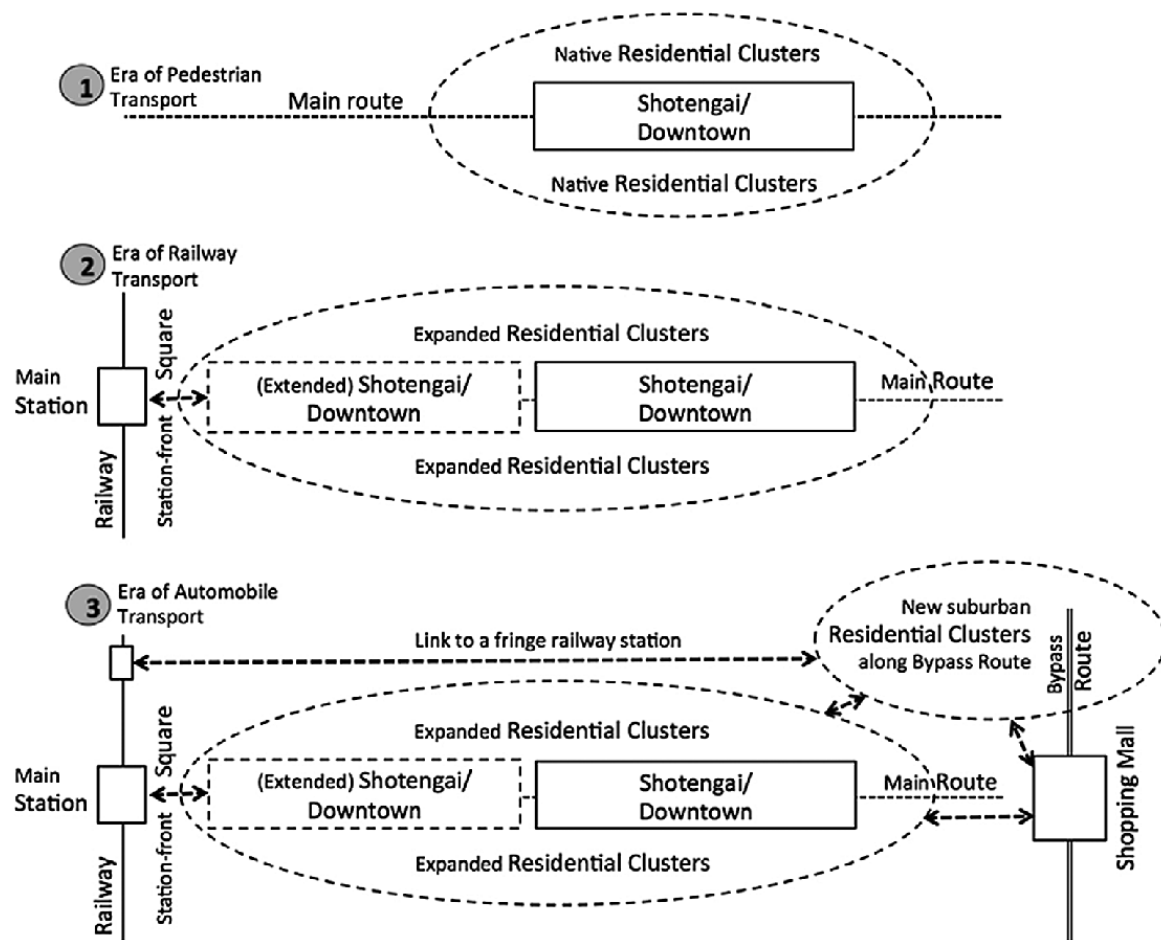


Figure 2 Japanese town plans in historical periods with different dominant modes of transport (Source: To and Chong, 2017: 642)

Although the community road trials go back to the 1980s in Japan, pedestrianization is closely connected with the Japanese cities' revitalization efforts since the 2000s, when Japan started to recover back from "the lost decade" of the 1990s after the bubble economy. Languillon-Aussel (2014: 2), following other authors (Aveline, 2006), divided the recent Japanese history into three periods, including: the 1970-80s when the economy was financialized; the 1990s as a decade of slowdown or lost decade, and 2000-2010s as the recovery years. The Japanese urban revitalization and corresponding pedestrianization efforts belong to the last period. For example, an official plan was adopted in 2016 to create "a 'comfortable walking environment' " (Lobo, Tsukamoto, and Sánchez, 2019: 422) in Tokyo's highly genderfied Jiyūgaoka; genderfication here refers to how gender and commercial mechanisms work together in transforming the city.

Traffic calming and pedestrianization practices in Japan are evaluated in terms of their effects on: traffic volume, vehicle speed, and accidents (Yamanaka, Yamaguchi, and Tuchihashi, 1998: 378). Traffic safety (*kōtsū anzen*) is a keyword in the municipal planning documents, such as the Tenth Osaka City Road Safety Plan for 2016-2020 (Osaka City, 2016). Yet, the social aspect of pedestrianization in Japan is touched upon in studies that examine the communal role of the changing local shopping streets (*shōtengai*). In a study of Tokyo's Honcho-dori in Adachi Ward and Pearl Centre in Suginami Ward, the quality of shopping streets as "valuable community spaces" (Njeru and Kinoshita, 2019: 45) beyond their functions of shopping and mobility is especially underlined. The diminishing shopping street sociability—being the central aspect of Heide Imai's alleyways work—

against the shopping streets’ becoming “mere mobility channels” (ibid: 59) that connect people’s residences to other destinations was criticized. Yet, the study also stated that a “mere restriction of cars has not been sufficient in encouraging the consideration of these streets as communal open spaces for local residents” (ibid: 60) either.

Most of the Japanese local shopping streets are only temporarily car-free. Their pedestrianization is limited to certain hours rather than a full-pedestrianization (To and Chong, 2017; Njeru and Kinoshita, 2019). Even though Njeru and Kinoshita (2019: 57) identified a preference for full-pedestrianization in the case of Tokyo’s Honcho-dori, there were also concerns regarding the possible inconveniences for product deliveries and people with luggage, in addition to a worry that “manners of cyclists and pedestrians will worsen”. A comparative study of London’s and Japan’s street markets also questioned the full-pedestrianization practice by suggesting that “the permanent pedestrianization of existing streets, an answer to overcrowding, noise, road safety and air pollution, is an expensive solution that not necessarily supports markets” (Suzuki and Almazan, 2016: 876) and hence, supported the claim for temporary or partial forms of the pedestrianization practice.

The particular motivations of safety, comfortable living and shopping street revitalization are what distinguish the Japanese pedestrianization examples. In that regard, the Japanese urban mobility regime rests more on economic and social targets than political and environmental. Despite the underlined inadequacy of formal guidelines for residents’ involvement in the traffic calming processes (Rahman, Sakamoto, and Kubota, 2007: 95), Japanese pedestrianization studies do not point to major social debates concerning the practice.

3.2 Pedestrianization in France

The more determining role of the local government in Paris in pursuing its ‘green’ urban mobility agenda also rendered this pursuit more controversial in an urban context that has long been shaped according to “an automobile habitus” (Flonneau, 2006: 102). The origins of major urban planning and transport developments in Paris date back to much earlier till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of which are summarized in the Table 1 below. Nowadays, there is an on-going urban renewal for the 2024 Olympic Games in the city. Moreover, there is a plan for ‘full’ pedestrianization of the first four districts of Paris for 2022 (BBC News, 2021) and plans to shift to gasless cars and create urban forests by 2030 (Oliver, 2021).

1850	Finalizing Rue de Rivoli as a major axis that links the east and west
19th c.	Pedestrian arcades
1818	Appearance of an early form of bicycle in Paris
1837	Launching the first railroad
1846	Opening Gare du Nord
1850s	Operating the first Paris tramway
1853	Beginning of Haussmannization
~1898	Car manufacturing by Renault
1898-1920s	Constructing the Paris Métro
1900	Opening the first métro line; replacing horse-drawn cabs (<i>fiacres</i>) by taxis
1903	Starting Tour de France
1906	Operating buses first from Montparnasse to Saint-Germain
Early 20th c.	Funiculars in Montmartre and Belleville

1914	Electrifying the tramways
1919	Opening Paris-Le Bourget Airport
1934	Prost Plan
1937	Ending the tramways
1960-1970s	Automobilization
1961	Launching Réseau Express Régional (RER)
1973	Completing the peripheral highway
1974	Opening Charles de Gaulle Airport
1977	Operating RER Lines A and B
1979	Opening Forum les Halles as a major transport hub of the city
1981	Opening the first TGV rail line between Paris and Lyon
1991	Making Rue Montorgueil pedestrian-friendly
1992	Returning the trams
2007	Initiating the Vélib bicycle rental system
2015	Starting to apply the Paris Respire Policy (an automobile ban on the first Sunday of the month)
2018-9	Yellow Vest Movement against the rising fuel prices and living costs
2019	Extending the Paris Respire Policy to all Sundays
2020	Turning many miles of roads into bike lanes

Table 1 Major transport and urban planning developments in Paris history (prepared based on: Harison, 2020)

Feriel traces the first pedestrian zones back to the 1960s for both Europe and the U.S. that he names as “the first phase of pedestrianisation” (Feriel, 2013: 1). Although the U.S. took the lead by developing the pedestrian malls, it had also given up earlier, because the malls depended largely on the vitality of their area retailers. This close relation between commerce and mobility is studied more deeply by Guillemot (2016), who summarizes the history of retail changes in accordance with the changes in urban mobility patterns in a way to emphasize how mobility has very much been incorporated into capitalist modernity. Again, Descamps (2021:13) directs criticism at “the peri-urbanisation of commerce” that he connects with automobilization. However, the key period for (the first phase) pedestrianization in French cities was the 1970s for Feriel (2013). He separates these early pedestrianization attempts in the 1960-70s and those after the 1980s. While the former rested on an idea of “separation” of functions and different modes of transport, the latter are developed with an idea of “cohabitation” of pedestrians and cars as in the rearrangements of Rue Montorgueil in 1991-2 and Place de la République in 2013 (Feriel, 2013: 5).

Debie, Maulat and Berroir (2020) find spatial and social limits to sustainable mobility policies in their work that compares Brussels and Paris in terms of public policies on car use based on planning and project documents and institutional interviews. The spatial limits are caused by a centre-periphery polarisation, whereas the social limits result from social issues and inequalities. The authors argue that there are social and spatial differences in car ownership and use among Paris, inner-ring and outer-ring, despite a general decrease in car use in Île-de-France since the 1990s (Debie, Maulat and Berroir, 2020: 8). These discrepancies point to different mobility dynamics for the city centre and banlieue. The authors summarize mobility transformations in Paris from the early twentieth century’s city plans till the Île-de-France Urban Travel Plan, which was adopted in 2014 and had a clear objective of a “city for less car-use” (ibid: 8-10). The tools for achieving this objective included: walking, cycling, and changes in parking, public transport, transport vehicles, tramways, and old

expressways. Debates that arose from the centre-periphery dualism and centred on the river-bank closure project and optimisation of urban highways among various groups (ibid: 8), which were involved in the transport governance of Paris (Île-de-France), are revealed (ibid: 10-12).

Brenac, Reigner and Hernandez (2013) approach pedestrianization in France more critically based on a longitudinal analysis of discourses and practices surrounding the issue. They interpret rendering city centres for pedestrians as an urban marketing strategy for competing with other cities that causes uneven urban development. These authors underline the fact that pedestrianization of the centre might bring about a further automobilization of the distant peripheries. This leads to questions of socio-spatial sorting (of people, vehicles and activities) and whether privileged islands of urban quality are being created (Brenac, Reigner and Hernandez, 2013: 272). The social and environmental gains of the gentrifying centre are offset by negative developments outside because of this “spatial selectivity” of the sustainable urban development agendas (ibid: 280-281). Therefore, Brenac, Reigner and Hernandez (2013) conclude that it is important not to forget the planners’ dilemma of developing successful urban areas for the dominant interests or serving the needs of the wider urban community.

This urban planning dilemma can be related to the problem of putting sole emphasis on mobility in urban policy-making without giving any consideration to its dialectical counterpart: immobility. Cohen (2020) studies the recent changes in Marseille’s Vieux-Port through a lens of cosmopolitanism that rests on elements of both mobility (the mobile cosmopolitan) and immobility (the place-embedded local), their interaction or even co-dependence. She reminds that despite all the emphasis on fluidity, liquidity, mobility in today’s post-modern world, nothing is all fluid; meaningful social “encounters occur in the pauses” (Cohen, 2020: 289). Hence, good urban planning and policy-making shall look beyond the mobile-immobile opposition to serve a wider spectrum of citizens’ needs.

Despite all these valid criticisms of pedestrianization’s potential for socio-spatial segregation, gentrification, and touristification effects, as well as its outsourcing of environmental problems –“they are merely shifted elsewhere!” (Engels, 1872), one cannot deny simply the huge public support for environmental mobility moves of the Mayor of Paris. Simon’s (2020) analysis of Paris-Plages helps depict how the Paris residents are willing to play along with the city policy-makers as long as they benefit from the offer. Anne Hidalgo’s 15-minute city strategy also suited well the COVID-19 *zeitgeist*. Pisano (2020) summarizes how her re-election campaign of *Paris en Commun* that fostered pedestrianization has been turned practically into a post-COVID urban strategy. The notion of 15-min. city means “the creation of 15-min clusters” (Pisano, 2020: 7) based on the ideals of proximity and a functional mix. Residents can access their needs and services within reach of their homes as visualized below. Yet this notion was found by some other scholars unrealistic for the working masses of metropolises (Veltz, 2021).

LE PARIS DU 1/4 HEURE



Figure 3 The 15-minute city surrounding one's home (Source: Pisano, 2020: 8)

4. Research methods

This study focuses on the French pedestrianization practice as an example of the planned versus lived space dilemma to explain how different types of urban mobility interact with each other. In France, data is gathered through direct observation, primary survey data and secondary data of real estate values, academic papers, and other official and media documents. Particular attention is given to the mobility dynamics that have been created by the on-going pandemic. The Paris field study, which was made from February to June 2021, composed of an online survey with Paris (Île-de-France) residents and a paper survey with shopkeepers of three local shopping streets in Paris: Rue Montorgueil-Rue des Petits Carreaux, Rue Cler and Rue Daguerre. Both surveys were translated into French and had multiple choice questions regarding the respondent's personal situation, daily mobility habits and ideas on municipal pedestrianization efforts. The shop survey also had questions on the type of commerce and ideas on the effects of COVID-19 and the shopping street's pedestrianization on one's business in terms of operating hours, number of customers, sales and shop value.

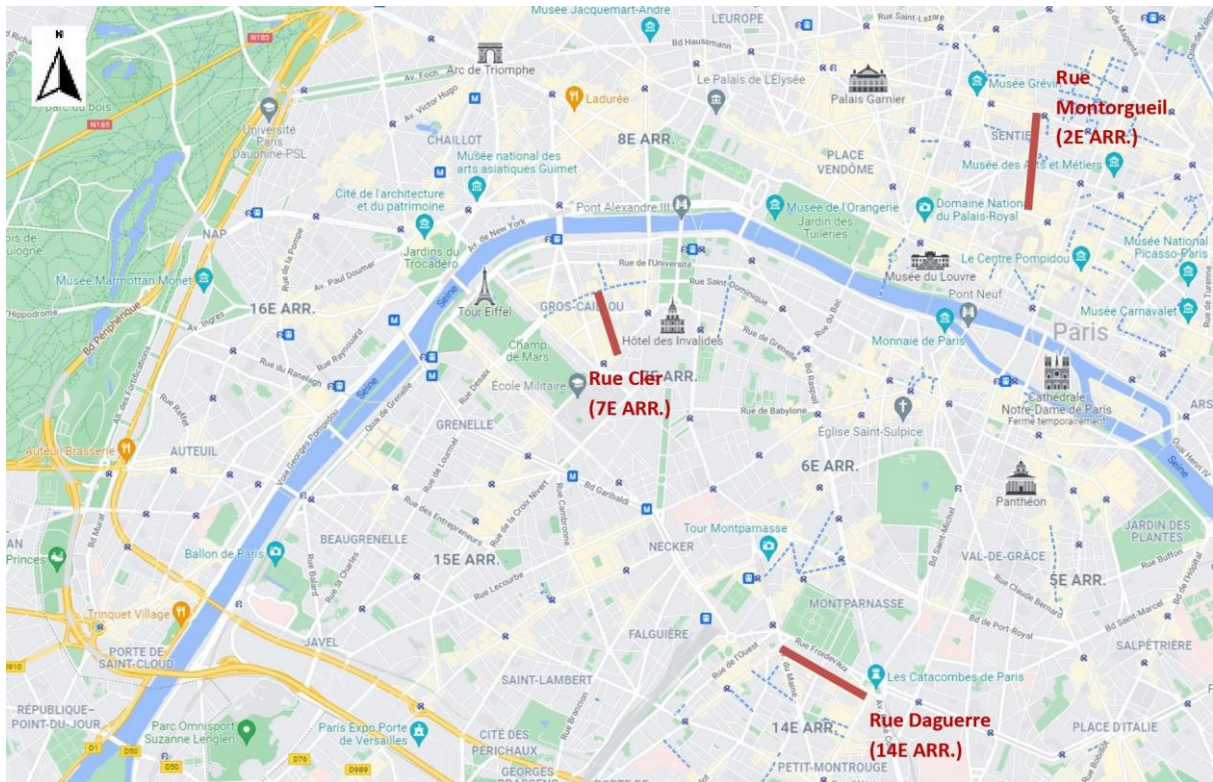


Figure 4 The Local Shopping Streets for the Shop Survey (Sources:

<https://www.google.com/maps/@48.8526768,2.3218141,14z> and <https://www.shutterstock.com/image-vector/arrow-compass-north-simple-icons-vector-1754339756>)

The resident survey was distributed online randomly with the condition that the respondent is a Paris (Île-de-France) resident to the EHESS mailing list and personal circles, such as the Turkish community in Paris or the personnel in the researcher's Paris residence. It was responded to by 120 people; one response was cancelled out due to the usage of a fake email account. The shop survey was done on Rue Montorgueil (31), Rue des Petits Carreaux (11), Rue Cler (25), Rue Daguerre (45), and side streets of these shopping streets (9) on paper with the willing shopkeepers who totalled to 121 respondents. The few mistakes were either corrected by revisiting the concerned shop or if this was not possible, they were corrected by the researcher herself in the most neutral fashion by simply picking the choices with the meaning of no effect. The fact that 46% of the resident survey respondents were employed in "Public administration; education; human health and social work" and 26% in "Professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities" might have an effect on the responses. Furthermore, although residential area distribution of the resident survey respondents was not so unbalanced, it might also have a similar influence.

The resident and shop survey data is composed mostly of categorical variables. The data was entered into separate Excel files and analysed manually by calculating frequencies, and Chi-square test of independence and Fisher's exact test. The application of the Chi-Square test of independence was based on an online explanation entitled, "Cross Tab with Chi-Square" (<http://www.dartistics.com/cross-tab-w-chi-square.html>), whereas an online statistical test source was used to apply the Fisher's exact test (<https://biostatgv.sentiweb.fr/?module=tests/fisher&welcome=1>). Yet, the small sizes of the study surveys rendered the reliability of the statistical test results

questionable as an important limitation of this study. The additional oral communication with the English-speaking shopkeepers about mobility and pedestrianization practices in Paris is added to the following data analysis section to mitigate this problem.

5. The data demographics

The study participants were inquired about their: gender, age, marital status, level of education, place of birth, duration of residence (if born outside Paris), place of residence (Paris or Île-de-France), and arrondissement (if resided in Paris). The resident survey also had a question on status of employment and sector of employment (if currently employed). Accordingly, the resident survey participants are mostly: female (63%), young (73% are in their 20s or 30s), highly educated (95% have a bachelor's degree or more), born outside Paris (81% were born in another French city or outside France) and employed (71% are part-time or full-time employees or self-employed) in mostly professional or public employment (72%). The resident survey participants are evenly distributed in terms of their marital status (47% are single and 49% are married or cohabitant; 4% were divorced or widow). Those who were born outside Paris have been living in Paris mostly for up to 15 years (78%). They are living inside Paris (80%) in the outmost arrondissements of the snail (66% are living in one of the arrondissements from 12 to 20). This residential distribution of the resident survey sample is expectable, considering the abandonment of the city centres by inhabitants for various reasons (Veltz, 2021) and reflects the arrondissement populations in 2019 (Statista, 2021) with only one or two percentage difference for each arrondissement.

On the other hand, the shop survey participants are better balanced in terms of gender (49% female and 50% male). They are middle-aged (83% are in their 10-20-30-40s) and married or divorced (57%) more than being single. Although they are more dispersed than resident survey participants in terms of education, still 87% of them have a baccalaureate degree or more. Although the Paris-born shop survey participants are more (30%) in number than the resident survey participants (19%), most of the shop survey participants were still born outside Paris (70% in another French city or outside France). Those shopkeepers who were born outside Paris are more or less evenly distributed in terms of their duration of residence in Paris based on the 15 year benchmark (53% up to 15 years and 45% more than 15 years). A similar even distribution applies to their place of residence (47% lives in Paris and 53% lives outside Paris, but in Île-de-France). Outmost arrondissements of the snail predominate again as place of residence in Paris (63%); even so 28% are living in the middle of the snail from 5th to 11th arrondissement. The salespeople (62%) predominated in the shop survey sample as opposed to founder-owners or directors (38% in total).

Regarding the shop profiles, the shop survey sample consists of shops of different ages: 28% were established in the last 5 years; 41% were established more than 6 years ago, but less than 20 years ago; 31% were established more than 20 years ago. Independent shops (79%) almost quadruple franchise shops (21%), although some shop respondents claim that they do not fit in either of the categories exactly. In majority of the cases, the same shop owner owns more than one shop (57%); in that sense, they are not small, local businesses, even if they are not franchises. Nevertheless, 74% of the shops are managing their shop, where the survey was done, with personnel of maximum five people. The shops which make home delivery (52%) and those which do not (48%) are also almost evenly divided. With respect to the effects of COVID-19 on businesses, 73% state that they have reduced their operating hours, but noted that it was due to the curfew rather than their own preference. Although the sales of most of the shops have been influenced negatively by COVID-19 (58%), there are also a large number of shops which claim that their sales are affected positively or not affected by the pandemic (43% in

total). This difference in the pandemic's impact on local businesses seems to depend on the type of commerce and their availability of online sales.

The types of commerce on the local shopping streets of Paris seem to diverge from Zukin, Kassinitz and Chen's (2016) "ABCs of gentrification", meaning art galleries, boutiques and cafés, in the sense that no art galleries on any of the study streets were observed and boutiques were also a few. On the other hand, Paris streets have many specialty shops (bakery, patisserie, confectionery, butchery, fishmonger, cheese, wine, etc.), grocery stores of various sizes, some soft line retailers (for example, textile, cosmetics, and medicines) and other specialist retailers (for example, books, handicrafts-gifts, and classical music instruments). Although some of these Paris shopping streets, such as Rue Cler have already been highly touristified, especially until the pandemic, they still maintain their local shopping street atmosphere because of their special retail mix. However, the departure of institutions, such as schools and universities from the central arrondissements, such as the 5th have influenced the retail mix negatively by leading to the closure of for example, specialized bookstores, and therefore, intensifying the centre's touristification. The variety of commerce included in this study sample is shown below; caution that some shops are counted multiple times, because they sell different kinds of products.

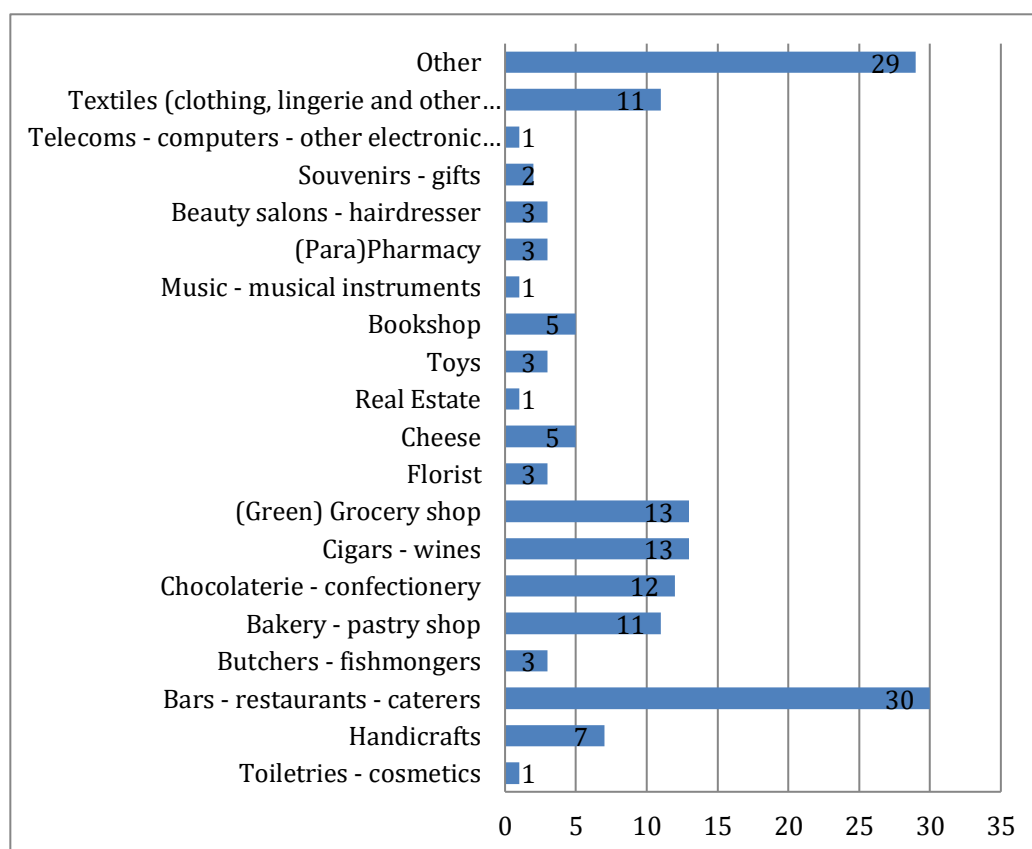


Figure 5 Types of retail businesses of the shop survey participants

5.1 Frequencies of Parisians' daily mobility and ideas on pedestrianization

The resident survey participants mostly commute to work, school, etc. (92%) by train (79%), on foot (57%), by bicycle (38%), and by bus (28%); very few of them use cars (4%) or electric scooters (1%) for their daily commutes. In terms of their daily mobility, shop survey participants showed a similar tendency of commuting by train (63%), on foot (30%), by bicycle (13%) and by bus (7%), and

yet, they also used car or other motor vehicle to a certain extent (17%) differently from the residents. This shows that Parisian residents, who work far from their homes, prefer to use trains, whereas those who work near home just walk. Neither cars nor electric scooters that are both individualistic options on different ends of the environmental spectrum are preferred transport vehicles for Parisian residents' daily commutes. On the other hand, we can easily assume that Paris retailers find cars handy for carrying products to and from their shops. Several of them actually mention the heaviness of their products, such as wines or coffee beans impossible to deliver without a car.

The resident survey participants' commutes take mostly less than an hour (94%); this must have to do with the efficiency of railway transport in Paris and the city's compact configuration as opposed to, for example, major American cities with urban sprawl. After COVID-19, most resident survey participants have decreased their daily commutes (63%). Although 50% did not change their modes of transport during the pandemic, 31% walked more and 23% used bicycles or electric scooters more. The pandemic has not caused among Paris residents much increase in the use of cars or other motor vehicles (5%) and public transport (2%).

The resident survey participants are also asked unlike the shop survey participants about the frequency of going out of their neighbourhoods to understand how much of their daily living they squeeze into their own neighbourhoods. Such an understanding of the extent of living in the boundaries of one's neighbourhood matters the most, considering the 15-minute city plan of the Paris Mayor. Nevertheless, the resident survey participants seem to be highly mobile around the city, as 98% state that they go out of their neighbourhood in differing frequencies, ranging from once a week to more than seven times a week that is, almost every day. They go out basically for work (78%), natural and recreational activities (70%), entertainment (62%), and social (55%) and cultural (44%) activities. For these outings, resident survey participants again use train (78%), bus (41%), and bicycle (41%), unless they choose to walk (68%). Similar to their daily commutes, they do not prefer cars or other motor vehicles (only 10% do) and electric scooters (only 2% do) much to visit other neighbourhoods. This general tendency to avoid driving cars indicates that Parisians do not find it convenient any more to travel in the city by a private car. At the same time, the electric scooter is either not adopted by many people who might still be considering it an awkward and insecure transport vehicle or it is possibly not accessible by everybody.

Both resident and shop survey participants are inquired about their ideas on recent municipal efforts, such as Paris Respire, Vélib, and the transformation of roads, shopping streets and/or public squares to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly. The Paris residents support these efforts more (86%) than the Paris retailers on the shopping streets surveyed (60%). However, the number one reason for their support overlaps in both cases: environmental (65% of residents and 58% of shops) followed by other reasons, such as mobility (14% of residents and 10% of shops) and social (9% of residents and 16% of shops). A certain number of shops also indicate support for economic reasons (12%). On the contrary, the shop survey participants, who do not support these efforts (20%), justify their lack of support by mobility (50%), economic (33%), and political (13%) reasons.

The shop survey participants were also asked three follow up questions on the business effects (an increase or decrease in the number of customers, sales, and the value of their shops) of the redesign of their shopping streets into a pedestrian zone. Although a few shop survey participants comment that they do not know the pre-pedestrian period of their shopping streets, and therefore, cannot predict on pedestrianization effects, majority of them indicate a favourable effect on: the number of customers (65%), sales (68%) and the value of their shop (61%). There are some interesting examples, where the

participants do not personally support the municipal efforts to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly, but at the same time, she or he thinks that the redesign of her/his shopping street into a pedestrian zone has been beneficial for her/his business. This seems contradictory—also considering the traditional the Poujade movement under the L'Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans (UDCA) in the 1950s (Souillac, 2007)—at first, but it implies that Parisians can take a different stance against the on-going changes in the urban mobility regime of Paris, depending on their outlook as a resident or a local business. In that sense, their attitudes are not carved in stone, but quite flexible.

5.2 Paris real estate values and pedestrianization

The real estate values are checked by taking a snapshot of Paris real estate (apartment and shop) values on two online sites, including: paris-housing.com and thestorefront.com. The study acknowledges that private agencies may modulate their database and housing offers in accordance with a specific group of customers, hence their online catalogues may not represent the actual price averages as a whole. Yet other databases and maps, such as Demande de Valeur Foncière (DVF), bien'ici or Observatoire des Loyers were overlooked by the researcher for language and economic reasons. For more thorough and comparative analysis on this issue, one can see previous research on the relationship of change in real estate values and social demographics (Boulay et.al, 2011; Le Goix et.al, 2016) and housing inequity (Le Goix et.al, 2021).

In this study, apartment and shop values at a single point in time (12.04.2021 for apartments and 31.03.2021 for shops) are calculated in rent per meter-squares, following different routes for apartments and shops. The search at paris-housing.com with the criteria of: apartment (as property type); long term (as rental period), and €110 to €5,500 (as monthly rent) gave 238 properties at the time of the search. All properties are scanned through and one or more apartments of different sizes on different streets are selected as examples for each arrondissement. Then, their rents per m² are mapped together with the pedestrian streets in Paris (marked with a capital P). The average of all the selected apartments' rent per meter-square equals 38 *Euros* as the benchmark rental value for apartments in Paris at the time. There is no property included for the 20th arrondissement, because the website search did not bring any matching apartments for that district.

For shops, 224 shops that fit the search criteria of: “over 20m²; retail; ground floor street” are scanned and those without a monthly price are eliminated. Average shop rents per m² are calculated for all the different areas designated under each arrondissement except for the 5th, 15th, 16th and 20th that showed no matching results at the website search at the time. These values are mapped again together with the pedestrian streets. The map of shop values is less exact in terms of shop locations, because they are indicated at the related website under some area names, such as Châtelet - Les Halles and Opera rather than an exact street which was the case for the apartments. The average shop rent in m² was 148 *Euros* for Paris at the time. The resulting maps are as follows.

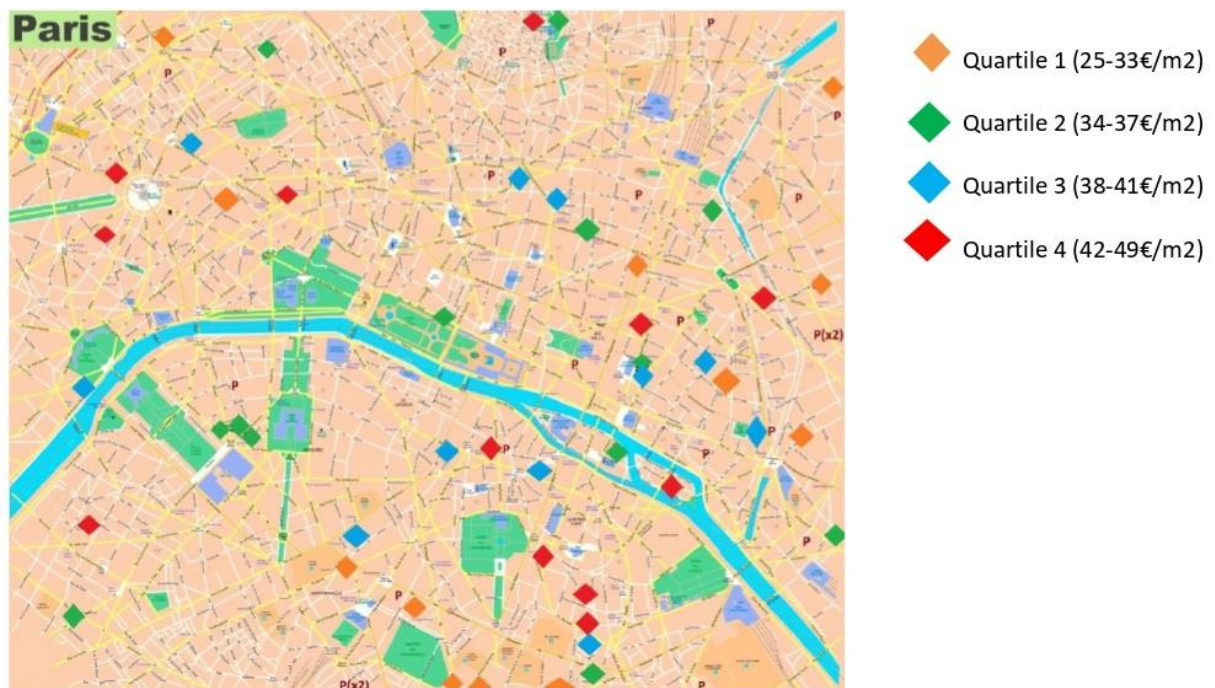


Figure 6 Apartment rents in meter-square and pedestrian streets in Paris in April, 2021 (Prepared based on real estate values gathered from paris-housing.com)

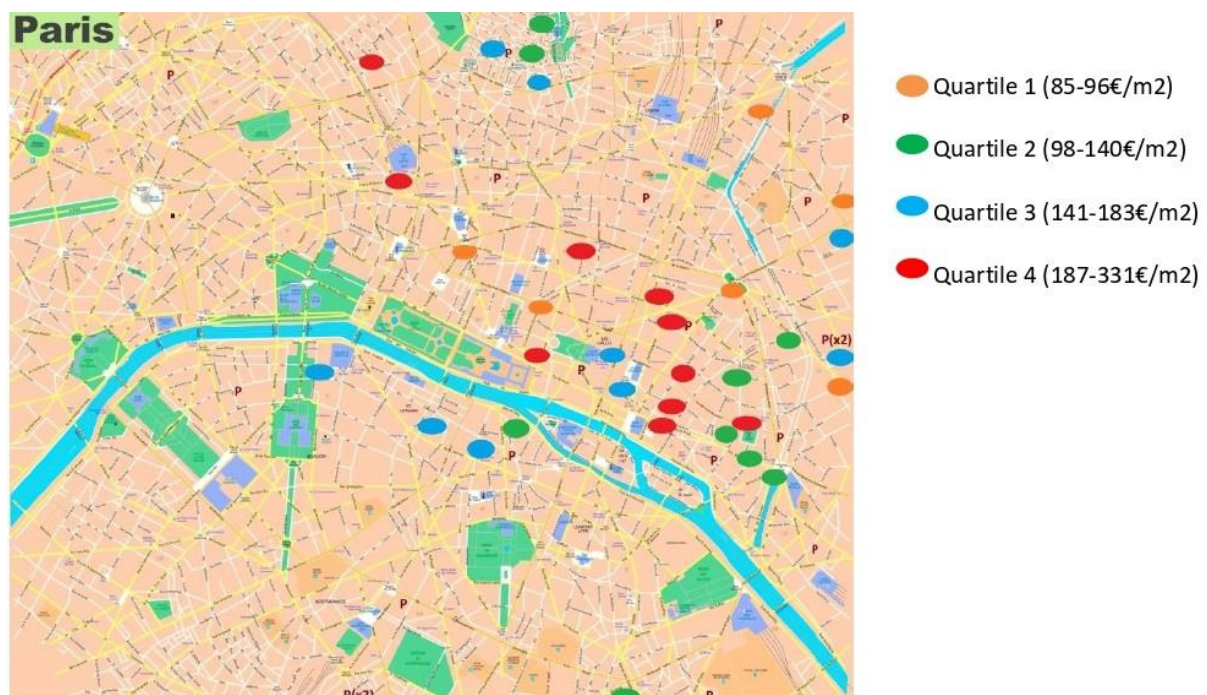


Figure 7 Shop rents in meter-square and pedestrian streets in Paris in March, 2021 (Prepared based on real estate values gathered from thestorefront.com)

Although the m² rental values for apartments and shops near pedestrian streets seem to be higher than the Paris averages in a few cases, this is not enough evidence to conclude that there is a relationship between pedestrianization and real estate values or that pedestrianization brings about gentrification. That statement would require further information on the mediating factors, such as asset qualities, centrality, convenience, and availability of facilities and greenery to cancel out their effects and a long-term data to compare the pre- and post-pedestrianization rental values.

5.3 Cross tabulations of Parisians' daily mobility and ideas on pedestrianization

We also looked at the relationship of different variables in the survey data, including demography, type of commerce, daily mobility habits, and ideas on pedestrianization to see if they had any statistical significance. For the resident survey participants, we checked first for the relationship of their ideas on pedestrianization, that is, whether the participants support the municipal efforts to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly with demographic and mobility variables. A statistically significant relationship is not found for any of the following variables: gender, level of education, and place of residence. On the other hand, age and ideas on pedestrianization have a statistically significant relationship with a X^2 value of 58,37 (degrees of freedom: 22 and critical X^2 :33,92) at 95% significance level. Yet, the existence of multiple cells with expected values lower than five makes this significance questionable. Likewise, duration of residence in Paris (Île-de-France) has a statistically significant relationship with ideas on pedestrianization with a X^2 value of 31,12 (degrees of freedom:12 and critical X^2 :21,03) at 95% significance level. Because of the low cell value problem, a Fisher's exact test is also applied to test for the same two variables and their statistical relationship is confirmed with a p-value of 0,005 lower than 0,05.

The relationship between the resident survey participants' status of employment and their ideas on pedestrianization shows contradictory results, depending on the test chosen. A statistical relationship is observed in the Chi-square test of independence with a X^2 value of 13,59 (degrees of freedom: 6 and critical X^2 :12,59) at 95% significance level, whereas there is no relationship found in the Fisher's exact test with a p-value of 0,08 bigger than 0,05. Finally, there is again no relationship between the residents' daily commutes and ideas on pedestrianization with a X^2 value of 0,92 (degrees of freedom: 2 and critical X^2 :5,99) at 95% significance level. The same result is confirmed by the Fisher's exact test with a p-value of 0,41 bigger than 0,05.

For the shop survey participants, we checked first for the relationship between type of commerce and participants' ideas on the effect of COVID-19 on their sales. There is no relationship found with a X^2 value of 46,82 (degrees of freedom: 38 and critical X^2 :53,38) at 95% significance level. Similarly, no statistical relationship exists between age and mode of transport to work with a X^2 value of 18,11 (degrees of freedom: 20 and critical X^2 :31,41) at 95% significance level. Fisher's exact test gave a size-related error for this same inquiry. On the other hand, the mode of transport to work is statistically related with place of residence, as can be expected, with a X^2 value of 18 (degrees of freedom: 5 and critical X^2 :11,07) at 95% significance level. This significance of the relationship is confirmed by the Fisher's exact test's p-value of 0,002 lower than 0,05.

Next, we looked at the relationship between views on pedestrianisation and other shopkeeper survey variables, including length of time established, shop ownership structure, and ideas on the effect on sales of the street becoming a pedestrian zone. No statistical relationship was found for the first two variables at 95% significance level with the corresponding X^2 values respectively: 7 (degrees of freedom: 8, critical X^2 : 15.51) and 3 (degrees of freedom: 2, critical X^2 : 5.99). This same result was

confirmed by the Fisher's exact test with the corresponding p-values of: 0.57 and 0.29. Although a statistical relationship was found for the last variable with an X^2 value of 10 (degrees of freedom: 4, critical X^2 : 9.49); it was not confirmed by the Fisher's exact test with a p-value of 0.08, which is above 0.05. Finally, we tested for the relationship between the location of the (responding) shop and ideas about the effect of becoming a pedestrian zone on the number of customers. There was, again, no statistically significant relationship, with an X^2 value of 10 (degrees of freedom: 8 and critical X^2 : 15.51) at 95% significance level. This result was confirmed by the Fisher's exact test providing a p-value of 0.39, higher than 0.05.

Overall, the nonparametric tests of Chi-square test of independence and Fisher's exact test do not indicate statistically significant relationships among the data variables, except for a few cases, such as age and ideas on pedestrianization (resident survey); duration of residence in Paris (Île-de-France) and ideas on pedestrianization (resident survey); and place of residence and mode of transport to work (shop survey). This outcome may also depend largely on the limited sample sizes for both resident and shop surveys.

5.4 Additional feedback on Parisians' daily mobility and ideas on pedestrianization

Some of the shop survey participants were very interested in the theme of the research and they were willing to give further feedback besides responding to the questionnaire. The structure of the survey forms included only close-ended questions, and therefore, left little opportunity for participants' own original ideas. Luckily, the English-speaking shopkeepers shared their ideas and extra knowledge on the matter of pedestrianization in Paris. These happen to be mostly critical of the municipal pedestrianization schemes of Paris shopping streets and its city centre.

There have also been participants who state support for the municipal efforts, but at the same time, point to some problematic aspects of these urban practices. In such a case, a *traiteur* on Rue Cler put a hand-written note next to his selection of "Yes, I support" for the question of the municipal efforts to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly saying: "But they suppress a lot of parking spots which is bad for customers". For him, large-sum purchases of his customers and their product deliveries are affected negatively by pedestrianization. Another like-minded *traiteur* on Rue Daguerre noted down: "I support the pedestrianization of some areas, however, the cycle lanes that become freeways (?) are perilous for making our deliveries, for example." Therefore, pedestrianization seems to create common problems in terms of shops' regular product deliveries and when their customers want to make large purchases of heavy items, such as wines at once. The shopkeepers can sometimes be disturbed by each other's delivery trucks as well; a wine seller on Rue Cler finds it hard not to be able to open her door on hot days due to the noise and exhaust of the delivery truck that comes for the ice-cream parlour next door. Again, a wool shop on Rue Daguerre asked the municipality to put a barrier on the pavement in front of her shop to prevent delivery trucks from blocking her shop's view. She doesn't like the blue colour of the concrete flower tub though.

A hotel owner on Rue Daguerre suggests that a combined solution of pedestrians and cars would work the best. He says that his street was redesigned three to four years ago and side-parking was removed. He sees it as a problem in terms of his hotel business, because most of his customers take a taxi for their luggage, but taxis cannot wait in front of his hotel for more than two minutes. He also agrees with other shopkeepers that product delivery is another problem of the pedestrian schemes. His hotel seems to be one of the few in Paris that has not closed down during the pandemic; it is because

he opens his rooms as a temporary dwelling to foreign immigrant families in collaboration with the state. A few of these migrant residents came in and went out during our interview. He said that he has been accommodating migrant families for many years, since much earlier than the pandemic; he is surprised that governments started only to help people on a large scale after COVID-19.

A second-hand clothing shopkeeper on Rue Daguerre thinks that she lost many clients from other parts of Paris that used to go to her shopping street by car. This idea is confirmed by a *traiteur*, who claims that “Some customers appreciate the widening of the pavements, especially for the terraces, but this has led to a reduction in the number of parking spaces. So, we have also lost customers who come from far away.” There are different opinions, expressed by Paris municipality or journalists such as Olivier Razemon (Newsy Today, 2020) on the inadequacy of car parks in the city centre, but how close these car parks are to the local shopping streets is another matter. Once these people who used to come from other places were missed out, the remaining neighbourhood residents were not enough for the second-hand clothing shop, because they can only buy a piece of clothing once in a while. In addition, people who go to eat at the restaurants that are many on her street do not become her customers. She also underlines that online sales have a negative impact on her second-hand clothing business. Yet, for her, the street association does not do any good, except for collecting membership fees. She argues the same for the municipality, which only cares about scooters, etc. and does nothing to contribute to the independent local Paris shops. Yet, tourists come to Paris for exactly these shops in her opinion. Nonetheless, most of the shops are closing down during the pandemic for lacking any kind of support.

A fine grocery store owner on a side-street of Rue Cler made similarly critical arguments. He is highly critical of the existing urban politics. He argued that the municipality workers plan these things in their offices without considering all necessary aspects, such as accessibility, local businesses, etc. and without even asking their opinions on the matter. However, a vegan restaurant-pâtisserie owner on Rue Daguerre argues otherwise, by saying, “The Town Hall is currently working to have the Rue Daguerre closed three-four days a week.” In his case, the municipality has also been making meetings with the shops to decide on that issue. Even though the fine grocery store owner from Rue Cler supports normally different mobility options, he feels that closing one shopping street to traffic without considering other things is like cutting the blood flow into that area and the businesses might well die in the end due to these types of politics. He also thinks that the alternative transport vehicles create accident risks, because they feel free not to obey the traffic rules.

Likewise, the shopkeeper of a home textile business on Rue Daguerre is totally against Anne Hidalgo's Paris plans. She thinks that there are better, more urgent things to do in Paris, such as increasing the number of buses, making the train stations more pedestrian-friendly, especially for the elderly, disabled people, and people with luggage. She finds it especially hard for the elderly and people with small children to move in the city without cars; hence, she cannot consider Paris without cars. Neither has she believed that these mobility measures help to reduce pollution, because she feels there is more dust in the air now. Furthermore, she argues that it has become even more difficult to walk in Paris, as one has to check her surroundings all the time for all the different vehicles around. Overall, she does not see any logic behind the mayoral plans, including the new urban parks on the agenda. For her, Paris does not need any more parks.

The shop survey participants also put some notes near the last three questions that inquire about their ideas regarding the effects of the rearrangement of their shopping street as a pedestrian zone on the number of their customers, their sales and the value of their shops. Part of them implied that they

are new on that particular street, and therefore, do not know the pre-pedestrianization situation to make a thorough comparison in terms of their business outcomes. The others suggested that the street in question has long been pedestrian-friendly, and it is nothing new. There were also those shop employees that simply could not know about the change in the real estate value of their shops; it was beyond their knowledge or interest. This kind of feedback shows that these questions can actually be hard for the shop personnel, if they are not founders-owners or full-time employees that have been working in a shop on a local shopping street for a long-time.

6. Conclusion

This study with a focus on the French pedestrianization practices in comparison to the Japanese and other country examples indicated first of all that pedestrianization brings about different outcomes in different contexts, depending on its implementation. Yet, the tendency towards developing urban mobility regimes that prioritize active transport modes, such as walking and bicycling is similar in many cities, regardless of their country's level of economic development. This is because air-noise pollution, traffic congestion and traffic accidents, energy costs, parking problems due to the presence of too many cars and other motor vehicles in cities are common problems. Therefore, it is not unexpected that 21st century city governments are giving a special importance to low-energy transport and mobility in their urban policy-making and planning.

However, this paper also showed that these municipal efforts regarding pedestrian mobility do not always go as smoothly as planned. There are frictions due to social, economic, political and cultural conflicts among groups that are involved in these processes. On the other hand, the degree of conflict between the planned versus the lived space of pedestrianized city areas depends on many factors, such as city size, geographical position, street patterns, and density of retail/customer flows along with the mixity of mobility modes that define a particular urban context. Pedestrianization of shopping streets in Paris, Turkish, Japanese, and U.S. cities bring about different outcomes of success (and continuum) or failure (and reversal). The latter three countries seem to have had more problems, such as retail decline and many vacant shops in their pedestrianized commercial city areas, whereas Paris shopping streets are doing well in terms of business continuity, despite possible differences between arrondissements. The predominance of specialty (food) shops on Paris shopping streets, such as Rue Montorgueil, Rue Cler and Rue Daguerre in this research, the regulations against large retail stores to protect local independent shops in the Paris city centre must have an influence on this comparative success of the pedestrianized Paris shopping streets.

Another reason that renders Paris shopping streets more successful than other country examples probably lies in the different implementation of pedestrianization in Paris. What is nowadays observed in the public spaces of Paris is a cohabitation of cars and pedestrians in the words of Ferial (2013) more than a full-pedestrianization that had usually been the case in American pedestrian malls or Turkish shopping streets. Japanese *shōtengai* brought a more temporal solution to the pedestrianization issue. Such cohabitation prevents 'cutting the blood flow' into the shopping streets and their businesses as it is described aptly by a fine grocery store owner in Rue Cler. It also creates less resistance by the city inhabitants and retailers who continue to depend on cars for their daily activities. This does not mean however that there are not any objections to the municipal pedestrianization efforts in Paris; these criticisms have been discussed in the shop survey analysis and the review of earlier work on pedestrianization in French cities.

The Paris retailers' objections rise from a similar economic rationale with all shopkeepers who create barriers against pedestrianization everywhere. Yet, the counterarguments in the French literature against pedestrianization point to other important issues, such as pedestrianization acting as a lever for increased socio-spatial segregation, city centre-periphery polarisation, and uneven urban development. These scholars caution against the possible gentrification and (further) touristification effects of such urban mobility practices that are all too easily justified environmentally. They also note that pedestrianization can be part of larger urban entrepreneurial and neoliberal agendas to create more competitive cities. This study rose from a similarly curious outlook to popular urban discourses that are hard to reject at face value, especially if one refrains from appearing politically incorrect, conservative, and unecological.

To overcome the negative effects of pedestrianization, the paper proposes a renewed understanding of urban mobility with an equal importance given to immobility, as suggested by Cohen (2020) with respect to cosmopolitanism. Only by considering the opposite political stances of the right to stay put, place-making, dwelling, anti-displacement, occupy and slow city movements, although slow movements might have their own critiques (Buhnik, 2015) in relation to the use of city space as much as fluidity, liquidity, and mobility, more even forms of urban mobility can be achieved in the crisis-tested contemporary cities of the world.

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