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The daily mobility of residents and retailers during the pandemic in a pedestrianised Paris

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Abstract
This study examines pedestrianisation in the context of the dilemma between urban transport planning and everyday urban mobility in Paris. The literature on pedestrianisation warns of the potential for uneven development and gentrification effects of pedestrianisation policies. This study is based on an online survey of Île-de-France residents (119 in total) and a corresponding survey of shopkeepers in three local shopping districts in Paris (121 in total) from February to June 2021. Additional follow-up informal interviews with English-speaking shopkeepers (about 8 out of the total of 121) about mobility and pedestrianisation practices in Paris helped to provide more in-depth insights. The results showed that Parisian residents and shopkeepers continued to be mobile in the city, using different modes of transport, even under pandemic conditions. In addition, Parisian shopping streets performed well in terms of business continuity. However, some shopkeepers opposed the city's pedestrianisation policy for mobility, economic, and political reasons. In order to alleviate these problems, which could exacerbate urban inequalities, this paper suggests that local perspectives on the use of urban space and pedestrianisation should be taken into account in order to achieve more equitable forms of urban mobility in the crisis-ridden cities of the contemporary world.

Keywords
Gentrification, Pandemic urban mobility, Parisian shopping streets, Pedestrianisation, Resident and shopkeeper surveys.

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1. Introduction

How different groups of people travel in the city to access their jobs, homes, shopping and other personal services, educational, health or cultural facilities, and recreational areas such as public parks is an important issue for their quality of life. Inequalities in people's access to mobility – expressed as "motility" or the ability to be mobile (Kaufmann et al., 2004) – persist despite the "democratization of mobility" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Divall, 2014, p. 40).

In this wider mobility context, transport mobility has become a major policy concern for local governments. This was particularly true in the context of the pandemic, which infected thousands of people, caused many deaths, and severely restricted the daily personal mobility of millions of people around the world, confining them to their homes (Adey et al., 2021), and exacerbating "inequalities in accessing financial and health resources" (Tran et al., 2022, p. 3).

During this period, media discourse in France portrayed walkable cities through headlines such as "Paris mayor unveils '15-minute city' plan in re-election campaign" (Willsher, 2020). This echoes trends in academia that claim that the compact city and the smart city can transform transport practices through planning policies aimed at reducing fossil-fuelled mobility. For example, Zukin et al. argue that "Ideally, to satisfy everyday needs, you never have to leave your neighborhood" (Zukin et al., 2016, p. 4).

This paper presents the results of a case study investigating public perceptions of French urban planning in relation to pedestrianisation policies. It was found that Parisians remained mobile in the city, using different modes of transport, even under pandemic conditions, and that Parisian shopping streets continued to perform well in terms of business continuity. Various implementations of the pedestrianisation policy in Paris, where cars and pedestrians coexisted, supported businesses and created a more sustainable environment. However, there was opposition to the city's pedestrianisation policy on mobility, economic, and political grounds. Furthermore, the determinant role of local government in Paris in pursuing its green urban mobility agenda made this pursuit more controversial. The paper provides a context for the study with a literature review, followed by the methodology. The results are summarised and discussed, and the conclusion points to the implications for improving pedestrianisation practices.

2. Pedestrianisation and its impact on commercial urban spaces

Pedestrianisation 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). According to Vitale Brovarone and others, "Pedestrianisation consists of the closure of road space to motor vehicle traffic for the benefit of walking" (Vitale Brovarone et al., 2023, p. 2). It takes different forms in terms of space—for example, an entire urban area or a street—and time—either temporary, i.e. for certain hours of the day or days of the week, or permanent (Vitale Brovarone et al., 2023).

Although pedestrianisation is commonly assumed to be beneficial for people's quality of life, for urban life in terms of creating opportunities for socialisation, and for the environment in terms of reducing carbon emissions based on fossil fuel consumption in general, it also has its critics. Blomley (2014) criticises the assumption of the benefits of pedestrianisation, which he refers to as a "pedestrianist logic" (Blomley, 2014, p. 477) or "pedestrianism" (Blomley, 2014, p. 473) in the use of pavements, drawing on Jacobs, Whyte, Goffman and de Certeau. He argues that this pedestrianist logic deprives pavements of their civic humanist logic or the possibility of "mobile (social) encounters" (Blomley, 2014, p. 474) and other uses of them as public spheres.

Stavrides (2016/2018) refers to "cities without qualities" (where contested areas, unpredictable interactions and unregulated encounters would not be possible) that resulted from modernist programmes to separate pedestrian and

vehicular uses of the city. Haussmann, Le Corbusier and others planned and established such cities without qualities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Stavrides, 2016/2018, pp. 134-135). Similarly, Jacobs (1961/2017) criticises the aforementioned orthodox urban planners for their anti-urban, anti-street and anti-social policies that sought solutions to urban problems outside the city.

Conflicts also arise from the governance of pedestrianisation, which is seen as a political initiative involving multiple actors (Vitale Brovarone et al., 2023). Vitale Brovarone and others see the conflictual nature of the process as normal, as in "any urban planning initiative to transform the status quo" (Vitale Brovarone et al., 2023, p. 2). In the common scenario of pedestrianisation, the question of whose personal mobility is targeted by urban planning activities to improve public transport space is important. For example, a top-down pedestrianisation could have the unexpected result of not opening up the place to public use, but instead producing an overplanned and underused urban space. Cybriwsky described these places as "'planned wastelands' or 'new urban deserts'" (Cybriwsky, 1999, p. 229). However, a study in Brussels made it clear that even public participation in transport policy does not always mean that citizens are actually involved in the decision-making process. This lack of participation was due to the limited number of opportunities to involve local residents and the informative rather than interactive nature of these meetings (Kębłowski et al., 2019).

Apart from the existence of similar urban planning contradictions with the daily lives of city dwellers in the history of Paris, for example, in relation to the redevelopment of the Les Halles (Merrifield, 2017; Zetter, 1975), the possible link between commercialisation, gentrification and transport or public infrastructure developments in cities such as Paris is also analysed in current research (Clerval & Fleury, 2009; Doucet, 2019; Enright, 2013; Kębłowski et al., 2019). While some studies take a more positive approach to sustainable urban transport development in collaboration with different levels of government (Halpern & Le Galès, 2016), others warn of the negative gentrification effects of mass transport development projects such as the Grand Paris Express (Enright, 2013), public space improvements (Clerval & Fleury, 2009) and pedestrianisation (Kębłowski et al., 2019).

With regard to the city's commercial spaces, 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 at revitalisation and commercial gentrification. Chabrol and Girou (2022) point to the closure of local businesses and the misdirected social tensions that result from mallification in commercial areas of French cities, such as Berriat in Grenoble. They critically assert that:

> (…) the ideal scapegoats for the closure of traditional food businesses are close at hand – they are the North African entrepreneurs. The hypermarkets and megastores, located for the most part outside of the neighbourhood, are not criticized, even though many studies on the structural changes in commercial spaces have for the past thirty years or so unanimously pointed to the role of these big stores (and their successful Internet outlets) in the closure of many neighbourhood stores (Metton, 1998). (Chabrol & Girou, 2022, p. 193)

Therefore, retail businesses in shopping streets are subject to physical and social changes, including pedestrianisation, and they tend to create barriers against these efforts as they perceive them as a threat to their businesses (Parajuli & Pojani, 2018). They adopt conservative attitudes towards such changes in their business environment. However, recent research has found counter-evidence to the common perception that pedestrianisation reduces sales of shops by deterring affluent customers with cars (Soni & Soni, 2016; Yoshimura et al., 2022). It is important to note that tenancy rate mediates the relationship between commercial gentrification of urban commercial areas and pedestrianisation practices (Özdemir & Selçuk, 2017). Furthermore, local shop owners may have a bridging function between different social groups in gentrifying neighbourhoods, as shown by Arısoy and Paker (2019)

in their study of Yeldeğirmeni. As a historic neighbourhood in İstanbul's Kadıköy, Yeldeğirmeni first experienced artist-led gentrification in the last twenty years, which later led to a revaluation of the neighbourhood in a way that displaced these artists and replaced them with foreigners—through Airbnb gentrification (Uzgören & Türkün, 2018)—and other professionals with higher incomes.

Recent research on pedestrianisation of shopping streets also addresses the issue of multimodality, i.e. how the presence of different modes of transport, such as walking, cycling or the use of e-scooters on the same shopping street, affect each other (Spierings, 2023) and the issue of safety (Gössling, 2020). A brief history of the development of pedestrianisation in France is presented in the next section.

3. Pedestrianisation in French cities in a European context

Pedestrianisation is not limited to French cities in Europe. Many European countries have been experimenting with traffic calming and pedestrianisation since the second half of the twentieth century, in line with the goal of transitioning to "post-carbon cities" (Ecologic Institute, 2014). European cities also share other similarities that set them apart from, for example, North American and Asian cities. Guillen and Komac point out this difference by saying: "However, the both urban shape of the core city and the patterns of suburbanisation are different in Europe than in America or Japan" (Guillen & Komac, 2020, p. 69). Wayens and others (2020) highlight the fact that European city centres have not lost residents to the extent of North American cities, where suburbanisation after the 1960-1970s led to urban hollowing out and inner city decline, followed by gentrification. The pedestrianisation of French cities such as Paris is therefore part of this common historical background of European cities.

Nevertheless, there are spatial divisions in public space investments, including pedestrianisation, in French cities, for example between the city centre and the suburbs. Clerval and Fleury (2009) highlight the fact that most public space investment in Paris since the 1980s has been concentrated in areas of residential gentrification. This dichotomous vision of the city as the historic centre versus the outer suburbs also limits the possibilities for alternative lifestyle expectations, or what Divall refers to as "counter-hegemonic or 'subversive' – systems" (Divall, 2014, p. 39), such as those against the "automobile habitus" (Flonneau, 2006, p. 102) that has long shaped the urban context in Paris.

Temporally, Feriel (2013) traces the first pedestrian zones for both Europe and the US back to the 1960s, but recognises the 1970s as the key period for the first phase of pedestrianisation in French cities. Feriel distinguishes between these early attempts at pedestrianisation in the 1960-70s and those after the 1980s. While the former were based on an idea of "separation" of functions and different modes of transport, the latter were developed with an idea of "cohabitation" of pedestrians and cars, as in the redesign of Rue Montorgueil in 1991-2 and Place de la République in 2013 (Feriel, 2013, p. 5).

On the other hand, Brenac and others (2013) take a critical approach to pedestrianisation in France, based on a longitudinal analysis of the discourses and practices surrounding the issue. They interpret the pedestrianisation of city centres as an urban marketing strategy that serves to position Paris in competition with other cities and creates patterns of uneven urban development. These arguments underline the fact that the pedestrianisation of the centre can lead to a further automobilisation of the distant peripheries and a reinforcement of class-based understandings of who belongs in the city and who does not. This leads to questions about the socio-spatial sorting of people, vehicles and activities and whether privileged islands of higher urban quality are being created (Brenac et al., 2013).

An example of this is the recent semi-pedestrianisation of Rue des Rosiers by the Paris municipality. This seems to have encouraged the commercial gentrification of the Marais. Again, the work of the Société d'écon-

omie mixte de la Ville de Paris (Semaest) led to a similar local state-led gentrification effect, while actually seeking to protect the retail mix of the Beabourg-Temple part of the Marais (Mermet, 2017).

Debrie et al. (2020) argue that there are social and spatial differences and limits to car ownership and use between central Paris, the inner ring and the outer ring, despite a general decline in car use in Île-de-France since the 1990s (Debrie et al., 2020). These discrepancies point to different mobility dynamics between the city centre and the banlieue (suburban Paris). Debates about the centre-periphery dualism have emerged, with attention focused on the riverbank closure project and the optimisation of urban highways among the various groups involved in the transport governance of Paris (Île-de-France) (Debrie et al., 2020).

The city of Paris is currently undergoing urban renewal in preparation for the 2024 Olympic Games. There is also a plan for the complete pedestrianisation of the first four districts of Paris by 2022 (BBC News, 2021); a move away from petrol cars; and the creation of urban forests by 2030 (Oliver, 2021). On 15 April 2021, Google Maps showed 20 pedestrian streets (*rues piétonnes*) in central Paris. In the light of all these earlier debates and recent developments, it is crucial to examine how policy objectives for the pedestrianisation of central Paris impact on those who live and work in the area and on economic dynamics.

4. Methodology

The primary data for this study were collected in three ways: an online survey in French, a paper survey also in French, and follow-up informal interviews in English. The fieldwork took place in Paris from February to June 2021. The quantitative research method of using surveys was chosen mainly because of the researcher's lack of French language skills. The translation of the surveys was supported by the working team of the Fondation France-Japon (FFJ) de Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS).

Both surveys included multiple-choice questions about the respondent's personal situation, daily mobility habits, and perceptions of the city's pedestrianisation efforts. The personal questions included gender, age, education level, marital status, place of birth, length of residence in Paris, employment status and occupation, and place of residence. Respondents to the shop survey were also asked about the type and size of their business, its location and duration, and their own position in the shop.

In terms of daily mobility habits, residents were asked about their daily outings, their mode of travel—which was also asked of the shop survey participants, the average time taken for these daily outings, and the impact of the pandemic on them in terms of frequency and mode of travel. Residents were also asked how often they left their neighbourhood, for what purpose, and what mode of transport they used. Shopkeepers were also asked about the impact of the pandemic on their opening hours and turnover.

Finally, both respondents were asked about their perceptions of the Paris municipality's pedestrianisation efforts, by asking about their level of support and the reasons for it. Respondents in the shop survey were also asked about the impact of the pedestrianisation of their street on their business results in terms of the number of customers, turnover and value of their shops.

For the online survey, residents of Paris, Île-de-France (n=119) were recruited through online mailing lists such as the EHESS mailing list, the EHESS student email group, and by approaching individuals known from the Foundation Maison des sciences de l'homme (FMSH) or the Turkish community in Paris, in order to reach as diverse a group of Paris residents as possible under the conditions of the pandemic curfew. Although the educational level of the online survey participants appears to be high, resulting in a skewed distribution, this was unavoidable given that the online survey technique requires a certain familiarity with computers and Internet use. Follow-up informal interviews with En-

glish-speaking shopkeepers about mobility and pedestrianisation practices in Paris were conducted as a qualitative complement to the survey data, which were analysed to generate descriptive statistics.

The paper survey was carried out among shopkeepers in three local shopping areas in Paris: Rue Montorgueil-Rue des Petits Carreaux, Rue Cler and Rue Daguerre (n=121) (Figure 1). These locations in the centre of Paris were chosen because they are either fully or partially pedestrianised or pedestrian priority areas, and therefore, provide an opportunity to observe the impact of pedestrianisation on retailers who are also residents of Paris, Île-de-France. In addition, these three shopping streets were chosen because of their different locations in Paris and the importance they have for Parisians.

Of the three shopping streets, Rue Daguerre, on the Left Bank, has been the most gentrified since the 1980s, partly because of its famous artistic residents, such as the filmmaker Agnes Varda, who had a house on the western side of the street and even made a documentary about the neighbourhood called Daguerréotypes (1975), which she described as her "Daguerre-opera" (Daguerréotypes (téléfilm), 2022). The street took its current name in 1867 and the demolition of its covered bazaar in 1994 led to social protests ("Rue Daguerre," 2022). Rue Montorgueil (on the more commercial right bank) and Rue Cler (on the left bank, near the Eiffel Tower) are more similar, with cobblestones, a tourist clientele due to their location, and almost a replica of what is on offer, including "food stores, pastry shops, butchers, delicatessens, cheese specialists, fishmongers, greengrocers, chocolate shops and cafés" ("Rue Cler," 2022), alongside florists and stationery shops.

Iverson (2017) notes of the Rue Cler that its "appeal isn't as readily apparent as that of other famous Parisian shopping streets" but it "has an identity no less distinct, marked by the exigent tastes of some of the oldest, most well-to-do families in Paris." Rue Montorgueil, whose name and history date back to the Middle Ages, is home to heritage sites such as the old Parisian

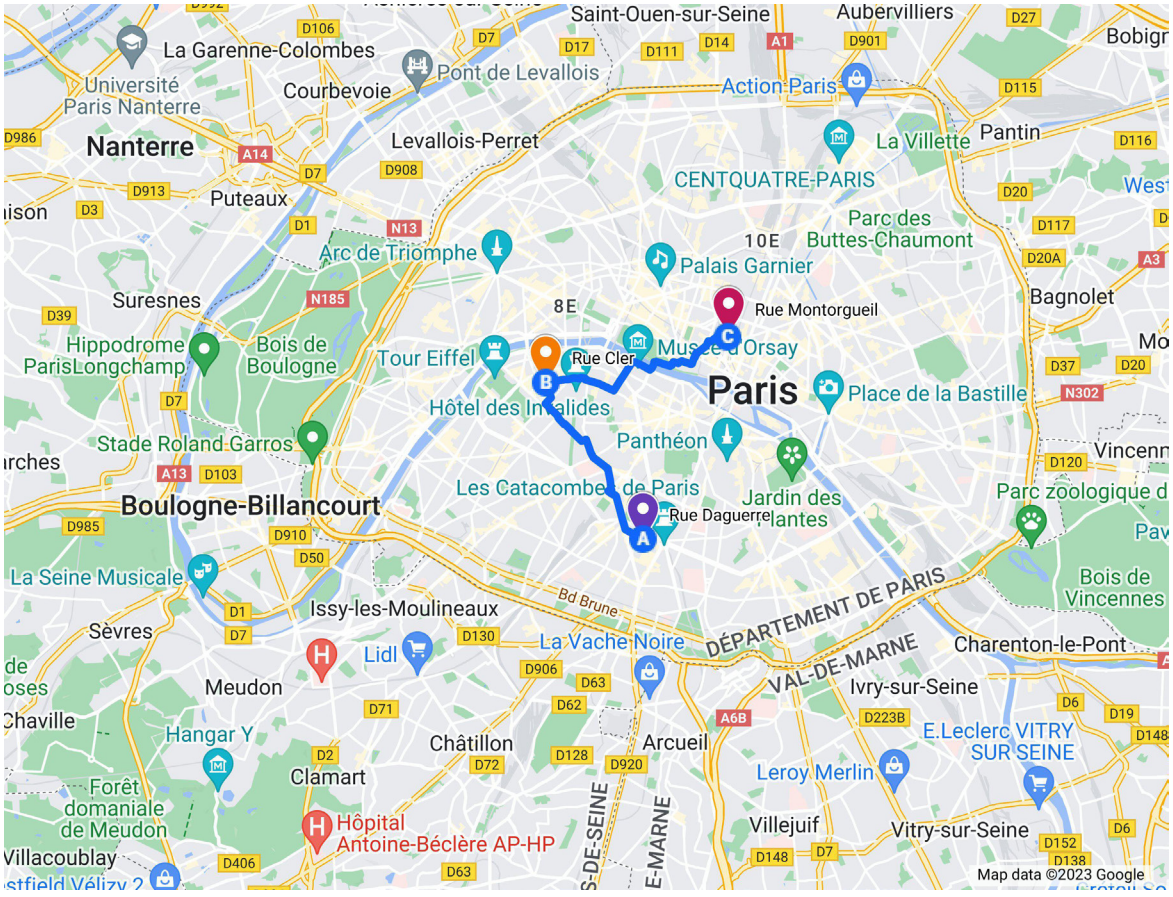

Figure 1. *The locations of the Paris shopping streets surveyed (Prepared by the author on Google Maps).*

patisserie Strohrer (1730) and the oyster restaurant L'escargot Montorgueil (1832). The street was mentioned by Hugo and Zola in their novels and was painted by Monet (La Rue Montorgueil) ("Rue Montorgueil," 2022).

The following sections summarise the main findings from the descriptive statistics obtained from both resident and shopkeeper surveys. The analysis of follow-up informal interviews with English-speaking shopkeepers who completed the survey is added to provide additional insights into how they understood and experienced the pedestrianisation policy in Paris.

5. Findings

The profile of the respondents in the online resident survey was predominantly female (63% vs. 58% officially estimated for 2021 (ESTAT, 2023a)), young to middle-aged (73% in their 20s and 30s vs. about 37%[1] in 2021 (ESTAT, 2023a)), educated (95% with a bachelor's degree or higher vs. about 54,4%[2] in 2021 (ESTAT, 2023b)), single (47%) and cohabiting or married (49%), and born in another French city (45%) or outside France (36%). Only 19% were born in Paris. They had mostly lived in Paris, Île-de-France for up to fifteen years (78%), if not more than 26 years (14%). They were mostly employed (63%—mostly civil servants (46% vs. 27% in 2020 (ESTAT, 2023c)) or professionals (26% vs. 20% in 2020)), or unemployed (23%), if not self-employed (8%) or retired. They mostly lived in Paris (80%), compared to the category outside Paris, but in Île-de-France (20%) and in Paris, 46% lived in one of the 14th, 15th, 18th or 20th arrondissements (compared to 35% (Dubois, 2021)), followed by 21% in one of the 3rd, 11th, 16th and 19th arrondissements (compared to 24% (Dubois, 2021)).

In the paper shop survey, 50% of respondents were male, 49% female, 1% preferred not to say. In terms of age, 40% of respondents were in their 20s, with 1% in the 15-19 age group; 27% in their 30s; 16% in their 40s; 12% in their 50s; and 5% in their 60s. In terms of education, 27% had a baccalauréat or vocational diploma, 23% a bachelor's degree or equivalent and 26% a master's degree or equivalent—10% had a bac+2 diploma and 13% had less than a baccalauréat. 44.6% were born in another French city, 25.6% outside France and 29.8% in Paris. Of those not born in Paris, 54% had lived there for up to 15 years, 26% for more than 26 years and the rest in between. However, 53% have lived outside Paris but in Île-de-France, while 47% have lived in Paris. Among those who lived in Paris, 33% lived in the 14th or 15th arrondissement, followed by the 2nd, 7th, 11th and 18th arrondissements (7% each), and the rest in other arrondissements.

5.1. Daily mobility of Parisians and the impact of the pandemic

According to the results of the residents' survey, the majority of respondents commute to work, school, and other main places of activity (92%) by train (79%), on foot (57%), by bicycle (38%) and by bus (28%); very few use cars (4%) or electric scooters (1%) for their daily commute. In terms of daily mobility, shopkeepers show a similar tendency to commute by train (63%), walking (30%), cycling (13%) and bus (7%), but unlike residents they also use cars or other motor vehicles to some extent (17%).

Resident respondents commute for journeys of less than one hour (94%), which is related to the efficiency of rail transport in Paris and the compact configuration of the city. Parisians who work far from home prefer to use the train, while those who work close to home can walk. Neither cars nor electric scooters are the preferred mode of transport for Parisians' daily commutes. On the other hand, Parisian shopkeepers indicated that cars are essential for transporting heavy products to and from their shops.

The resident survey also aimed to understand how much of the participants' daily lives were spent in their own neighbourhoods as a result of the city's plans for the 15-minute city. Residents were highly mobile within the city, with 98% reporting that they travelled out of their neighbourhood with varying frequency, ranging from once a week to more than seven times a week. The most common reasons for travelling were work (78%), nature and

leisure (70%), entertainment (62%), social (55%) and cultural (44%). For these trips, respondents again used the train (78%), bus (41%) and bicycle (41%), unless they chose to walk (68%). As with their daily commute, respondents made little use of cars or other motor vehicles (10%) and electric scooters (2%) to visit other neighbourhoods. This general tendency to avoid driving suggests that Parisians do not find it convenient to travel around the city by private car. At the same time, electric scooters were not widely used.

Since COVID-19, most resident respondents had reduced their daily commute (63%). Although 50% did not change their mode of transport during the pandemic, 31% walked more and 23% used bicycles or electric scooters more. The results thus show that the pandemic had little impact on the use of cars or other motor vehicles (5%) or public transport (2%) among Paris residents, while active transport modes were used more.

5.2. Parisians' ideas on pedestrianisation

Both residents and shopkeepers were asked about their views on recent city initiatives such as Paris Respire, Vélib, and the redesign of streets, shopping areas and/or public squares to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly. Residents (86%) were more supportive of these efforts than Parisian shopkeepers in the shopping districts surveyed (60%). However, both residents and shopkeepers indicated that their support for the policy was based on environmental reasons (66% of residents and 58% of shopkeepers), followed by other reasons such as improved mobility (14% of residents and 10% of shopkeepers) and social benefits (9% of residents and 16% of shopkeepers). A number of shops also indicated support for economic reasons (12%). Conversely, those shopkeepers who did not support these efforts (20%) justified their lack of support on the basis of mobility problems (50%), in addition to economic (33%) and political (13%) reasons.

Although the small sample size of the surveys did not allow for much reliable statistical testing, for residents, length of residence in Paris, Île-de-France had a statistically significant relationship with ideas about pedestrianisation, with an X2 value of 31.12 (degrees of freedom: 12 and critical X2: 21.03) at the 95% significance level (Table 1). Due to the problem of low cell values, a Fisher's exact test was also applied to test the same two variables, and their statistical relationship was confirmed with a p-value of 0.005, lower than 0.05. This means that the opinion of Parisians on the pedestrianisation of their city is related to the length of time they have lived there.

Finally, the majority of shopkeepers surveyed said that the pedestrianisation of their shopping streets had had

Table 1. *Statistical relationship between duration of residence in Paris and idea on pedestrianisation.*

X2		Idea on pedestrianisation efforts		
		Yes, I support.	No, I don't support.	I don't know.
Duration of residence in Paris				
	Less than a year	0,20	0,29	0,80
	1-5 years	0,02	1,54	0,14
	6-10 years	0,61	0,88	2,41
	11-15 years	0,24	0,42	3,00
	16-20 years	0,28	0,08	2,59
	21-25 years	0,22	12,25	0,69
	26 years and over	0,35	3,93	0,17
X2	**31,12**	Alfa	0,05	Relationship
DoF	12	Critical X2	21,03	p-value : 0.005

a positive effect on the number of customers (65%), sales (68%) and the value of their property (61%)—although some shopkeepers were reluctant to answer the latter question. While some did not personally support the city's efforts to make Paris more pedestrian-friendly, they indicated that the pedestrianisation of the shopping street had been beneficial to business. The pedestrianisation policy was therefore seen as beneficial to the commercial activity, despite the underlying issues relating to the particular difficulties faced by shopkeepers (e.g. in terms of deliveries, transporting heavy goods, etc.).

5.2.1. Lack of parking facilities

A common issue identified by the shop survey respondents was that the removal of car traffic from the shopping streets affected the customer experience, particularly for customers travelling from other areas. A lack of parking meant that large purchases by customers and deliveries were negatively affected by pedestrianisation.

A hotel owner on Rue Daguerre said that his street had been redesigned three or four years ago. The removal of on-street parking, for example, affected the hotel's business, because customers needed taxis, but taxis could not wait outside the hotel for more than two minutes. Similarly, the owner of a second-hand clothes shop said that many customers were discouraged from visiting the shopping street because of the lack of parking. A caterer *(traiteur)* claimed: "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". Without the trade that used to come from outside the area, support from local residents was not enough to keep many shops open.

While support for pedestrianisation was expressed, contrary to the usual positioning of shopkeepers as opponents of pedestrianisation (Parajuli & Pojani, 2018), common problems were identified in terms of regular product deliveries and when customers wanted to make large purchases of heavy items, such as wine, on the spot. Therefore, a number of shopkeepers supported the integration of pedestrians and cars as the optimal policy goal, as achieved by cohabitation (Feriel, 2013).

5.2.2. Planning pedestrianisation without public participation

Some members of the business community in the Rue Cler argued that the municipality employees planned these things in their offices without taking into account all the necessary aspects, such as accessibility, local businesses, etc., and without consulting the community on the matter. This finding parallels the argument of Kębłowski and others (2019) on the limited public participation in transport planning in Brussels.

Despite basic support for policies aimed at reducing carbon emissions by reducing motorised transport, shopkeepers often felt that closing a shopping street to traffic was like 'cutting off the blood flow into that area'. They expressed fears that businesses might end up dying as a result of pedestrianisation policies. In this sense, pedestrianisation carries the much-feared risk of retail decline (Delage et al., 2020) that is mentioned in the literature on commercial gentrification.

Other shopkeepers in Rue Daguerre said that more urgent priorities should be measures to increase the number of buses and to make stations more pedestrian-friendly, especially for the elderly, the disabled, and people with luggage. Disabled people, mothers with prams or people with luggage were not well accommodated in the centre of Paris without adequate parking facilities.

All these comments from shopkeepers point to the importance of local community involvement in urban and transport planning to create a more inclusive and caring city for all (Kern, 2021).

5.2.3. Safety concerns in multimodal transport

Shopkeepers suggested that there was a higher risk of injury in pedestrianised areas due to the mixed traffic environment of pedestrians, cars, bicycles and e-scooters. Some

shopkeepers suggested that the pedestrianisation policy was more supportive of facilitating the use of e-scooters than of supporting small, independent local shops in Paris. Others pointed out the dangers of unregulated cycle lanes, which make deliveries difficult.

In general, shopkeepers interviewed stated that alternative modes of transport, such as bicycles and e-scooters, often disregard traffic rules, thus increasing the risk of injury to pedestrians. The general dislike and lack of preference for e-scooters as a mode of transport by both Parisian residents and shopkeepers was also reflected in a recent referendum held by the Paris City Council on the use of e-scooters in Paris. In this referendum, the majority of Parisians voted against e-scooters in the city. The Mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, followed suit and considered banning this mode of transport in the city (Giuffrida, 2023).

In a recent paper, Gössling stated that "e-scooters compete over space with pedestrians, cyclists and motorized transport, and they add complexity to transport systems" and proposed "dedicated micromobility streets" (Gössling, 2020, pp. 2, 9) as part of the solution to their less problematic integration into urban transport systems.

5.3. Types of commerce in pedestrianised local shopping streets against touristification and gentrification thresholds

The types of commerce on the local shopping streets in Paris seemed to diverge from Zukin and others' (2016) "ABCs of gentrification", namely art galleries, boutiques and cafés, in the sense that no art galleries were observed on any of the study streets, and there were few boutiques. On the other hand, Parisian streets have many speciality shops (bakery, patisserie, confectionery, butcher's, fishmonger's, cheese, wine, etc.), grocery stores of various sizes, some soft-line retailers (e.g. textiles, cosmetics and pharmaceuticals) and other specialist retailers (e.g. books, handicraft-gifts and musical instruments).

Although some of these Parisian shopping streets, such as Rue Cler, were already very touristy, especially before the pandemic, they still retain their local shopping street atmosphere because of their special retail mix. This contrasts with the negative picture painted by Chabrol and Girou (2022) of a decline in retail trade due to the development of large commercial areas in French cities. Figure 2 shows the distribution of shopkeepers surveyed in this Paris study by type of retail outlet.

However, it must be said that it is still possible to observe an artificial atmosphere created for the consumption of authenticity (Zukin, 2008) in these Parisian shopping streets, particularly in the Rue Montorgueil and the Rue Cler, which have mostly similar types (and even brands) of speciality shops.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The counter-arguments in the urban literature against pedestrianisation highlight important underlying issues, such as pedestrianisation acting as a lever for gentrification and touristification, increased socio-

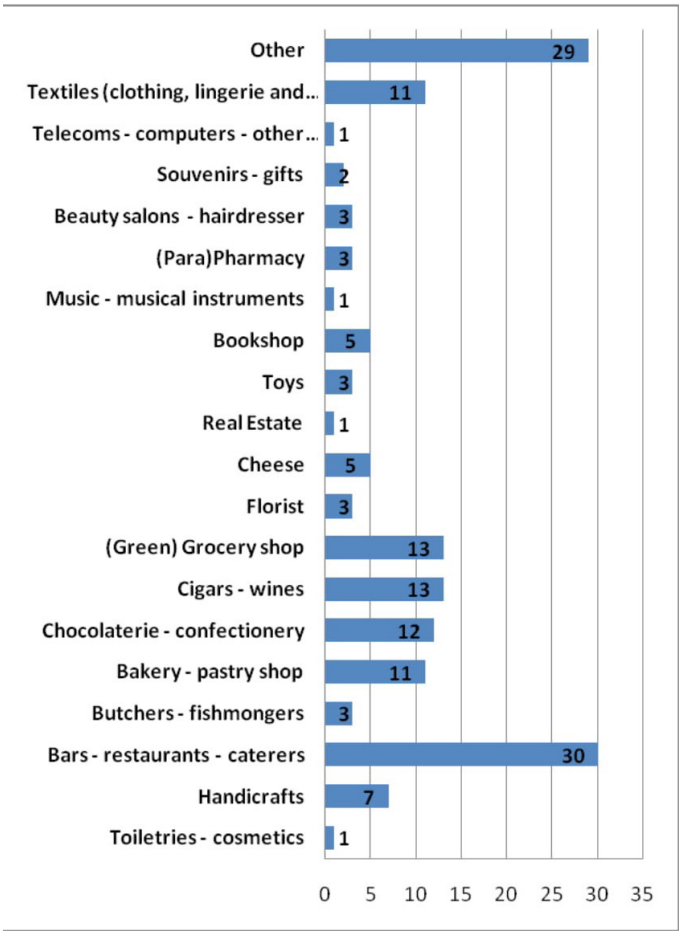

Figure 2. *The distribution of the shops surveyed by type of retail outlet.*

spatial segregation, centre-periphery polarisation and uneven urban development. For example, Brenac et al. (2013) and Debrie et al. (2020) warn of the possible gentrification and (further) touristification effects of such urban mobility practices. They also note that pedestrianisation can be part of broader urban entrepreneurial and neoliberal agendas to create more competitive cities.

This study has also identified a number of objections to the city's pedestrianisation efforts, with shopkeepers' objections mainly framed in economic terms. Nevertheless, the Parisian shopping streets have maintained their business continuity in the face of the pandemic. The predominance of speciality shops on Parisian shopping streets and regulations against large retail stores in the city centre have influenced the comparative success of Parisian pedestrianisation. In addition, the different implementation of pedestrianisation policies in Paris, such as the coexistence of cars and pedestrians rather than full pedestrianisation, has been credited with supporting businesses and creating a more liveable environment.

Although it is difficult to argue that pedestrianisation has led to gentrification in the streets surveyed, all of which are in central Paris, most of which was gentrified long ago, 61% of shopkeepers surveyed observed an increase in the property value of their shop following the pedestrianisation of their street. It is important to note, however, that some of these respondents were only shop workers and had little idea of the property value of their workplace. On the other hand, there were some shopkeepers who complained about the lack of support from the city administration for small independent shops, which are seen as one of the main attractions of Paris for tourists, and the loss of customers with cars. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the pedestrianisation of these central Parisian shopping streets can lead to "super-gentrification" (Gravari-Barbas, 2017) and indirect displacement effects for their shopkeepers due to the loss of customers coming from far away by car, although there is some counter-evidence in the literature for the latter (Soni & Soni, 2016; Yoshimura et al., 2022).

To overcome the potential negative effects of pedestrianisation identified in the literature and by some of the shop survey participants, this paper proposes that pedestrianisation policies in central Paris be balanced with local communities in mind. This means not only considering the mobility of local residents, but also understanding the specificity of small business communities. Pedestrianisation as a strategy to increase active transport and to reduce emissions aims to improve the quality of life for local residents. However, the removal of parking spaces and the exclusion of cars and lorries from certain streets is a cause of concern for small businesses in Paris, in addition to issues of poor urban planning priorities and road safety.

Therefore, this study points to the need for community consultation in the formulation and implementation of urban policies that are not only concerned with the need to improve public health, reduce carbon emissions, or pursue notions of liveable cities, but also consider accessibility for all city dwellers as a key basis for transport equity and inclusion. While this study was based in Paris, it suggests that other geographical areas undergoing pedestrianisation could benefit from further research that examines pedestrianisation policies from a multi-stakeholder perspective.

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Endnotes

[1] This is only an approximate figure as there is a mismatch between the age groups for those aged 70 and over in this study (70-75) and those in ESTAT (70-74).

[2] There is also a discrepancy with the official data, as ESTAT uses the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 2011), which includes short-cycle tertiary education.

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