

HAPPY FRINGE AREAS

TOWNS, VILLAGES
AND HAMLETS IN
METROPOLITAN AREAS

37TH INTERNATIONAL
URBAN PLANNING
WORKSHOP
OF CERGY-
PONTOISE
2-20 SEPTEMBER 2019



CONTEXT DOCUMENT

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maîtrise d'œuvre urbaine

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“There are few places in the world where freedom of expression, mix of cultures and disciplines, mutual cross-fertilization and production of ideas, combined with a true professionalism allow us to think about those spaces where more and more inhabitants of our planet live: cities.”

Pierre-André Périssol, Chairman of les Ateliers

A non profit- organization since 1982, Les Ateliers – International workshops of planning and urban design – aims to develop the collective creation of ideas that tackle the challenges and processes of everyday city planning and design by promoting a process of collective and multidisciplinary work that produces innovative and illustrative proposals relating to urban design and spatial development.

Whether it involves students or professionals, each “atelier” brings together people of diverse nationalities and disciplines: architecture and urban planning, but also geography, economics, landscape architecture, sociology, art, engineering, environment...

Year after year, Les Ateliers internationaux network has been growing: it includes more than two thousand former participants who are now professionals, academics, and decision-makers in the urban field.

Our convictions :

Creating cities is by its very nature a collective process. As true as architecture enables an individual and identifiable creation of masterpieces, developing cities cannot be ascribed to a single person who would dominate all the aspects of urban creation: this process is collective in its essence.

Based on the logic of laboratory work, urban project management should encompass the various disciplines required to plan urban areas and their interfaces. Therefore, each atelier is a place of freedom of proposal, where the aspirations of collective and voluntary work enable the development of new ideas, innovative projects and proposals for the future of urban areas which are in perpetual transition.

Partners for the 2019 Les Ateliers Workshop :



This document is the culmination of extensive research, case studies, as well as observations on projects conducted on the proposed topic and in the territory of the Île-de-France. Its purpose is to serve as a tool for participants of the 2017 Paris Region Workshop, who will expand on its analysis. It offers a multi-angle view of the workshop's focus territory, incorporating an interdisciplinary approach through the use of cartographic, iconographic, and bibliographic resources. A highly collaborative effort, this document reflects the intersection of many approaches and multiple points of view. Particularly strengthened by the compact brainstorming session held on 19 April 2017, this document also bears the mark of the many discussions exchanged among the workshop's pilot team, monitoring committee members and other partners.

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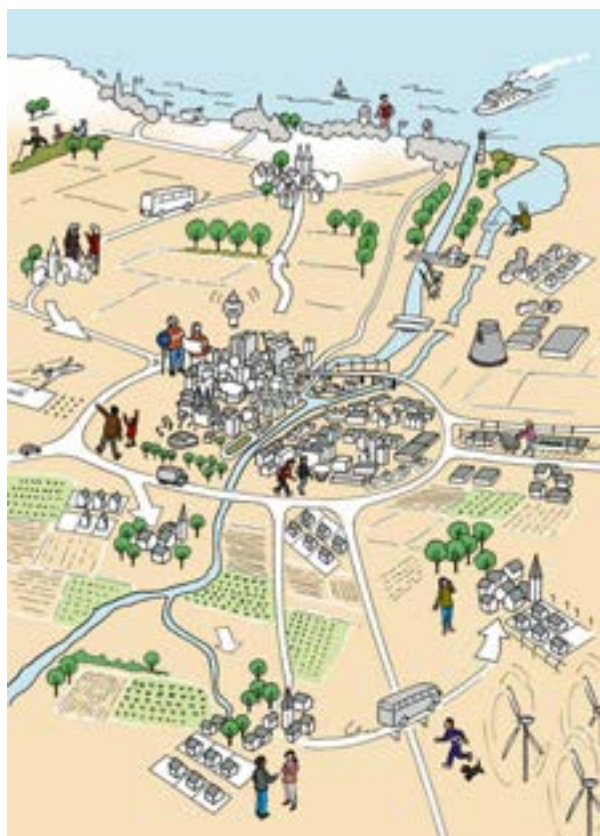
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Recette pour un Pays Utopique...



Recette pour un pays utopique d'après Vito (<https://www.facebook.com/VITO.Illustration/>)



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Vers des centres-bourgs actifs et attractifs? (source: <http://www.atelier-territoires.logement.gouv.fr/rencontre-nationale-de-l-atelier-des-territoires-a135.html>)

CHAPTER 1

THE FRINGES, THEN AND NOW

The fringes of the urban urban agglomeration

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Report on the evolution of the urban sprawl

Construction of the fringes

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**The fringes of the urban agglomeration,
comparing specific fringes to other countries**

CHAPTER 1

THE FRINGES, THEN AND NOW

The fringes of the urban urban agglomeration

Beyond the limits of the central Parisian urban agglomeration, the urban countryside is expanding and doing so under the influence of the city. These territories, in the fringes of the metropolitan area, represent a particular living environment — one that is still close to the city, yet is also exposed to open spaces (forests, fields, etc.). It is therefore necessary to first define these fringes, before we can examine their historical construction or compare them to other countries.

Defining the fringes

We are interested in territories beyond the Paris urban agglomeration.

Therefore, we must first define the Paris urban agglomeration. Paris, as a central city, has administrative boundaries that cover a limited area, unlike other European capitals. The urban agglomeration therefore extends far beyond these limits.

As such we offer some statistical terms as defined by INSEE. In France, the National Institute of Statistics (INSEE) makes a distinction between urban agglomerations, peri-urban areas and rural territories.

Based on these definitions, we can see

that the fringes are essentially composed of peri-urban but also rural municipalities: these are municipalities that are mainly under the influence of the Parisian urban agglomeration but also of the surrounding cities and territories of the Île-de-France (especially in terms of employment).

They are distinguished by their diffuse urban planning and a strong presence of open spaces: forest, large agricultural areas, etc.

As a result, the people who live there feel like they live in the countryside, according to Éric Charmes.

A few definitions

A municipality of the urban agglomeration (or urban unit): According to INSEE, a municipality belongs to the urban agglomeration if it lies within the continuity of the built environment (no more than 200 metres between buildings).

A peri-urban municipality: According to INSEE, peri-urban municipalities are those that send 40% of their working population to work in the urban centre or municipalities linked to the urban centre, but which are not part of the urban continuum. These are the municipalities in the greater urban area that do not belong to the urban unit.

A rural municipality: According to INSEE, these are municipalities with a population of less than 2,000 inhabitants (a rural municipality is a municipality that does not belong to an urban unit). These are the municipalities located beyond the urban area.

Paris

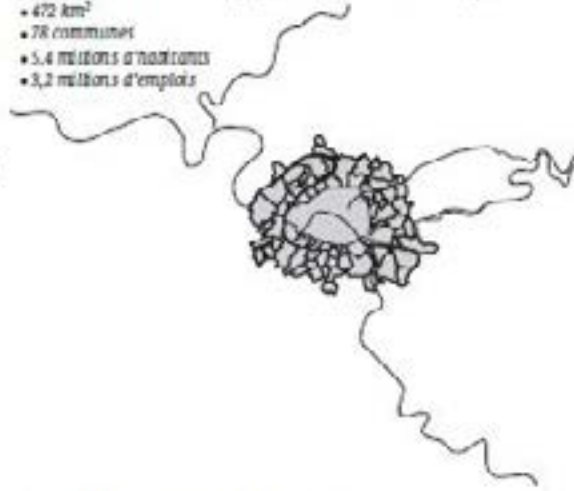
- 105 km²
- 2,2 millions d'habitants
- 1,6 millions d'emplois



Paris et la zone dense

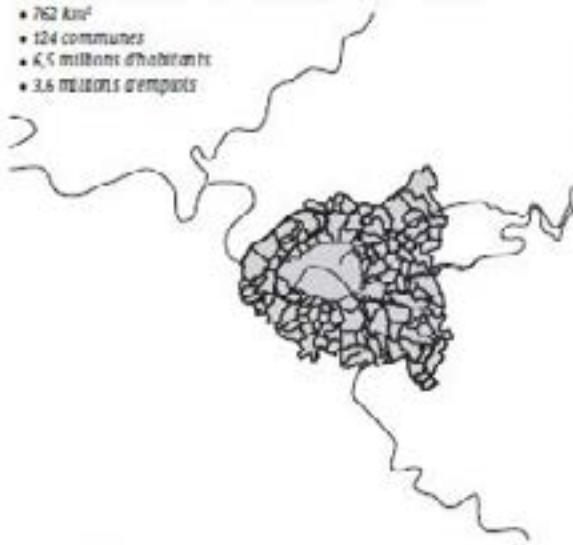
(Au moins 85 % de la superficie de la commune occupée par des activités et l'habitat et 95 % de la superficie de la commune urbanisée)

- 472 km²
- 78 communes
- 5,4 millions d'habitants
- 3,2 millions d'emplois



Paris et la petite couronne (4 départements centraux)

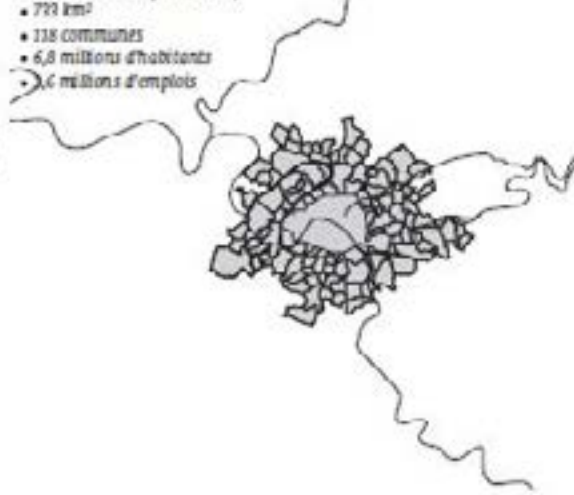
- 762 km²
- 124 communes
- 4,5 millions d'habitants
- 3,6 millions d'emplois



Paris et le cœur d'agglomération

(Au moins 80% d'espace urbanisé et densité humaine d'au moins 80 habitants+ emplois à l'ha)

- 723 km²
- 118 communes
- 6,8 millions d'habitants
- 3,6 millions d'emplois



Paris et l'agglomération économique

(Au moins 7 emplois à l'ha)

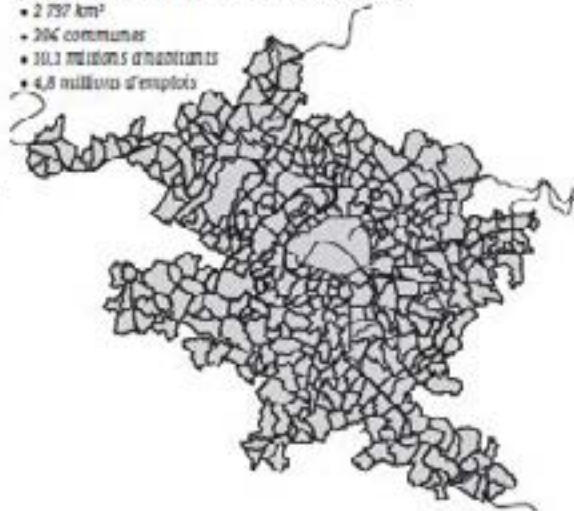
- 1 375 km²
- 305 communes
- 8,5 millions d'habitants
- 4,4 millions d'emplois



Paris et l'agglomération centrale

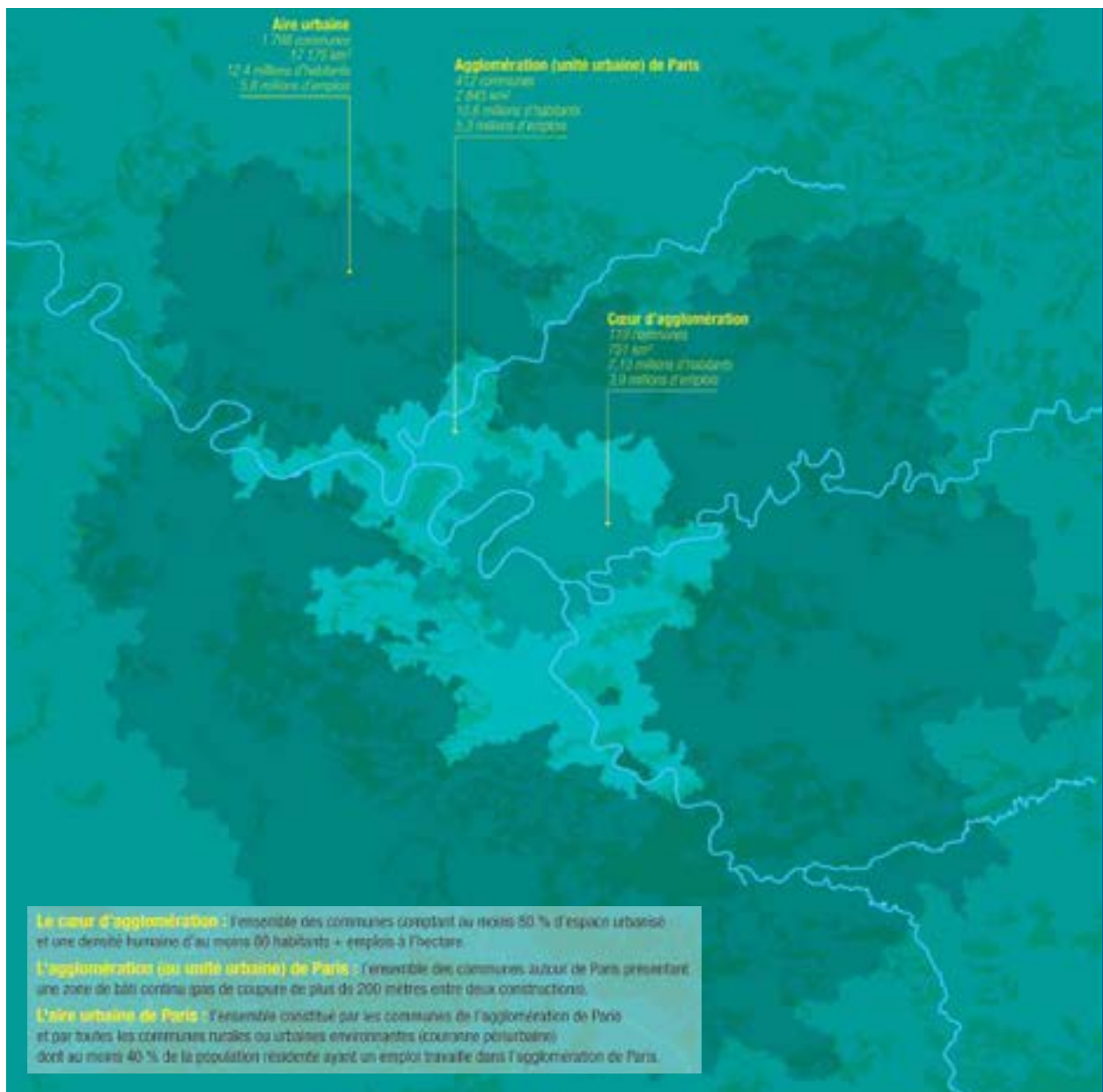
(moins de 200m de distance entre les constructions)

- 2 737 km²
- 304 communes
- 10,1 millions d'habitants
- 4,8 millions d'emplois



Source: Insee, chiffres de population et d'emplois annuels, métropolitain

How to define the urban agglomeration? (Source: Paris project, a comparative analysis of the Paris metropolitan area)



Morphological map of the urban agglomeration (Source: New territorial organization, what is the risk of a border effect. IAU/APUR)

The distinctions between urban, peri-urban and rural areas do not correspond to administrative boundaries.

Paris, the central city and French capital, is surrounded by *départements* within *the petite couronne*, or inner suburbs, roughly corresponding to the Greater Paris Metropolitan Area — which, itself, stretches beyond these boundaries. The Parisian urban agglomeration therefore extends beyond the inner suburbs.

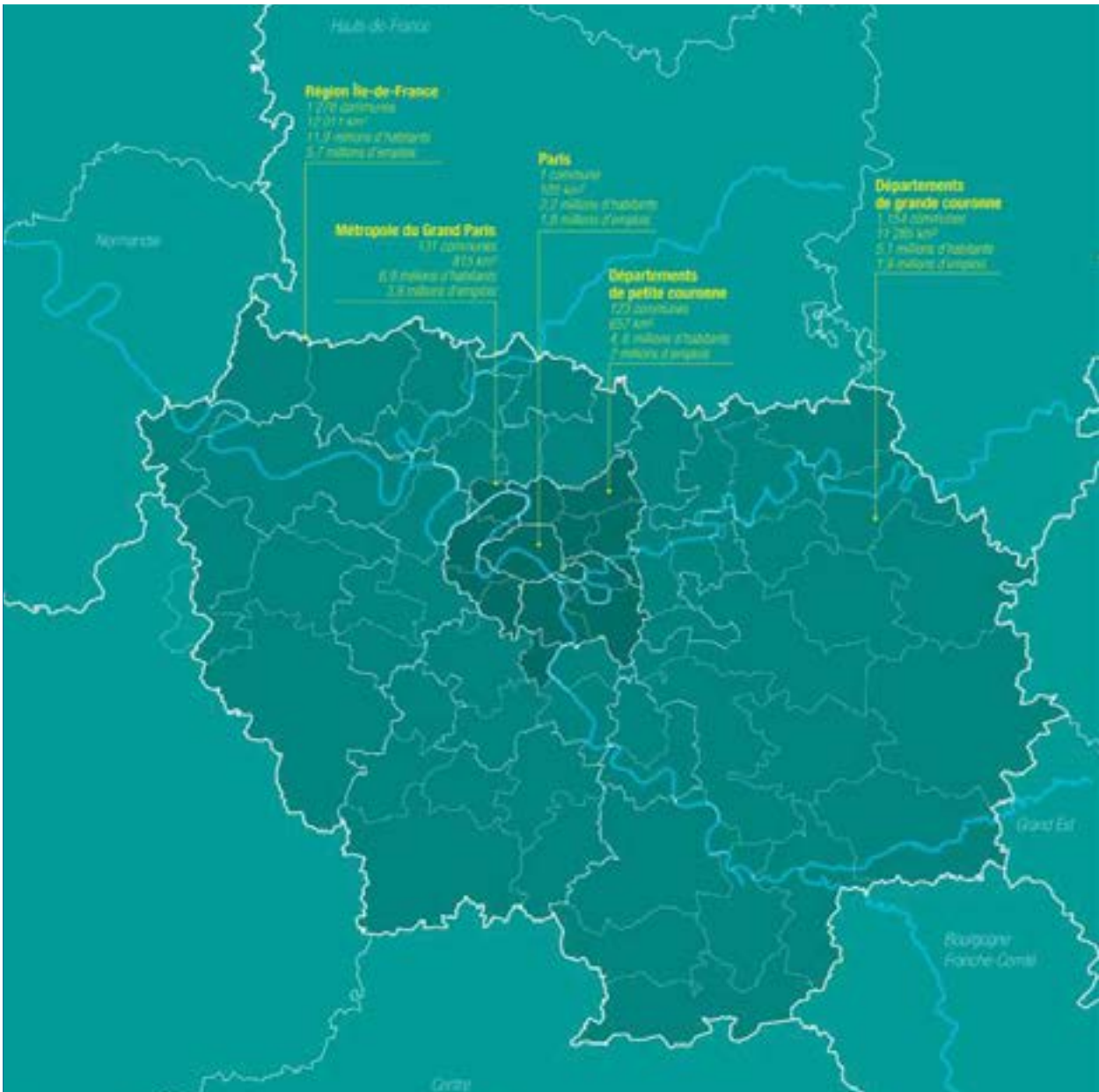
Beyond that, there are the *départements* of the *grande couronne* or outer suburbs. The whole of which is concentrated in the Île-de-France Region.

The urban area, the territory under

the influence of the Parisian urban agglomeration, extends far beyond the regional boundaries, as do the fringes.

Moreover, while these definitions are helpful in understanding what the fringes are, the latter should not be reduced to include only peri-urban municipalities. Like any statistical definition, the definition of the peri-urban area is open to criticism and does not enjoy unanimous support. The threshold of 40% of the working population working in the urban unit is sometimes considered too restrictive, while at other times not enough.

These definitions help us to understand that the fringes are territories that are



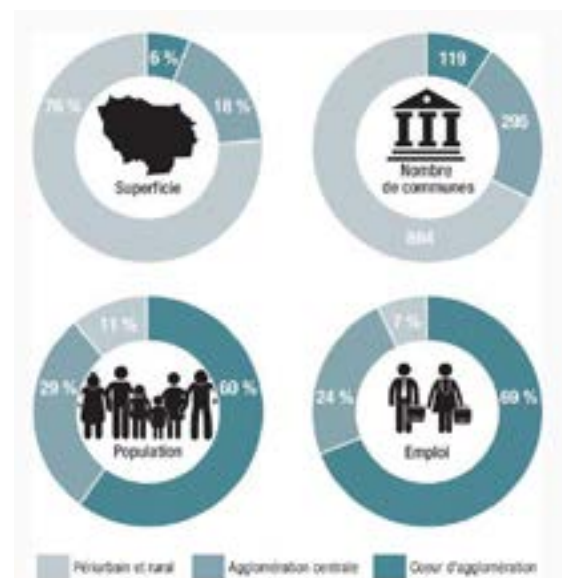
Map of administrative boundaries (Source: New territorial organization, what is the risk of a border effect. IAU/ APUR)

morphologically different from those of the urban agglomeration, yet are dependent on them.

The capital region is characterized by the existence of a strong central urban agglomeration. The majority of jobs, but also inhabitants, is located there.

The municipalities of the fringes, i. e. rural and peri-urban municipalities, thus represent 76% of the surface area of the Île-de-France but only 11% of its inhabitants and jobs.

An urban agglomeration that concentrates most of the jobs and inhabitants (Source: Paris project, a comparative analysis of the Paris metropolitan area)



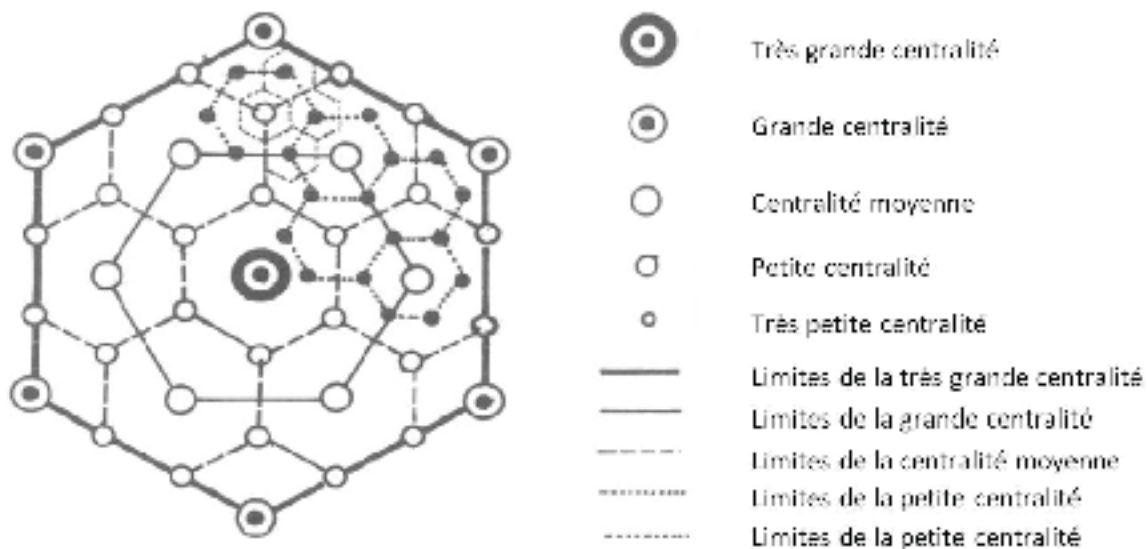
Urban structure of the fringes

France is marked by a municipal fragmentation; there are no less than 35,000 municipalities!

The heart of the Parisian urban agglomeration is characterized by a high population density. Beyond that, there are regional poles or centres, both historical and recent, in the inner and outer suburbs (Mantes, Meaux, Melun, Pontoise, Versailles, Saint-Germain), which can all be considered fringe cities. They may include medium-sized or small towns as well as villages and hamlets.

Beyond the limits of the Île-de-France, there are other large cities that have functional links with the Parisian metropolitan area. These large historical cities (Chartres, Dreux, Compiègne, Montargis, Beauvais, Reims, Sens, Troyes and others) have rail connections with the centre of Paris.

Some of the fringes of the urban agglomeration located between these cities may be under the influence of not only Paris but also that of these other large cities.



A spatial organization of the cities, towns, villages and hamlets (Source: Christaller)

Urban fringes are mainly composed of small villages and hamlets and some larger cities.

These are municipalities with lower population densities, but which historically constitute central places, as described by Walter Christaller in his analysis of Germany at the beginning of the 20th century. His spatial planning theory was applied in the Île-de-France region until the 1950s.

While urban sprawl has undermined this urban hierarchy, traces of its past are still present. Thus, in the Île-de-France, it is rare to find villages without a church, without a traditional market place, etc.

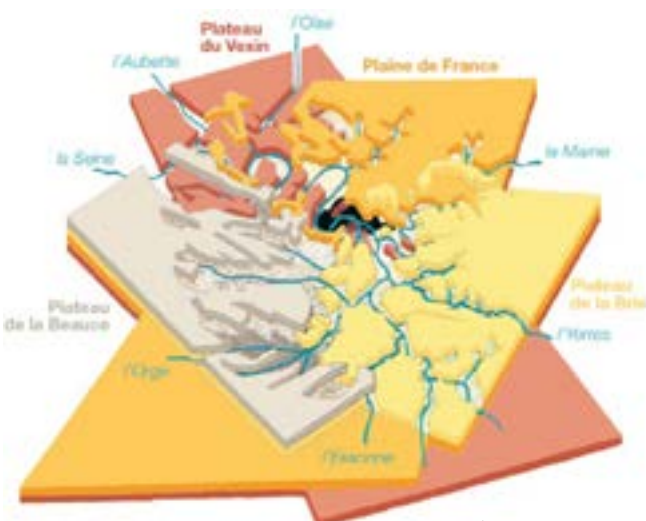
In the Île-de-France, the Institute of Urban Planning and Development of the Île-de-France Region (IAU-IDF) identified 669 municipalities (out of a total of 1,776) that are “villages, towns or hamlets”.

Morphology of the fringes

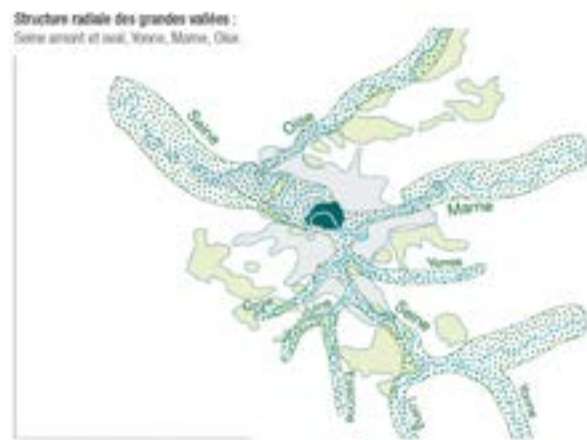
The Île-de-France has a geography marked by a structuring landscape. Its river network (the Seine, Marne, Oise, etc.) design the arteries that punctuate the urban landscape, and the corresponding valleys define the greater territory as a whole. Around the city is an agricultural ring that continues to shrink as urbanization gains ground. However, this green belt still represents the greatest share of workable land in the Île-de-France. The various sections of the landscape are organized in the shape of a star around the capital city of Paris.

There are two levels embedded into each other in the landscape of the Île-de-France and they represent a clear division. The first level is that of the “countries” and the large valleys (Seine upstream and downstream, Marne, Oise), some of which extend beyond the boundaries of the region and the Paris urban agglomeration. As a whole, the large territory has a concentric structure, reinforced by an urban and agglomerate presence in the Seine Valley. As Jacques Sgard’s diagram illustrates, the urban construction of the Paris urban agglomeration was built in the valleys and concentrated in the heart of the Île-de-France region.

See 2017 Paris Region Context Document

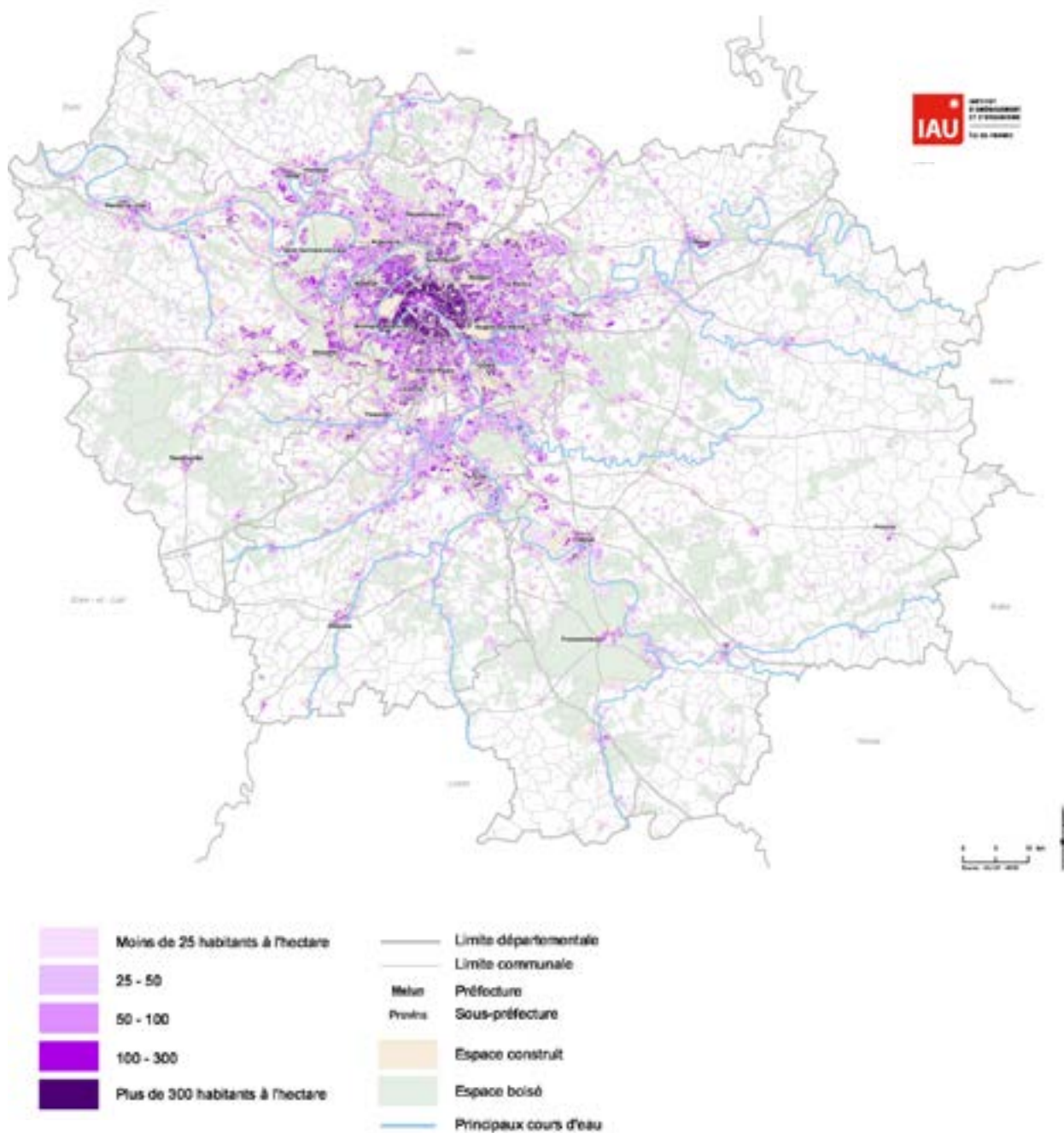


Sketch of the geological structure of the Île-de-France (Source: M Belliot, 1983)



Crédit de Jacques Sgard - Les grands paysages d'Île-de-France, IAU 1988

Between the valleys and the “countries” (Source: J Sgard, IAU)



Map of densities in the Île-de-France (Source: IAU, 2009)

The density map shows the urban structure of the region. For instance, the urban fringes are characterized by a lower density than in the compact urban centre.

Most importantly, they are characterized — and this is what defines them as a whole — by a significant presence of forests and agricultural land.

These are areas of so-called “medium density”, but which host important urban densities inherited in their historical core areas. In addition to the high density of Paris and its surrounding suburbs, densities are high along the region’s main rivers. Significant densities can also be noted for any city in the fringes.

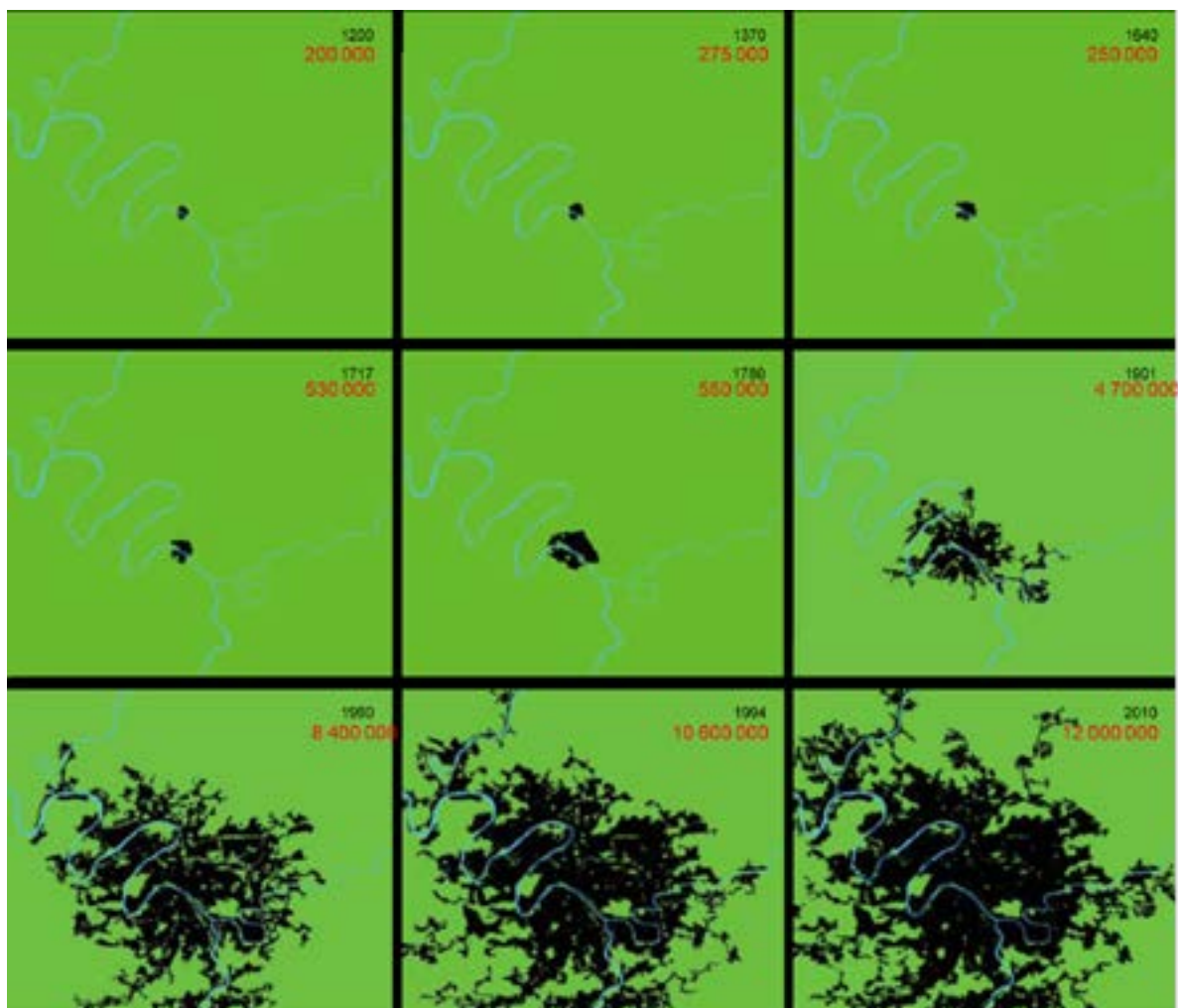
A history of the fringes

City boundaries have always been an issue in France. In the past, they were tied to the physical urban barriers that surrounded the cities of the Renaissance. A trend of urban densification/sprawl then took hold. Eric Hazan, in his book *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps*, highlighted this trend.

In these spaces beyond the compact core, a set of practices and urban forms developed that fell partly outside the city's control.

“The scenario is always the same. A new boundary has just been built; it is designed to be wide, reserving free space around the existing built-up area. But quickly, this space becomes covered with buildings. The land available within these walls becomes increasingly scarce; housing is squeezed, raised; plots are filled in.”

Report on the evolution of the urban sprawl



Urban sprawl, according to Roland Vidal (Source pre-1900: Jacques Dupâquier; post-1900: IAU-IDF / INSEE)

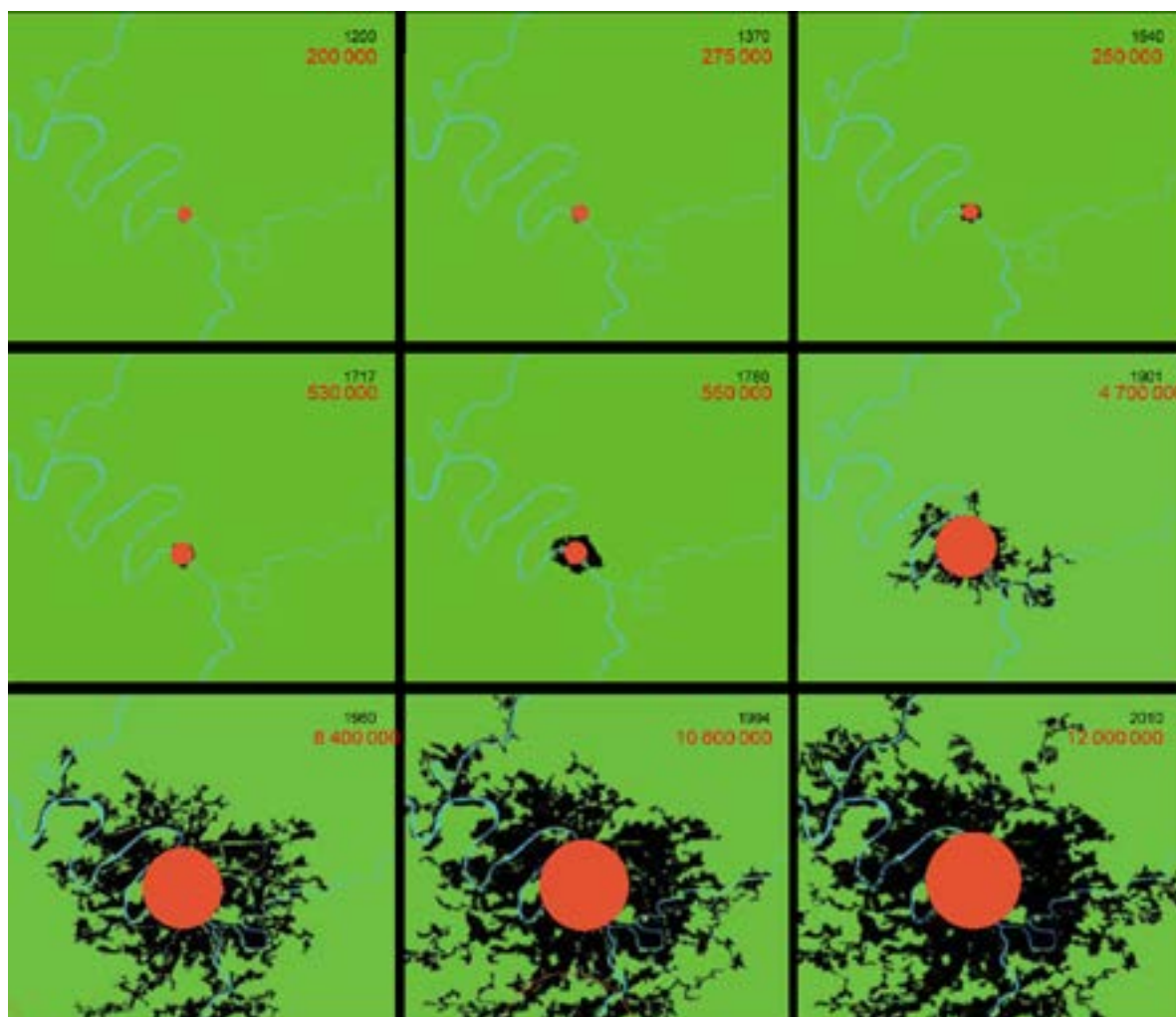
The history of the fringes is above all a history of the urban sprawl of the Paris urban agglomeration. The fringes have always been swallowed up by the urban agglomeration, even if this is no longer the case today.

According to Roland Vidal, in the previous Figure , “we notice that not only is the city spreading, as its population increases, but also as the form of this expansion changes. Until the 18th century, the urban form remained essentially the same, only its size increased. From the 19th century onwards, the phenomenon of urban sprawl took the form of dispersion. This was done first along the valleys, then by conquering, without any

apparent logic, the lands of the plateaus”.

In the Figure, he states that “the red circles represent what Paris’s expansion would have been like if the per capita space consumption had been constant”.

These images show that since 1790, space consumption has increased at a greater rate than the population has grown. Thus, the area actually occupied per capita was four to five times larger in 2010 than it had been eight centuries earlier.



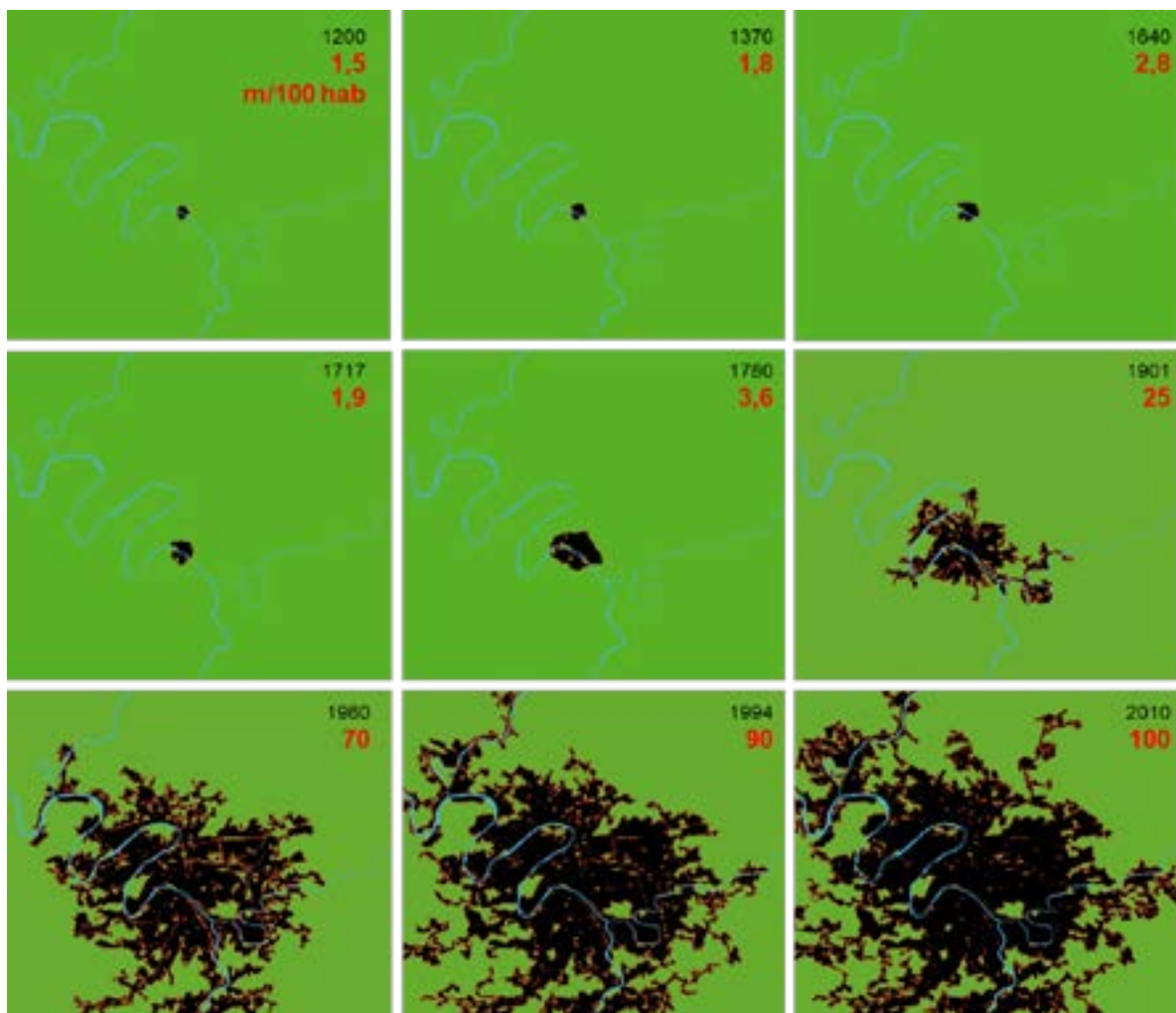
Urban sprawl and density, according to Roland Vidal (Source pre-1900: Jacques Dupâquier; post-1900: IAU-IDF / INSEE)

The next figure shows the distance of the boundaries from the urban agglomeration based on a 100 inhabitant per capita area.

“But what has increased most is the distance of the ‘boundary’ that separates the city from the countryside, i.e. the length of the perimeter of the urban agglomeration. Based on recent estimates by the IAU-IDF (which estimates the length of this boundary at 13,500 km) and on measurements made on old maps, it can be seen that, relative to the number of inhabitants, this length has increased by a factor of 70,” states Roland Vidal.

These borders are often fringes at the interface with the metropolis.

The fringes of the urban area have therefore been changing and are still likely to evolve, even if some researchers (notably Éric Charmes) point out that it is unlikely that peri-urban municipalities will be absorbed into the urban area since they implement strategies that preserve and protect their agricultural areas and borders from urbanization.



Urban sprawl, according to Roland Vidal (Source pre-1900: Jacques Dupâquier; post-1900: IAU-IDF / INSEE)

Construction of the fringes

The history of the fringes of the Greater Paris Metropolitan Area is complex, like that of the Île-de-France Region.

The fringes before they were fringes...

In the Île-de-France, rural municipalities have traditionally been based on compact structures, historically organized around or from an agricultural holding. Housing was most often grouped, with local variations: in the east of the Île-de-France, housing was generally more dispersed, grouped around different hamlets or in the form of isolated farms.

In the rest of the Paris Basin, housing was often grouped together. It took the form of terraced village houses or small buildings.

Depending on the topography, the villages and towns in the fringes of the Paris urban agglomeration present different structures: compact, fragmented, linear or star-shaped.



An old postcard from Houdan (78) (Source: <https://www.cartes-et-patrimoine.com/>)

Village structures in the Île-de-France (see “Atlas rural et agricole de l’Île-de-France”, p. 90, examples for Charny (77), Roinville (91), Tremblay-sur-Mauldre)



Structure compacte



Structure morcelée



Structure linéaire



Structure en étoile

- espace urbanisé
- enveloppe urbanisée
- forêt
- espace agricole
- réseau routier
- courbes de niveau

Holiday towns

Southern Île-de-France, around Fontainebleau, is strongly marked by a history of holiday towns. Around the forest of Fontainebleau, there are holiday villages that were popular with the Parisian bourgeoisie beginning at the end of the 19th century. This history has strongly influenced local urban planning, resulting in a significant and premature dispersion of housing. These municipalities therefore preserve an important architectural heritage, and some are very touristy — for example Barbizon, a place favoured by impressionist painters, is now highly visited.



A typical 19th-century holiday home in Bois-le-Roi (77) (Source: Le Figaro)

“These resorts developed in the 19th century, particularly as a result of the railway: Thanks to the railway, you could settle your family in the fresh air in summer and continue to go to work in Paris. [...] It is therefore a resort on the ‘edges of the city’.”

These holiday areas therefore already maintain a relationship of dependence with the city. Today, what were once second homes are now occupied year-round and have become primary residences. Many have even been divided and now accommodate several families.



A typical 19th-century holiday home in Vésinet (78) (Source: tripadvisor.com)

The rural exodus

Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, France experienced an industrial revolution that resulted in a rural exodus: the departure of people from the countryside to the cities. The villages thus faced a crisis. Housing became less organized around agricultural activities, and the urban functioning of these small municipalities began to resemble that of cities or “suburbs”. Individual housing started to develop.

These rural municipalities were heavily affected by urban sprawl from the 1950s to the 1960s. Old houses remain in the centre of these municipalities and at the heart of their problems, particularly because they are often dilapidated or in disrepair.



Rouen from the Côte de Bonsecours by Camille Corot

The peak of the urban sprawl

Like many countries, France has undergone profound spatial transformations over the past fifty years, altering the duality of city and countryside, which until this point seemed to have been preserved. Overall, until the 1950s and 1960s, France was organized following a relatively straightforward urban distribution, as Christaller described in his analysis of the German model. Urban sprawl put an end to this clear distinction.

This in-between space, neither rural nor completely urban, is most often described as peri-urban in France. These are territories under the influence of a large city, while being spatially disconnected. They correspond in large part to the fringes of the metropolis.

Urban sprawl, in the form of individual housing, has been poorly controlled by the State. In France, spatial planning is largely the translation of state policies. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, the State developed Zones à Urbaniser en Priorité (ZUP), which were priority areas to be urbanized near major cities, which today constitute the suburbs.

In the mid-1960s, the State developed new towns (Cergy-Pontoise, Melun-Sénart, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, etc.), all of which were tasked with concentrating urban growth.

They were intended to serve as a framework for the urban sprawl that would develop beyond these new centralities.



The city of Drancy, an old postcard showing new construction from what was once just a field. (Source: <https://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/3383>)

Urban sprawl was particularly strong in the late 1960s. In summary, Martine Berger says:

“In three decades, from 1968 to the beginning of the 21st century, the Île-de-France has gained 1.2 million homes and 1.7 million inhabitants, representing a growth rate of more than a third of the principal residence stock, twice as fast as that of the region’s population. [...] For the past three decades, we have witnessed a radical transformation in the way people live, on a scale never before seen in the Île-de-France: the transition from a dense urban area to a more sprawling city, where the proportion of individual houses has continued to grow.”¹

1 Martine Berger. (2004). Les périurbains de Paris: De la ville dense à la métropole éclatée. Paris.



Ad in Le Monde in April 1971 (Source: Berger, 2004)

- The single-family home would radically transform the way people live in France.

- This urban sprawl in the fringe municipalities was evidenced by the increase in real estate/property ownership (with the development of personal housing loans in 1973) and the construction of individual houses, which consist of three types:

- “Individual” constructions: most often, an owner has a single-family house built on a given plot of land.

- Single-family homes in a subdivision: a developer divides the land into lots, on which he then allows each owner to build according to precise specifications.

- Grouped residential housing estates: their development was very strong until the 1980s, but has slowed down since. These constructions are characterized by a high degree of architectural homogeneity. In the 1970s, they were called “new villages”.

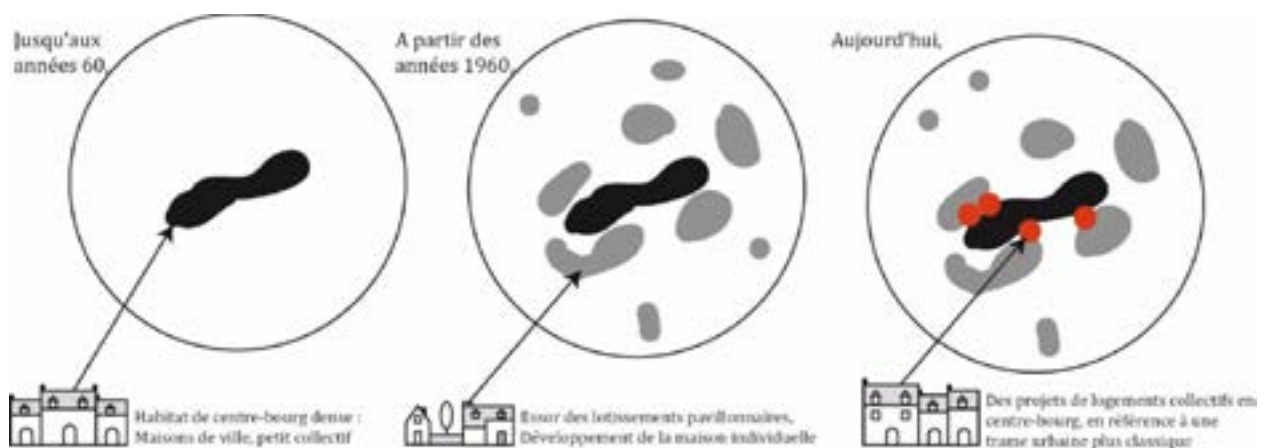


Ads for the property developer Phénix in 1973 (Source: ebay 2009)

Morphology of the fringe municipalities

In the formerly rural municipalities in the fringes, urban sprawl has produced new urban forms. In addition to what was mostly contiguous and terraced housing until then, housing estates or uncontrolled constructions were added. The resulting urban forms created a discontinuous and “non-joined” built-up area. Small farms disappeared, and farm buildings were transformed and converted to new uses.

Urban sprawl would completely transform existing urban forms, resulting in grouped or dispersed individual constructions. Together, these individual houses constitute residential neighbourhoods. These home and neighbourhoods, which still embody the image of urban sprawl today, were built ex-nihilo on non-urbanized spaces.



Village dynamics (Source: Fonticelli, 2018)

Major development projects in the Île-de-France and their impact on the fringes

Combating urban sprawl in France

Legislation at the national level has been trying to limit urban sprawl in France since the 2000s. This has resulted in a series of laws attempting to curb urban sprawl and promote densification, without the effectiveness of the policies being proven.

To be able to contain and limit this urban sprawl is one of the main objectives

of national regulatory authorities. This national objective is implemented within the Île-de-France through the SDRIF (Master Plan for the Île-de-France Region), which at the same time tends to reinforce urban sprawl beyond the region's borders.

A closer look... planning documents

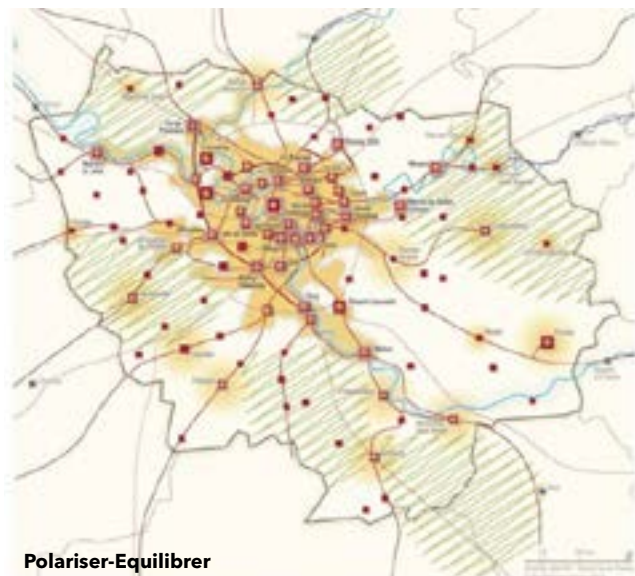
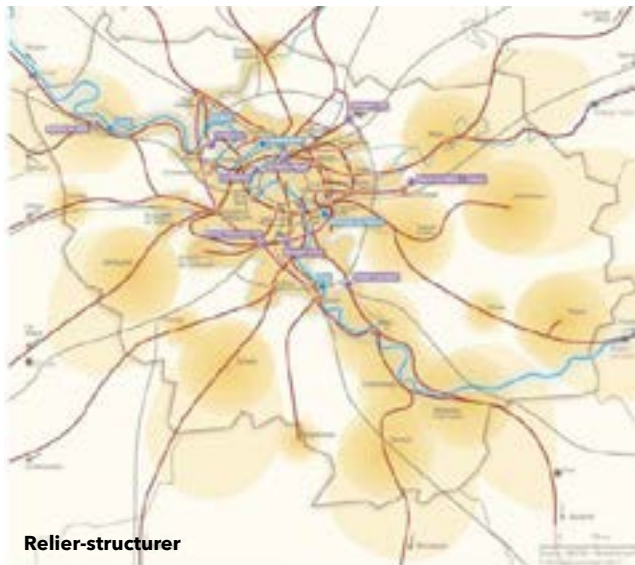
SDRIF: Master Plan for the Île-de-France Region. Approved in 2013, this document aims to organize the Île-de-France's development through 2030. It largely aims to control urban sprawl and strengthen secondary centralities, particularly in the fringes.

SCOT: Territorial coherence schemes are planning documents involving several municipalities. They aim to establish uniform planning rules and to organize the development of the territory as a whole. They are required to respect the principles set forth by the SDRIF. There are relatively few of them in the Île-de-France.

PLU: In France, urban planning most often remains a municipal responsibility. It is expressed through local urban planning policies (PLU), which define the municipal strategy and the rules that each construction must respect. These policies must be compatible with the objectives of SDRIF and SCOT.

PLUi: The PLUi is implemented on the scale of a group of municipalities, an inter-municipality. It therefore would replace an individual municipality's PLU.

The main directives of the SDRIF for the fringes



The SDRIF is a key document for understanding the regional strategy leading up to 2030.

It sets several objectives for the fringes of the urban agglomeration.

1. Linking and Structuring:

- Transportation infrastructure
- Reinforcing airport infrastructures
- Reinforcing the logistics framework
- The network and the amenities tied to resources

2. Polarizing and balancing

Priority is given to limiting the consumption of agricultural, wooded and natural spaces, and thus to an urban development conducted through the densification of spaces already urbanized. Urban planning documents should increase significantly, by 2030, to include reception capacities (in terms of population and employment) of the territory's urbanized space and new spaces of urbanization.

It will be necessary to:

- Promote the mutability of lands and the densification of constructions in the existing urban fabric, especially by exploiting urban wastelands, enclaves, etc.
- Promote the development of major projects in urban zones.
- Reinforce the diversity of functions and its translation in the planning of spaces to avoid a policy of zoning.
- Reinforce the existing city centres and their infrastructure (public transportation, commerce, cottage industries, public spaces, etc.) as well as their system of hierarchy at various levels (from city centres to neighbourhood centres), which will in turn promote the diversity of functions and the densification of neighbouring sectors.

3. Preserving and promoting

- Urban fronts
- Agricultural space
- Wooded areas and natural spaces
- Green spaces and recreational areas
- Continuities: Breathing spaces, agricultural and forest links, ecological corridors, green links
- River and aquatic spaces

Mapping of SDRIF objectives (Source: SDRIF, 2014)

Major transportation projects in the compact urban agglomeration of Paris and the inner suburbs: the Grand Paris Express

Planning in France is characterized by a strong involvement by local authorities and the State. This is particularly true in the Île-de-France. This is an important factor for understanding how projects in France are implemented and governed. Projects are decided at several levels.



The current status for many of the major projects in the Île-de-France concerns the metropolis more than the fringes. Major transportation projects include the Grand Paris Express, a so-called tangential automated commuter railway that will mainly serve the inner suburbs around Paris (7 million inhabitants). This commuter rail will be connected by new large-scale stations connected to the major railway network designed at 19x and enriched at 20x to connect the heart of Paris to the rest of the Paris metropolitan area and to the national and international network (TGV).

Map of the Grand Paris Express (Source: Louis Moutard, 2019)

In response to a reflection initiated in the 2000s, this project addresses the challenge of serving the Paris suburbs that are currently poorly served by public transportation. The first lines should be operational by 2024, in time for the Olympic Games in Paris (Line 14 South and Line 15 South). The last lines (notably Line 18) should be completed in 2030.

Some of the lines of the Grand Paris Express (Line 18, Line 17 and to a lesser extent Line 16) are expected to restructure the relationship between the compact core of the metropolitan area and its fringes, by bringing these fringes into contact through automated transportation.

However, the emphasis for the development around these new commuter rail stations is mainly focused on municipalities near the metropolitan area, or even areas in direct proximity. The State has therefore

imposed a policy of densification for the areas around the Grand Paris Express stations that have already been built and is initiating major development projects based on contractual mechanisms (in particular through Territorial Development Contracts (CDTs), which are the “local” expression of the Grand Paris Express project signed between the State, municipalities and inter-municipalities).

It is conceivable that these new stations will restructure the fringes of the metropolitan area, connecting — in time — employment centres and promoting mobility by means of public transportation rather than by personal vehicles. The 200 kilometres of automated commuter rail lines and 68 stations will improve access to employment areas. With this automated commuter rail, 90% of Île-de-France residents will live less than 2 km from a station, including residents of the fringes.

The importance of the local context in understanding the fringes

In terms of history, urban fabric, the presence of jobs, the facilities and infrastructure in place, the fringes are all different. There are several reasons for the great heterogeneity of these territories.

- Their histories, whether ancient or more recent, have led to highly contrasted territories, with an affluent Yvelines in the west and a more working-class and less developed Seine-et-Marne in the east.
- The presence of public transportation such as the Transilien stations, which have also come to revitalize these urban fringes.
- The proximity to Paris or to major employment centres, such as the new towns or Charles de Gaulle airport, which links close urban fringes to facilities and infrastructure. This generally results in areas that are more affluent and better served by public transportation, a subject we will return to later on.

Other elements are also taken into account, such as the presence of regional natural parks or their position with regard to regional boundaries.

Regional natural parks

Regional nature parks (PNR) in the Île-de-France represent 18% of the region's surface area, for 306,000 inhabitants. They were initially created to preserve agricultural territories from urbanization. Although the PNRs were created in 1967, it was not until 1987 that the first park in the Île-de-France Region, the Vallée de Chevreuse, was created.

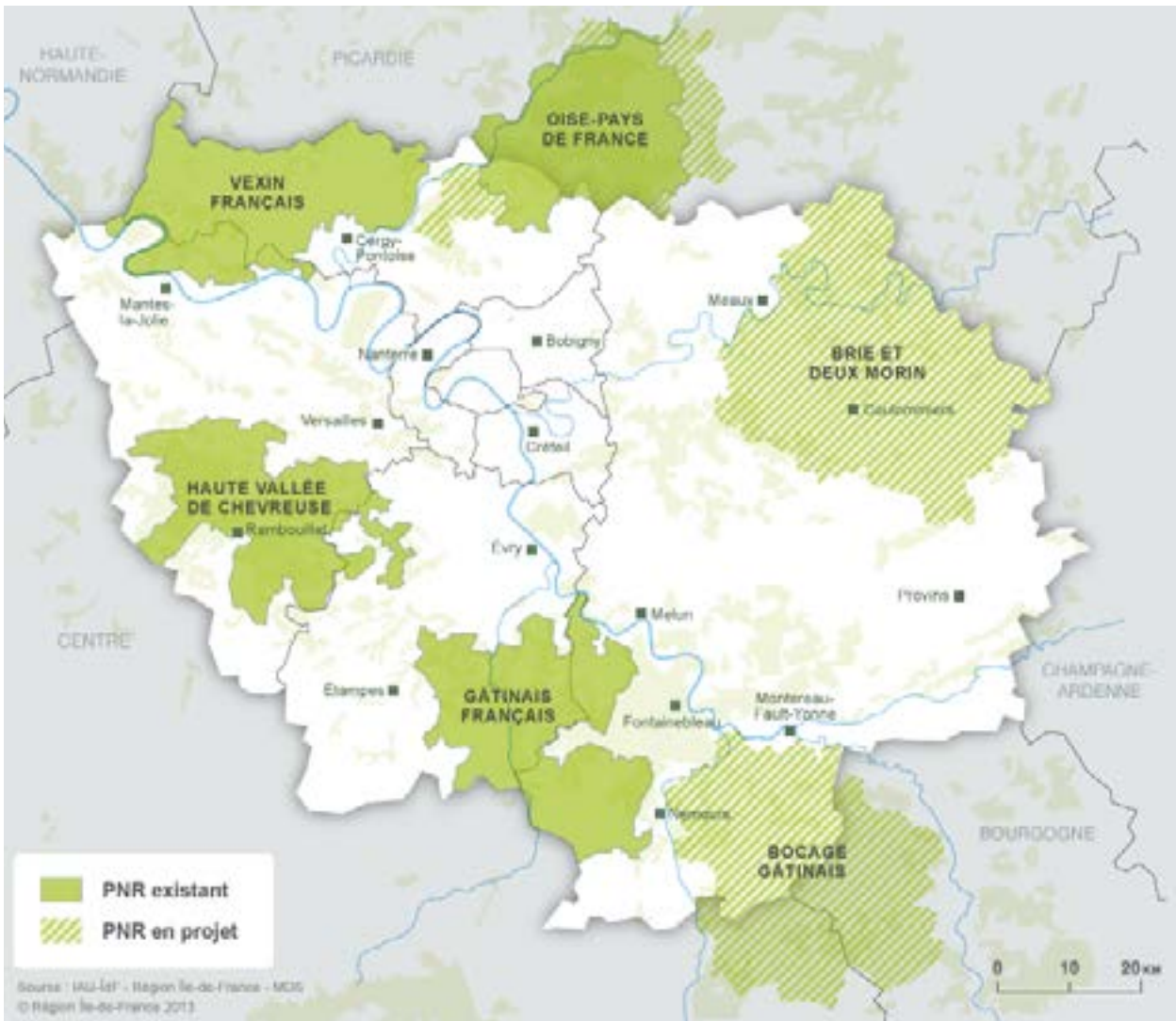
PNRs can be created at the initiative of municipalities, departments or regions, but must be approved by the State.

According to Géoconfluence, "These are territories intended for major works or development rather than protection, with a constitutive charter adopted by decree, which sets the spatial limits and determines the objectives, infrastructure programmes, measures to be adopted, and operating and management regulations".

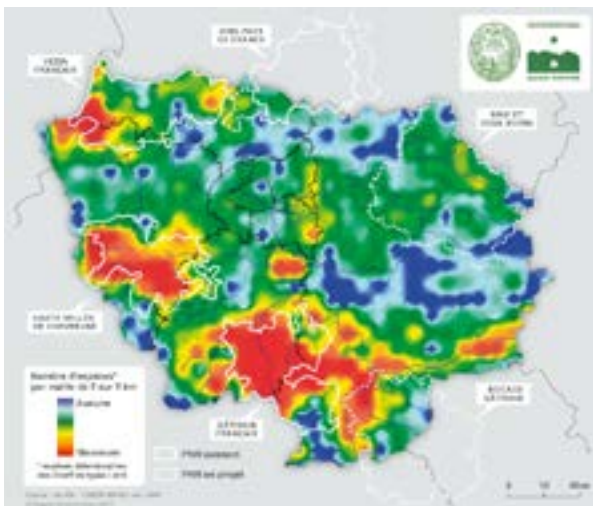
Managed by public-private partnerships of local authorities, regional natural parks benefit from greater coordination, which in turn supports the municipalities in their projects and ensures that they comply with the territorial guidelines and the Pnr's charter.

These territories thus have access to more tools and resources than others and are often more preserved in their rural areas. Some, such as the PNRs of Vexin and Gatinais, host more affluent populations than their neighbouring territories.

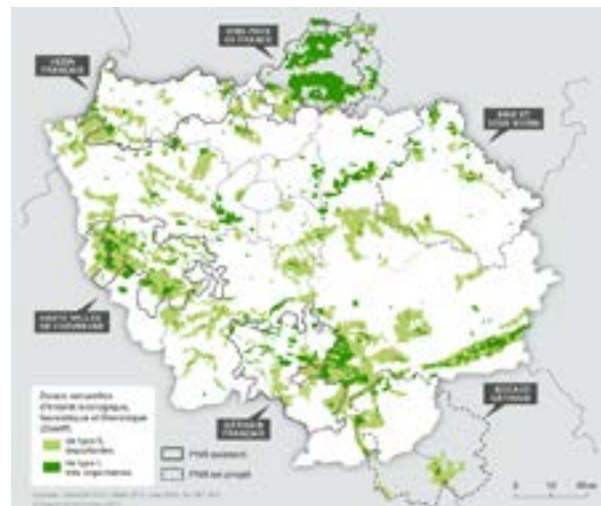
In addition, these are territories with areas of ecological interest or a variety of flora and fauna that are more important than in the rest of the region. In short, these are strategic and inspiring territories for inventing Happy Fringes!



The PNRs of the Île-de-France Region (Source: <https://www.iledefrance.fr/espace-media/pnr-idf/>)



Number of species in the Île-de-France (Source: <https://www.iledefrance.fr/espace-media/pnr-idf/>)



Areas of ecological interest in the Île-de-France Region (Source: <https://www.iledefrance.fr/espace-media/pnr-idf/>)

The importance of regional boundaries

Although the PNRs, with their different terroirs and various geological or geomorphological entities, do not follow administrative boundaries, regional boundaries are important for identifying the diversity of the fringes.

As mentioned, the capital region is governed by a planning and urban development document, the SDRIF (see page 22), which establishes regulations aimed in particular at limiting urban sprawl, promoting densification and organizing the latter in strategic locations: train/metro stations, near employment centres, secondary centres, etc.

Beyond the regional level, there are few urban planning documents that reflect

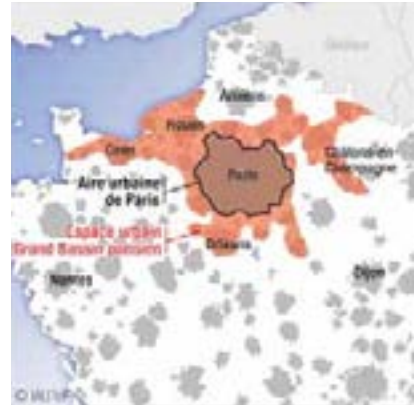
these main orientations, which results in a shift in the direction of urban sprawl once beyond the region's boundaries. For instance, there are land developers, who, after previously operating in the north of the Seine-et-Marne, will then build subdivisions in the Oise, where they can find available land. The IAU noted in 2010: Oise is the département of the Paris Basin that gains the most inhabitants in terms of exchanges with the Paris Basin, but it is also the one where the working population is the most dependent on jobs in the Paris Region. Together with Eure-et-Loir, "these two départements account for almost half



The sedimentary area determines the geomorphological perimeter of the Paris Basin, located in the extension of the London Basin.



The Seine watershed, the main river artery of the Paris Basin, covers approximately 74,600 km².



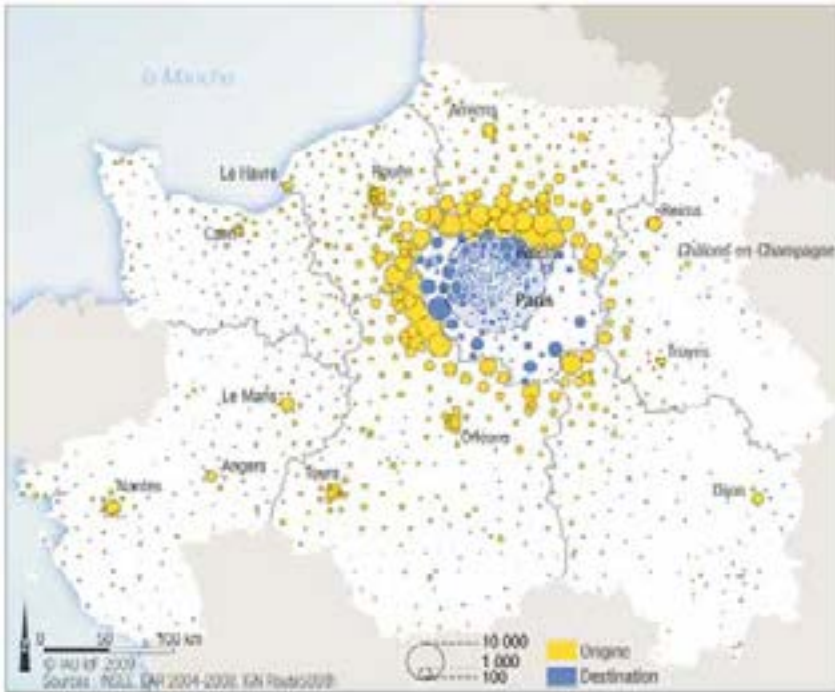
The urban space is the ensemble, in a single unit, of several urban areas and the interlocking polycentralized municipalities associated with them. This urban space is the largest in France and has 17 million inhabitants

Established on 23 January 2008, the Conference of Presidents of Regions of the Paris Basin is composed of 8 regions and 26 million inhabitants. Its perimeter extends over 190,000 km².



The Association des villes du Grand Bassin parisien [Association of Cities of the Greater Paris Basin] (AVGBP) brings together eighteen cities and 1.3 million inhabitants. It is in partnership with the Association des Maires d'Île-de-France.

Examples of inter-regional groupings (Source: Cahiers de l'IAU, n°153, 2010)



Home-work commuter travel for Paris Basin residents outside of the Île-de-France (Source: The Île-de-France and inter-regional cooperation within the Paris Basin, 2015)

of the migratory deficit of the Île-de-France with its neighbouring départements” (Source: Cahiers de l’IAU, n°153, 2010).

Similarly, these regional boundaries can lead to a series of constraints on daily life. For example, school holidays are different in the Île-de-France from neighbouring regions, affecting the handful of inter-municipalities straddling the two regions. The same applies to public transportation. Not all Transilien or RER stations beyond the borders of the Paris Region grant access to the Navigo Pass fare, which inhabitants of the Paris Region can benefit from.

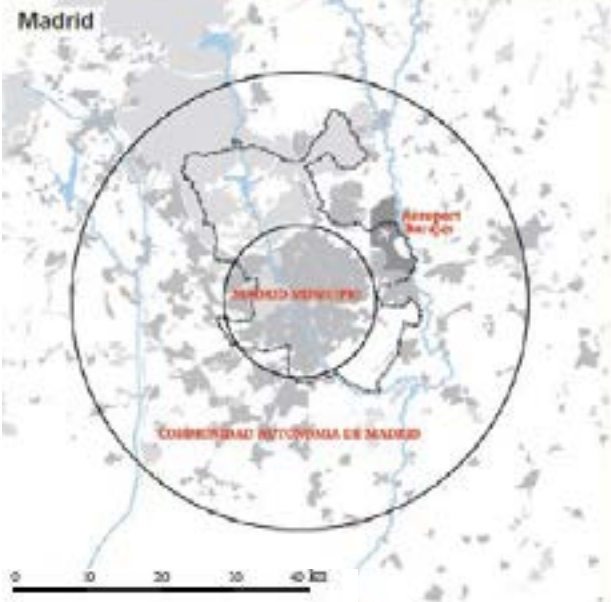
While life does not stop at the limits of the region, commuters face many daily obstacles.

Le Bassin parisien : un espace organisé autour de la capitale



The Paris Basin: A space organized around the metropolis (Source: The Île-de-France and inter-regional cooperation within the Paris Basin, 2015)

The fringes of the urban agglomeration, comparing specific fringes to other countries

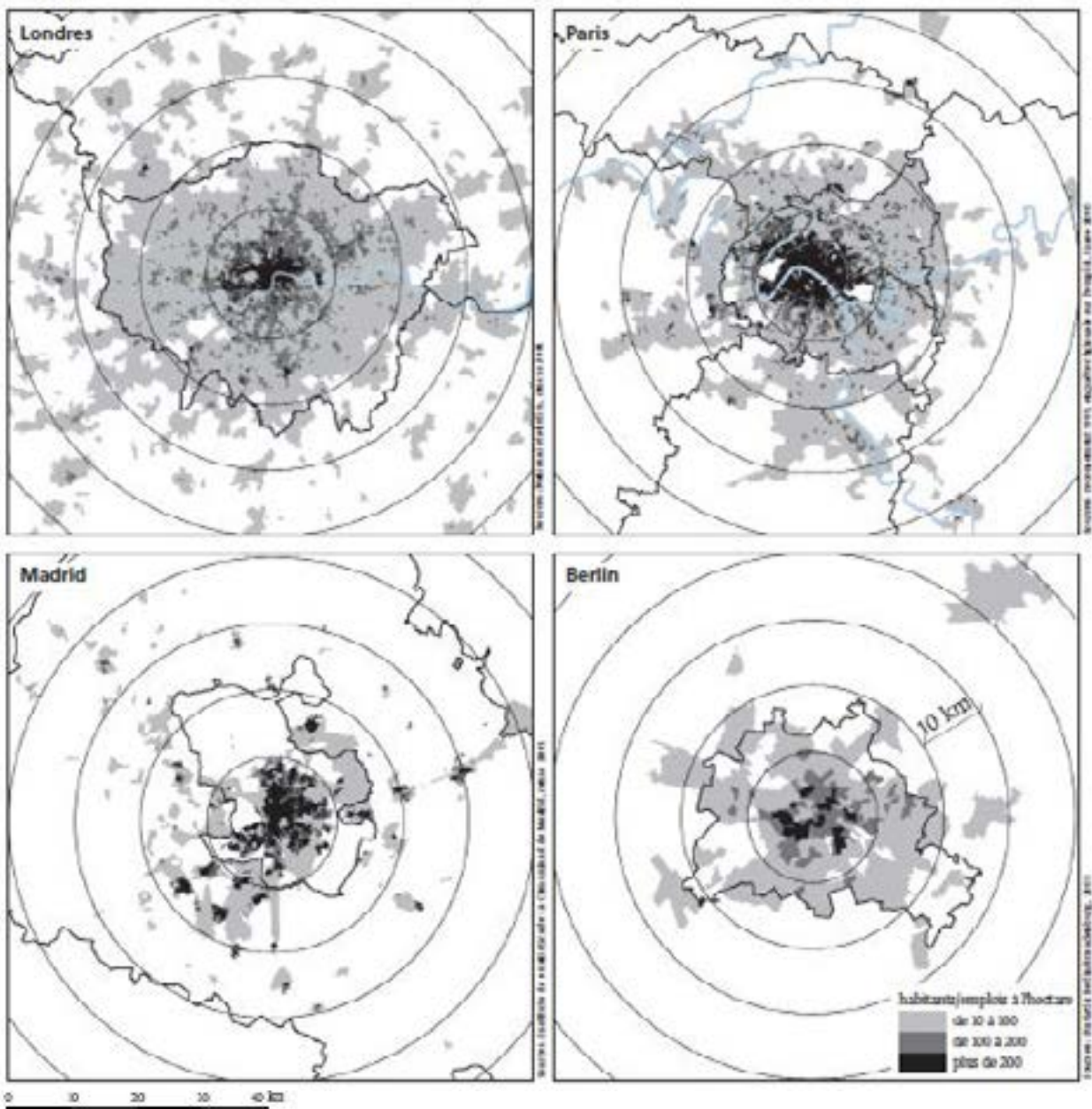


Administrative structures of certain fringes of European urban agglomerations (Source: Paris project, a comparative analysis of European metropolitan areas, 2008)

The fringes of the Paris urban agglomeration are characterized by the proximity of open spaces, which is not very common in other European metropolitan areas. Above all, the French fringes are marked by the proximity of agricultural land of excellent quality (among the best in

Europe).

In the Paris urban agglomeration, population and employment are far more concentrated within a radius of 10 km from the centre than in other European metropolitan areas.



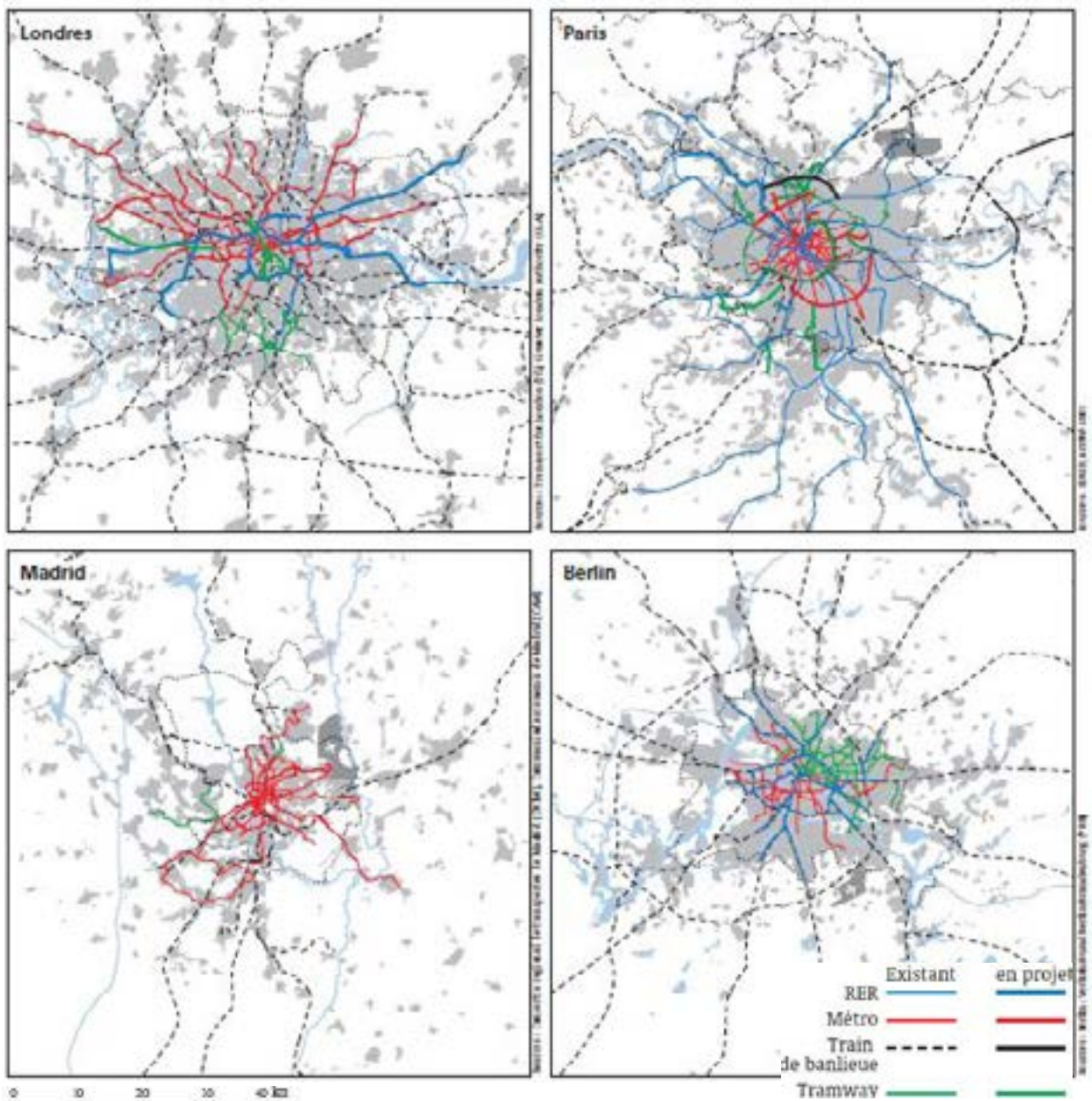
Population density in some European urban fringes (Source: Paris project, a comparative analysis of European metropolitan areas, 2008)

For instance, London has very clear boundaries due to the fact that, since 1938, the municipality has been circled by a green belt, the Metropolitan Greenbelt, whose objective was to contain the urban growth of London to the centre of the urban agglomeration. As such, a zone banning construction was erected beyond its limits, which extends to a width of nearly 50 km today.

The boundaries are less clear for the Berlin metropolitan area, whose peri-urbanization trend is more recent; or even in Madrid, whose trend towards peri-urbanization is conversely older.

London Metropolitan Greenbelt (Source: <https://www.centreforcities.org/>)





Mass transportation networks in certain fringes of European urban agglomerations (Source: Paris project, a comparative analysis of European metropolitan areas, 2008)

In terms of public transportation services, the fringes of the Paris urban agglomeration also have a constituted network, although one that is highly centred on the metropolis.

It is the European metropolitan area with the best public transportation service: 214 km of metro lines, 587 km of RER lines, plus the Transilien which serves the fringes of the city, as well as access to the European high-speed network. This quality service, although variable for the fringes, will be further reinforced and stabilized by the arrival of the Grand Paris Express automated commuter rail service.

London's transportation network is better connected to the fringes of its metropolitan area, just like the Berlin network, which serves as an inspiration for the Greater Paris Metropolitan Area.

CHAPTER 2

LIVING AND RESIDING IN THE FRINGES

The fringes, for whom?

The choice of individual housing

A peri-urban ideology

Setting down roots in the fringes

The place where families with children lay down their roots

Are household profiles in the fringes diversifying?

Living in the fringes

Social and spatial segregation

The fringes: Dormitory cities or places for creating lasting social bonds?

Housing in the fringes

Individual housing, the norm in the fringes

Towards a diversification of construction types

Is densifying the fringes a development issue?

CHAPTER 2

LIVING AND RESIDING IN THE FRINGES

The functions of these territories have changed considerably as a result of the transformation of agricultural activity, the widespread peri-urban development and the strengthening of new metropolitan areas outside of the Île-de-France, as well as the desire of many inhabitants to move away from the polluted and expensive compact centre of the urban area. It is therefore necessary to understand who lives in these peri-urban areas and why people have settled there before analysing how they live there!

The fringes, for whom?

First, we will see that the fringes are essentially a place where families live, even if its inhabitants are diversifying and, at the same time, the notion of family is evolving.

Within this population are households mainly composed of families with children. Au sein de cette population, se trouvent des ménages essentiellement composés de familles, avec enfants.

The choice of individual housing

As we have said, the development of the fringes is tied to the evolution of home ownership, particularly in terms of single-family homes. While subdivisions may be associated with so-called horizontal cooperative housing, building a home has long been synonymous with building a family.

“The project of ‘building’ is almost always associated with the project of ‘founding a home’ (or expanding it), of building a house in the sense of a household, that is, the creation of a social group united by the bonds of alliance and kinship, which are reinforced by the bonds of cohabitation.”¹

Home ownership in peri-urban areas is represented mainly in the form of single-family home units, which constitute up to 90% of the housing stock for municipalities, which are then occupied by the homeowner on average 85% of the time. Living in a peri-urban area is thus, for the majority, synonymous with home ownership.

“In 1999, on average, almost one in four households in the Île-de-France owned a home” (Berger, 2008).

1 Pierre Bourdieu, Salah Bouhedja, Rosine Christin, et al. (1990). “Un placement de père de famille: La maison individuelle : spécificité du produit et logique du champ de production”. Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales.

A peri-urban ideology

A house rather than an apartment

The choice of peri-urban housing can be motivated by idealized visions of life in the countryside, combining a set of representations of a village ideal that include a quiet place where life is good, rural conviviality, solidarity, nature and so on. The aspiration to having individual housing is also linked to a rejection of collective housing.



Subdivision housing plans in Lissy (77) (Source: Lissy)

Most of these new first-time homeowners come from large housing estates¹, which are often their only experience of leased collective housing, and which they reject as a dangerous, stigmatized spaces, not to mention costly; whereas individual housing often has a better connotation than collective housing.

Buying rather than renting

But the choice is not only that of enjoying individual housing, it is also about achieving homeownership, with a significant emphasis on the rationales in support of the homeownership model, which today is confirmed even more through the arguments and objectives of politicians to make France a “France of owners”².

Ownership is socially valued (unlike renting, in which people feel they are paying at a loss, that is then compounded by very high fees, especially for social housing) and represents a reassuring investment for the future (loss of employment, uncertain pensions). This leads to the choice to buy rather than rent. And, because there is not enough money to buy in the city centre, or because there is no desire to live in the inner suburbs, the choice is made for the peri-urban single-family residential area. For many, the purchase of a single-family home is an arbitration resulting from financial circumstances (Rougé, 2005a; Charmes, 2005; and Lambert, 2015).

Nevertheless, as profitable as it may seem, the mediocre building quality of some peri-

1 Lionel Rougé. (2005). *Accession à la propriété et modes de vie en maison individuelle des familles modestes installées en périurbain lointain toulousain. Les ‘captifs’ du périurbain ?*, p 381. Toulouse II Mirail.

2 Anne Lambert. (2015). “Tous propriétaires !” : *L’envers du décor pavillonnaire*, p 278. Paris, Le Seuil.

urban housing units leads to the poor ageing of these units, resulting in a loss in value when some are later sold. “A look centred on the passing of time reveals the painful transition from the dream of patrimony to the difficulties of transmission,”³ especially when considering the defects during their construction as well as the fees and taxes that are sometimes underestimated.

But the determination of some to acquire something new outweighs the disadvantages. As such, some of these properties are even gaining in value thanks to revivals of town centres, gradual densification as well as improved accessibility.

Some residential districts are also facing gentrification. This is the case in the districts closest to the metropolitan core, especially the oldest ones, which constitute a significant patrimony for the upper classes⁴.



Parcelled land, ready to be built in Seine-et-Marne (Source: City of Presles)

3 Marie Peretti-Ndiaye and Rémi Tréhin-Lalanne. (December 2009). “Ville nouvelle, quarante ans après. Les pionniers vieillissants de Maurepas”. *Articulo – Journal of Urban Research*.

4 Hélène Steinmetz. *op. cit.* «container-tile»». *Articulo – Journal of Urban Research*.

Setting down roots in the fringes

At first, the inhabitants of the fringes were urban dwellers eager to become homeowners.

But today, more and more households from nearby areas are moving into the peri-urban area: as Martine Berger points out, the proportion of households from Paris and the inner suburbs is seeing a sharp decrease. Many of the people who come to live in the fringes come from an urban municipality in the outer suburbs. There are also many moves within or near the same peri-urban community, as households seek to change their housing situation, whether in size, layout or style, to better suit their preferences while staying in a neighbourhood near to where they or their children have created ties.

According to Martine Berger, “Settling in the suburbs is therefore less and less a rupture or an adventure. People come to live in a space they have frequented for leisure (see for example the openings around Cergy towards the Vexin, or in the Yvelines and the Eure-et-Loir from Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines) or in their childhood, where they sometimes also have family roots. Therefore, there is an attachment to the resources and qualities of the territory”.

The population of the fringes, “is therefore increasingly locally rooted”. Its long history of settlement is real.

Among owners of single-family homes, Martine Berger notes that 4 out of 10 households have been living in their homes for more than 20 years. At the same time, the households concerned are diversifying and the question of the residential path is being raised, which we will come back to later.

The place where families with children lay down their roots

Martine Berger shows that in the Île-de-France, the probability of becoming the owner of a single-family home is based on the composition of the household, and that it is essentially families who are concerned by the acquisition of an individual home, especially if they accept to move from one municipality to another¹.

It is therefore essentially families who are affected by this model that is being further validated and strengthened over time. As such, “a growing proportion of Île-de-France couples with children live in single-family homes: 28% in 1975, 41% in 1999”².

It should be noted that the proportion of children born in peri-urban municipalities (crude birth rate) is lower than that observed in urban centres.

“Peri-urban areas would therefore rather be a place of reception for families that have already been constituted”³.

The move to the suburbs is necessary to obtain additional space after the birth of a child.

“Peri-urban municipalities have proven to be attractive for families with children. This is reflected in the age composition of their populations: young people and children are more frequently found there than elsewhere. At the same time, the percentage of adults aged 40 to 60 is slightly higher than the national average. Younger adults occur more frequently in urban centres. On the other hand, the elderly are more likely to be the occupants of predominantly rural areas.”⁴

1 Martine Berger. (January 2008). “Pavillonnaires franciliens : d’une forme urbaine à des territoires quotidiens?”. *Strates. Matériaux pour la recherche en sciences sociales*, p 119-134.

2 Ibid

3 Thomas Le Jeannic. (1997). “Trente ans de périurbanisation : extension et dilution des villes”. *Economie et statistique*, 307 (1), p. 21-41.

4 Ibid

Are household profiles in the fringes diversifying?

While newcomers to the peri-urban area are generally families and their arrival is essentially tied to the area's conducive environment for families, households that move to peri-urban areas often remain even once their children have moved out (Berger, 2008; and Berger 2006).

Life trajectories tend to shift, resulting in a diversification of existing households in the peri-urban area: the number of elderly people, single-parent families and adolescents is increasing. These populations pose particular challenges in these areas.

Ageing in peri-urban areas

While initially, households purchased homes in the fringes of the urban area to start or raise their families, these first inhabitants are now elderly. Researchers show that there are strong roots in the peri-urban area: households that moved here in the 1960s and 1970s have remained, even though their trajectories may have been supplemented by a move to the city centre

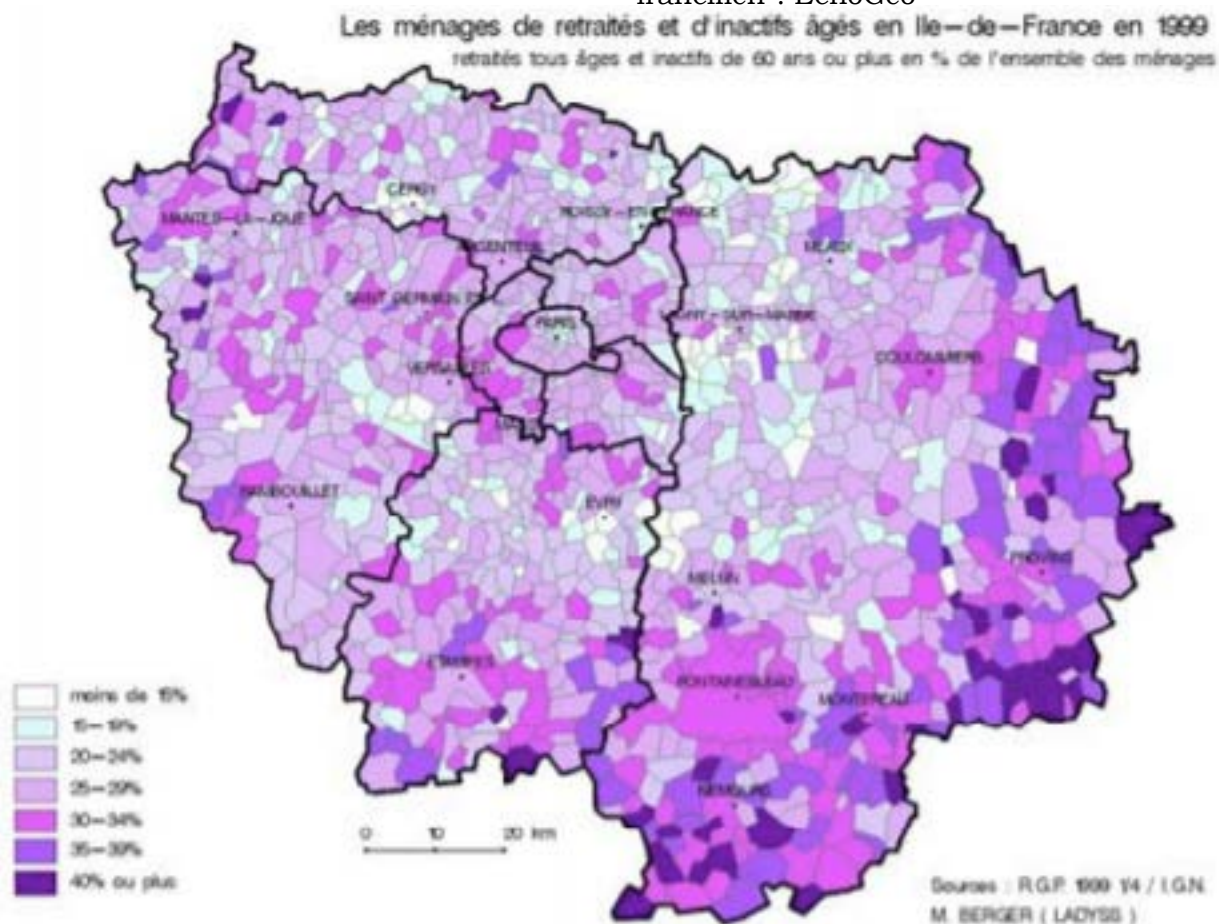
or by the temptations of sunnier, warmer weather.

Although the single-family home could initially have been seen as a connection to a temporary living space (Charmes 2005), in the end, the departure from the peri-urban area is not always desired by the elderly who have forged social bonds and friendships over the years. This is, however, decreasing as there are eventual departures and deaths^{1 2}. Thus, Mr. Berger points out that there is a diversification of demographic profiles in peri-urban areas, particularly the oldest ones³, as well as a greater variability in household types,

1 Éric Charmes. (2005). La vie périurbaine face à la menace des gated communities. Harmattan.

2 Marie Peretti-Ndiaye and Rémi Tréhin-Lalanne, op. cit.

3 Martine Berger, Claire Aragau and Lionel Rougé. (April 2014). "Vers une maturité des territoires périurbains?: Développement des mobilités de proximité et renforcement de l'ancrage dans l'ouest francilien". EchoGéo



Retired population in the Île-de-France (Source: PUCA Report, 2008)

particularly single-parent households.

We are therefore witnessing an ageing of the populations of certain municipalities in the fringes. This poses a challenge for elected officials: homes are not always adapted to ageing populations: the presence of upper floors, front landings that become complicated to climb when older and the lack of nearby shops, which is a problem when people are no longer able to drive a car.

In some municipalities, we can even speak of a “generational divide”, which also poses problems. It adds a new dimension, that of age, to the dynamics of social specialization in urban spaces.

While couples with children are still the norm in terms of acquiring individual housing, life events (divorce, ageing, departure of grown children, etc.) do not necessarily lead to a departure from the peri-urban environment, thus introducing a greater variety in the profiles of peri-urban dwellers⁴.

Being young or a teenager in the fringes

Adults do not live alone in the fringes, and it is interesting to take a look at those who seem to be the initial reason for their move to peri-urban areas: children.

Catherine Didier-Fèvres studies the lifestyles of the youth population in peri-urban areas.

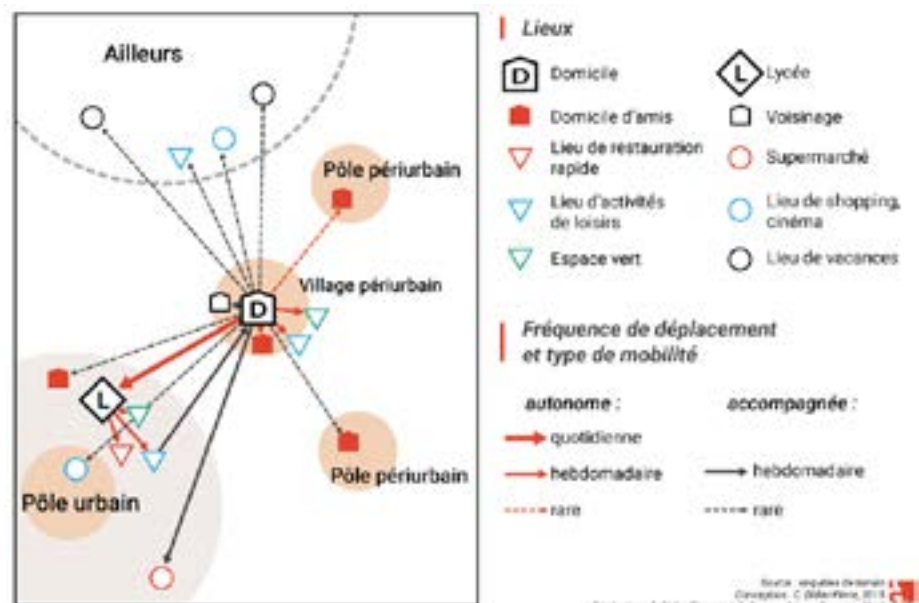
She shows that children are central to the lives of fringe area inhabitants, particularly because they allow for the establishment of social links between parents, often through their investment in group activities (sports associations, theatre, etc.). However, not everything is rosy. Parents — and most often women — are sometimes transformed into “parent taxis” in these municipalities, so that their children can engage in extracurricular activities.



Child in a housing estate (Source: “Children, adolescents: Key elements of the peri-urban puzzle”. Annals of Urban Research)

4 Sandra Thomann. (December 2009). “Stratifications générationnelles au sein d’espaces périurbains : une opportunité du ‘vivre ensemble’?”. Article – Journal of Urban Research.

Typical mobility of a peri-urban child (Source: Catherine Didier-Fèvre. (2015). The place to be? Vivre et bouger dans les ‘entres-deux’ : jeunes et mobilités dans les espaces périurbains. University of Paris-Nanterre-La Défense. Mobility Prize of the Forum Vies Mobiles 2017)



The difficulty is greater for adolescents, especially in terms of mobility. This is experienced as a double punishment by adolescents, who must be systematically accompanied by an adult, thus limiting their independence. The significant need for transportation to go to secondary school and then to high school is also often poorly experienced and accused of generating academic difficulties for the adolescents concerned.

However, the situation is far from uniform. In western Yvelines, which is better served by public transportation, young people living in suburban areas are more comfortable with mobility and are more satisfied with their living environment. This results in a genuine attachment to village entities and the cultivation of traditional social spaces (cafés, public spaces) in addition to the social spaces specific to peri-urban areas (shopping centres, vacant spaces in industrial areas).

In eastern Île-de-France, where peri-urbanization is more recent and less developed, young people's satisfaction is lower. Places of social interaction are often limited to young people's homes, especially for night-time activities.

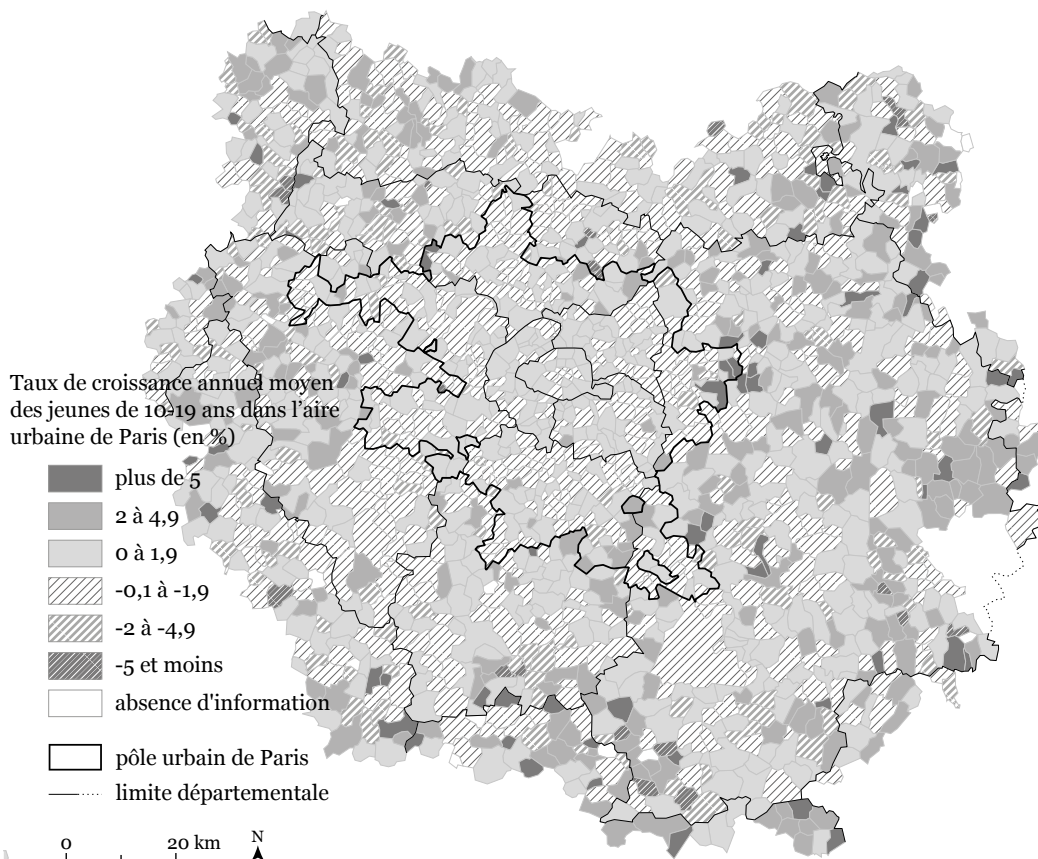
The author notes that evenings can be

seen as a new frontier to the social skills of peri-urban dwellers, even if, again, adolescents adapt.

“Their peri-urban residential location requires them to set up strategies to make their project of going out for the night feasible. Therefore, in groups, boys and girls go by train to Paris, after having reached the station thanks to parent-accompanied transportation or by autonomous means (by hitchhiking or walking along roads often poorly equipped with sidewalks and lighting). Then, after walking and dancing in the streets of Paris, they sleep on the benches of Montparnasse station waiting for the first train.”

Evenings are a time when young people can develop themselves into young adults. However, this is not well understood by public authorities: adolescents and their wishes remain relatively ignored in the fringes of the urban area.

“Just as municipal public policies are quick to organize the leisure activities of children and pre-adolescents, the attention paid to the desires of adolescents, and more particularly at night, is absent or limited.”



Growth rate of the share of young people in the urban unit (Source: Catherine Didier-Fèvre. (2015). “L'appartenance territoriale des jeunes périurbains. Perdus entre la campagne et la ville ?”. *Pour*, 228(4), pp 104-112.)

Single-parent families in the fringes

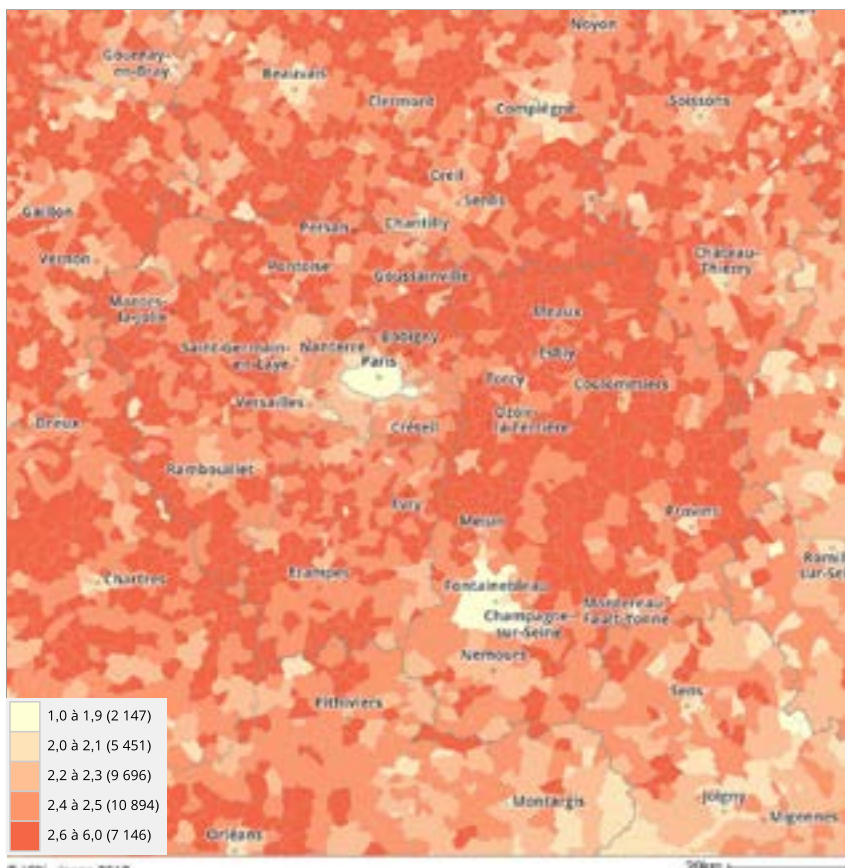
France, and especially the Île-de-France, is concerned by an increase in the number of single-parent families, mainly women with children: 17% of households are single-parent families in the Paris urban area, while only 12% live in peri-urban areas.

The maps show that the municipalities in the fringes are generally inhabited by larger households than those in the urban agglomeration or the city of Paris. With the exception of fringe municipalities with major facilities and infrastructures (as is the case in peri-urban cities), there are relatively few single-parent families.

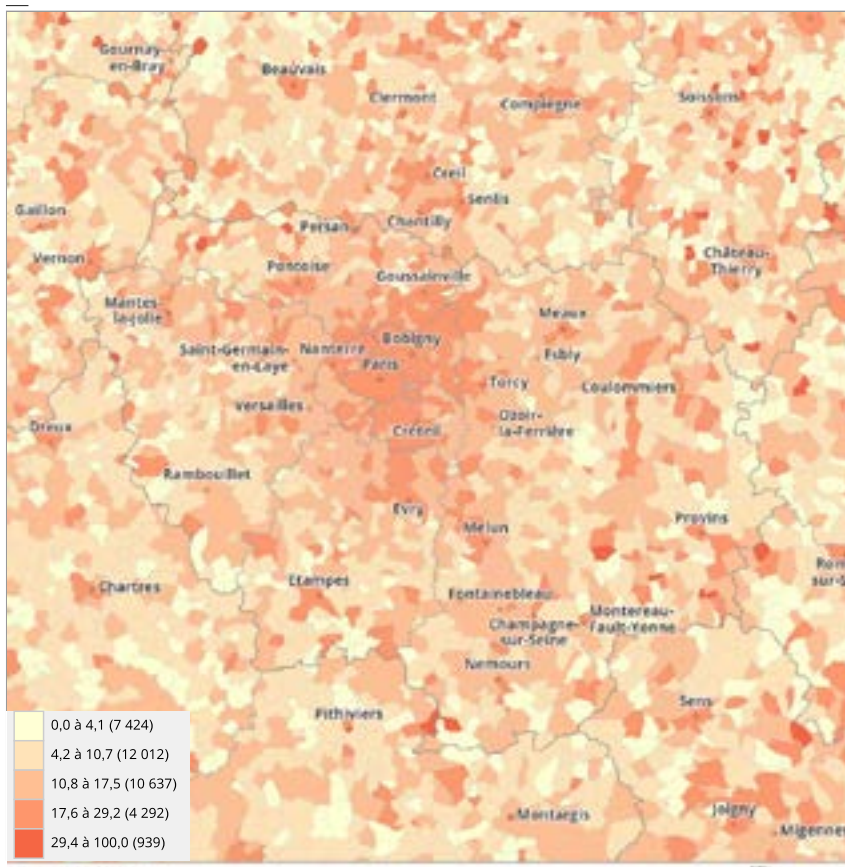
That said, the fringes of the metropolitan area have not been completely spared by the increase in single-parent families, even if it is to a lesser degree and in a different manner than in the urban agglomeration.

The most residential municipalities are not, a priori, adapted to the expectations of small households in search of nearby urban amenities. However, they continue to increase in the Paris Region's peri-urban area. Divorces are common, and many divorced parents try to stay close to where they have built their families in order to promote shared childcare.

For many mayors, the question then arises of how to welcome these less affluent single-parent families who are struggling to find an adapted housing offer in these territories.



Number of persons per household (Source: INSEE)



Share of single-parent families (Source: INSEE)

Living in the fringes

Social and spatial segregation

The choice of a peri-urban location is not neutral. It is the project of a lifetime and is therefore analysed at length by those arriving in the fringes, who then develop residential strategies to valorize their choice to the greatest extent possible. Thus, the residential choice in particular is made according to a social divide, as part of a “club” logic.

The fringes, a place of social divide?

Historically, it was upper-middle class households who settled in the municipalities of the urban fringes. Then, it was the households of the less affluent classes of the peri-urban areas that settled there, who were made solvent by the evolution of access conditions for loans. Not all of them have settled in the same place.

Their arrival in the peri-urban area is marked by a social differentiation, creating a social endogamy in some municipalities.

The researcher Éric Charmes describes a phenomenon that concerns many municipalities: one in which there is a set social preference and those populations who do not fit into the mould are then persuaded to leave¹. Many researchers point out that the fear of socially perceived inferior populations settling in the area is often expressed, particularly in residential neighbourhoods.

“The arrival of inhabitants who are below one’s social status is a fear shared by all.”²

“Social screening through access costs and wilful strategies by landlords anxious to maintain as much as they can the value of their property have contributed to creating, in the newly built residential parks, spaces that are much more socially

1 Éric Charmes, op. cit.

2 Jean Rivière. (2009). *Le pavillon et l’isoloir. Géographie sociale et électorale des espaces périurbains français (1968-2008). À travers les cas de trois aires urbaines moyennes (Caen, Metz et Perpignan)*. PhD Dissertation. University of Caen.

homogeneous than the rental buildings of the old urban fabric.”³

Charmes underlines the existence of social markers that favour the arrival and installation of upper classes (buried electricity lines, well-maintained roads, preserved agricultural areas, etc.) , whereas Berger points out that while social divides are increasing, it is the strategies to avoid them that are of growing interest⁴.

“Spatial positions increasingly reflect social positions, and socially linked neighbourhoods are becoming more specialized. This is evidenced by the evolution of the linear correlation coefficients, calculated at the municipal level between socio-professional groups of single-family home owners, which measure spatial proximity or avoidance strategies” (Berger, 2008).

“All over, executives are further distancing themselves from mid-level professionals, the latter of which are becoming closer to entry-level professionals, or even labourers (in the densest areas); while labourers and entry-level professionals are increasingly finding themselves to be neighbours” (Berger, 2008).

However, as mentioned above, peri-urban areas are also undergoing a maturation process, particularly in heritage districts, in districts overtaken by the city or where new modes of transportation are developing.

Thus, despite the desire of some for social homogeneity, these peri-urban neighbourhoods can still result in greater diversity.

3 Martine Berger, op. cit.

4 Éric Charmes, op. cit.

The fringes: Dormitory cities or places for creating lasting social bonds?

What types of social links exist in the fringes?

The existence of social ties between inhabitants of the fringes has been put to question, with some wondering whether the fantasy of village sociability, which many come in search of, is a reality or not.

While some people express disappointment about the absence of this sociability, particularly non-working women who have less frequent social connections due to the distance from their original places of social interaction, many point out that they do not really seek out new social interactions, or even a local community network, due to a lack of desire or available time. Rougé sums it up as a “culture of indifference” — sometimes suffered, sometimes desired — towards the neighbourhood.

Rougé returned ten years after a first field visit to the households he had surveyed. He initially pointed out that these households demonstrated a feeling of “genuine confinement”, before showing a gradual integration into the local social network¹:

“The majority of the families we met seem to be, little by little, finding their place in the community, with newcomers as well as with those who arrived at the same time as them.”

“However, while the divide is still real between the ‘natives’ of the village and ‘newcomers’, it tends to disappear under the influence of a double effect: that of the culture of indifference — the sacrosanct ‘stay at home’ mentality — and the ‘passing of time’, which promotes peace and self-awareness, although the desire to stay at home remains for newly arrived households.”²

Whether or not the meetings are initially desired, they occur, thus helping to anchor those inhabitants who reject this sociability to their new territory, while those who originally desire it come to accept a

less socially bonded village. In addition, solidarity practices formalize over time, such as carpooling to support children³, the development of local food systems (fruit and vegetables), but also breakdown assistance and equipment repair (Rougé 2009). Over the years, the community fabric develops (through sports, extracurricular and cultural activities, etc.), and former “newcomers” begin to take up electoral functions⁴.

Berger puts into perspective the lack of local anchoring for peri-urban residents, pointing out that “Paris Region residents living in individual housing, who have been living in their current homes for an average of eighteen years, instead of five years for those living in apartments with open rents, appear to be more permanently rooted in their territories of residence”⁵. Thus, the choice of residential housing is the result of multiple economic, social and even political trade-offs. Although strongly criticized, peri-urban households remain generally satisfied, hence the persistence of an individual housing model offering spatial comfort and even quality of life, despite the fact that this lifestyle can generate a significant cost.



A flea market (sale of second-hand items by private individuals) in a village (Source: Brocante in Orgerus)

1 Eric Charmes. (2011). La ville émietlée: essai sur la clubbisation de la vie urbaine (p. 288). Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

2 Lionel Rougé, op. cit.

3 Marie Peretti-Ndiaye and Rémi Tréhin-Lalanne, op. cit.

4 Éric Charmes, op. cit

5 Martine Berger, op. cit.

Fringes, places of a voluntary social withdrawal?

For others, entering into a social stratification as well as the poor development of local social ties highlight the acts of social withdrawal and “residential individualism” Laruelle (2008), which are motivated “because these individuals are fleeing the contact of the other”.¹ This leads notably to the practice of protest votes, often linked to the Front National (FN) extreme-right party. Lévy thus sees it as “a breeding ground for the development of aggressive recoils” (Lévy, 1999), while Cailly notes that:

“The vote for the demagogic parties (extreme right + extreme left) in the first round of the 2002 French presidential election shows in this respect that the peri-urban area has become a very predictive representation of the breakdown of the political expression of protest” (Cailly, 2003).

However, these arguments are nuanced and highly debatable. While not denying the presence of a significant peri-urban protest vote; it is not solely the geographical location of a habitat that can stimulate such a vote. For example, if we take into account the social composition of households or the ages of the peri-urban population, correlations can also be found. The wealthier west of Yvelines is thus less affected by extremist votes than the east of Seine-et-Marne.

¹ Jacques Lévy. (1977). “Mesurer la ville ou casser le thermomètre?”. Pouvoirs Locaux, II(1997), p. 60-61.



A local farmer's market in Orgerus (Source: Townhall of Orgerus)



An ad for a flea market in Hargeville (Source: <https://brocabrac.fr>)

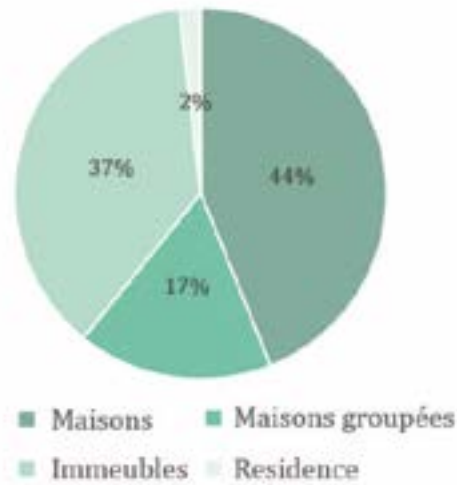
Housing in the fringes

Individual housing, the norm in the fringes

The residential housing market, as dynamic as ever

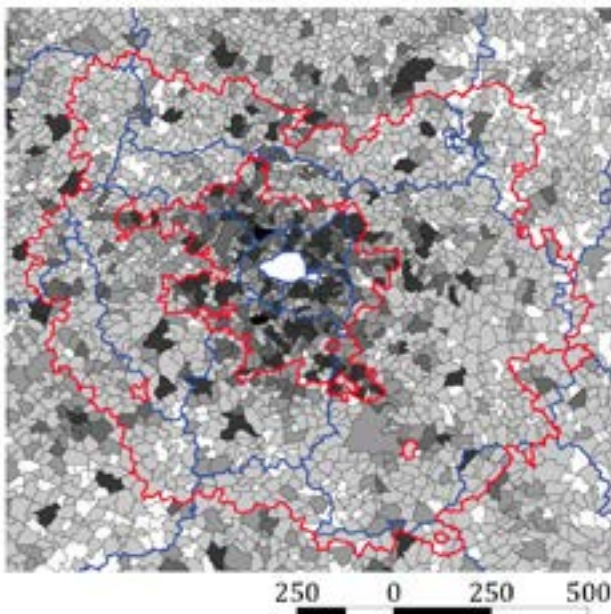
Individual housing remain the main type of construction in the fringes, with more than 60% of new constructions being carried out for individual homes (44% of building permits are filed by individuals, 17% as grouped permits, filed by a developer). Nevertheless, apartment buildings still represent 37% of new constructions in the peri-urban area.

Two things can be observed: the first is the dynamism of the individual housing construction market, which is strong in the urban agglomeration and linked to densification policies.

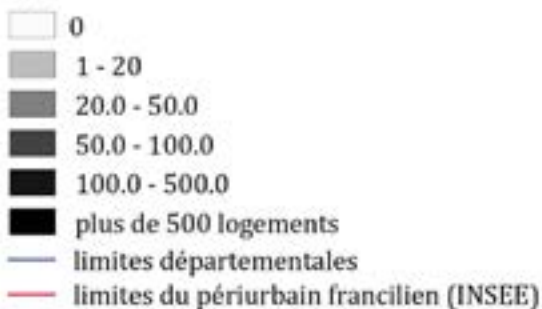


Share of construction types in peri-urban areas (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)

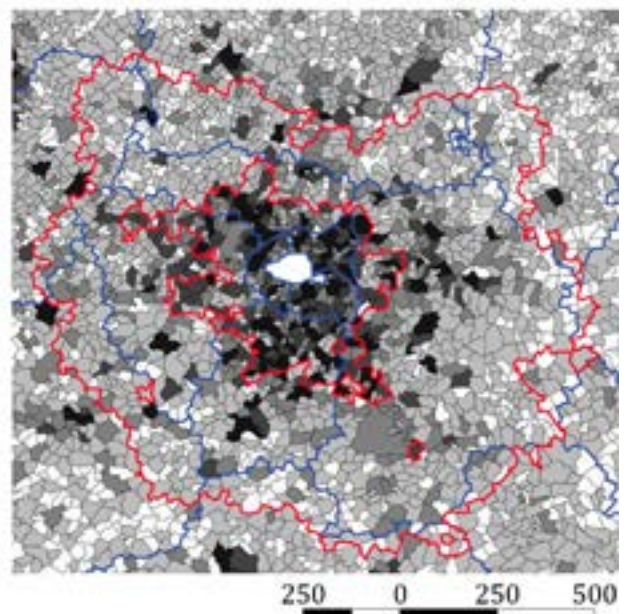
Construction de logement individuel 2010-2013



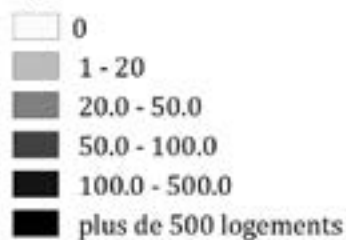
logement individuel 2010-2013



Construction de logement individuel 2014-2017



logement individuel 2014-2017



sources : base de données Sitade 2010-2017, réalisée par CF

Evolution of the construction of individual housing (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)



Ad for a building developer of new homes (Source: <https://www.maisonssesame.fr>)

The second is that in the urban fringes, the construction of new houses is mainly concentrated in certain municipalities, mostly at the current limits of the urban area, sometimes beyond the limits of the Île-de-France Region.



A subdivision under construction (Source: <https://actualite.seloger-construire.com/>)

More than individual housing, in the peri-urban area of the Île-de-France, the dominant model remains that of the single-family detached house on its own plot of land that has been developed through the allotment or subdivision process.

According to Anne Lambert, “In the Île-de-France, most of the construction is carried out in developer-constructed subdivisions. It is the major land developers who build, subdivide and sell the houses.”

The result is a fairly standardized form of housing, with generic architecture that is marketed notably through exhibition villages and which are not very adaptable.

Their implementation is mainly guided by the profitability of the site’s occupation. The homeownership model is often denounced, especially when it results in the acquisition of a home. Anne Lambert, in particular, attacks it strongly, stressing that the solvency of low-income households leads them to own property in the fringes of the urban area. Constrained, their limited budgets will lead these buyers to buy housing that is not always of good quality and with fairly high debt conditions. These subdivisions for the working classes are referred to as “HLM à plat” or “flat HLMs”, in reference to the construction of ZACs.

Anne Lambert states: “The expression ‘flat HLM’ is an anachronistic and very meaningful expression. It means that vertical promiscuity becomes horizontal; the poor workmanship of these large subdivisions and their standardization become the same, with the population also being the same.”

Again, Anne Lambert states: “Home ownership weakens these households because homeownership policies target social groups whose economic conditions are otherwise deteriorating. Finally, some households do not even feel like owners, instead they call themselves ‘bank tenants’. Their sense of ownership is very tenuous and is accompanied by a growing sense of financial insecurity.”

Towards a diversification of construction types

We are, however, witnessing a diversification of construction types in peri-urban areas, made necessary by the great homogeneity of the housing stock. In the fringes, up to 90% are individual homes, mainly occupied by owners. This is not without its own problems, especially in terms of hosting young people who wish to leave the parental home, single-parent families or the elderly.

Many elected officials have recognized this problem and are working to diversify the housing stocks of their communities in order to promote the residential path and to meet the needs of residents.

There is a growing desire to build apartments, co-ops, new services as well as social housing in new districts but also in urban centres or town centres in renewal.



Upcoming construction in Moussy-le-Neuf (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)

Diversifying the architectural typology in fringe areas is not a straightforward matter, however. The market is quite hesitant. It is to be developed based on context. Moreover, there are few project developers willing to build in these municipalities, particularly because of competition from the Parisian metropolitan area.

This is mainly the territory of home builders and developers: developers are concentrated in denser markets.

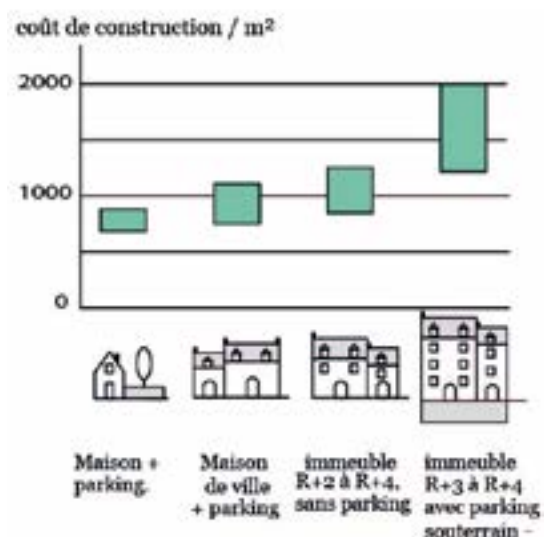
In addition, these projects are not very profitable economically speaking: in fact, it costs more to build collective housing than individual housing. Exit prices are lower for collective housing than for individual housing, and projects struggle to break even.

It is therefore difficult to build differently, and many elected officials are dealing with these difficulties. To build, it is therefore necessary to balance these operations with public money, which is not always easy to obtain or justify to the inhabitants of these peri-urban municipalities, many of whom are still quite hostile to the construction of apartment buildings, particularly because they seek to maintain a certain level of social stratification.

In some territories, original projects have managed to emerge, such as the projects presented below: social housing in Bouray-sur-Juine, a wooden architectural construction, a rehabilitated building in Houdan, a former hospital, among others.



Social housing in Bouray-sur-Juine: small collective housing with large outdoor spaces (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)



Collective housing, more costly than individual housing (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)



Programme to rehabilitate a former hospital into apartments (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)

There is also an emphasis on intergenerational cohabitation. For instance, Beynes, in the Yvelines, provides accommodation in exchange for services and brings together the elderly with young people seeking housing in its territory.



Inter-generational solidarity (Source: Beynes in transition)



Ideal village? (Source: Beynes in transition)

These experiments also concern building methods. Some municipalities can thus support independent construction, as was the case in Flagy.



The "Maison Batut", named after the independent builder, located at the front of the village in southern Flagy (Source: Nicolas Laruelle © IAU-IDF, 2016)

Others support construction using bio-sourced materials, such as the Parc Naturel Régional du Gâtinais français, which is trying to develop hemp construction on its territory.



Harvesting hemp in the Gâtinais PNR (Source: <https://gatichanvre.fr>)

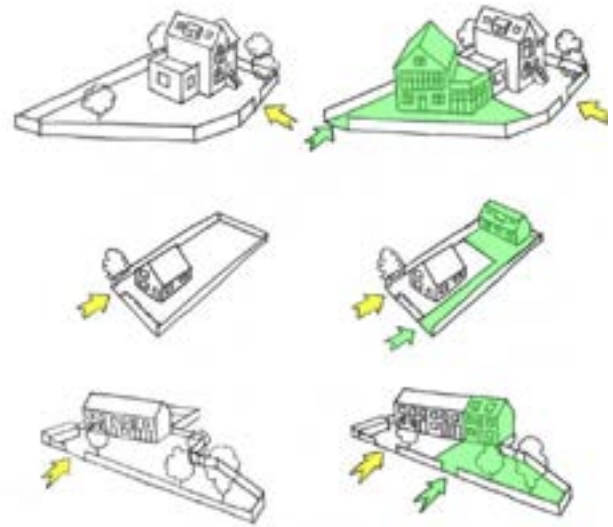
Is densifying the fringes a development issue?

On the other side of the issue, as we have mentioned, there is a real challenge in limiting urban sprawl in the Île-de-France. Municipalities are therefore interested in densification.

The BIMBY

In France, an initiative called BIMBY (Build in my backyard) attempts to promote densification through individual housing, particularly in the fringes of urban areas. The idea is that in old residential districts, the housing is rather sparse, so it is possible to create parcel divisions for constructing individual housing by the reusing land. The advantages are numerous: they allow households who own the land to realize a capital gain or a rental investment.

This approach has been adopted in many fringe municipalities to try to build more in



The parcelling of the residential zone according to the BIMBY research programme (Source: www.bimby.fr)

terms of densification than urban sprawl, but also to propose a tailor-made offer, designed by an architect.



The parcelling of the residential zone according to the BIMBY research programme (Source: www.bimby.fr)

Densifying town centres?

Beyond the residential districts, densification is also an issue in the centre of towns, even if it remains quite complicated — restricted and narrow areas, sometimes polluted soils, operating budgets that are difficult to balance.

However, some municipalities are trying to increase the density of their town centres. For many, it is an opportunity to reconnect with a more classic urban fabric, to reintroduce shops. Often, elected officials take advantage of this opportunity to build social housing.

In Moussy-le-Neuf, a town of 3,500 inhabitants near Roissy-Charles-de-Gaulle airport, the construction of 100 housing units was carried out in the immediate vicinity of the village church. It has made it possible to welcome new residents, but also to reintroduce shops and public spaces.

In Bouray-sur-Juine, in the Essonne, a municipality not far from the RN20, studies have been launched to rehabilitate a presbytery (the priest's place of residence) into housing. "This will be a mixed-use project: on the one hand, there will be the creation of a stopover inn and five new lodging units in addition to the priest's quarters, including three adapted for people with reduced mobility; and on the other hand, there will be a parish hall, an association hall and communal spaces. A terrace and gardens for collective use complete the project." (<https://www.ekopolis.fr>).



A hundred housing units in the centre of Moussy-le-Neuf (Source: Building apartment blocks in the kingdom of houses, 2018)



The presbytery garden, which will be the object of an urban extension (Source: Ekopolis)



Blueprint of the project in Bouray-sur-Juine (Source: Line 7 Architecture + Aubry & Guiguet Programmation)

CHAPITRE 3

TRAVAILLER ET SE DEPLACER DANS LES FRANGES

SOMMAIRE

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Industrial jobs and ZAEs

Executive-level jobs

Agricultural jobs

CHAPTER 3

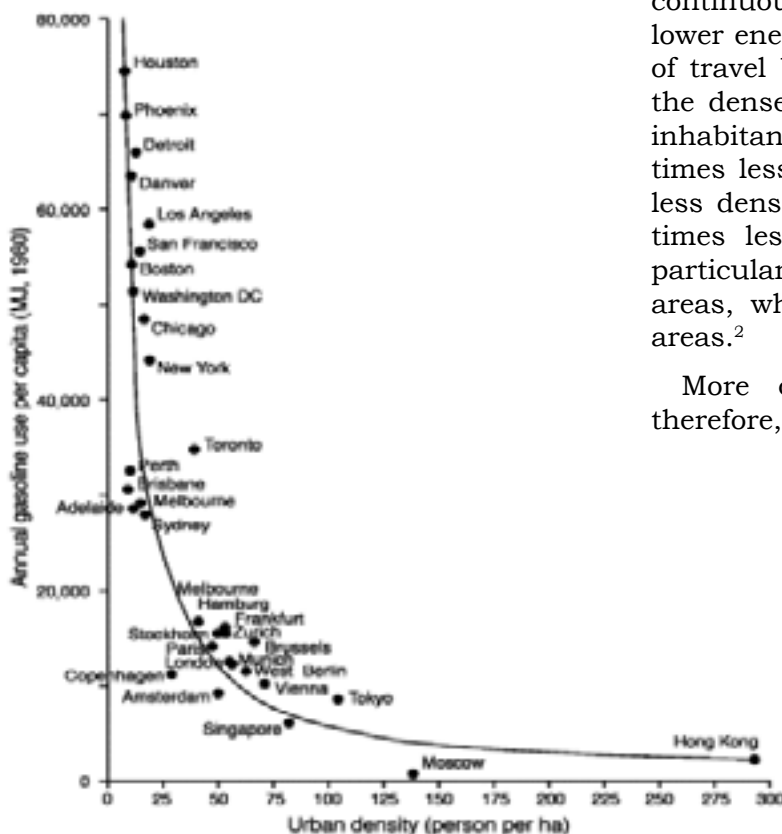
WORKING AND GETTING AROUND IN THE FRINGES

The fringes of the urban area are seen as a territory of hyper-mobility for peri-urban populations, at a time when many are searching for more compact and sustainable forms of settlement.

Moving around the peri-urban area: Modes of mobility

Urban sprawl and automotive mobility

The main environmental criticism against the peri-urban area is that it generates a significant dependency on cars. As early as the 1980s, two Australian researchers, Newman and Kenworthy, demonstrated that there was an inverse relationship between residential density and fuel consumption based on a comparison of 32 major cities around the world, highlighting the existence of more sustainable city types than others, including European and Asian cities, that were more favourable to public transportation and soft modes of travel compared to American and Australian cities, which were characterized by lower densities.



Fuel consumption by density (Source: J Kenworthy and F Laube, May 2001, « the millennium cities database for sustainable transport database », mai 2001.

This research indicates that there is a link between low densities and car use on the one hand, and between high densities and the profitability of public transportation on the other.¹ Since the peri-urban area is characterized by a low density, the initial conclusions of Newman and Kenworthy's studies foretell the development of a more automobile-centred mobility.

In France, a study covering the ensemble of the Paris Region's municipalities showed that the higher the population density (the sum of residential and employment densities), the shorter the distance travelled each day was, particularly in terms of continuous travel time. It also showed a lower energy consumption with soft modes of travel being favoured by inhabitants of the densest areas: it is estimated that an inhabitant of a dense area consumes 3.2 times less energy than an inhabitant of a less dense area, as well as producing 5.2 times less CO₂. The report is therefore particularly unfavourable to less dense areas, which largely concerns peri-urban areas.²

More cars equal less sustainability; therefore, the peri-urban area will likely be responsible for more pollution associated with this type of mobility. But recent research suggests that these findings should be moderated.

1 J Kenworthy and F Laube. (May 2001). *The millennium cities database for sustainable transport*.

2 Vincent Fouchier. (1998). *Les densités urbaines et le développement durable: le cas de l'Île-de-France et des villes nouvelles*, ed. Groupe central des villes nouvelles. Paris, Éd. du SGVN: Diff. la Documentation Française.

A reassessment of the link between motor vehicles and polluters

Nuancing peri-urban “excessive-mobility”

For Martine Berger, who studies the mobility of fringe area inhabitants, this “excessive-mobility” requires nuancing.

Commuting distances between home and work exploded in the 1980s and 1990s, but this was not due only to urban sprawl. Other profound societal transformations accompanied and encouraged these developments: e.g. the greater number of executive-level professionals and tertiary jobs in the Île-de-France. These jobs are located in central and clustered locations. The decline in the share of productive (manufacturing or industrial) jobs has contributed to the disappearance of the factory–social housing link, which had been a significant motivator behind the construction of major housing projects in France. Commuting distances have therefore increased, not just for workers but for everyone. Martine Berger points out:

“If we consider this in terms of travel-time budgets, the average shuttle times of peri-urban commuters are not significantly higher than those of urban residents on the fringes of the urban agglomeration”.

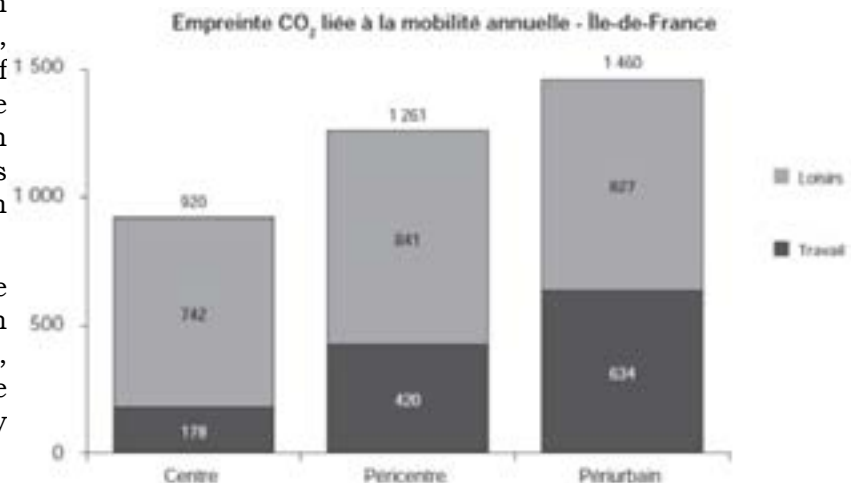
The accession to home ownership combined with the spread of automobiles, which in turn promote urban sprawl, is not the only explanation.

The ageing of the existing population is also leading to a new organization of mobility. Most of the households that moved to the fringes in the 1970s to 1980s are now retired. It is therefore a question of nuancing the extent of daily mobility, which no longer concerns these people. And above all, there is an increased focus on leisure mobility in a society where the vast majority of the working population has 5 weeks of vacation per year, or even more.

The barbecue effect

However, if daily mobility produces more greenhouse gases and pollutes more in peri-urban areas than in urban areas, the ratio is reversed for leisure mobility. This is what Orfeuill has explained since 2002 as the “barbecue effect”. This concept suggests that the weekend emissions of urbanites could offset those of peri-urbanites during the week, since the former tends to flee the city; while the latter, with a lower leisure mobility, remains more sedentary.¹

The growing increase in leisure mobility in relation to work mobility underlines the importance of this observation.² That is to say, the weaker the short-distance mobility, the greater the long-distance mobility; and peri-urban areas do not necessarily produce more pollutant emissions than people living in urban centres.³



Source : 6t/Latts, 2011 ; mise en forme modifiée. In Sébastien Munello, “La ville compacte remise en cause ? Formes urbaines et mobilités de loisirs”, p. 353

1 Jean-Pierre Orfeuill and Solleyret. (2002). “Quelles interactions entre les marchés de la mobilité à courte et longue distance ?”. *Inrets*.

2 Hélène Nessi. (2010). “Formes urbaines et consommation d’énergie dans les transports”. *Etudes Foncières*, p. 30-32.

3 Claire Plateau. (N.d). *Les émissions de gaz à effet de serre des ménages selon les localisations résidentielles. Les exemples de la région Île-de-France et de l’arrondissement de Lille*.

Inventory of mobility modes in the fringes

What are the modes of travel in the fringes?

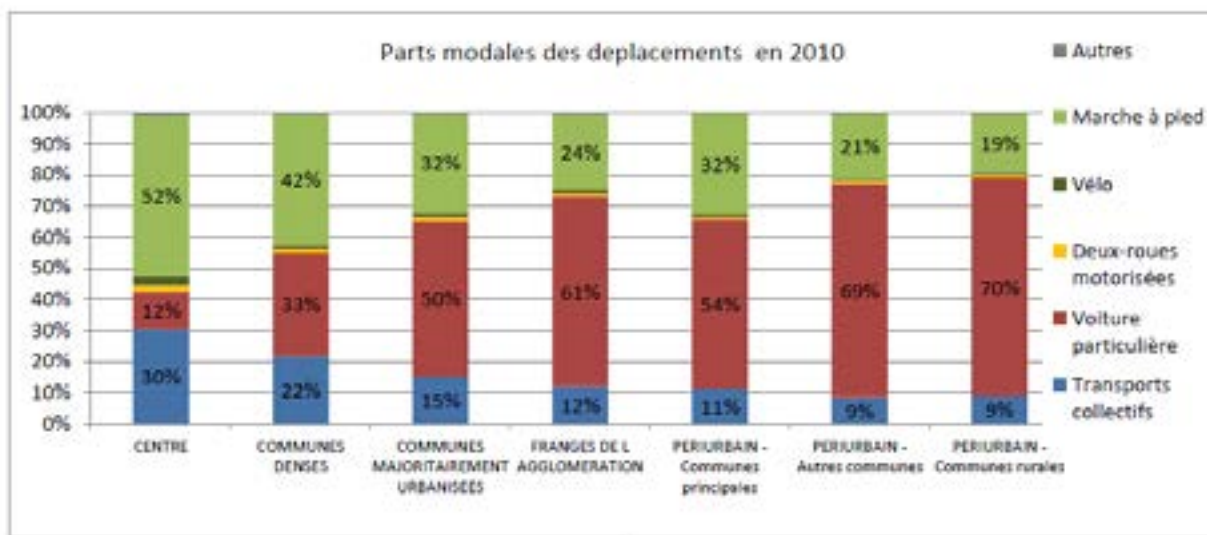
The mobility of fringe inhabitants has taken longer to stabilize than that of the inhabitants of the urban agglomeration. In 2010, the fringes were found to have equal automotive mobility as their urban counterparts. However, public transportation mobility increased everywhere except in peri-urban areas.

The share of soft transport modes, other than walking, is very limited. Nonetheless, and we will come back to this later, some municipalities are trying to further develop

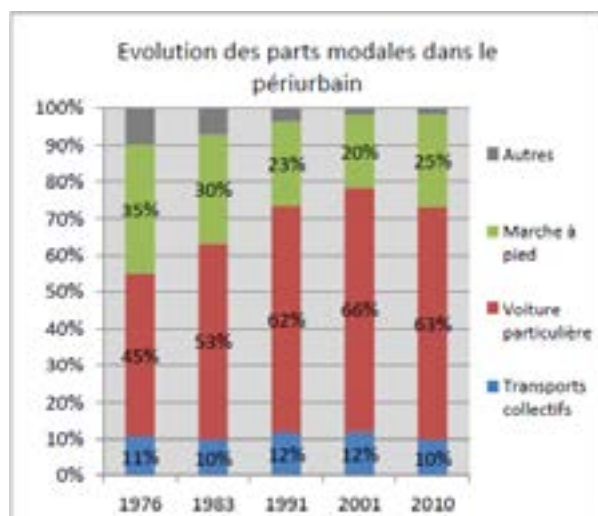
these modes of transportation.

There are also signs that the situation is changing. For work commutes, in particular, the private motor vehicle modal share fell between 2001 and 2010, in favour of walking.

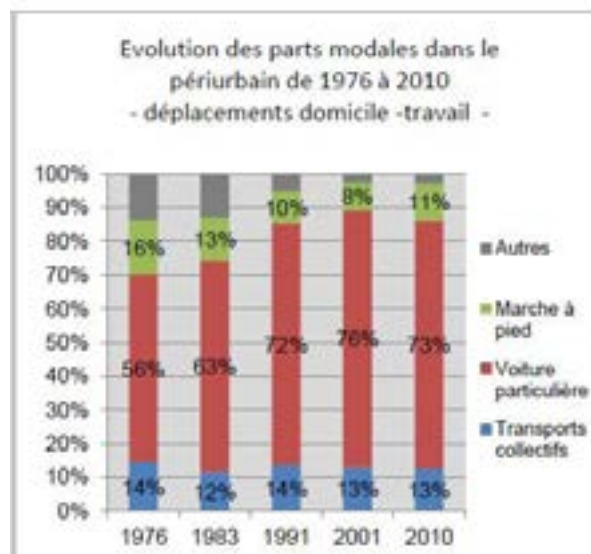
We are therefore witnessing a stabilization of the private motor vehicle modal share, which goes hand in hand with a stabilization of distances.



Modal shares of travel by territory of residence in 2010 (Source: Mobility in Île-de-France peri-urban areas, IAU 2013; EGT 2010, STIF, DRIEA, IAU, OMNIL)



Evolution of modal shares in the peri-urban area between 1976 and 2010 (Source: Mobility in Île-de-France peri-urban areas, IAU 2013; EGT 2010, STIF, DRIEA, IAU, OMNIL)



Evolution in the peri-urban area of modal shares for home-work commutes (Source: Mobility in Île-de-France peri-urban areas, IAU 2013; EGT 2010, STIF, DRIEA, IAU, OMNIL)

Today, a move towards the stabilization of transportation distances in the fringes

Peri-urban mobility distances are significant:

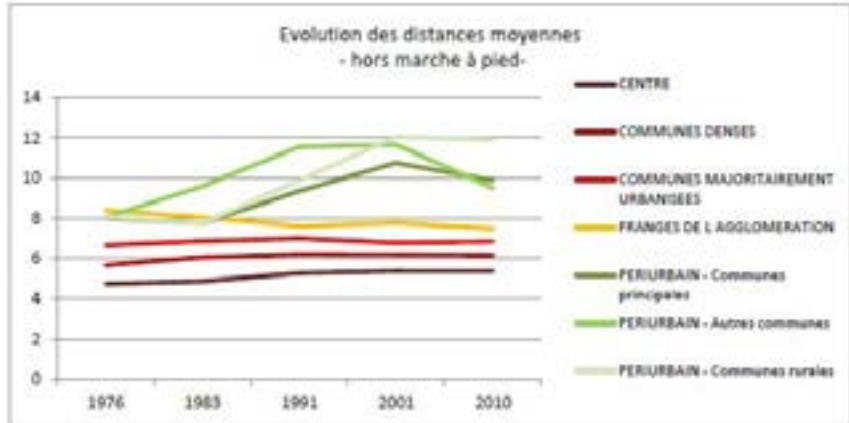
“The distances travelled by inhabitants of peri-urban areas are on average almost twice as long as those of other Île-de-France residents” (IAU, 2013).

Moreover, while distances have stabilized for the Parisian urban agglomeration since the 1970s, the peri-urban area was the only sector where distances continued to increase significantly until 2010.

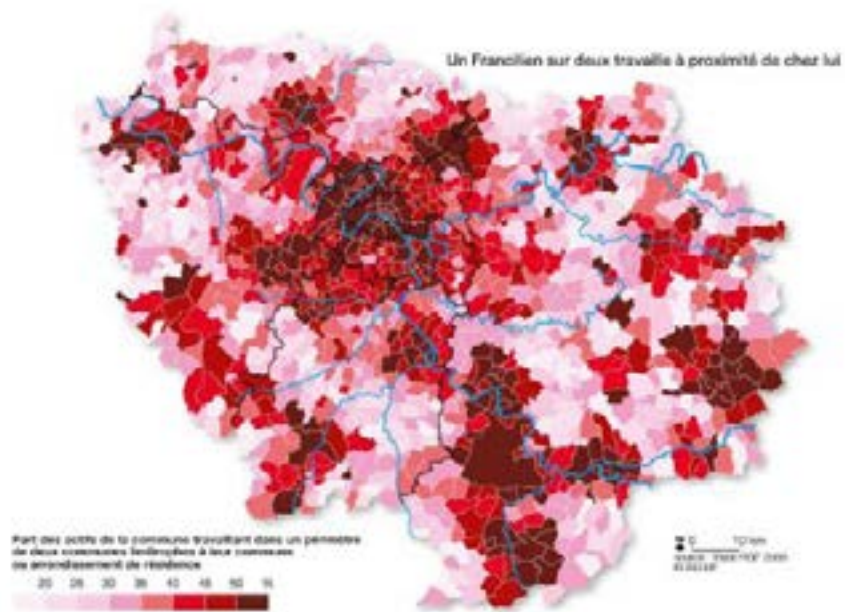
Today, however, we are witnessing a stabilization or even a decrease in average travel distances. This observation calls for nuancing, particularly in terms of morphological zones within the peri-urban area:

“Distances are decreasing in the main municipalities as well as their surrounding municipalities, and stabilizing in rural municipalities” (IAU, 2013).

That said, 10% of peri-urban dwellers will accumulate more than 80 km during the course of a day.



Evolution of the average trip distances based on place of residence, EGT 1976-2010 (Source: Mobility in the Île-de-France peri-urban area, IAU 2013)



Share of the municipality’s working population working within two municipalities of their municipality of residence (Source: S Beaufils and J Courel, 2012; RP – IAU 2008)

«Only 10% of the inhabitants of the Île-de-France peri-urban area work in Paris. The very long public transport shuttles, often covered by the media, only concern a very small proportion of peri-urban areas: mainly those living near well-served centres such as Marne-la-Vallée or Cergy. The vast majority work at a moderate distance from their homes: within a radius of 2 municipalities around their own municipality of residence (S Beaufils and J Courel, 2012). This map shows the role of secondary centres, such as Meaux, Coulommiers, Provins, Montereau- Fault-Yonne, Nemours, Étampes, Rambouillet and Mantes-la-Jolie.

Source: Mobility in the Île-de-France peri-urban area, IAU 2013

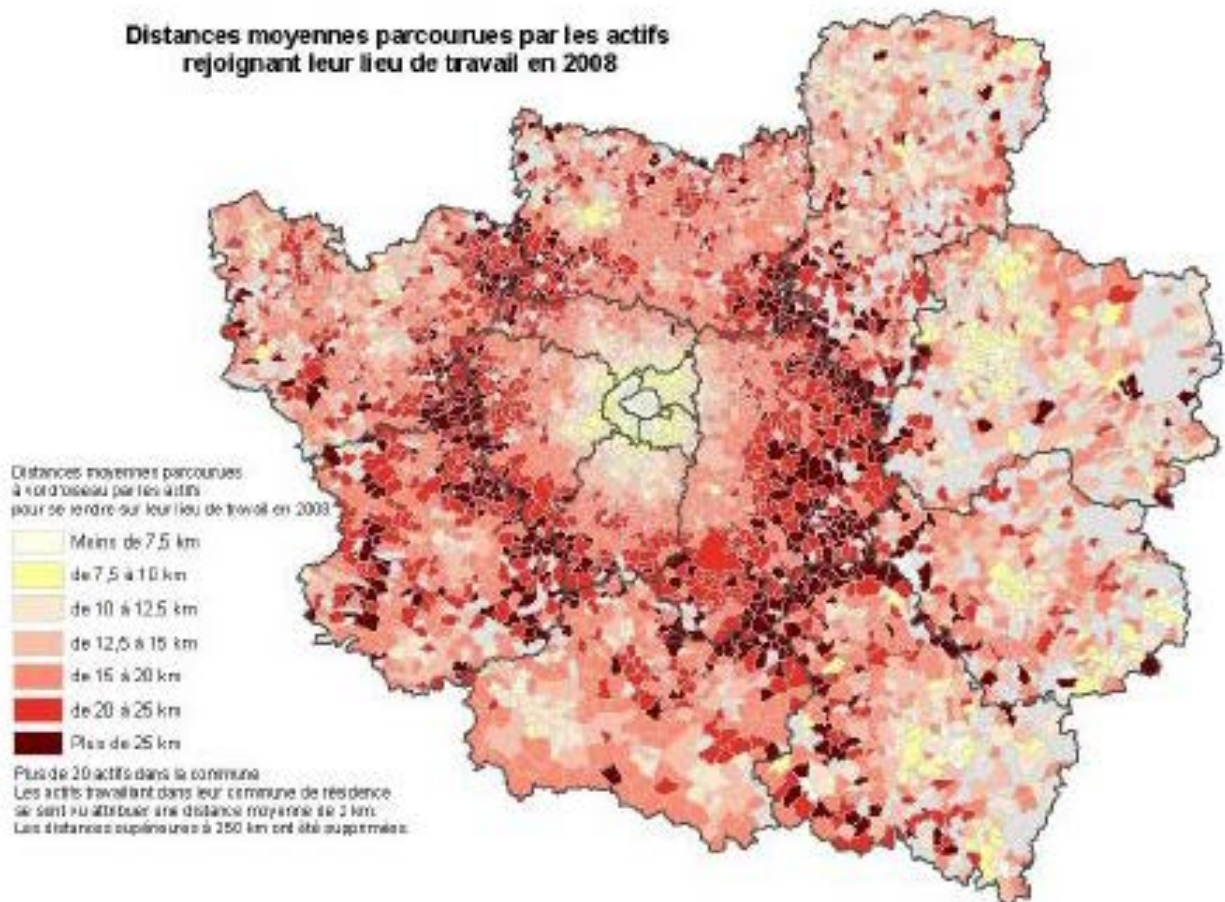
Martine Berger explains the reasons for this stabilization:

“Jobs are expanding out, probably not yet sufficiently, to the outer suburbs (especially the new towns) where they are diversifying (e.g. the lower Seine Valley, which is no longer just the car valley); the peri-urban workers themselves are changing their behaviour, especially women. A few years after settling in the peri-urban area, those with children tend to reduce their travel by seeking employment closer to home. At the same time, local employment in the service industry is expanding with the growth of the resident population. Perhaps at the price of a certain professional downgrading and a higher risk of unemployment, these

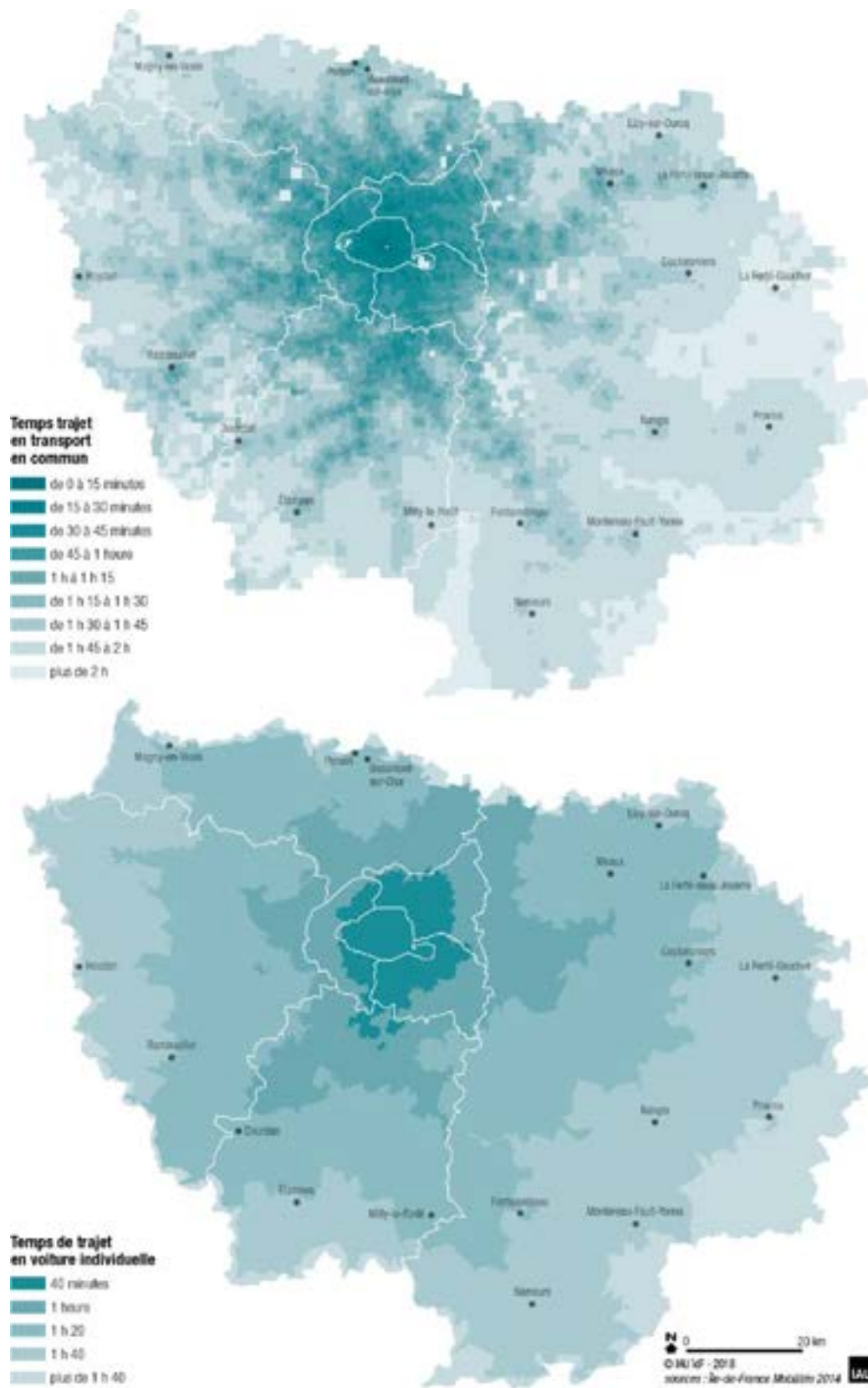
women make their decision based on their time budgets.” (Martine Berger, 2019)

The need to relocate employment to promote a better quality of life for inhabitants has been recognized by some elected officials who try to develop jobs locally. This has given rise to projects such as co-working spaces and connected coffee shops which encourage inhabitants work in the municipality (see page XX).

Similarly, there are significant inequalities in the time it takes to access Paris from the fringes.



Average home-work commuting distances in the Île-de-France and neighbouring départements, RP 2008. (Source: Mobility in the Île-de-France peri-urban area, IAU 2013; Map: Sandrine Beaufile, IAU-IDF)



Access time to the centre of Paris (Source: Villes des franges, IAU 2019)

Towards new and more sustainable mobility?

Alternatives to private motor vehicles are increasingly being encouraged, even within these municipalities. Many associations and elected officials are trying to promote other modes of transport: from soft modes (walking and cycling) to car-sharing, carpooling and hitchhiking. Here is a look at some of these initiatives.

Soft modes

Walking and soft modes, in general, are increasingly publicized and promoted as transport modes in their own right. They correspond to the desires of inhabitants, particularly in some fringe municipalities served by decent public transportation.

Towards a greater use of bicycles

Cycling is widely used by inhabitants of fringe municipalities as a leisure activity. It is used much less so for daily mobility: its modal share hardly exceeds 1%. However, 40% of trips in the peri-urban area are less than 2 km long; and, as we have said, one in two working people work close to home, and therefore are within easy reach by bicycle.

However, many obstacles remain: some municipalities are connected to each other by motorways, which are not very practical for cycling. While there are many cut-throughs in these areas, as of yet they have been poorly equipped for bicycles. There are also some topographical constraints: highly uneven roads and steep slopes. In short, it is not always easy to reach public transportation or your home by bike.

Currently, the fringes lack infrastructure: bike paths, bike racks around stations, etc. Moreover, the culture of cycling — beyond leisure — has largely disappeared due to increased motor vehicle use.

Nonetheless, some municipalities and associations are trying to develop it. Some residents are taking up this subject by demanding greater speed limits in certain municipalities. Such is the case in Milly-la-Forêt, where an association, Voie douce Milly, is campaigning for the creation of bike paths and a speed limit on the Fontainebleau road.



Milly-la-Forêt, 24 March 2019: Cyclists and pedestrians take to the street to demand the creation of a secure soft mode lane on the Fontainebleau road. (Source: LP/Laurent Degradi, Le Parisien)

It is also important to excite and inspire people to ride bicycles. Therefore, some municipalities and PNRs have developed bike-sharing systems (such as in the Gâtinais PNR), in particular those using electric-assisted bicycles (VAE) or e-bikes, which are quite expensive. Some intermunicipal communities such as Mantes-la-Jolie choose to subsidize the acquisition of these VAEs in order to promote peri-urban mobility, as is also the case with the Vallée de Chevreuse PNR.



Diehard cyclists along the Fontainebleau road (Source: <https://voiedoucemilly.com/>)



. An example of bicycle infrastructure in a town centre (Source: <https://www.au5v.fr/>)

Encouraging walking in the fringes

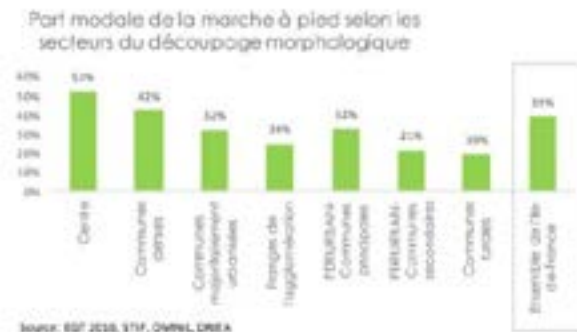
Even in rural municipalities, walking represents nearly 20% of all daily travel. Peri-urban walkers remain essentially short-distance walkers, walking less than a kilometre a day for 70% of them (compared to 50% for all Île-de-France residents). In a study of regular walkers, the IAU identified six walker profiles, two of which live mainly in the peri-urban fringes:

1- “Local motorists”: these are short-distance walkers who make many local trips by car. This category is interesting because this type of behaviour shows a potential for a shift towards walking or more active modes in general.

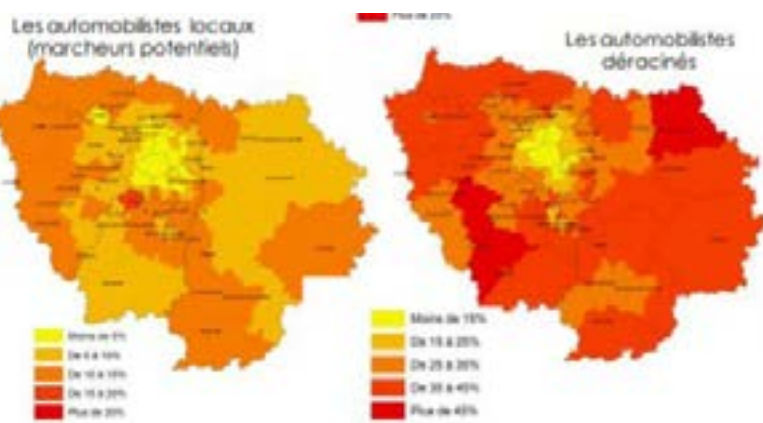
2- “Uprooted motorists”: these Île-de-France residents only walk to access their personal vehicles. They do little local travel. Dourdan, Maurepas, Les Essarts-le-Roi.

As with cycling, not all fringes of the urban area are the same in terms of walking. There is a concept, that of “walkability”, which is the ability of a territory to encourage people to walk. However, the fringe areas are not always walkable: the presence of cut-offs, long distances with few shops or pleasant spaces, etc. tend to discourage pedestrians; whereas, town centres, areas designed for walking, make people want to walk.

Making a territory walkable also means combatting the dependency on private motor vehicles as the sole mode of transportation. This involves discouraging the use of cars for walkable distances by adopting dissuasive parking policies, limiting car speeds, etc.



Modal share of walkers in the Île-de-France (Source: IAU, La marche à pied en Île-de-France, 2016)



Typology of walkers in the Île-de-France (Source: IAU, La marche à pied en Île-de-France, 2016)

Some municipalities have taken up these challenges and tried to make their centres more walkable by redeveloping them, as is the case of Andilly (95).



The redeveloped downtown area of Andilly (Source: www.ekopolis.fr)

Other possible modes of mobility

Many initiatives are being developed in the fringes to remedy the excessively high level of car mobility and to provide solutions for people who do not use motor vehicles.

Carpooling and hitchhiking in the fringes

One of these initiatives is the establishment of organized carpooling and hitchhiking networks. These have the merit of being cost-effective for public authorities, while also being structured by them.

In the Vexin, there is a carpooling network for daily commutes called Covoit'ici. It offers carpooling pick-up stops located in certain municipalities as well as connects drivers and passengers thanks to a mobile app. Passengers pay a contribution to access the service (around €1), while drivers are paid.



The cities linked by Covoit'ici in the Vexin (Source: Covoit'ici)

Other systems exist, such as the networks established to encourage hitchhiking. An example is the “Rezo-Pouce” in the Gâtinais Regional Nature Park.



Transportation on demand

In contrast, but still with the aim of facilitating mobility for all, the Île-de-France Region is interested in developing transportation on demand (TAD) in the less dense areas of the region.

With TAD, vehicles are made available to serve stops and must be booked in advance by users on a dedicated platform. This helps to eliminate empty buses or cars, while still providing public transportation services in less dense areas.

A first network has been launched in Gally-Meauldre, a community of 23,000 inhabitants, and others should be set up soon.



The “Rezo-Pouce” in the Gâtinais PNR (Source: Gâtinais PNR)

Developing fleets of electric cars

Finally, some territories are trying to promote electric cars rather than combustion-powered vehicles, as they are supposed to be less polluting.

Many municipalities are now equipped with electric charging stations (as in Rambouillet), while others choose to acquire their own fleets of cars, particularly electric ones, which are then made available to residents or employees. This was the choice made by the town hall of Auffargis, which has acquired an electric vehicle for town hall employees.



Charging stations in a village (Source: Département of Seine-et-Marne)

Multiple solutions therefore exist to remedy the high level of private motor vehicle use in the fringes, which, despite the increase in environmental awareness and the solutions proposed, remains extremely high in these areas.

But acting on mobility also requires action on the main reasons behind moving around for fringe inhabitants, particularly employment and commerce.

Transport à la demande électrique

9 rue d'Épicy, Flagy

Lancement en février 2015, par la communauté de communes du Bocallinois avec l'aide du Stif et du département de Seine-et-Marne (servi Produ'bus), du premier service de transport à la demande 100% électrique Île-de-France. Il dessert le bourg principal de la communauté de commur (Vouki), ainsi que le centre-ville de Monterreau et le centre commercial Bréau à Varennes-sur-Seine.



L'une des deux voitures électriques (Renault Zoé) peuvent transporter chacune quatre passagers, mises à disposition gratuitement par LDF pendant un an, à titre expérimental. Photo: © Communauté de communes du Bocage Orléans

Flagy, electric transportation on demand (Source: IAU-Hauts Lieux de la Transition)



The electric charging stations in département 77 (Source: Département of Seine-et-Marne)

Working in the fringes

Although the first peri-urban “pioneers” practiced long-distance home-work commutes, as we have mentioned earlier; today, half of the peri-urban working population works near its home.

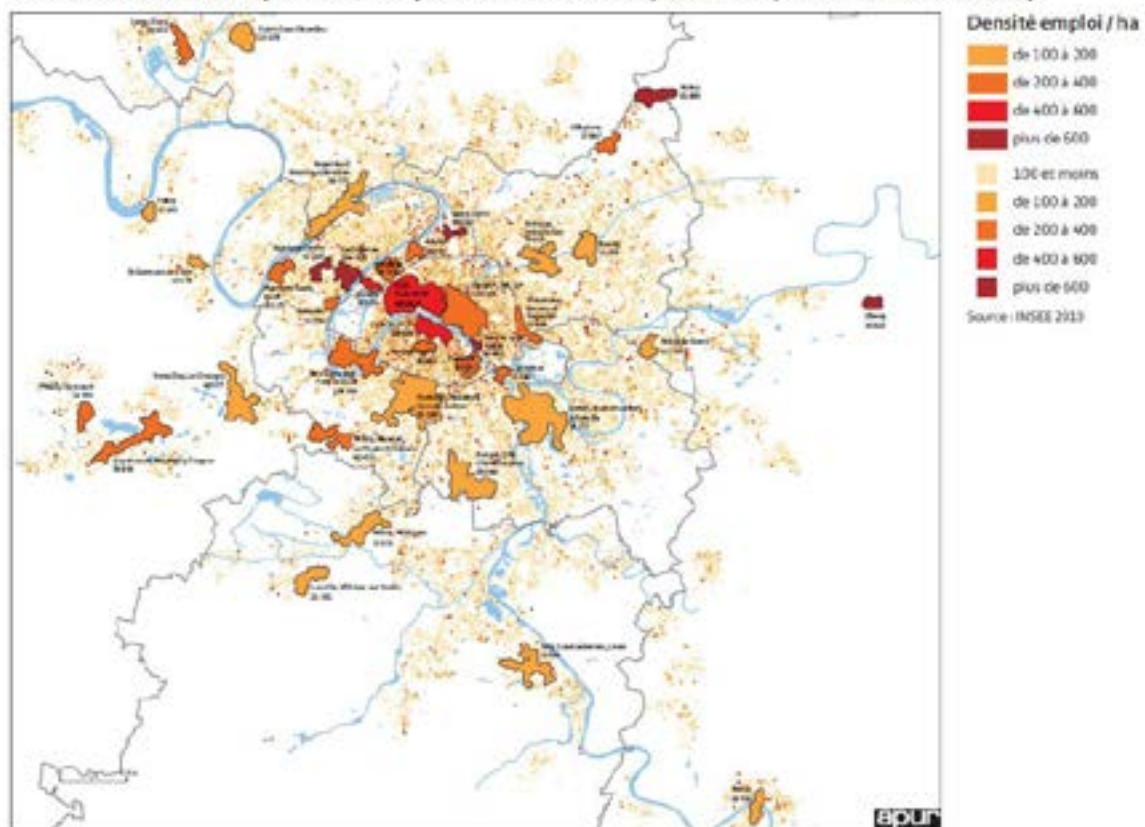
A proliferation of employment centres in the periphery

Time and public policies have led to a proliferation of employment areas and their decentralization, especially for industrial jobs.

The proximity of new towns and airports has been a source of job creation, with employment centres developing around

them: in this respect, the fringes benefit from the increasing proximity of employment centres as businesses decentralize in search of cheaper land, as is the case in particular for industrial or logistics employment.

Forté densité d'emploi dans les pôles de La Défense, Nanterre, Saint-Denis et Roissy

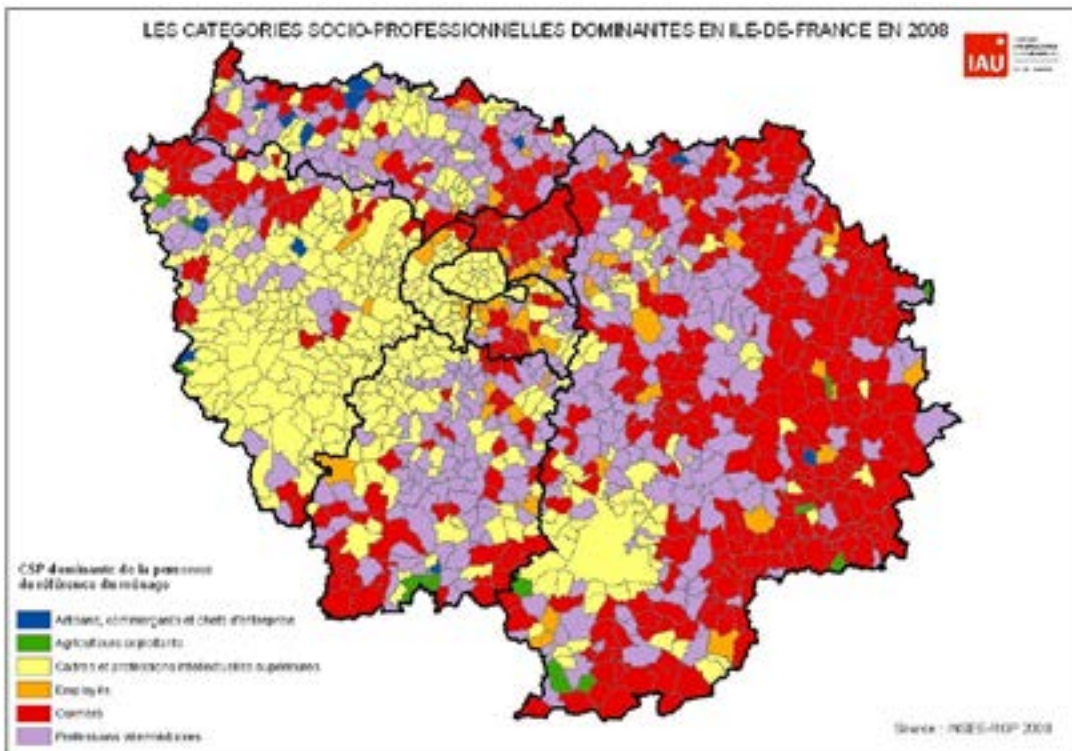


Employment density (Source: APUR, 2012)

The Greater Paris Metropolitan Area accounts for “69% of regional jobs, or 48 jobs per hectare compared to 1.6 jobs per hectare in the rest of the Île-de-France”, according to the APUR.

Most of the major employment centres are located in Paris or the inner suburbs, with the exception of Roissy–Charles de Gaulle airport and the new towns. As the map (Figure X) shows, that is where most of the employment is located, as opposed to in the fringes.

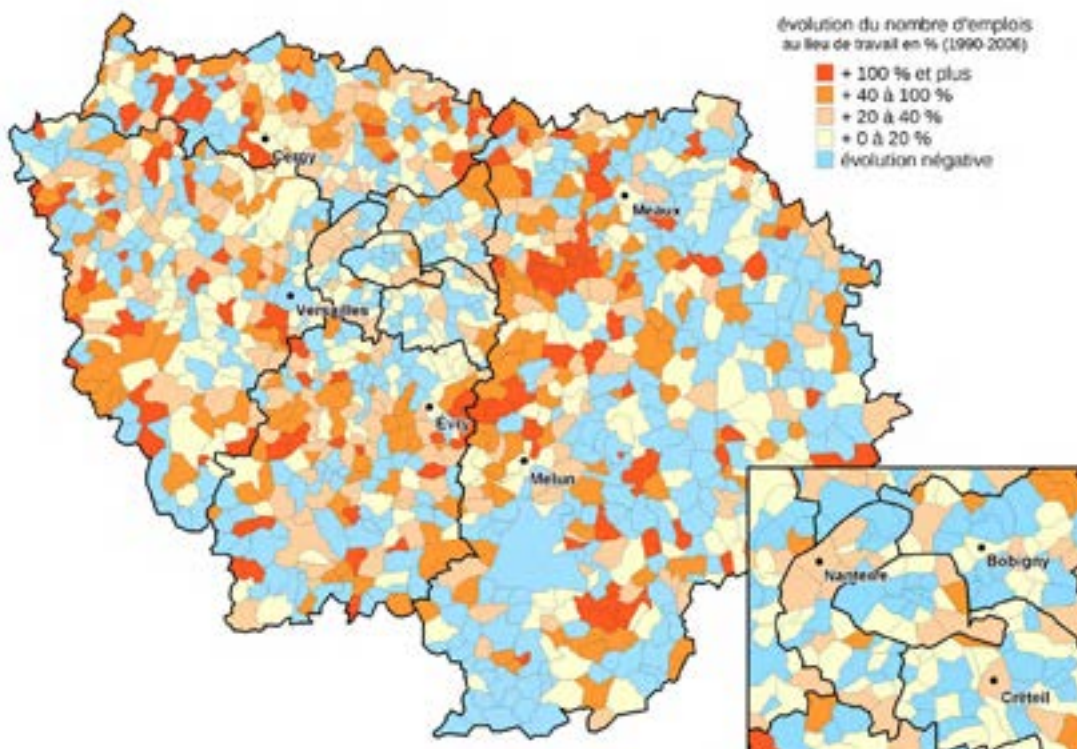
The employment density per hectare generally follows a gradient from the centre of the urban area to the fringes, despite the emergence of a few clusters: Melun, Meaux, Cergy, Roissy. Beyond the Île-de-France, secondary urban centres (Montargis, Sens, Orléans, Beauvais, Chartres, Dreux, etc.) play an important role in employment. There are also dispersed employment areas in the fringes of the urban area, particularly in industrial or service activities.



Dominant socio-professional categories (Source: IAU, 2012)

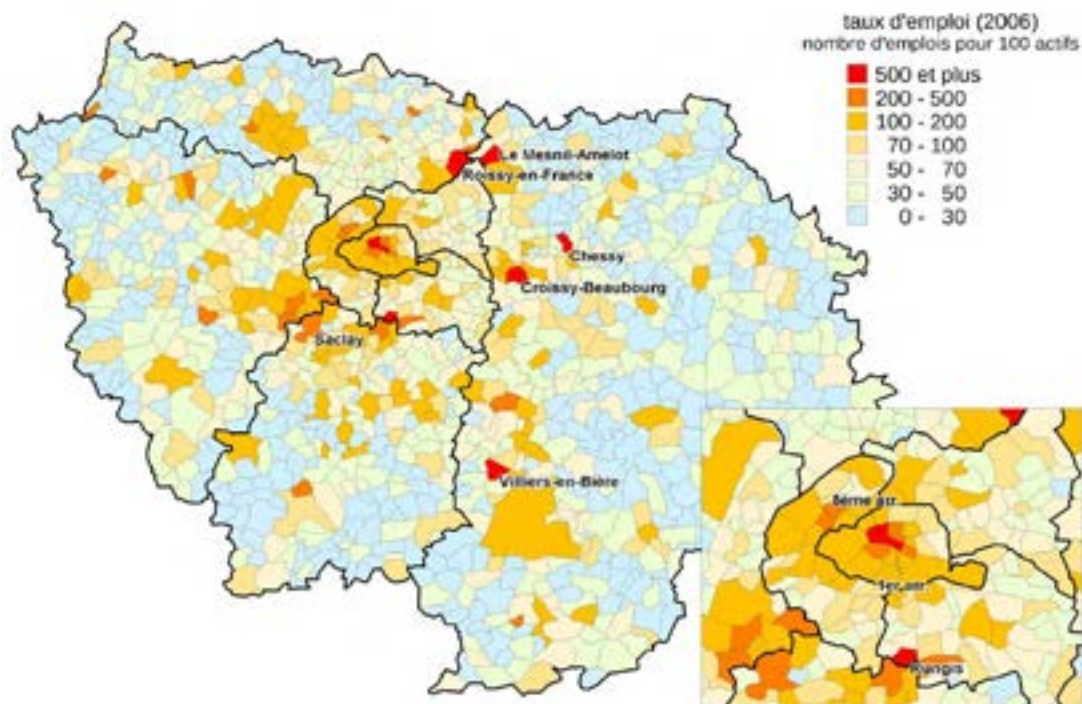
The map shows the dominant socio-professional category for heads of households in the Île-de-France. There is a strong contrast between the west (Yvelines), where executives are dominant, and the east (Seine-et-Marne), where there are primarily labourers and, to a lesser extent, mid-level professionals.

The contrasts are therefore strong and above all focused on an east-west axis, followed by, to a lesser extent, the distances to/from Paris.



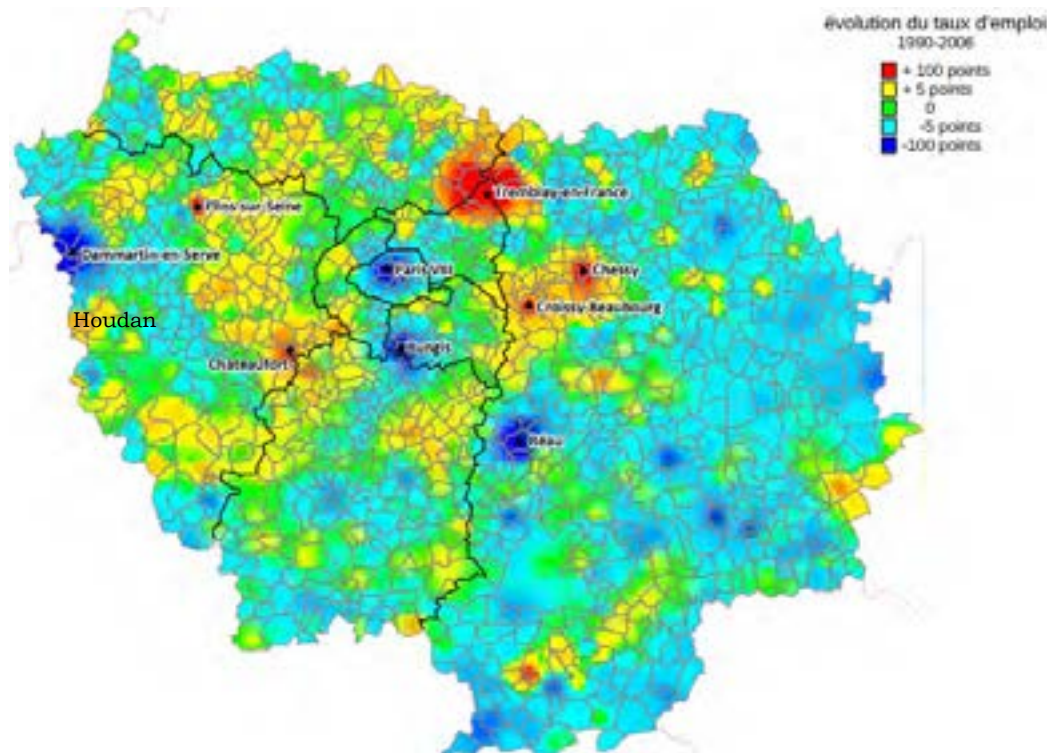
Evolution of job numbers at employment centres in percentage (%) from 1980 to 2006 (Source: INSEE, 2008)

An analysis of the evolution of the number of jobs over 15 years shows that the territories of the fringes are fairly unequal. While West Yvelines has seen more job creation, the farthest reaches of the Seine-and-Marne urban area have developed negatively, while the northern part of the Île-de-France has tended to create more jobs.



Employment rate in employment clusters in 2006 (Source: INSEE, 2008)

When we look at the employment rate, i.e. the number of jobs in a municipality per 100 working-age people in the municipality, we see that few municipalities on the fringes have a sufficient number of jobs, and that many workers must therefore go elsewhere to find employment. However, secondary employment centres, close to the fringes, are nevertheless emerging, such as new towns and balancing municipalities such as Houdan, Cergy, Villiers-en-Bière, Charles-de-Gaulle airport, etc.



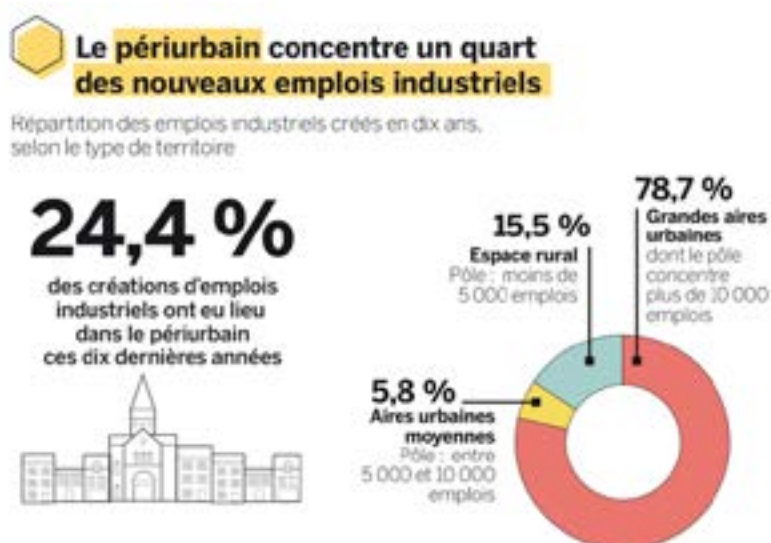
Evolution of the employment rate from 1990 to 2006 (Source: INSEE, 2008)

Similarly, if we look at the evolution of the employment rate in municipalities, we see that the municipalities that have seen the greatest decrease in this rate are the municipalities of the west, towards Damartin, and also of the east in Seine-et-Marne.

There is thus a need for solutions to reimagine local employment in the fringes, a challenge which certain elected officials are now focusing on.

Industrial jobs and ZAEs

The fringe areas can also accommodate other activities, in particular those that can no longer remain in the centre of the metropolitan area due to the high cost of land. This is the case with industrial activities, which are widely accepted in peri-urban areas, as noted in an article in Le Monde: “Peri-urban areas now account for nearly a quarter of industrial jobs, whereas they account for less than a fifth of total employment”.

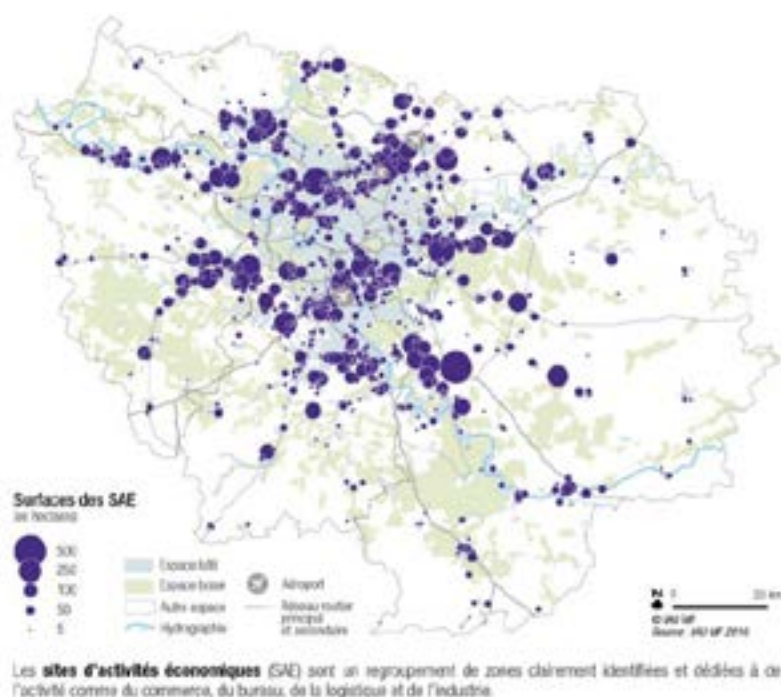


The fringe areas benefit from cheaper land that is likely located far from residential centres, which makes it possible to avoid nuisances to residents — and thus potential limitations on the industrial activity.

Many fringe municipalities host a ZAE in their peripheries.

Industrial zones were the subject of the 2016 Paris Region Workshop, which should be consulted.

Economic activities in France (Source: www.lemonde.fr)



Economic activity sites in 2016 (Source: Key figures for the Île-de-France Region, 2017)

As can be seen on the map on the left, many of the economic activity zones projected for 2009 were in the fringe territories. In these territories, we can also note the existence of industrial centres located along the Seine, major transportation corridors and roads to CDG airport.

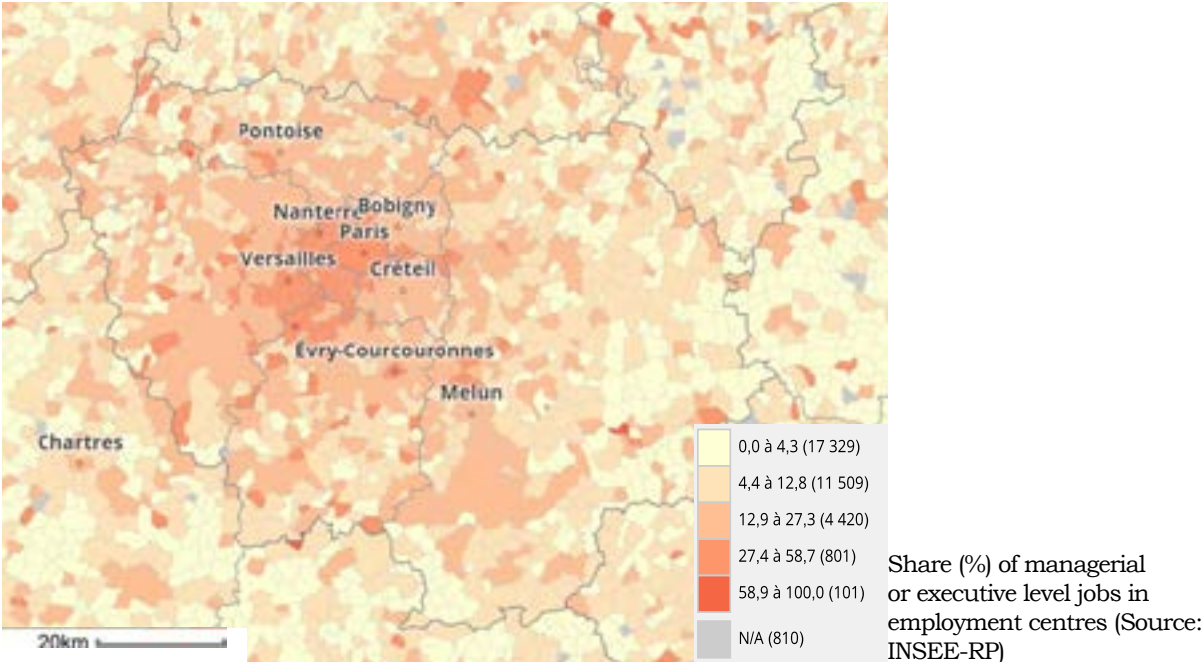


An activity zone in the periphery (Source: <https://www.safli.fr/annonces/location/local-commercial/houdan-78550/300271>)

Executive-level jobs

We have seen that executives mainly live in the west of the Île-de-France or in the centre of the urban agglomeration. Executive employment is largely concentrated in the metropolitan area and decreases as one moves farther away. There is a greater concentration of executive jobs in the west than in the east.

As a result, there is the problem of home-work commute distances.



To remedy this, some municipalities have considered creating co-working spaces around railway stations or in town centres to allow their employees to telework. Teleworking is increasing in France every year, and 29% of employees were engaged in this practice on a regular basis in 2018.

While this does occasionally prevent long commutes, telework is not a viable option for all professions, and is mainly reserved for executive-level jobs.

In any case, there is a digital divide in these territories, accentuated by the remoteness of local infrastructure, which would make it possible to mitigate it.



A co-working centre in a village in Essonne (Source: CoworkGreen)



The 50B, co-working area in Méré, in the Yvelines (Source: 50B)

Agricultural jobs

At the gateway to the Parisian urban agglomeration are some of the best agricultural lands in Europe, and their farmers. While the share of agricultural employment has steadily declined in France and even more so in the Île-de-France, the region remains largely agricultural.

However, agricultural jobs are no longer the majority, indeed far from it. Some municipalities in the fringes no longer have farmers in their vicinity, with their agricultural parcels now being cultivated by farmers from neighbouring municipalities.

At the limits of the capital region, and beyond, the share of agricultural employment is higher.

The decline in agricultural jobs in France is linked to how the country has structured its agricultural industry: most of the land (65%) is dedicated to cereal crops and 90% of the agricultural surface area is dedicated to large-scale cultivation. These are the least job-intensive agricultural opportunities.

Nonetheless, initiatives promoting local employment and the reintroduction of crop diversity are emerging.

For example, in Magny-le-Hameaux (78), a farm project led by the municipality was financed entirely with public funds. It will be a farm that produces vegetables and fruit to be sold through local food systems in the Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines urban community.

Associations such as Terre de Liens are campaigning for the installation of organic farmers in the Île-de-France, where land prices are high and are limiting the arrival of new farmers.

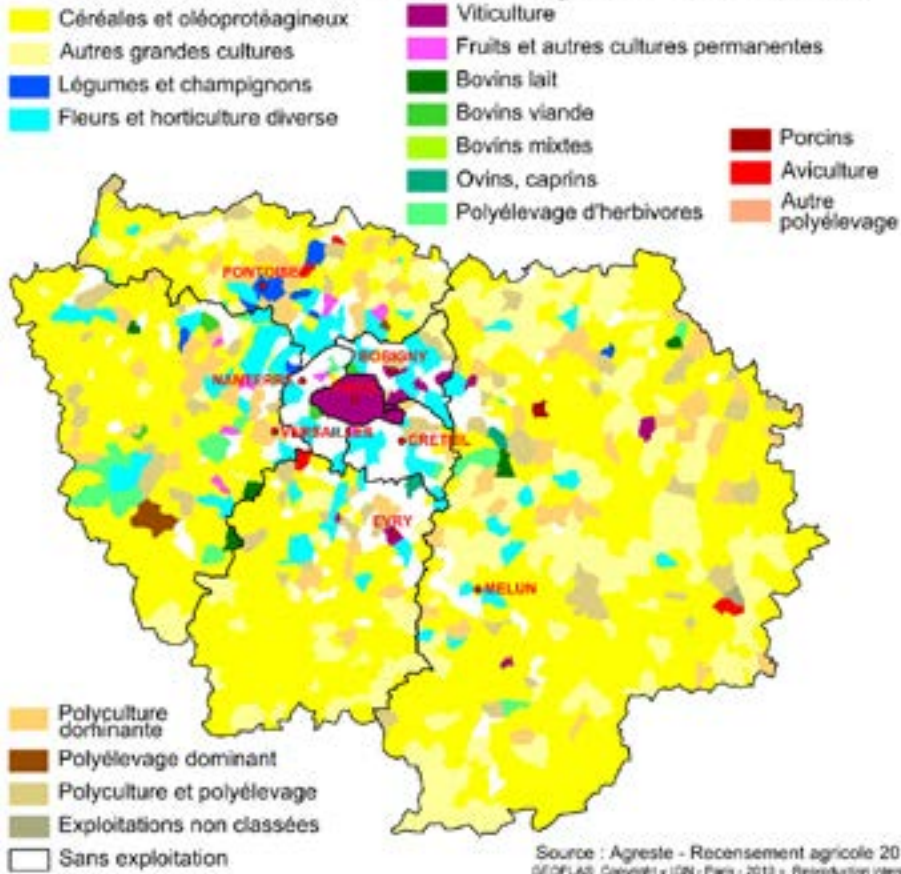


Agriculture in the Île-de-France (Source: <http://www.prefectures-regions.gouv.fr/ile-de-france/Region-et-institutions/Portrait-de-la-region>)

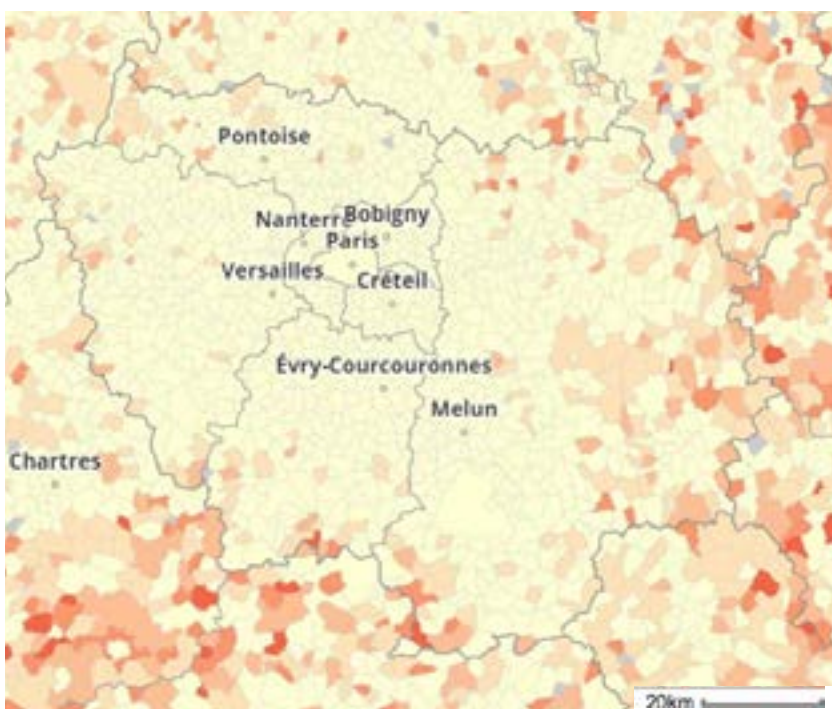


Ferme de la Closeraie, Magny-le-Hameaux (Source: <https://www.magny-les-hameaux.fr>)

Orientation technico-économique de la commune



Most of the agricultural land is cultivated to produce grain crops in the Île-de-France (Source: Agreste)



Share (%) of farmers in employment centres in 2015 - (Source: INSEE-RP)

CHAPITRE 4

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DANS LES FRANGES

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CHAPTER 4

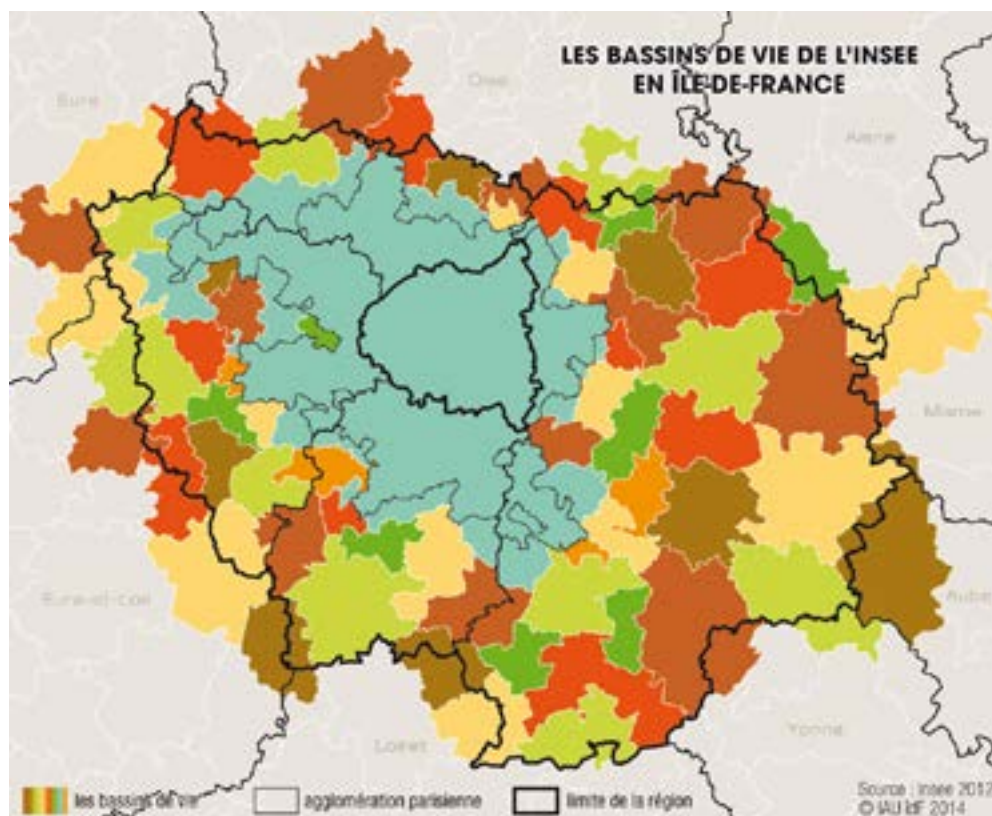
DAILY LIFE IN THE FRINGES

We were able to see the types of jobs present in the fringes. But the lives of the inhabitants of these territories cannot be reduced to a simple triptych of “car, work, sleep”. Where do the inhabitants of the fringes shop? What spaces do they frequent on a daily basis? What local amenities do they have access to? While these questions do not allow for a single answer, some possible responses can be found through the concept of a *bassin de vie* or living area.

The living area

According to INSEE, zoning for living areas corresponds to the “smallest territory in which inhabitants have access to common facilities (or services)”. France has been divided into local territories where the population can perform most of the activities required in daily life, i.e. access everyday facilities and services, as defined by INSEE. These include consulting a general practitioner, sending children to school, going to the bakery etc.

“Each bassin is built around a cluster that includes the largest share of the facilities or services used in everyday life. The method consists of identifying service clusters, around which the living areas will be built, thereby creating the ‘theoretical’ area of influence of the cluster” (IAU).



Zoning for living areas in the municipalities of the urban fringes (Source: <https://www.iau-idf.fr/amenagement-et-territoires/les-bassins-de-vie/lespace-rural-et-les-bassins-de-vie-de-linsee.html>)

This delimitation makes it possible to realize that the inhabitants of the fringes have access to local facilities in fairly limited areas, which are free from regional administrative boundaries. Thus, although fringe municipalities have relatively few facilities (see Figure X), their inhabitants can still access these functions nearby.

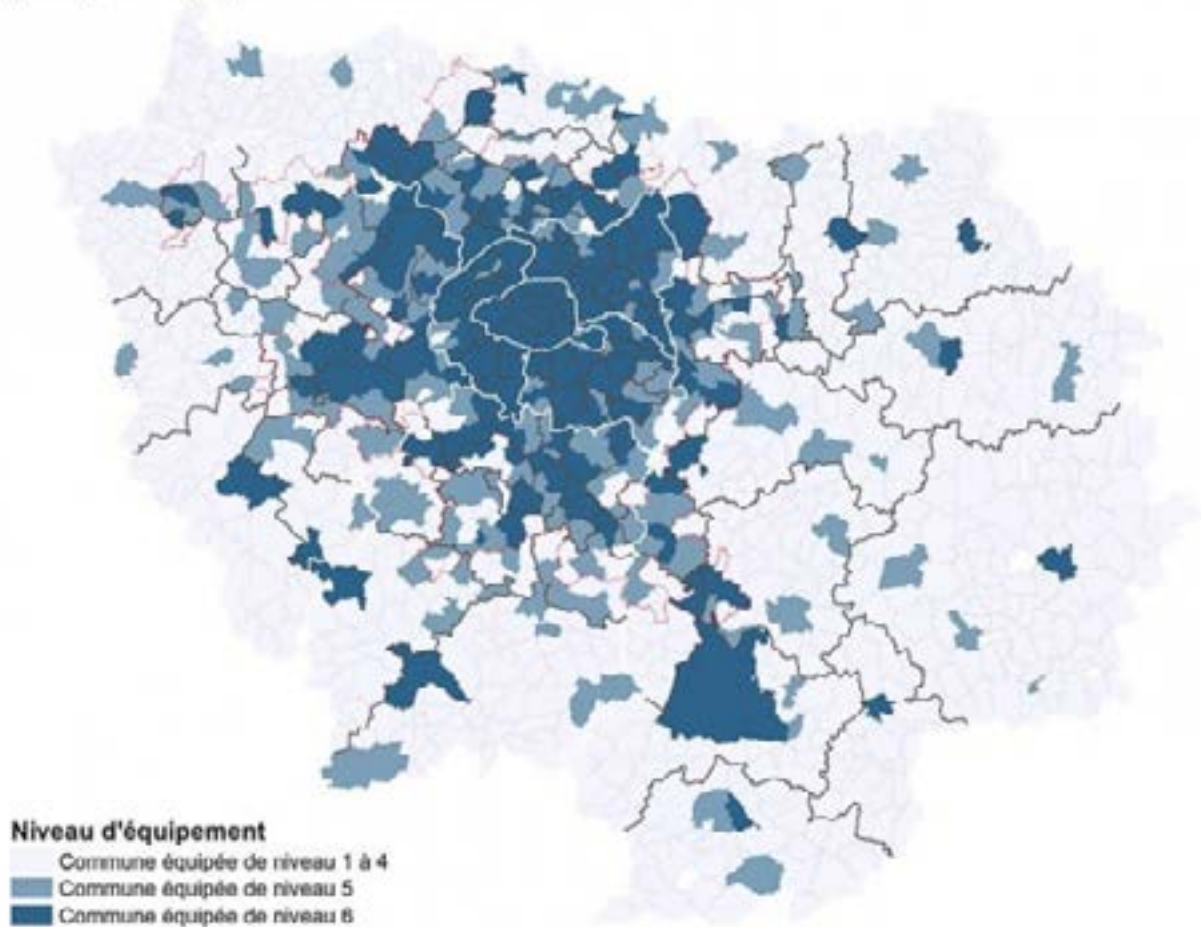
The degree to which municipalities of the Île-de-France are equipped is defined as follows:

“the supply of facilities has been taken into account through a typology of 6 classes summarizing the overall state of infrastructure in Île-de-France municipalities”.

This typology reflects the wide range of facilities and services available in the municipality for various sectors: early childhood, education and training, health, shops, sports facilities and cultural facilities.” Martine Berger, Mireille Bouleau and Catherine Mangeney. (2015). “Les périurbains franciliens : vers de nouveaux comportements de mobilité?”. EchoGéo.

The notion of a living area is particularly relevant in these territories, which are characterized by an overlapping of scales. In these municipalities, the presence of facilities and services is heterogeneous and certain infrastructure categories are severely lacking, such as in the health sector.

Typologie d'équipements des communes



Typology of municipal infrastructures (Source: Martine Berger et al., 2015)

In the Île-de-France, peri-urban commerce cannot be reduced to the outer limits of the peri-urban city, which has led to the idea of “France Moche” or Ugly France

Commerce in town centres

Some villages or small towns in the fringes still have dynamic commercial activity. This is the case in the municipality of Houdan, for example, which has more than a hundred shops for 3,500 inhabitants, a very high number! While these shops attract people who live within the municipality, they also attract those from afar, in particular inhabitants of the urban agglomeration who prefer to shop in small towns (as Claire Aragau has noted).

Small towns outside the Île-de-France (such as Montargis, Sens and Senlis) are also frequented by inhabitants of the region’s fringes, who sometimes prefer them to Paris for leisure activities that they do not have nearby (theatre, concerts, etc.). Thus living scales are multiple and vary from one inhabitant to another, depending on their desires and needs.

Non-profit and community businesses

It is true, however, that many fringe municipalities have experienced a significant decline in commercial activity in recent years, which continues for some. While there has been a revival of local shops in some areas (particularly in the Yvelines), this is not the case everywhere. To combat the loss of these local shops and the increased commercial vacancies, some elected officials are trying to find solutions, such as leaseholds for a symbolic euro or the establishment of community cafés within the municipality.



The Ugly France for Têlerama (source : Têlerama)



Downtown Houdan and its vibrant commercial activities (Source: Normandy newspaper)



The community café La Cabane in Butry-sur-Oise, which is financed by the municipality and run by professionals

The Action Cœur de Ville campaign

“The Action Cœur de Ville campaign responds to a twofold ambition: to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of medium-sized cities and to strengthen their role as the driving force behind the development of the territory. If a medium-sized city centre is doing well, the entire living area, including its rural component, benefits. Developed in consultation with the association Villes de France, as well as local elected officials and economic actors, the programme aims to facilitate and support the work of local authorities; encourage housing, commerce and urban planning actors to reinvest in town centres; and encourage the maintenance or establishment of activities in the heart of the city in order to improve living conditions in medium-sized cities.”

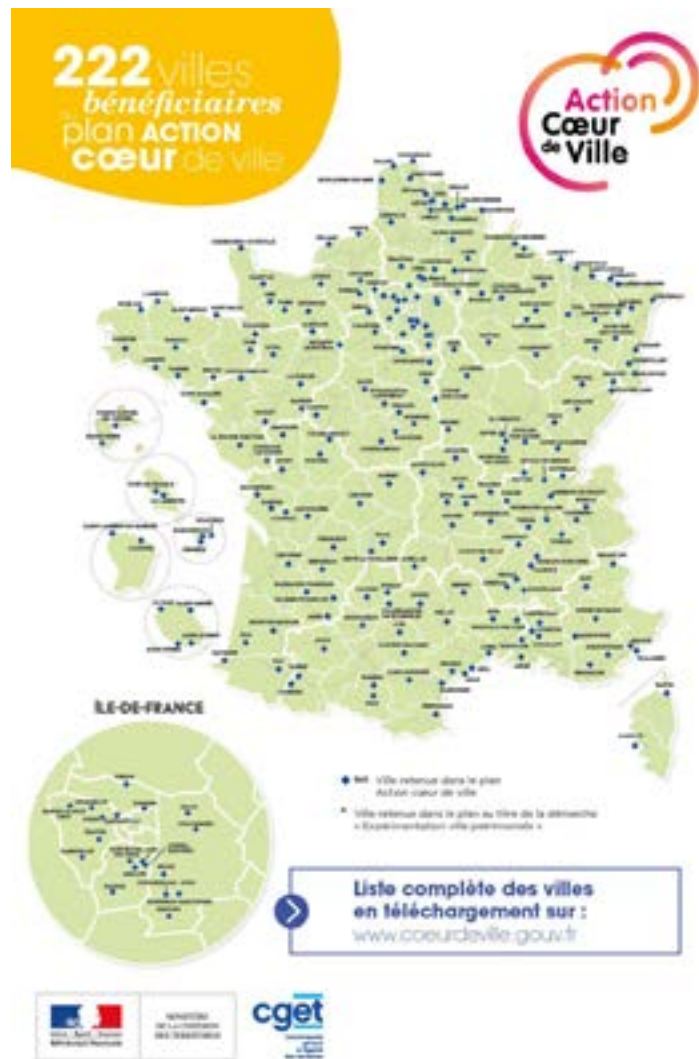
source : <http://www.cohesion-territoires.gouv.fr/programme-action-coeur-de-ville-la-grande-transformation-pour-les-centres-villes-demarre>

To ensure this revitalization, each agreement will be based on 5 structuring axes:

- From rehabilitation to restructuring: towards an attractive housing offer in the city centre
- Fostering balanced economic and commercial development
- Developing accessibility, mobility and connections
- Showcasing urban forms, public spaces and heritage
- Providing access to public facilities and services

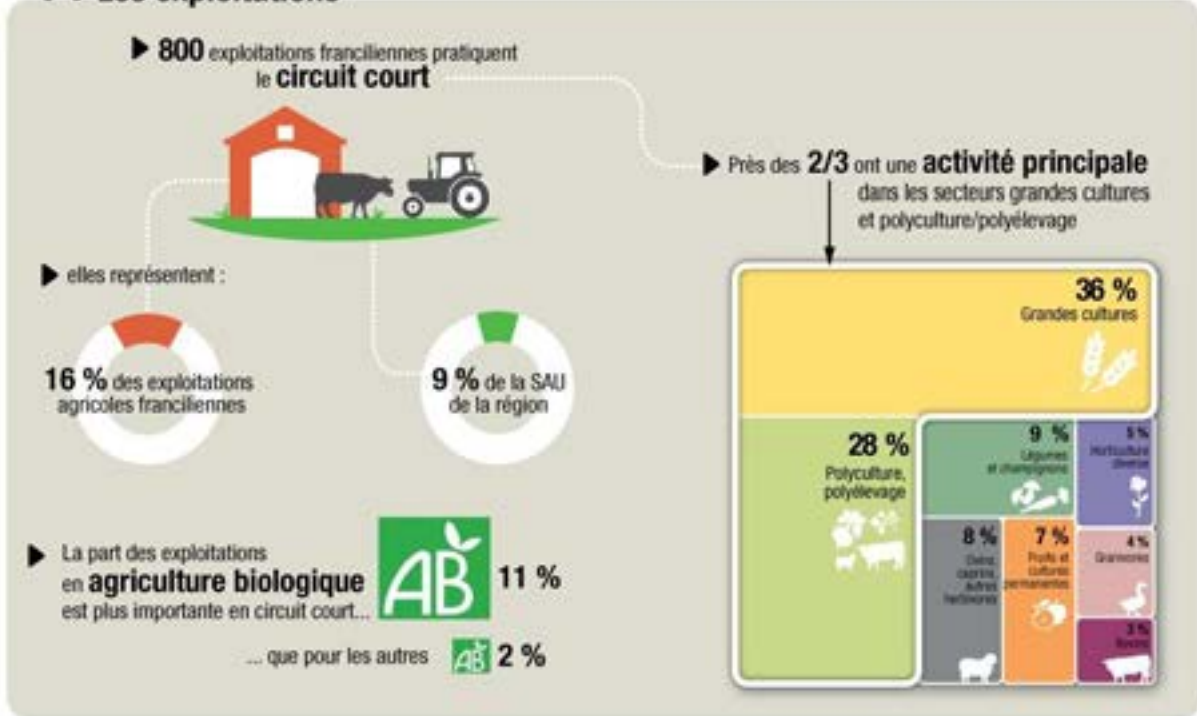
source : <http://www.cohesion-territoires.gouv.fr/programme-action-coeur-de-ville-la-grande-transformation-pour-les-centres-villes-demarre>

Action Cœur de Ville focuses on important polarities. In addition to the campaign, the IDF Region also supports commercial revitalization by supporting businesses in small municipalities.



Direct sales

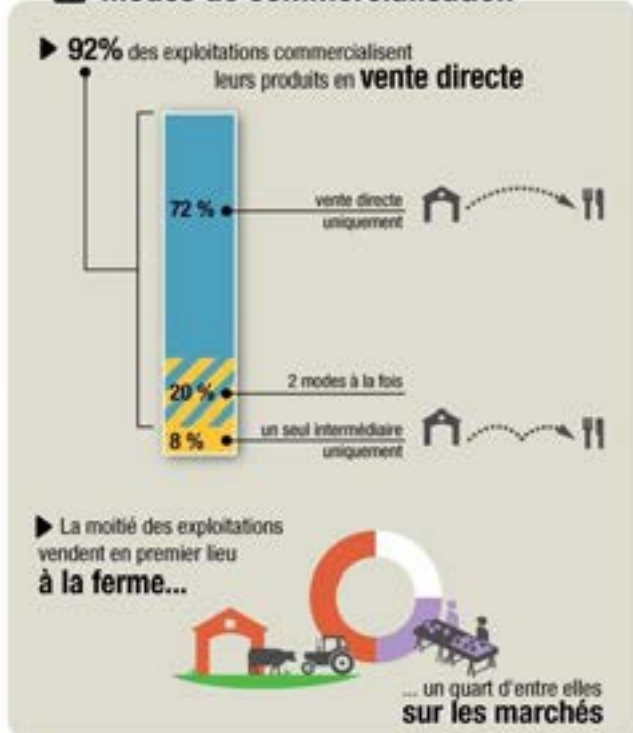
Les exploitations



Localisation



Modes de commercialisation



Produits commercialisés



Chiffre d'affaires



Source : IAU

The proximity of these agricultural areas can be seen as a means of facilitating local food systems in the case of a largely globalized agricultural industry. As we have already mentioned, agriculture is a structuring element in the life of the fringes. Thus, 16% of agricultural holdings (9% of the SAU) are part of local food systems in the Île-de-France, and are mainly located in the fringes of the urban area.

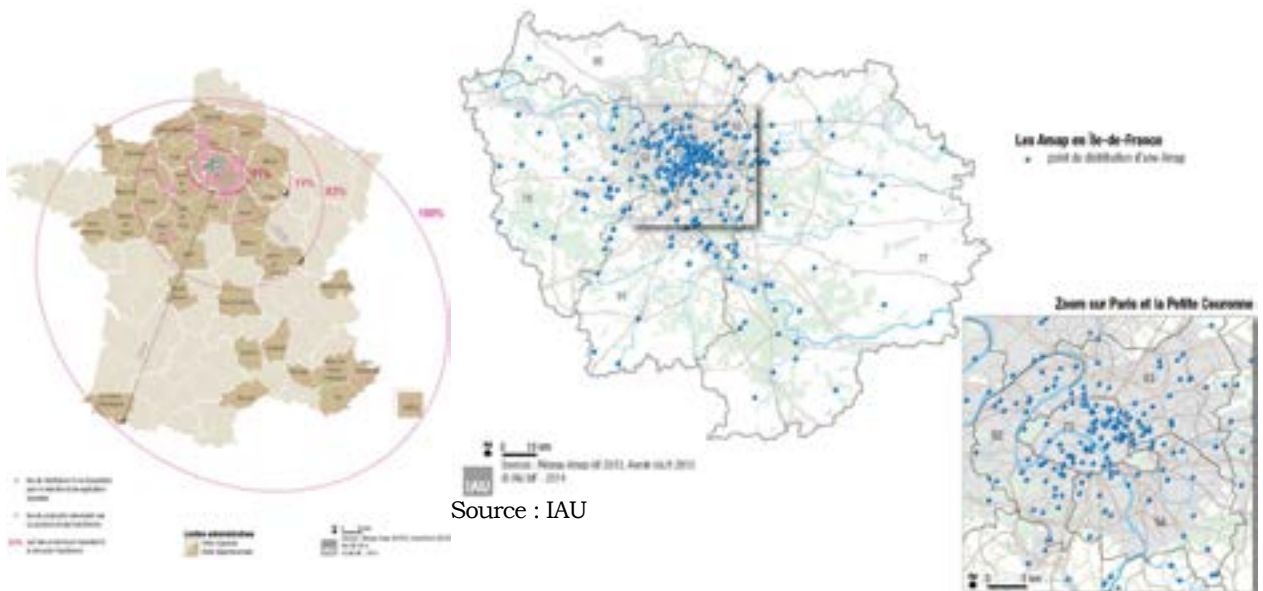
The most preferred marketing methods are direct sales at farms, at shops or through vending machines that offer 24-hour access. Others prefer farmers' markets (25%) or AMAPs, which are present in the fringes, but which also supply the city and its urban area.



Fruit and vegetable vending machine (Source: Laure Thévenot, IAU-IDF)



An AMAP (Source: C. Legenne, IAU-IDF)



Source : IAU

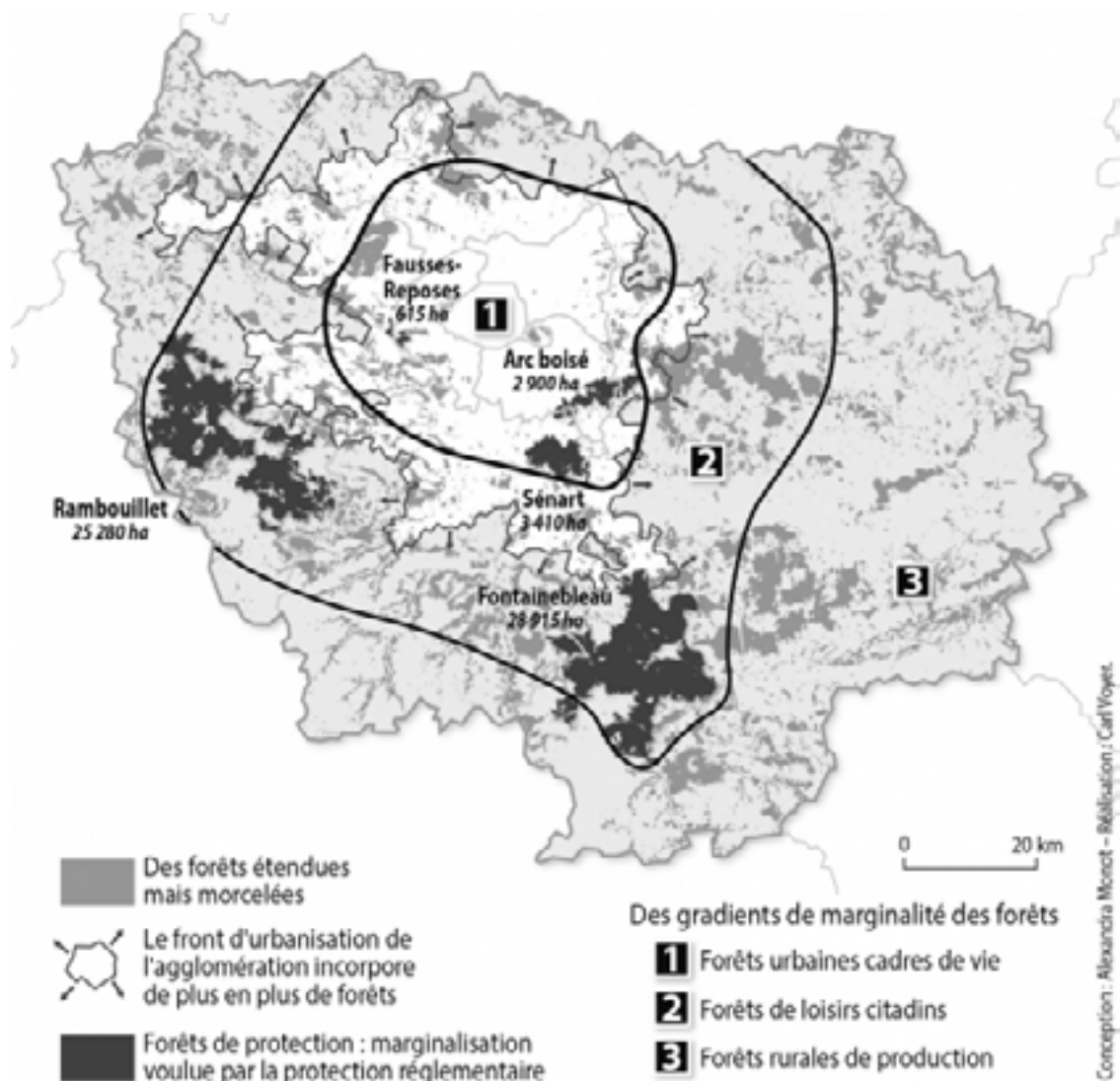
The fringes, resource spaces for the urban area

Leisure and recreational areas

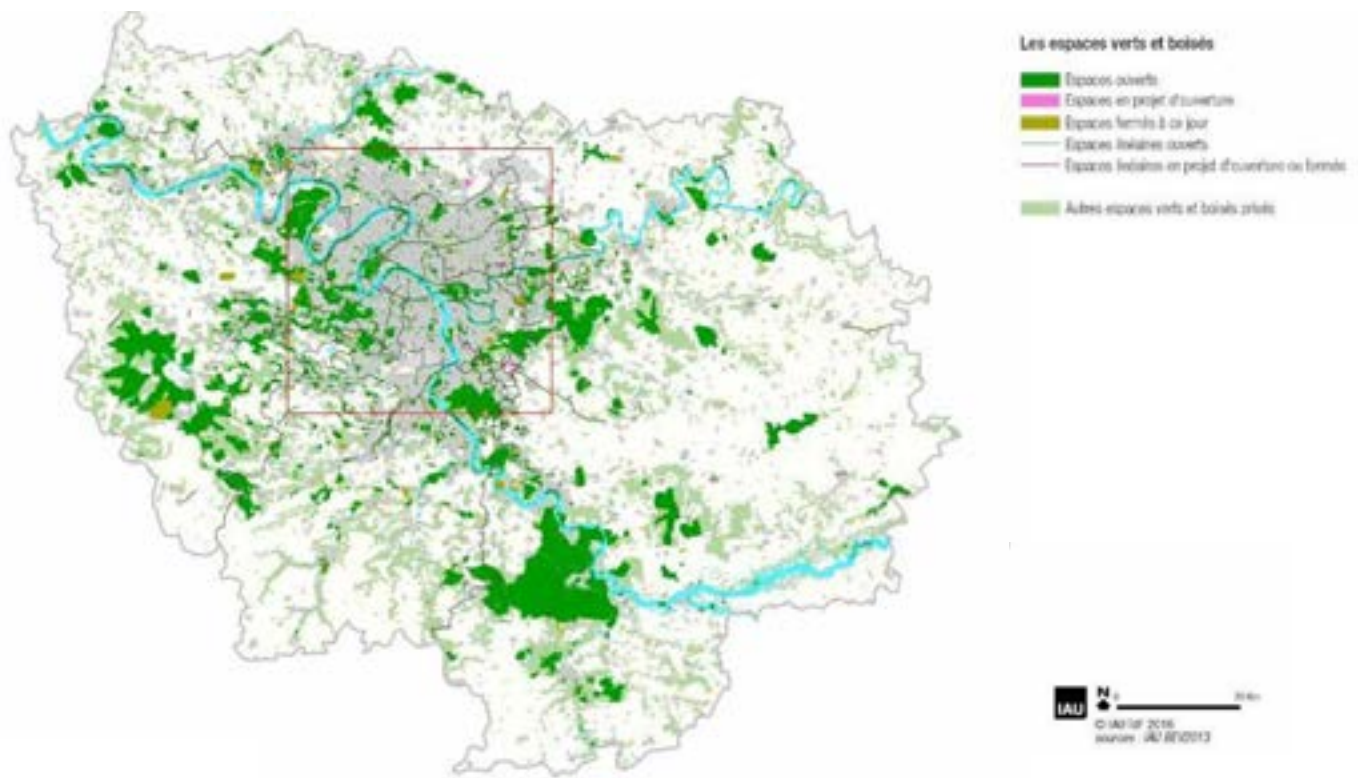
We previously mentioned the “barbecue effect”, which consists of urbanites having a high degree of leisure mobility in contrast to peri-urban populations. Some of these leisure activities take place in the fringes of the urban area. The regional nature parks and the various forests beyond the urban agglomeration’s limits are ideal areas for Sunday hikes, bolstered all the more by the development of cycling tourism in the region.

The rise of “slow tourism” is also being seen in the départements of the outer

suburbs as an opportunity to enhance the value of the tourism resources of their territories. It is not only a question of enticing French or international tourists attracted by the Île-de-France’s landscapes and the architecture of its villages, hamlets, small towns and châteaux, but also of attracting Île-de-France’s own residents in search of active leisure activities, in particular, and those wishing to limit their mobility by plane and car. The Seine-et-Marne is particularly active in these efforts.



Forests in the Île-de-France’s peri-urban areas and margins (Source: Alexandra Monot)



Green and wooded areas in the Île-de-France (IAU-IDF, 2016)



Piste cyclable la Véloscénie à Rambouillet (78)
(crédits photos : David Darault)



Sentier à Montigny-le-Bretonneux (78)
(crédits photos : Ville de Montigny)



La forêt de Saint-Germain-en-Laye (78)
(crédits photos : ONF)



Escalade en forêt de Fontainebleau (77)
www.fontainebleau-tourisme.com



Parc naturel régional du gâtinais
<http://www.parc-gatinais-francais.fr>



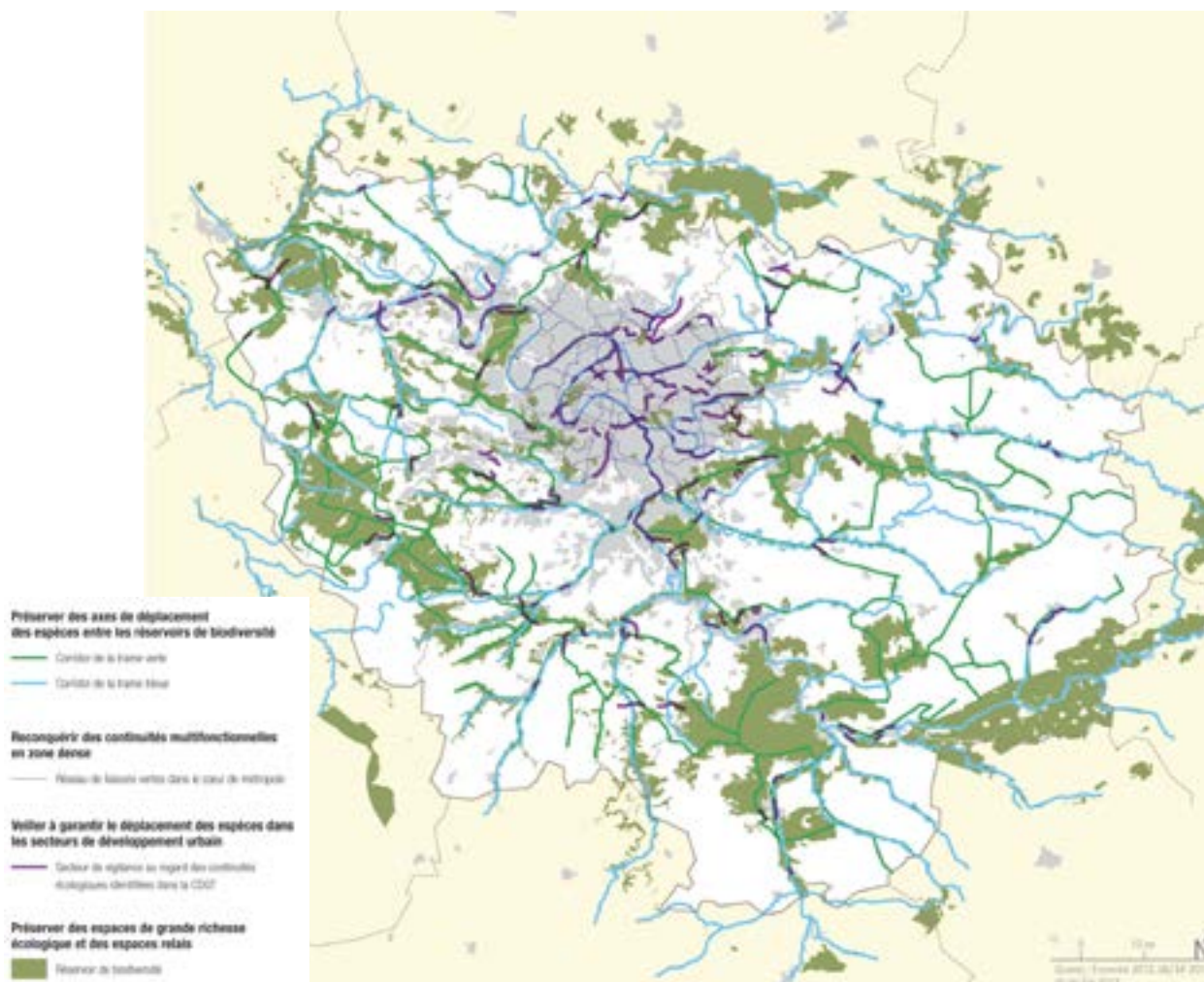
Le Parc de la Haute Vallée de Chevreuse
(crédits photos : PNR Haute Vallée de Chevreuse)

Ecological continuities and biodiversity

Beyond their role as leisure and recreational areas, these are open spaces that provide ecological and ecosystem services which are necessary for the Parisian urban agglomeration. The farther one moves away from the Paris Region, the more biodiversity is important.

While land cultivated for large-scale conventional agriculture can undermine some of these continuities, for many, these territories are important resources.

“Thus, in the region’s forests, the number of plant and animal species decreases as we get closer to the heart of the urban area: we move from large biologically rich massifs (Rambouillet, Fontainebleau), to massifs with an ecological balance (Ferrières, Crécy), then to forests closer to urbanization (Saint-Germain, Meudon), and finally to forest parks (La Poudrerie in Sevrans)”
(Source: Booklet 2, SDRIF 2014).



Ecological continuities (Source: Booklet 2, SDRIF 2014)

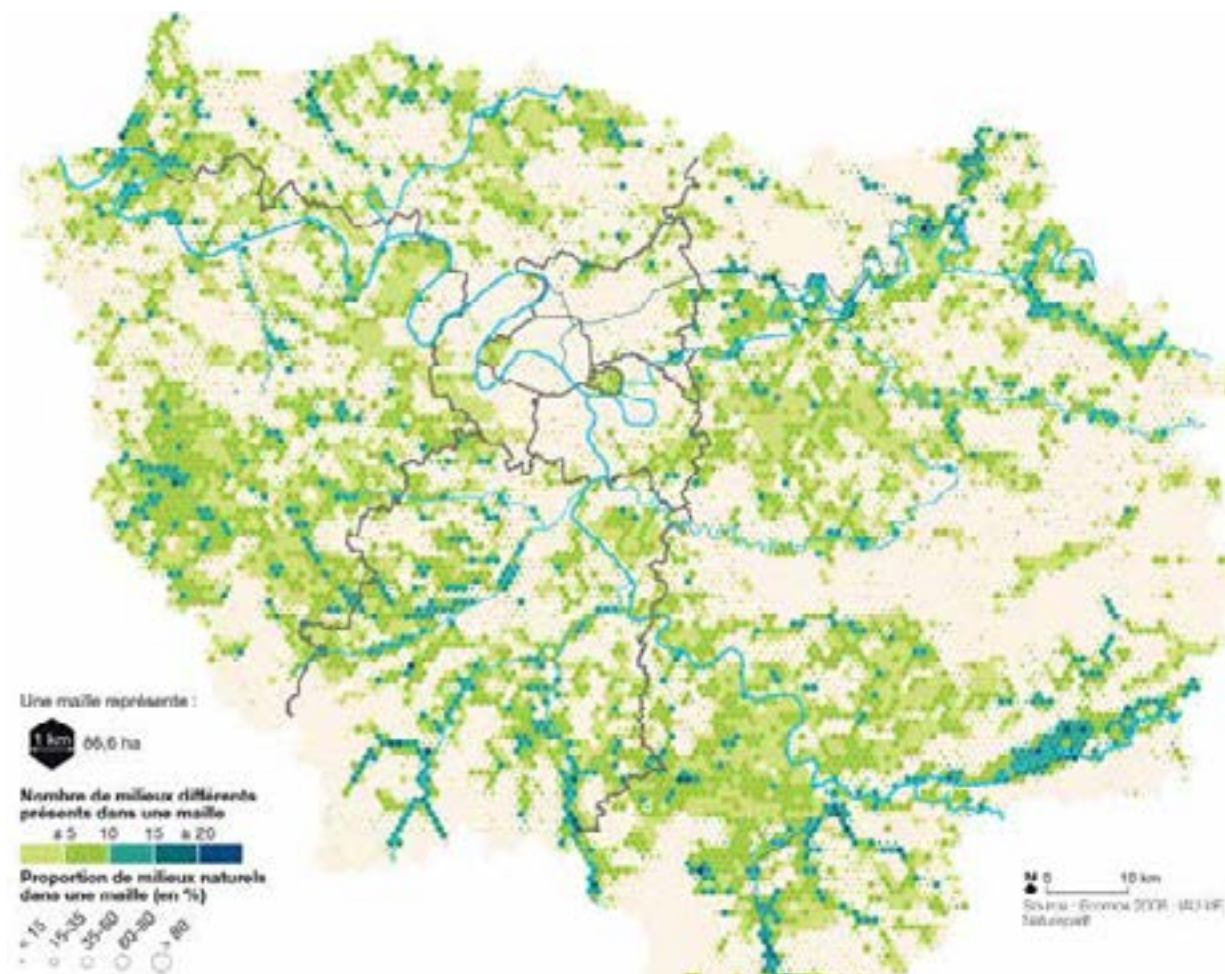
Three-quarters of the Île-de-France territory is covered by natural or semi-natural areas

While artificial spaces (housing, industries, transportation infrastructures) occupy 23% of the regional territory, 77% of the land is composed of natural or semi-natural spaces. These are all places of nature that the people of the Île-de-France could potentially benefit from.

The diversity of Île-de-France's natural environments

The ECOMOS list of different natural environments:

- prairies
- forests
- shrub and/or herbaceous vegetation environments
- wetlands



Distribution and diversity of the Île-de-France's natural environments (IAU-IDF, 2015)

Natural areas essential to the region's ecological balance

Fifty per cent (50%) of these natural areas are dedicated to agriculture and 27% represent forests and semi-natural areas: 261,000 ha of woodland, 8,342 km of rivers and canals and just over 800 ha of wet meadows.

Wooded areas, places of biodiversity to be protected

"24% of the territory is covered by afforestation" and "68% of biodiversity reservoirs are located in forests" (IAU-IDF, 2018).

Rare wetlands to be preserved

"About 30,000 ponds should exist in the Île-de-France, half of them in the forest" and there should be 36% more bodies of water in 30 years (IAU IDF, 2018).



Fragmentation of afforested areas by major transportation infrastructure and urbanization (IAU-IDF, 2018)



Concentration of ponds per sector (IAU-IDF, 2018)

Ecological continuities to be reinforced

Fifteen thousand kilometres (15,000 km) of ecological corridors have been identified by the Regional Scheme for Ecological Coherence (SRCE) (IAU-IDF, 2015).



Ecological continuities in the Île-de-France (IAU-IDF, 2015)

Blue-green infrastructure

Blue-green infrastructure (BGI or TVB in France) is a multiform and polysemic concept that is difficult to define. It has been the subject of various conceptualizations and since 2007 has officially been designated as one of the France's major national projects resulting from the Grenelle Environnement debate.

It corresponds to the network of biological corridors (or ecological corridors), considered as "biodiversity reservoirs". According to the Grenelle II law, "the objective of blue-green infrastructure is to halt the loss of biodiversity by contributing to the preservation, management and restoration of the environments necessary for ecological continuity, while taking into account human activities, and in particular agricultural activities, in rural areas" (Art. L371-1).

The "green" infrastructure corresponds to natural and semi-natural terrestrial environments and the "blue" infrastructure refers to the aquatic and wetland network (rivers, wetlands, estuaries, etc.).

The disappearance of flora and fauna

The Île-de-France region has lost 1/4 of its birds over the past 15 years. It is worth noting that there were "73% fewer sparrows in Paris between 2003 and 2016" and "41% fewer common birds specific to the built-up landscape between 2004 and 2017" (IAU-IDF, 2018).

Insects, such as butterflies, dragonflies and bees, have also seen their numbers decrease over the years. Various species of reptiles and amphibians are currently threatened with extinction in the Île-de-France.

Furthermore, "only 1/4 of the 130 plant species associated with harvests have not seen their populations decline or disappear" (IAU-IDF, 2018).

The worrying state of the rivers

According to a study carried out by the Direction Régionale et Interdépartementale de l'Environnement et de l'Energie (DRIEE), the situation of the Île-de-France's waterways is a cause for concern. While the ecological state of some of the rivers in the outer suburbs is considered "good", the large rivers in the Île-de-France, such as the Seine, are deemed "average" and small rivers are listed as "bad" or even "mediocre".

The installation of major wastewater treatment stations has made it possible in recent decades to improve the situation, but small sources of pollution — from agriculture or those linked to the practices of inhabitants and their lifestyles — remain high in such a densely populated region.



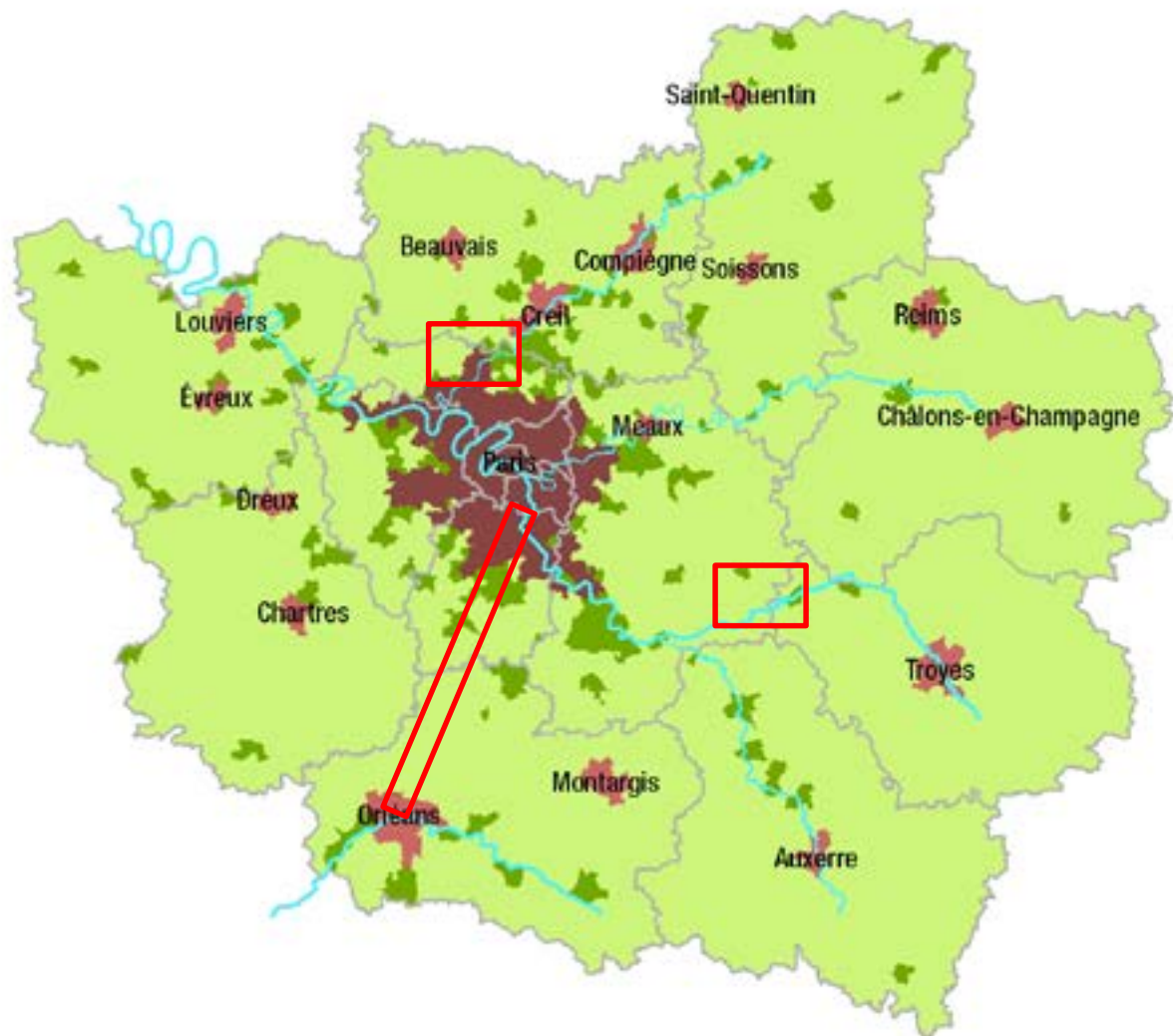
Proportion of threatened species by taxonomic groups in the Île-de-France (IAU-IDF, 2017)

In conclusion, far from the dominant representations that make the fringes a completely car-dependent space where only families with children live in single-family detached houses surrounded by a garden, the fringes of the urban agglomeration are in fact diverse spaces that are further diversifying, both in terms of their populations and in the modes of living, travelling, eating and consuming that are proliferating inside their borders.

Many alternative modes are being strongly supported or even led by the municipalities involved, and we are witnessing the emergence of highly dynamic territories, energized by local initiatives such as Les Hauts Lieux de la Transition.

But not all fringe territories have the same difficulties to face, nor the same solutions to address them, as we will now see through the presentation of three different territories:

- **The Bassée-Montois,**
- **The Oise Valley,**
- **The length of the RN20.**



Typologie

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| ■ 1 - villages | ■ agglomération de Paris | | |
| ■ 2 - bourgs et petites villes | ■ 4 - autres grandes agglomérations | | |

© IAU ÎDF 2018
sources : INSEE, découpage communal 2017

CHAPTER 5

THREE TERRITORIES OF EXPERIMENTATION FOR THE WORKSHOP

The Oise Valley,

The Bassée-Montois,

The length of the RN20.

CHAPTER 5

THREE TERRITORIES OF EXPERIMENTATION FOR THE WORKSHOP

The Oise Valley

Description:

Important cities: Persan, Beaumont-sur-Oise, Chambly, Presles.

The territory straddles:

- Two regional natural parks (Vexin Français PNR, Oise-Pays de France PNR)
- Two regions (Île-de-France, Hauts-de-France)
- Two départements (Oise and Val-d'Oise)

It covers several inter-municipalities:

In the Île-de-France: Cergy-Pontoise, Sausseron Impressionnistes, Haut Val d'Oise, Vallée de l'Oise et des Trois Forêts, Carnelle Pays-de-France.

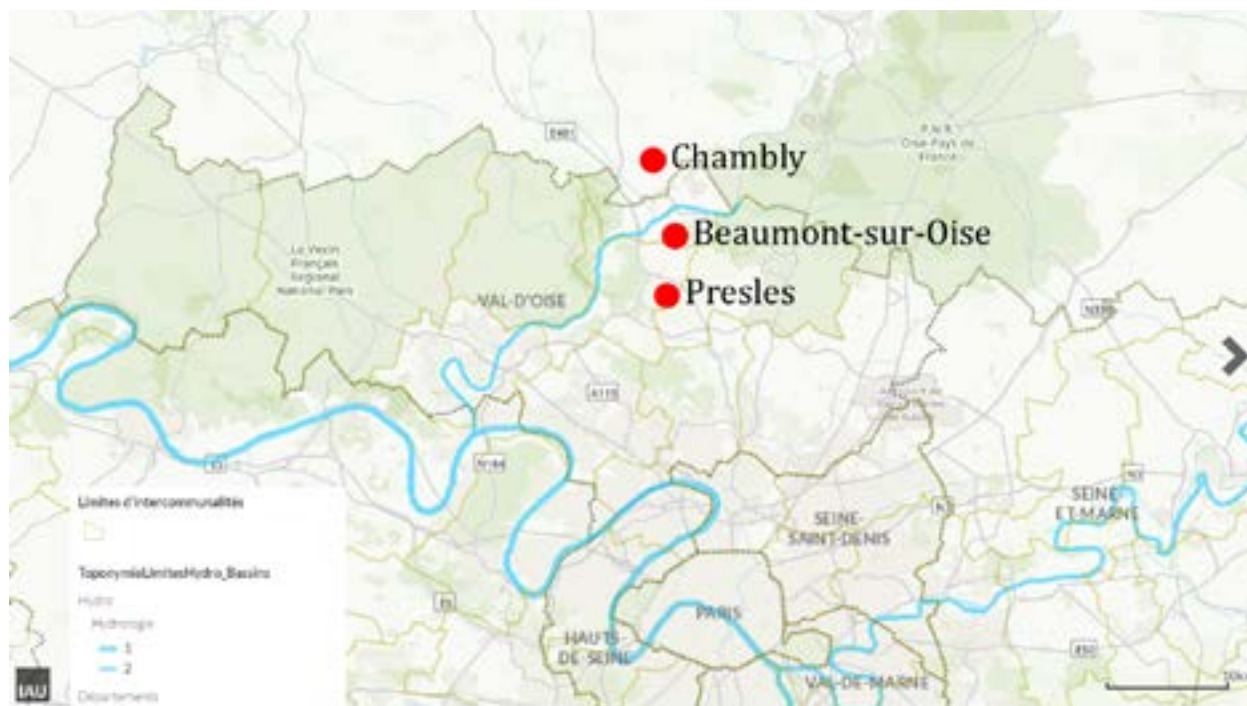
In the Oise, we will focus mainly on the Pays de Thelle et Ruraloise inter-municipal community.

This territory is the subject of few

common or shared visions, which makes it difficult to obtain data on this territorial perimeter. However, we have delimited it into 23 municipalities.¹

Number of inhabitants: 119,337
inhabitants / Population density: 588
inhabitants/hectare

¹ In the Oise: Lamorlay, Gouvieux, Boran-sur-Oise, Chambly, Morangles, Précý-sur-Oise, le Mesnil-en-Thelle; and in the Val-d'Oise: Auvers-sur-Oise, Beaumont-sur-Oise, Bernes-sur-Oise, Bruyères-sur-Oise, Butry-sur-Oise, Champagne-sur-Oise, L'Isle-Adam, Mériel, Méry-sur-Oise, Noisy-sur-Oise, Mours, Nointel, Parmain, Persan, Presles, Valmondois



The Oise Valley (Source: CD 95 and IAU)

An important transportation route, a strong link to Paris

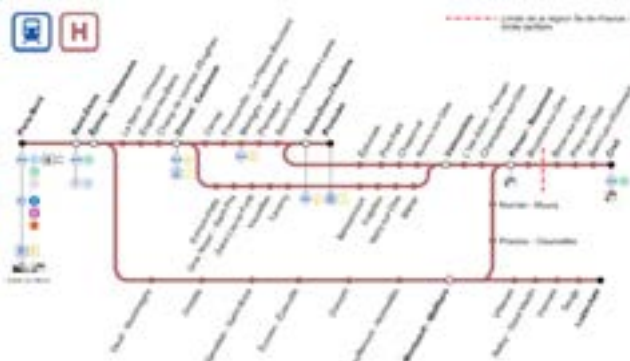
The Oise Valley is an axis marked by the presence of important road, motorway and rail infrastructures. The link to Paris is thus faster than in other territories, but these infrastructures generate significant landscape discontinuities, going so far as to cut off some cities from their link to the Oise.

Despite good connections, particularly with the Transilien H, which puts this area 30 minutes from the Gare du Nord in Paris via the Persan-Beaumont station, most working people prefer to use cars for their home-work commutes and most inhabitants (89%) have a minimum of one car. With the Grand Paris Express, these territories will become more inter-connected with the rest of the Île-de-France.

The quality of its connection to the centre of the metropolis has also guided economic activities, such as manufacturing and industrial activities tied to the metropolitan area: the river axis is already partly used for freight transport, but is expected to be even more so in the coming years.



Good rail service (Source: Géoportail)



The H line of the Transilien (Source: SNCF)



Connection between Beaumont-sur-Oise and Paris (Source: Beaumont-sur-Oise)

An industrial valley with a significant presence of ZAEs

A territory of contrasts, the Oise Valley is marked by significant social disparities between wealthy municipalities and others that are much less so. If we compare the median disposable income of three municipalities in the valley, it is 35% lower in Persan than in Valmondois (17,618€ compared to 28,082€). Similarly, the poverty rate is 22.9% in Persan, 16.1% in Beaumont-sur-Oise and only 7.9% in Isle Adam. These few indicators highlight the diversity of the municipalities' situations.

While in all of the municipalities, individual housing dominates, Beaumont-sur-Oise and Chambly have a significant proportion of collective housing, due to their pasts as relatively significant urban centres. Finally, Persan has a large apartment housing complex that was built in 1967 and is home to more than a third of the municipal population — and which should be the subject of a rehabilitation programme in the coming years.

Between its industrial territories, activity zones, valley and hillside landscapes and location near two regional natural parks, the Oise Valley is a complex and diverse territory!



(source : Bruyère-sur-Oise)



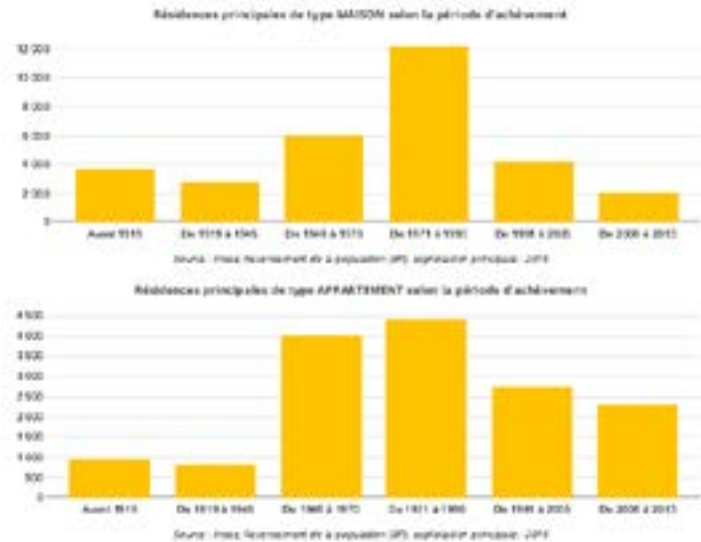
Industrial activities on north (source : SDRIF 2014)

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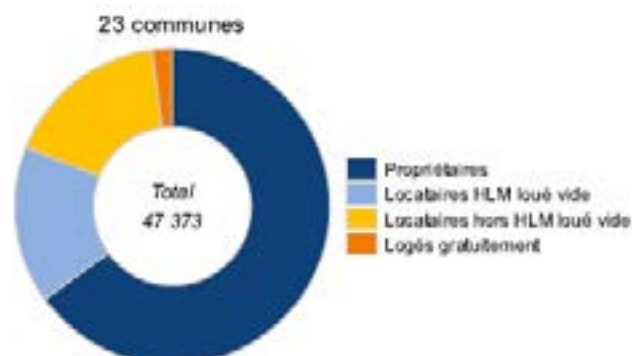
Age of the housing stock (Source: INSEE, personal treatment)



The Oise Valley, a territory of contrasts (Source: CD 95, Bruyères-sur-Oise)



A village in Persan, a city with a large complex of more than 1,000 housing units (Source: Le Parisien)



Principal residences by occupation status (Source: INSEE, personal treatment)

The Bassée-Montois (CCBM), a territory of major ecological and scenic interest in the middle of a city network

Description :

Number of inhabitants: 23,491 inhabitants spread across 42 municipalities within a single intermunicipality.

Population density: 55 inhab/km²

Two (2) municipalities of more than 2,000 inhabitants:

- Bray-sur-Seine: 2,270 inhabitants
- Donnemarie-Dontilly: 2,972 inhabitants

Moderate population evolution between 1999 and 2014:

- CCBM: + 10,2%
- Seine-et-Marne: + 13,6%

High proportion of over-60s:

- CCBM: 23%
- Seine-et-Marne: 18%

Le parc de logements



> 8% de logements vacants

- 14,3% à Bray-sur-Seine
- + 125 lgs. vacants entre 2009 et 2014

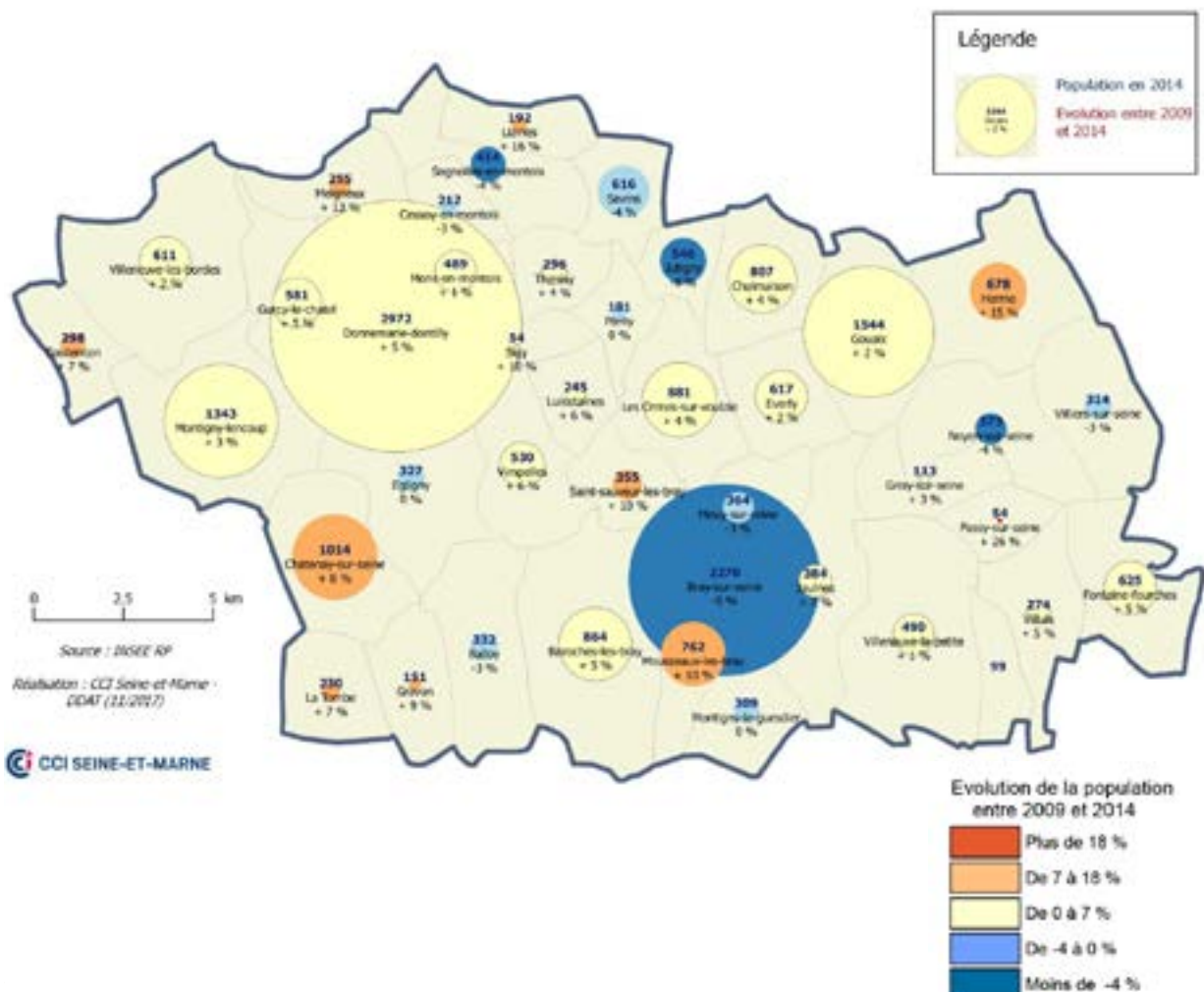
> 80% de résidences principales
> 92% de maisons individuelles
> 80% de propriétaires

> Résidentialisation du camping des Prés de la Fontaine (Gouaix et Hermé)

- Augmentation « artificielle » du nombre résidences secondaires

> 32% du parc locatif et 54% du parc social est concentré à Bray-sur-Seine
> 9% de locatif dans les communes rurales : une offre encore timide
> Une vraie demande en logement social : 27 attributions pour 80 demandes en 2015

Structure of the housing stock (Source: CC la Bassée-Montois PLUi report, 2018)



Population evolution in the Bassée-Montois (Source: CC la Bassée-Montois PLUi report, 2018)

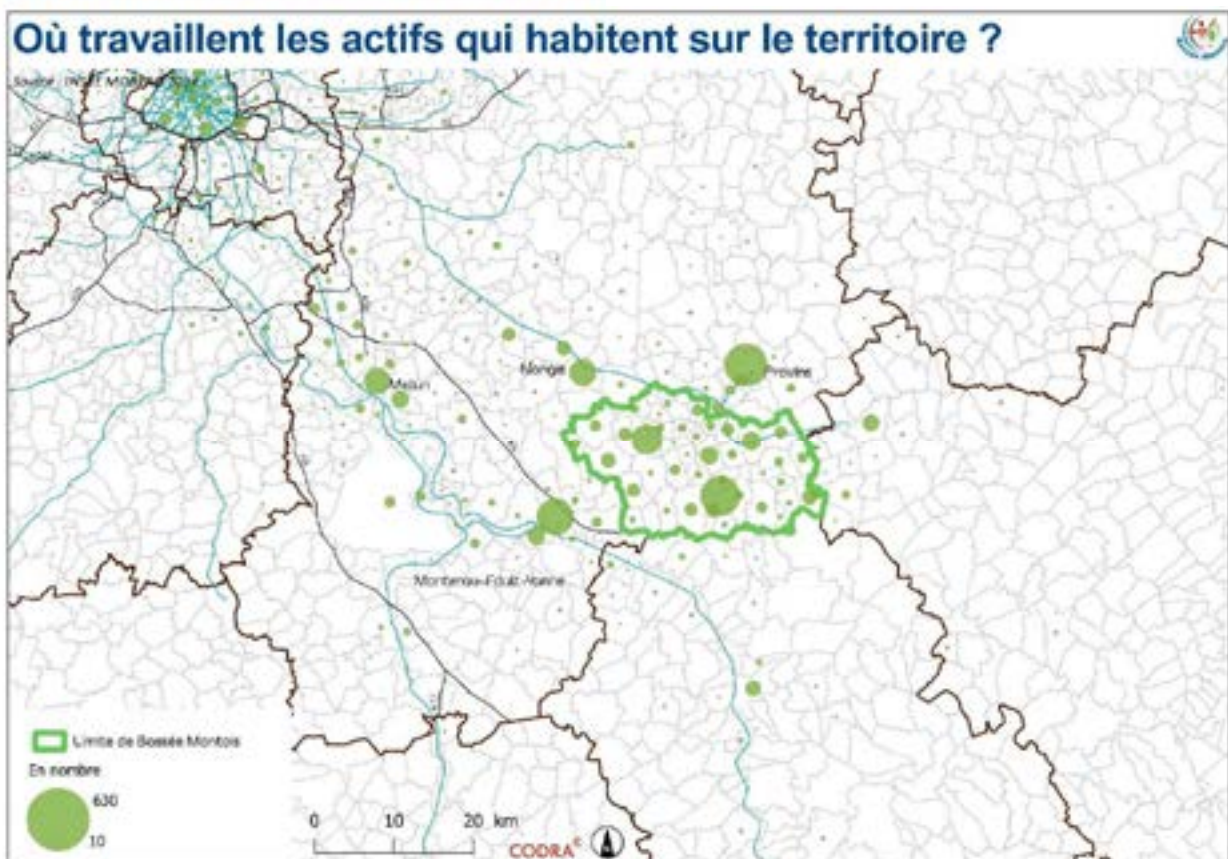
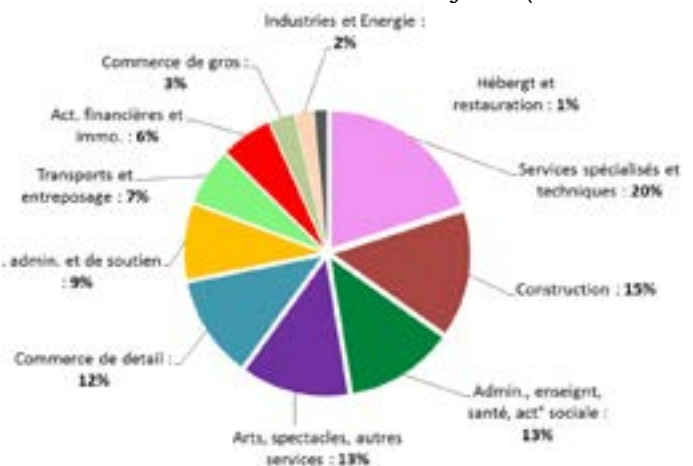
Territory at the limits of the Île-de-France, in a situation of interdependence with the Parisian urban agglomeration

In terms of employment, the Bassée has experienced economic development mainly oriented towards Greater Paris: it is historically a territory of aggregate production in the Seine Valley that continues to supply metropolitan worksites.

A significant proportion of its working population works in the intermunicipal community (17%). A connected territory, 21% of the working population works in nearby employment centres (Nangis, Provins, Montereau, Melun). Finally, 31% of the working population works across the intermunicipal structure, mainly in Bray-sur-Seine and Donnemarie-Dontilly. In 2014, there were 11,098 workers across the CCBM, 9,958 workers with a job and 4,494 jobs in the intermunicipal territory.

The CCBM also hosts approximately 1,400 external workers.

Despite everything, the intermunicipal community is losing jobs: in five years, it has lost 5% of its salaried jobs (i.e. 151



(Source: CC la Bassée-Montois PLUi report, 2018)

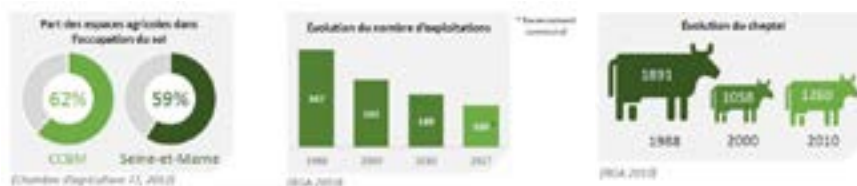
Territory of major ecological and scenic interest



(Source: CC la Bassée-Montois PLUi report, 2018)

The landscape of the Bassée-Montois is essentially one of agriculture, with conventional large-scale farming and cattle breeding.

The built landscape is of high quality: the villages have maintained their excellent architecture. So far, there has been little urban sprawl or new constructions, although developments are underway.



A landscape of flavours: AOPs (Brie de Meaux, Brie de Melun), a IGP (Brilla-Savarin).



Above all, it has a rich natural heritage, with wetlands, significant forest areas and recognized and well preserved areas (ZNIEFF). The challenges of preserving species are numerous and the territory is confronted with the difficulties of creating ecological corridors in certain areas (disruptions linked to infrastructure and field crops with low biodiversity).

CC la Bassée-Montois PLUi report, 2018

Territory without any real centre, at the heart of a city network

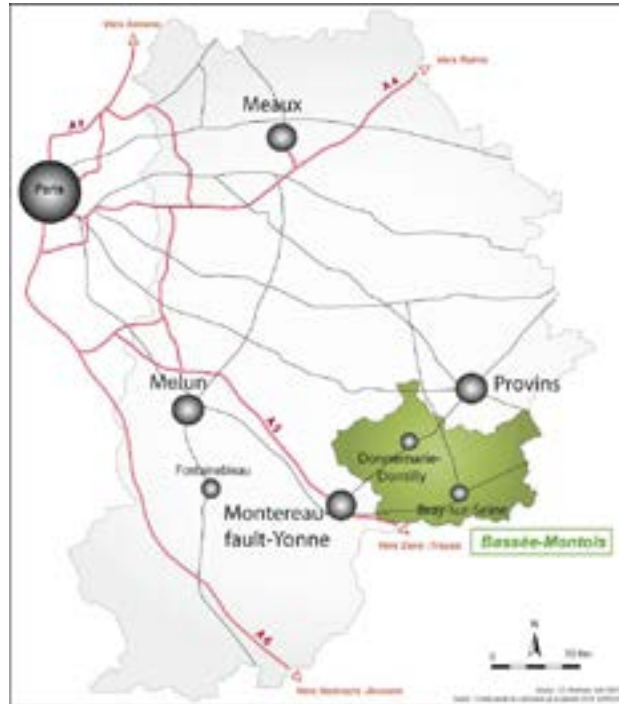
A “Territories Workshop” was held in the Bassée-Montois in 2018 and identified the issues facing the territory:

“Without an urban centre or real centrality, how can the economic transformation that is taking place be transcended in which this diffuse territorial ensemble can be given shape in an endogenous development strategy that aims to bolster the notion of living together?” (Territories Workshop, 2018).

The functioning of this territory is indeed a network, structured by the influence of the Parisian metropolis, but also by a network of secondary cities (Montereau, Provins, Melun, Sens, etc.), where part of the territory’s working population is employed and which also attracts residents for their leisure activities. All this leads to a high level of motorization in this territory: 91% of households own at least 1 car and 50% own 2 or more. Seventy-seven per cent (77%) of home-work commutes are made by car, especially since there are no train/metro stations in the intermunicipal territory.

The two most populated municipalities of the Bassée: Donnemarie-Dontilly and Bray-sur-Seine, struggle to be centralities for the territory, even if historically they were structured villages of importance. This classic function has been somewhat lost, as these municipalities continue to lose their businesses in number and diversity. Recent constructions (92% of the individual housing stock; a clear break with the historical forms of the villages) add to this loss of centrality.

In Nogent-sur-Seine, there is a project to build a broad-gauge crossing over the Seine. This is one of the challenges of this territory, whose port of Montereau was a major centre for the inland shipping industry of the Haute-Seine.



Geographic situation of the Bassée-Montois (Source: <http://cc-basseemontois.fr/acces-situation>)



Bray-sur-Seine (Source: <http://www.gites-braysurseine.fr/visite-de-bray-sur-seine/>)



Donnemarie-Dontilly (Source: <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donnemarie-Dontilly>)

The RN20, a road running between cities and countryside

Ancient Roman road turned national road

The Route Nationale 20 is an old Roman road, which has become — with some modifications — a national road. It connects Paris to the Spanish border some 864 km farther south. The part of this road that interests us goes from the edge of the Parisian urban agglomeration via Longjumeau to the city of Orléans. This road has since been downgraded and is now managed at the département level (it is now called RD2020 between the Île-de-France and Orléans). However, for convenience, we will continue to call it the RN20.

This road crosses many villages and a few towns (Arpajon, Etréchy, Etampes), but in the area of interest to us, it crosses many areas of large-scale agriculture. On this axis, one of the most congested in France, a route can be taken that highlights the contrasts between one fringe and another.



The RN20 from Paris to Orléans (Source: Géoportail and personal creation)



Old map of the RN20 (Source: <http://voiesanciennes.canalblog.com/>)



The RN20 seen from Etampes in the 1920s (Source: <http://www.corpusetampoais.com/>)

A city network across the RN20

At its start (at the Porte d'Orléans in Paris), the RN20 crosses dense or very dense spaces that are largely urbanized as well as suburban cities (Montrouge, Antony). As we move farther away from Paris, the urban density decreases: multi-storey buildings aligned on the street are followed by Faubourg buildings (suburban buildings), then the urban fabric becomes scattered, and we come across warehouses, houses, garages, etc. lining this national road that could almost be considered an infill.

As an important axis, the RN20 structures the habitat along its length, in the form of cities, but also roadside villages.



Densities along the RN20 in the Île-de-France (Source: IAU + personal creation)

Photos of the RN20 in Massy (x2), Boissy-sous-Saint-Yon et Monnerville (Source: Google Maps)

A landscape of large-scale agriculture

Leaving the Parisian urban agglomeration and moving farther and farther away from Paris, the RN20 crosses agricultural regions.

It first crosses the Hurepoix region, before reaching the Beauce.

In these two areas, the topography is flat and the horizons are wide open. It is a landscape all in horizontal that is punctuated by a few hedges and woodlands. These are relatively rare, as they constitute obstacles for intensive farming methods.

These cultivations are essentially large-scale cereal crops. This agricultural land is among the most fertile in France, often referred to as France's breadbasket, which explains the large number of villages scattered along the valleys, and especially around the RN20. These are also lands where wind turbines

have been installed, sometimes extensively.



Angerville, urban centre implanted in an agricultural plain (Source: ©Mairie d'Angerville / IAU, <https://www.iau-idf.fr/wp/interco/commune/91016/>)

Land-use pressure, roadway pressure

The municipalities along the RN20 are subject to significant land-use pressure. Their close proximity to Paris in the north and Orléans in the south reinforces this dynamic.

The nature of this pressure varies and is expressed differently depending on the urbanization of the municipality and its distance from the major centres of Paris and, to a lesser extent, Orléans. Thus, along the RN20, near these major centres, there is a dynamic of densification: for example, the demolition of the old Faubourg-style buildings and part of the residential district in Massy to build multi-storey, terraced buildings.

Farther from these centres, this pressure results in urban sprawl: the preserved agricultural land is gradually being built into subdivisions of individual houses. Land pressure also concerns the implantation of major companies, such as in the Artenay Poupry Business Park, which is located between the A10 motorway and the RN20 (RD2020).

The RN20 is both an opportunity (for development, quality roadway connections to

| ZA Artenay Poupry – en cours | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Vocation | Logistique |
| Superficie totale | 184 ha |
| Superficie disponible | 43,3 ha + 60 ha d'extension |
| Nombre d'établissements | En cours de commercialisation |
| Nombre d'emplois | À terme : environ 1 500 |



Artenay business park (source : <http://www.cc-beaucecloiretaine.fr>)

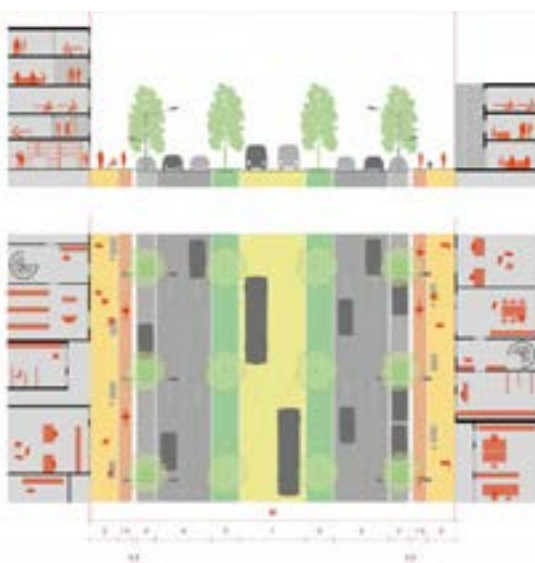
the centres, etc.) and a barrier (the national road generates noise and odour pollution). The maximum annual concentration of particles (PM10) along the RN20 at Boissy-sous-Saint-Yon was above 50 µg/m³ for 35 days, i.e. above the legal threshold (Source: PLU Boissy-sous-Saint-Yon). The high concentration of commercial lorries on this section is also a source of accidents.

Above all, the RN20 creates a strong urban discontinuity, acting as a barrier, which has destroyed the balance between the villages and the road that existed until then.

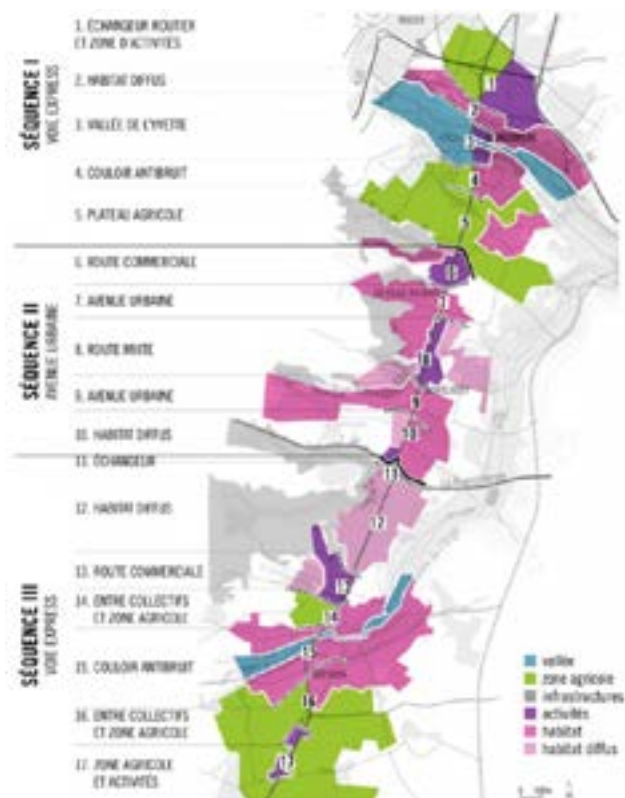
In the Essonne département, the concerns caused by this road have led to the creation of a public-private partnership, the Syndicat Mixte de la RN20, whose objective is to coordinate the redevelopment projects for the road. One of the first sections under study is between Massy and Arpajon. This redevelopment project aims to turn it into an “urban avenue” in order to reduce the impact of this discontinuity. Although the first sections concerned are near Paris, the RN20 is also an important discontinuity for the villages to the south of the axis.



Overview of the redevelopment of the RN20 (Source: <https://www.ap5.fr/>)



Overview of the redevelopment of the RN20 (Source: <https://www.ap5.fr/>)



Overview of the redevelopment of the RN20 (Source: <https://www.ap5.fr/>)

