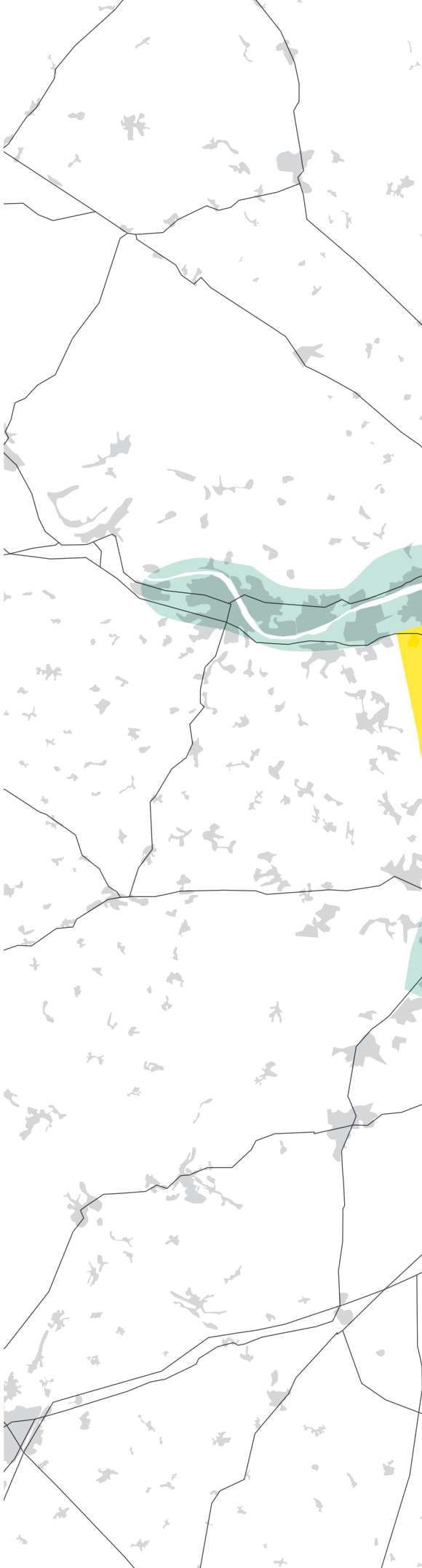


Main regional centrality

Paris and Saint-Denis have been structuring the region since the 12th century, Versailles has done so since the 17th century

Diffusion of economic and symbolic power of main centrality

Specialised regional centrality

Includes the La Défense business district, the airport business hubs, shopping malls, the centres of the villes nouvelles, the amusement park Eurodisney, the technopole Saclay and the Plaine Saint-Denis

Concentration of wealth

Densification of classic bourgeois neighbourhoods in the west of Paris, around Versailles and in former rural areas

Prospering upper-middle class

Longstanding processes of accumulation of wealth in morphologically diverse residential areas composed of dense urban neighbourhoods, zones with detached houses and villages in the urban periphery

Embourgeoisement

Longstanding process of reinvestment and upgrading of neighbourhoods in the city of Paris and the banlieue, often accompanied by radical transformation of their social composition and urban morphology

Metropolitan heterogeneity

Transformation of parts of the banlieue, leading to social, functional and morphological heterogeneity; resistance to rapid embourgeoisement due to the high number of existing grands ensembles

Post-proletarian

Concentration of poverty and racialised peripherali-sation in the fragmented and heterogeneous urban fabric of the northern and western parts of the red belt around the city of Paris

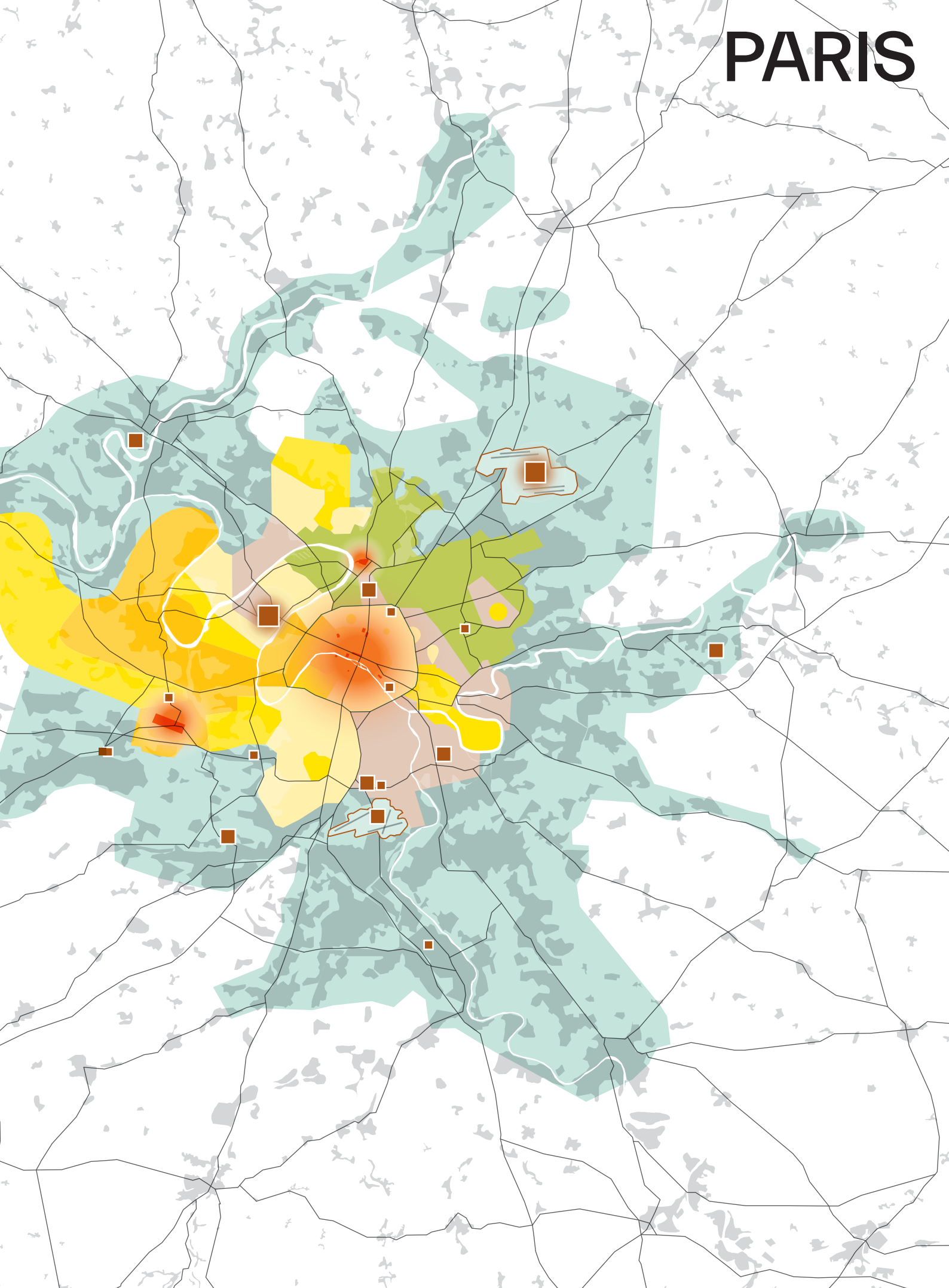
Multilayered patchwork urbanisation

A large-scale process of urban restructuring resulting in a patchwork of urban fragments with very different histories, dynamics, logics and functions

Airport

Urban footprint

0 5 10 20 km


PARIS

Christian Schmid
Anne Kockelkorn
Lara Belkind

The phantasmagoria of capitalist culture attained its most radiant unfurling in the World Exhibition of 1867. The Second Empire was at the height of its power. Paris was confirmed in its position as the capital of luxury and of fashion.

Walter Benjamin, *Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century,* 1969 [1938]

BETWEEN CENTRE AND PERIPHERY

It is difficult to write anything original or novel about a city that has always held an iconic place in the world's literature, painting, cinema, history, social sciences and urban design. To characterise the experience of Paris and to present it as an urban model is thus not the goal of this chapter. Rather, we analyse the main traits of the patterns and pathways of urbanisation that have unfolded in the Paris Region to identify specific aspects, moments and features that help us to better understand its contemporary urbanisation processes. Seen from this perspective, and in contrast to widespread assumptions, Paris is not an exemplary model for

urban development in general—even not for western Europe—but rather a very specific paradigm of urbanisation.

Paris has a long history dating from before the Roman era. Over this history, various structures became embedded and inscribed into the urban fabric, such as the east-west and the north-south axis and a historic core that has partly survived the maelstrom of urbanisation over centuries. The regressive-progressive method we applied revealed one main lasting contradiction: the centre–periphery relationship, and related to that, the struggle for centrality.

THE PRODUCTION OF A DIVIDED REGION

Paris is in fact a dual centre, being both a city at the heart of a region and the capital of France. In the past, Paris was not only a city surrounded by rural feudal territories but was part of a multipolar region, the Île-de-France, that assumed a central function for France from the Middle Ages. It includes first of all the city of Saint-Denis, which in the 7th century became an important second centre of the region when King Dagobert granted its monastery independence from the Bishop of Paris and the right to have its own market which attracted merchants from all over Europe. In the following centuries, the French royal house maintained close ties to Saint-Denis and most French kings were buried in its Basilica, replaced by the magnificent Gothic cathedral in the 12th century. In the 17th century, Saint-Denis became a centre for weaving and spinning mills and dye houses that laid the foundation of the industrialisation of the north of Paris.

Between the 16th and 18th century, the feudal French regime built sumptuous châteaux in parks with opulent water pools and fountains throughout the Île-de-France. Places such as the royal town of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, whose château was used as a residence by numerous French kings, or Fontainebleau, with its celebrated royal palace and Italian Renaissance garden, made the region of Paris—and not the city—the real centre of French absolutism and of the French colonial empire from the 16th century onwards. In 1682, Louis XIV, known as the Sun King, moved his court and government to the Palace of Versailles west of Paris, which became the seat of the French monarchy until the French Revolution, thus moving the centre of the region from the east to the west. The strong population growth of Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries led to a thorough restructuring of this territory to serve the needs of the growing bourgeoisie. Agricultural production was improved, among other things, by the construction of drainage systems and new roads, bridges and canals to deliver food to the capital (Picon 2012). In the areas close to Paris, the predominantly mixed farming was reoriented to horticulture and the specialised production of fruit, grain, bread and grapes. At the same time, the Parisian bourgeoisie acquired land on which to build country houses, which led to significant social polarisation in the villages of the region (Muchembled et al. 2009).

While the region became a productive territory catering to the needs of the feudal state, the city of Paris remained a walled city that developed in a concentric manner for more than a millennium. The sites of the city walls have left marks that still persist of the historical phases of expansion, like growth rings in an old tree trunk. During this process, Paris extended further and further outward from its centre, creating a succession of peripheries, the *faubourgs*, meaning settlements that are located outside the city walls but still belong to the city. They were at the periphery of the city but were not necessarily excluded from it and, after one or two centuries, they were incorporated into the city by the construction of a new wall.

The last defensive wall in Paris, built by Thiers in 1845, contributed greatly to the consolidation and petrification of the opposition between centre and periphery. At a time when city walls were being demolished in most European cities to make way for new city extensions, as well as for industrial areas and workers' housing, Louis Philippe I, King of France, wanted to protect Paris, this precious centre of French civilisation, against all possible enemies and perils from the outside. The city of Paris is still referred to as Paris 'intra muros' (inside the

View from the zone of wealth towards la Défense (left) and the city of Paris (right). Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 2023

walls), with the result that everything outside its walls—'extra muros'—is seen as the periphery. Although the Thiers' wall was removed after the First World War, it still lingers on as an almost impenetrable physical obstacle, having been replaced by a huge ring road, which has been named *le périphérique*, and still marks the boundary between the city and its periphery. By contrast, since the 19th century the term *banlieue* has meant the people and territories beyond the city that belong to the city, but assume different functions from it.

A stark divide between centre and periphery has thus arisen and deepened since the late 19th century. The divide has become even more pronounced with the huge expansion of the Parisian banlieues after the Second World War. To this day Paris intra muros remains the privileged space that concentrates most of the important cultural social, and economic centralities of the Paris Region and of France, while the banlieue is where all sorts of functions have been relegated, from support functions and logistics to the sites for factories and labourers. This divide between the centre and the periphery is one of the most intractable problems that Paris has to deal with, despite efforts undertaken by numerous governments to upgrade the periphery by means of massive investments in infrastructure including new metropolitan highways, a regional network of rapid metropolitan railway connections (RER), and even new tramlines in the banlieues—and by constructing new universities and business clusters, new centres and entire new towns (*villes nouvelles*) (Le Galès 2020).

In a similar way, representations and images of the urban may develop an impressive continuity and, like material structures, ossify and become fixed stereotypes. The division of Paris is a typical example, with glamorous urban Paris inside the périphérique and the ordinary banlieues outside it. Many tourist maps of Paris still show only the inner zone and completely ignore the banlieues. The message to visitors and tourists is clear: the outskirts of the 'true' Paris are not worth a visit. And yet the outer zone is home to almost five times as many people as the inner zone, and thus it is the dominant reality of daily life in Paris.

Of all eight urban territories we examine in this book, Paris manifests the clearest contrast between the centre and the periphery, which not only divides the city but has become an active contradiction through history. It is not really astonishing that 'centrality' became the key concept for Henri Lefebvre's urban theory. He understood centrality as a social resource that brings together the most diverse elements of society and in this way becomes productive. The struggle for centrality thus emerges from this analysis as the fundamental contradiction of the urban, and Lefebvre continually demanded the right of all members of society to access the possibilities and opportunities of the centre (see Schmid 2022).

EMBOURGEOISEMENT: FROM HAUSSMANN TO GRAND PARIS

The most famous historical example of the primordial role played by the centre was the large-scale transformation of Paris under the regime of Napoleon III and his prefect Baron Haussmann. In a still-unrivalled strategic urbanistic intervention, Haussmann imposed a new order on the city of Paris, which continues to occupy contemporary generations of architects and urban scholars (see e.g. Harvey 2006c; Jallon et al. 2017). With the construction of the boulevards, he cut through the dense weave of the urban fabric to reorder the city, dissolving the socially and functionally mixed neighbourhoods and in so doing driving large numbers of people out into the periphery. The magnificent newly built boulevards opened the city to accommodate the capitalist economy. They allowed the circulation of people and goods and set the stage for the celebration of the reign of the commodity. For Walter Benjamin, Paris thus became the capital of the nineteenth century (Benjamin 1969: 169).

To pursue his aims, Haussmann systematically deployed an urbanistic strategy whose main elements were already present in Paris. By constructing axes and central squares forming the node of streets that radiate outward in all directions like the points of a star, he restructured the city, turned it into a site of public spectacle and into a governable entity. Parts of this urbanistic strategy were subsequently used in numerous cities in the French colonies. The use of axes and radiating central squares also reappeared in postwar developments in the Parisian banlieues, and became an urbanistic tool to design the villes nouvelles.

Haussmann's 15-year project to restructure central Paris led to the destruction of large parts of the old inner city. According to Lefebvre's analysis, the transformation of Paris led to the deportation of the proletariat to the periphery, the invention of the banlieues, and the embourgeoisement and depopulation of the centre. It manifested an inherent class logic, driving the rational coherence of the state to its pinnacle: the state itself was the highest instance, and not any other institution that intervened. But to contemporaries, Lefebvre argues, the ideology that underpinned and supported this rationality did not appear as such. Many admired the new Paris; others lamented the loss of its soul. But the fact that the city was fragmented by becoming bourgeois was hardly apparent to their contemporaries. What did it take 'for the truth to become apparent'? Revolutionary urban practice, with its concrete utopia (Lefebvre 2003 [1970]: 109–110).

THE COMMUNE

In the spring of 1871, the insurrection of the Paris Commune shook the city to the very foundations—it was a wake-up call and a model to so many

Embourgeoisement in the city of Paris. Ménilmontant, 2010

revolutionaries of the time. In Lefebvre's words: 'The workers, chased from the center of the city to its outskirts, returned to the center occupied by the bourgeoisie. Through a combination of force, luck, and good timing, they took control of it.' (Lefebvre 2003 [1970]: 110). In *La proclamation de la Commune* (1965), Lefebvre meticulously reconstructs the chronology of events on the basis of detailed archive work. Inspired by his discussions with the Situationists, he interprets the 1871 uprising as the attempt to elevate the city to the arena and the ground of human reality, and characterises it as the first urban revolution.

In the periods that followed, urban contradictions and struggles over the urban have repeatedly flared up in Paris. One example was the events of May 1968, which can be read not only as a rebellion against imperialism and the bourgeois order, but also as an urban revolt, as a reappropriation of the city. It was in this context that Lefebvre wrote *Le droit à la ville (The Right to the City, 1996 [1968]).* Analysing the dialectics of this urban situation, Lefebvre asked if it was really in the interest of the political establishment and the hegemonic class to extinguish the spark of revolt and thereby to destroy the city's reputation across the world as a centre of resistance and experimentation (Lefebvre 1991 [1975]: 386). Nevertheless, subsequent development has led to Paris intra muros becoming a largely privileged, pacified urban space that is increasingly shaped by embourgeoisement and commodification. It has thus faced an intense process of incorporation of urban differences (see Chapter 17), and lost an important part of its urban qualities.

PATHWAYS OF URBANISATION

After Haussmann's renovation of Paris and the defeat of the Commune, Paris developed into a metropolis. Paris was the centre of France and of the French colonial empire, and attracted visitors from all over the world. However, there was another side of this fast-growing metropolis: the banlieue. Outside the walls of the city of Paris developed a vast urban periphery that soon became the social space of the industrial working class. After the Second World War, the Fordist boom led to a thorough modernisation of the Paris Region. While the city of Paris was facing various urban renewal projects, the banlieue was transformed by mass housing urbanisation. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the economic crisis, the national turn towards neoliberal urban politics, and the implementation of new regional urban strategies led to the socioeconomic polarisation and polycentralisation of the Paris Region. Most recently, the long-entrenched opposition between the centre and the periphery is being transformed again, as a new urban strategy of forced metropolisation is currently extending the metropolitan core area towards the banlieue.

PARIS METROPOLIS AND THE PRODUCTION OF THE BANLIEUE

Between the time of the Commune and the Second World War, the city of Paris expanded across its boundaries. The former city, covering approximately the area from the 1st to the 11th arrondissement, became a polycentric core zone and the former faubourgs developed into urban neighbourhoods. The bourgeoisie occupied the neighbourhoods in the west and south-west while the proletariat was driven back to the hills in the north and east, from Montmartre to Belleville and Ménilmontant. With its mixed urban structure and its popular centralities, from Montmartre to the Quartier Latin and the Place d'Italie, Paris was still a very lively and unruly place. From the roaring 1920s to the moment of the *front populaire* on the eve of the Second World War, Paris's reputation grew as one of the most exciting metropolises in the world.

However, there was another side of Paris. By 1860, Haussmann had organised the incorporation of all the municipalities inside the Theirs wall into the city of Paris—and with this act he fixed the size and shape of Paris to this day. This created, in turn, the banlieue. This term was used at the time to designate a place *(lieu)* that is located outside the city but is still subject to its control (*ban*). The banlieue developed first as the result of a spillover of the production of the metropolis during the Belle Epoque (1860–1914). It then became the expansion zone for activities that were vital to the functioning of the

city but needed large amounts of space or were disruptive in all sorts of ways, from large infrastructure such as railyards and freight train stations, to slaughterhouses, waste disposal facilities, water purification plants and cemeteries. Most importantly, the banlieue became the location for the extension of industry, particularly in the vast plain between the city of Paris and Saint-Denis.

Thus, the banlieue was developed into the social space of the fast-growing industrial working class. The inner part of the banlieue, the *petite coronne* was dominated by mainly modest single-family homes *(pavillons)*, which were often self-constructed in an incremental way. This created a typical pattern of small housing plots and large-scale industries and infrastructure, punctuated by small centralities emerging in former village cores. The *grande couronne,* located further from the centre, was much less densely settled and developed mainly along railway lines and important roads.

After the local elections of 1924 the banlieue became the political stronghold of the French Communist Party. The city of Paris was thus surrounded by a ring of communist municipalities, the *couronne rouge* (red belt) that applied local strategies influenced largely by the concept of municipal socialism (Subra 2004, Fourcaut 1986). In this way, the opposition between city and banlieue was renewed and turned into the contrast between the still socially mixed metropolitan centre and the social space for the working class.

During this phase, the entire region of Paris developed in the politically intended absence of encompassing regional planning. As the mayoral post had been abolished after the Commune, Paris was governed by the prefect of the Département de la Seine and the prefecture of the police, and thus was directly subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior until the institution of the mayor of Paris was reinstituted in 1977. This resulted in the specific governmental structure of Paris: while Paris formed an institutional unity under the direct control of the central government, the banlieues developed into a mosaic of small but rapidly growing communes. Overall, the entire region Île-de-France has no less than 1,260 municipalities, turning it into a small-scale territorial patchwork where each municipality has its own specific relation to the affluent centre of Paris. However, the end of the interwar period was marked by a strong political unity of the petite couronne encircling the city of Paris, dominated by the communist party.

LES TRENTES GLORIEUSES: URBAN RENOVATION AND MASS HOUSING URBANISATION

After the Second World War, like most Western countries France experienced a postwar boom and embarked on a Keynesian-Fordist development model based on coupling mass production, mass consumption and a rapidly expanding welfare state. This period between 1945 and 1975 was labelled *les trentes glorieuses*—the 30 glorious years. The Paris Region (which corresponds more or less to the official Région Île-de-France) was the centre of industrialisation in France and experienced unprecedented economic growth and strong immigration from other parts of France as well as from Spain and Portugal. The Algerian War of Independence and the process of decolonisation drove about one million refugees to France, many of whom fled to Paris. As a result, the population of the Île-de-France increased from 7.3 million in 1954 to 9.8 million in 1975. In the early 1950s, the beginning of this population growth caused a severe housing crisis because of the dilapidated state of the existing housing stock and the modest rate of housing construction after the Second World War. After a public outcry, the French government launched a national mass housing programme based on a system of prefabrication which linked market interventions, civil engineering and military strategies, a combination of legal tools and disciplinary knowledge that was initially developed and applied in the former French colonies (Kipfer 2019; Fredenucci 2003; Henni 2017). The strategy of state urban intervention was strengthened with the advent of the Fifth Republic, established by General Charles de Gaulle in 1958, a few months after a military coup in Algeria had led to the collapse of the Fourth Republic (1945–1958). De Gaulle installed a political system that granted the president and the prime minister special executive powers and, in the following years, French urban planners introduced comprehensive territorial projects using top-down procedures (Vadelorge 2014; Effosse 2005). In 1958 the Gaullist government created priority urbanisation areas called ZUP (*zone à urbaniser par priorité*), an administrative tool that made it possible to acquire land to construct settlements with at least 500 apartments equipped with public facilities. This urban strategy materialised in the construction of modernist high-rise estates called *grands ensembles*, which were usually a combination of high-rise towers and slabs (*tours et barres*) located in large open spaces (Lacoste 1963). The construction of grands ensembles went far beyond the perimeter of the already dense petite couronne and added to the rapid urbanisation of the grande couronne.

At the same time, the administration of the City of Paris launched a series of urban renewal programmes, demolishing many popular neighbourhoods and forcing low-income people to relocate to the banlieue. It ceded the cleared areas to private developers who constructed housing for the middle classes. Examples of this state strategy of renovation and deportation (*rénovation-déportation*), as critics called it at the time (Groupe de sociologie urbaine de Nanterre, 1970), are the Place d'Italie, at the heart of the 13th arrondissement, and the Place des Fêtes,

at the top of Belleville. In the course of the 1960s, as a result of further modernisation and urban transformation programmes, Paris developed into an international business centre (see Coing 1966; Lojkine 1972).

At the same time, this urbanisation paradigm was the heyday of the banlieue rouge. The communist municipalities of the banlieue, applying the urbanisation strategy of municipal socialism, tried to combine a politics of modernisation with the strengthening of solidarity and social cohesion. They initiated and achieved the construction of entire new mass housing neighbourhoods. This development can be understood as the result of a tacit territorial compromise between Gaullist top-down planning and communist local initiatives. In this modernisation process the life routines of the upper working and lower-middle classes were catapulted from the 19th to the 20th century, providing the grounds for the formation of a consumer and leisure society that Lefebvre called 'the bureaucratic society of controlled consumption' (Lefebvre 1971 [1968]). Contemporary intellectuals and political activists criticised this form of authoritarian modernisation and, over the course of the 1960s, contestations and protests erupted against the demolition of popular neighbourhoods in the city of Paris. In the banlieue, in turn, protesters and action groups criticised the poor provision of infrastructure and amenities in the grands ensembles and demanded improvements in public transport and the provision of public space (see Godard et al. 1973).

In May 1968, the protests of the working class and the metropolitan milieu came together and sparked an uprising in the streets of Paris. Lefebvre, at the time a professor at the newly built University of Paris Nanterre, which was located in a poor, run-down neighbourhood in the western banlieue, describes the historic moment when the students experienced the periphery and launched protests in the centre of Paris in his *L'Irruption—de Nanterre au sommet* (translated as *The Explosion: Marxism and the French Upheaval,* 1969). For a short time, students and workers fought side by side against the repressive French government, imperialism, the Vietnam War, and for a different Paris.

ECONOMIC CRISIS AND NEOLIBERAL RESTRUCTURING: POLARISATION AND POLYCENTRALISATION

In the early 1970s, urban conditions changed radically, giving way to the development of a new paradigm of urbanisation greatly influenced by the economic crisis of the mid-1970s, neoliberal restructuring after 1978, and particularly the marked and lasting deindustrialisation. The Île-de-France lost about half a million industrial jobs between 1975 and 1990 and another half a million by 2002 (Subra 2004). By the 1980s, many neighbourhoods, particularly those in the northern and eastern banlieues, manifested clear signs of socioeconomic peripheralisation, precarisation and social crisis. Hand in hand with these developments went the disintegration of social networks and solidarity structures. Communist control of the banlieue rouge had reached its apogee with the elections in 1977. Simultaneously, the dissolution in 1968 of the powerful Département de la Seine that encompassed the city of Paris and the petite couronne, which was a stronghold of the Communist Party, weakened the influence of communist officials and their distributive policies. The administrative splitting of this département into the département of Paris and the three départements of the petite couronne—Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne—increased the territorial fragmentation of the Paris Region and strengthened the power of central government. The only département that the Communist Party continued to govern until 2020 was Seine-Saint-Denis.

In contrast to the north-east, the entire south-western part of the Paris Region—extending over the départements Hauts-de-Seine, Yvelines and Essonne—had largely escaped industrialisation and was therefore much less affected by deindustrialisation and unemployment. As a result of these developments, the pre-existing regional polarisation between a prosperous south-west and a declining north-east deepened. This polarisation overlaid the marked divide between the city of Paris and the banlieue.

The socioeconomic peripheralisation of the north-eastern part of the petite couronne began at the same time as the construction of five state-planned villes nouvelles on the outskirts of Paris. This large-scale territorial project completely restructured the outer banlieue, spurred the further extension of the grande couronne and led to a more polycentric form of urbanisation. The state-led development of new centralities had started in the late 1950s with the planning of La Défense, Europe's largest business district at the time, in a dilapidated part of the banlieue close to Nanterre. It was strategically located just beyond the boundary of the city of Paris at the prolongation of the *axe historique* leading from the Louvre to the Champs-Élysées and the Arc de Triomphe. It was led by the Établissement public pour l'aménagement de la région de la Défense and constituted a major tranche of state investment into transport and urban infrastructure. Though it was originally conceived as a mixed commercial, residential and cultural centre, it developed during the 1980s and 1990 into a business district with numerous skyscrapers accommodating global corporate headquarters, and adorned by the landmark Grande Arche de la Défense. At the same time, another strategic business hub was being developed at the Paris

Charles de Gaulle airport—a workspace for 88,600 employees in 2016, and another one around the Paris-Orly airport and the international wholesale food market, Rungis.

The result is an urban pattern that Philip Subra (2009) as well as Thérèse St.Julien and Renault Le Goix (2007) call a hierarchised polycentrism (*polycentrisme hierarchisé*). It can be understood as the overlap between a long-standing, monocentric organisation of a territory and a large-scale polycentric periphery. Thus, the city of Paris still houses all relevant central functions, from state ministries to corporate headquarters, businesses, offices and logistics; from education and culture to shopping and leisure. Paris is the label, the brand name of the entire territory. In contrast, all other centralities of the Paris Region are specialised, such as the global business hub of La Défense, the business hubs of the airports Charles de Gaulle and Orly, the different new centralities of the villes nouvelles and also the scientific and research hub of Saclay that is currently being developed in the south-western grande couronne.

The phase between the late 1960s and the early 2000s thus led to a new paradigm of urbanisation that fundamentally changed the urban pattern of the Paris Region. On the one hand, it initiated a shift towards polycentric urban development. On the other, it led to the bifurcation of development between the marginalisation and peripheralisation of northern and eastern parts of the banlieue and a prosperous south-west. In contrast, the city of Paris has developed into a global city, a place for the science economy and residence for parts of the French upper and upper-middle classes which, as Préteceille notes (2007: 12), generally favour living in central neighbourhoods.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CENTRE–PERIPHERY RELATIONSHIP

In the last two decades the Paris Region has undergone further change and evolved from a territory that was dominated by a central core to a more complex and diffuse assemblage of emerging centralities and differentiated territories. During this time, the double socioeconomic polarisation of the region was further aggravated. At the national level, the region enjoyed a rise in GDP of more than 25% from 2001 to 2015, which was well above the national average (Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme Île-de-France, IAU 2016). At the same time, the city of Paris turned into a privileged space for the global economy, attracting ever more highly qualified specialists and executive employees. Many social groups, apart from the wealthiest, could not afford the increased rents and left the city of Paris for the petite couronne, while parts of the middle classes settled even further out in the grande couronne (Berger et al. 2014; Lefèvre 2017; Subra 2012).

In parallel, socioeconomic polarisation in the Paris Region increased further, widening the east-west territorial divide. The executive class, service sector firms and affluent residential areas are situated in the south-west of Paris and its adjacent banlieues. In contrast, the north-east contains the region's poorest residents, centres of immigration and abandoned industrial zones. Here, unemployment rates are among the highest in France and the poor state of public services in health and education contributes to poverty, social isolation and a precarious life for many residents. We discuss these situations in our urban configurations of *embourgeoisement* on the one hand, and *post-proletarian urbanisation* on the other.

Another important process is the dissolution of the boundaries between Paris and the banlieue. On a large scale, processes of embourgeoisement continue seamlessly across the boundary of the city of Paris. On a small scale, this cross-boundary process is evident in the development at the outer side of the périphérique. Over recent years, numerous redevelopment schemes have been constructed and today, the motorway constitutes less a boundary and more a ring that is lined on both sides by offices, hotels, shops and various facilities.

PATTERNS OF URBANISATION

Since the Second World War, the population of the Paris Region (Île-de-France) has increased from about 6.6 million to 12.3 million. At the same time, the population of the City of Paris has decreased from 2.7 to 2.1 million (INSEE database). Until 1970, the main part of this growth occurred in the petit couronne, which today has a population of about 4.6 million, while the grande couronne absorbed the population growth of the last 50 years and counts today 5.4 million people. During this time, the city of Paris was transformed into an exclusive metropolitan core, while mainly three processes of urbanisation were shaping the banlieues: multilayered patchwork urbanisation, post-proletarian urbanisation, and embourgeoisement. Multilayered patchwork urbanisation has been developing in almost the entire grande couronne, which today forms a polycentric, fragmented and splintered urban space. Post-proletarian urbanisation dominates the north and north-east of the petite couronne; it is marked by strong processes of peripheralisation. The third main process is embourgeoisement that started in the city of Paris and has since gradually transformed the banlieue in the west and south-west.

MULTILAYERED PATCHWORK URBANISATION

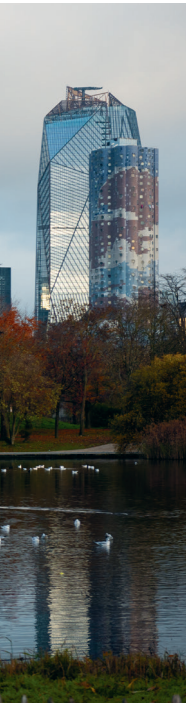
The largest urban configuration we identified in the Paris Region is dominated by a process we call multilayered patchwork urbanisation. Our conceptualisation of this process was inspired by our experience of travelling through large parts of the grande couronne by bus or car, and losing our orientation in the patchwork of contrasting urban elements that were lacking in spatial coherence. Our reconstruction of the pathway of urbanisation of this configuration found that this seemingly haphazard urban pattern was composed of the overlap of different historical layers. Each layer corresponds to a distinct paradigm of urbanisation that was determined by a different logic, thus creating a configuration of multilayered urbanisation, which was sometimes a juxtaposition, sometimes an overlay and sometimes was in contradiction to the other elements.

The first layer consists of remnants from the time when the Île-de-France constituted the core region of the French monarchy and the support space for the capital of the colonial empire from the 16th century to the French Revolution. The second layer was produced between the mid-19th century and the Second World War, when the banlieue came into existence. Towards the north, the inner banlieue developed into a dense industrial and working-class district and towards the south and west, into bourgeois neighbourhoods. The outer banlieue was also affected by these processes but in a less intensive manner, expanding further out mainly along railway lines and main roads.

The third layer results from the major transformation during the Fordist period, when mass housing urbanisation dominated the urbanisation process. In the grande couronne, the grands ensembles were mainly erected on agricultural land in the meshes of the urban fabric, often adjacent to motorways, railway lines and industrial sites. They thus formed territorial enclaves cut off from local centralities and often far away from public transport, leading to logistical peripheralisation (see Chapter 16). Newly constructed shopping malls initiated by the central state and built according on the North American model became the new centralities of this zone, leading to the demise of the small retail trade and the depletion of public space (Tenhoor 2012; Cupers 2014).

The production of the fourth layer started in the late 1960s with the construction of the villes nouvelles and new regional centralities. The planning of this large-scale territorial project had been started in the 1960s and became a prime example of the top-down mode of the Gaullist government. In 1961 Paul Delouvrier, the former delegate general of the French government in Algeria (Henni 2017), was appointed delegate general of the newly founded District de Paris. As he had extensive power to act, he largely disregarded existing communal institutional and political structures. Under the framework of the regional master plan from 1965 (Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la région Parisienne, SDAURP), he proposed a development plan that envisaged the controlled decentralised growth of the grand couronne by constructing five villes nouvelles. It was a radical strategy to manage the predicted doubling of the population of the Paris Region until 2000 (Murard and Fourquet 2004).

In many respects, this project was seen as the antithesis of the model of the grands ensembles, as it prioritised urban infrastructures over housing and envisaged large areas of relatively low-built density and family-friendly housing for the middle classes (for a more differentiated evaluation see Vadelorge 2006). Each of the villes nouvelles aimed to become a 'real city', with shopping, leisure and culture facilities, and also with 'more jobs than bedrooms'. Construction started in the late 1960s but was soon hampered by the economic crisis of the mid-1970s and the related decrease in population growth rates. As a result, the five villes nouvelles initially attracted only a fraction of the inhabitants they had been planned for, and in the early 1980s they were additionally struck by the subprime mortgage crisis which had originated in the neoliberal reforms of 1978. Nevertheless, until 1990 the villes nouvelles absorbed the largest



Financial centrality in the banlieue. La Défense, 2023

part of population growth in the region, and extended far into periurban areas (Berger and Orfeuil 2004).

The new centralities of the villes nouvelles were the main drivers of the restructuring of the grande couronne, particularly the mixed urban centres of Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines and Cergy, as well as the university and science hub Cité Descartes and the amusement park Eurodisney in Marne-la-Vallée. However, these are partial centralities, and are largely lacking the qualities of the former *quartiers populaires* in the city of Paris with their dense webs of facilities, shops, venues and meeting places that still attract visitors and tourists. Additionally, some of these new centralities, such as Évry, Noisy-le-Grand (Marne-la-Vallée) and Trappes (Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines) faced racialised socioeconomic peripheralisation occurring in its centrally located social housing estates (Kockelkorn 2017; Wieviorka 1992).

As a result, the villes nouvelles did not contribute to the controlled reorganisation of the urban structure of the banlieue but became themselves part of the development of a fragmented and splintered urban space and merged with the existing urban patchwork of the grand couronne. This was the moment that finally generated the configuration of multilayered patchwork urbanisation.

POST-PROLETARIAN URBANISATION

Parallel to the territories of multilayered patchwork urbanisation, a related but quite different urban configuration emerged in the northern and north-eastern part of the banlieue. This area, which used to be the centre of industrial Paris and constituted the core of the couronne rouge in the interwar period, experienced notable processes of racialised socioeconomic peripheralisation that started in the early 1970s in the wake of economic crises, deindustrialisation and the implementation of neoliberal policies. Accordingly, we call this urban category post-proletarian.

Historically, the industrialisation of this region was partly facilitated by its location along the road to the Channel ports and to the rapidly industrialising Flanders and the Netherlands. The Plaine-Saint-Denis, the huge plain directly adjacent to the city of Paris, developed into one of the most important industrial zones of Europe in the early 19th century (Vieillard-Baron 2011). At the same time, when heavy transport infrastructure was sited there—rail tracks, canals and roads—it contributed to the splintering of its urban fabric by cutting residential neighbourhoods off from one another.

The practice of evicting poor populations from the city centre to the banlieue during the rule of Baron Haussmann and the deportation of communards after the defeat of the Commune in 1871 made this area a refuge for dissidents (Castells 1983; Harvey 2006c). During the interwar and postwars period of the 20th century, it became an important arrival city for working-class migrants from occupied Algeria and southern Europe (Lillo 2004). Today, this area still remains a hub for new migrants, and is home to some of France's poorest social groups.

Starting in 1950, the contradictory processes of population growth and deindustrialisation set the framework for the deeply racialised, socioeconomic peripheralisation of this area in the following decades. Initially, the communist-governed municipalities sought to meet the needs of their working-class electorate by constructing grands ensembles using local housing associations; many of which were later classified as part of the national heritage

Post-proletarian urbanisation. Bobigny, 2023

Post-proletarian urbanisation. La Courneuve, 2023

because of their architectural quality. They also accommodated the working-class population that was displaced by urban renewal projects in the city of Paris. Between 1958 and 1971 the municipality of Saint-Denis lost 13,000 jobs; in 1962, 60 per cent of the jobs in Saint-Denis were non-skilled. In 1968, 40,000 people lived in squatter settlements in the Paris Region, of whom 4,000 lived in Saint-Denis (David 2010).

In the late 1960s, when deindustrialisation and the loss of employment became palpable, the municipal governments started to be reluctant to grant the migrant groups living in squatter settlements the same degree of inclusion as their white French electorate. Municipal records evoked the fear that the metaphor of the ghetto might be projected on their territory, thus fuelling conflicts and struggles for recognition between non-skilled workers with or without a migration history (David 2010; Masclet 2003).

At the same time, national housing policies shifted towards a stronger market orientation, particularly promoting home ownership. The shift from people's right to housing to their duty to participate in the housing market following the 1977 neoliberal reform programme fundamentally altered the composition of the social housing sector (Kockelkorn 2020). Incentivised by subsidised subprime mortgages, higher income groups left the social housing sector while low-income French citizens and racialised social groups who had previously been excluded from social housing gradually gained access to it. However, investment in social infrastructure never really improved and thus added to the degradation of already deprived housing estates.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the deindustrialisation of the Paris Region mostly affected the north-eastern part of the petite couronne, and the industries of the Plaine-Saint-Denis were abandoned. Deindustrialisation and peripheralisation had a devastating effect on the neighbourhoods concerned, led to the gradual disintegration of the industrial working class and spurred racial conflicts over access to resources and infrastructure. In this way, the process of post-proletarian urbanisation started.

The grands ensembles, which in the early 1960s represented the collective experience of solidarity, comfort and modernity, came to epitomise decline and despair. In 1986 Debussy, a high-rise housing apartment block in La Courneuve, was publicly demolished. This marked the symbolic beginning of a first sporadic and, after 2003, systematic demolition of grands ensembles (see Kipfer 2022). However, the grands ensembles were not the only places where living conditions were precarious, as inhabitants of single-family homes were experiencing excess indebtedness due to increasing mortgage interest rates combined with rising unemployment in the 1980s (Taffin 1987; Kleinman 1996). In the 1990s urban uprisings erupted in the banlieue almost every year, culminating in the riots of autumn 2005 that flared in the north-eastern banlieue of Paris and soon spread across France. The north-east still includes high numbers of these precarious urban areas, classified as 'sensitive urban zones' (*zones urbaines sensibles*, ZUS). They often consist of grands ensembles and are characterised by high rates of unemployment and high levels of poverty, higher than average numbers of immigrants, young people and large families, and lower degrees of education and health than in the overall population (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, INSEE 2011).

In the 2000s, French urban scholars began to use the term 'ghetto' to describe the process of racialised peripheralisation in the grands ensembles (Lapeyronnie and Courtois 2008). However, following the arguments of Loïc Wacquant (2007), it is important to differentiate this term carefully according to context. In the Paris Region the French state has never withdrawn from investing in the built environment nor from social policies in the banlieues, including the deprived north-east with its highly diverse population. This is a stark contrast to the structural historical isolation at mass scale of African American communities in the USA, for example in South Central Los Angeles, as discussed in Chapter 11.

The response of the French government to this process of peripheralisation was to change its urban strategy. In 2004, it founded the Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (ANRU) and launched a major national programme to demolish and reconstruct grands ensembles, in combination with infrastructural measures and incentives for home ownership to increase the social mix of

neighbourhoods. This programme was relaunched in 2018. Because of its gentrifying effects, many scholars and activists were highly critical of this strategy. As Nina Guyon (2016, 2017) has shown, while the average income has risen in areas targeted by ANRU programmes, low-income households have been displaced by these projects and relocated to substandard housing in the private sector. Stefan Kipfer (2022: 206, 232) indicates that these programmes are a political response to subaltern mobilisations and also highlights the racialised and neo-colonial dimensions of social mixing from above.

Parts of the post-proletarian areas are currently also heavily affected by strategies of urban redevelopment, such as the Plaine Saint Denis. Communist, and recently socialist, political leadership in Seine-Saint-Denis has lobbied for decades to ensure that new developments benefit residents living on site or in the vicinity. However, physical transformation of the brownfield sites and a dramatic increase in land values has intensified the displacement of these lower income groups. Once the historic industrial core of the area, the Plaine Saint-Denis has become the stage for several large-scale schemes for commerce and leisure led by the central government. The first highly symbolic project to be constructed was the Stade de France, for the 1998 FIFA World Cup men's football championship, which became the centre of new commercial and service developments in the area. Nearby is Gare Pleyel, a major new rail hub under construction that has the potential to establish a new regional centrality. Further investment in infrastructure, including new tramlines and new stations for the Grand Paris Express, have created real estate opportunities, and an even larger-scale redevelopment is underway, including a 2024 Olympic Athletes Village in Saint-Denis and an Olympic Media Cluster near Le Bourget.

METROPOLITAN HETEROGENEITY

The areas located in the south-east of the petite couronne have undergone a related but less peripheralising pathway of urbanisation, characterised by small-scale territorial fragmentation and morphological, functional and socioeconomic heterogeneity. They include industrial zones, grands ensembles, dense metropolitan apartment buildings, single-family neighbourhoods, town centres and public transport axes but only limited green spaces. These areas are today dominated by contrasting processes of peripheralisation and embourgeoisement kept in fragile balance. The historic imprint and presence of industrial production and grands ensembles prevents rapid embourgeoisement, while their proximity to the city of Paris fosters it, especially in the vicinity of train, metro and tram stations.

Historically, these areas are defined by the spillover processes that accompanied the growth of the city of Paris in the second half of the 19th century, creating the territorial dominance of the metropolis over its surroundings, as well as a relationship of co-dependency. Establishing these infrastructures of exchange required a tight web of informal and formal relationships and commitments between municipal and national politicians on both sides of Paris's municipal boundaries (Fourcaut et al. 2007). In the late 19th and early 20th century, the interstices of this infrastructural landscape were filled in with small-scale single-family settlements. The major traffic arteries of local centralities, in turn, were often lined with more densely built perimeter block developments and equipped with an increasingly dense tram network that provided direct connections to the centre of Paris. Beginning in the mid-1930s, this tram network was dismantled and replaced by buses and automobile transport, leading to an increasingly abrupt physical separation between the city of Paris and its peripheralised surroundings that culminated in the construction of the périphérique ring road in 1973.

We call this urban category, which is composed of a mix of relatively affluent neighbourhoods and working-class areas, metropolitan heterogeneity. It is best illustrated by the south-eastern département Val-de-Marne which includes conservative municipalities, such as Vincennes, as well as communist strongholds such as Vitry-sur-Seine, Villejuif and Ivry-sur-Seine (Bellanger and Moro 2014).

Since the 2000s, the spillover from Paris has been a process of continuous upgrading, embourgeoisement, and territorial fragmentation that is currently also transforming parts of post-proletarian areas in the north into zones of metropolitan heterogeneity. At the southern edge of Seine-Saint-Denis at Aubervilliers and Pantin, for example, there has been an increasing concentration of more affluent households since the mid-2010s, and this is one of the few areas of the banlieue not in western Paris where this class is represented (IAU 2019).

EMBOURGEOISEMENT, PROSPERING UPPER MIDDLE CLASS, AND CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH

As the preceding sections show, the third dominant urbanisation processes in Paris has been the process of embourgeoisement. This process has to be distinguished from gentrification, even if there are many parallels such as the upgrading of physical structures and the displacement of lower income groups. Embourgeoisement can be understood as the expansion of bourgeois and upper-middle class groups into central urban areas. This process started as a result of the fundamental transformation of Paris initiated by Haussmann and the fight for the urban centre ever since has been a constant

theme in the development of the Paris Region. In the postwar period, low-income groups were pushed out of the city of Paris by state strategies of modernisation and urban renewal. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s Paris developed into a global city and thus embourgeoisement became an almost generalised process in less wealthy neighbourhoods across the city (Clerval and Delage 2014, 2019). In the last decades, the concentration of wealth in the city of Paris has intensified and extended westward throughout the inner ring département of Haut-de-Seine and beyond, consolidating around historical aristocratic strongholds such as Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Versailles. Today, urban spaces shaped by embourgeoisement range from densely built neighbourhoods at the heart of the city to postwar single-family housing enclaves in the banlieue, and to renovated rural villages on the periurban fringe.

To the east, isolated sites where upgrading is taking place include Montreuil, bordering the city of Paris, where upper-middle class households have settled along a key Metro line adjacent to the Château and the Bois de Vincennes. Another example is Le Raincy, a wealthy, right-leaning municipality in the working-class département of Seine-Saint-Denis and the post-proletarian zone of our analysis.

At the same time, the middle class itself is being forced to leave the city of Paris due to skyrocketing house prices which have tripled between 2000 and 2020 in the region (OECD 2023). Arrondissements in the city of Paris, especially the western 6th, 7th, 16th and 17th arrondissements, have become the exclusive domain of wealthy elites. Because space is becoming unaffordable to the middle class, and more affluent social groups occupy larger apartments, the population of Paris intra muros is shrinking while that of the petite couronne is increasing. This displacement from the centre is exacerbated by the prevalence of temporary tourist accommodation offered on platforms such as Airbnb, which remove regular residences from the rental market. For the same reasons, regional population growth has shifted to the east, where more affordable and modest homes and centres of immigration are situated, while homes and employment for the wealthy have shifted west (Institut Paris Région 2021). As a result, the western banlieue proche has undergone an intensive process of embourgeoisement, as upper and upper-middle class households move in.

Embourgeoisement in the eastern petite couronne. Montreuil, 2022

Embourgeoisement in the western petite couronne. Levallois-Perret, 2022

According to a detailed empirical analysis by Edmond Préteceille, embourgeoisement in Paris has become a phenomenon of the banlieue. Several distinct processes of transformation are at play. Firstly, upper-class Parisian neighbourhoods have expanded south-west into adjacent, mixed working-class neighbourhoods in Hauts-de-Seine. Further from the centre, embourgeoisement processes are also occurring in Yvelines in the grande couronne, in a category we call the prosperous upper-middle class. Households participating in embourgeoisement in the west aspire for proximity to existing high-status areas and here, social networks may play a more important role in the choice of where to locate than proximity to Paris. A large proportion of corporate executives and private business professionals are found in these households. Less well represented in the west are social groups working in the creative and intellectual fields who tend to value centrality to Paris and neighbourhoods with diverse social classes and cultures.

Secondly, a more scattered pattern of upper-middle class neighbourhoods can be observed in the western part of the grande couronne, clustered around the ville nouvelle Cergy-Pontoise and along the Seine and Oise valleys. These neighbourhoods that constitute an important part of the configuration of multilayered patchwork urbanisation are somewhat remote and are not adjacent to existing upper-class areas. Upper-middle class households that are upgrading these areas have a slightly different

profile from those in the inner banlieue. Though employed in similar fields, they may be from a less elite second tier of engineers and supervisors rather than the executives. They are more likely to be upwardly mobile and from working-class backgrounds themselves, perhaps originating from areas near to their current location (Préteceille 2007).

Looking further out west into the periurban zone, Berger et al. (2014) have proposed that, while inner ring municipalities continue to be almost completely transformed by an executive class with ties to the centre, the outer ring may be reaching a certain equilibrium after several decades because existing residents have anchored their everyday lives around their place of residence. The construction of new settlements has slowed and households in these areas have become more diverse, while social networks and travel patterns have become more local.

This periurban zone is thus marked by a great diversity of urban forms. One prevalent trend is the revival of villages on the periurban fringe. In their studies of middle and upper-middle class housing choices on the Parisian periphery, Charmes (2019, 2011) and Vermeersch et al. (2018) look at a process of evolution of a typical picturesque village that has evolved since the 1980s from a community where middle-class urbanites began to settle to one with a significant presence of executive households attracted to 'rural life' and proximity to 'nature'. Charmes describes the process of 'clubbisation' that such villages undergo upon the arrival of newcomers, who often engage in local politics to limit growth and prevent new development.

FROM POLYCENTRIC DEVELOPMENT TO GRAND PARIS

Like Hong Kong, Paris currently faces an urban strategy of forced metropolisation. Unlike the polycentric regional strategy of the 1960s, the new urban strategy attempts to concentrate urban development using urban intensification, spatial densification and embourgeoisement to blend large parts of the petite couronne with the central zone of the city of Paris. The recent extension of La Défense and current urban redevelopment projects in Saint-Denis reinforce these tendencies. The metropolisation of the Paris Region has been further accelerated as a result of the implementation of the 'Grand Paris' strategy launched in 2007 by the conservative Sarkozy administration. This initiated a broad planning effort to focus the region's future development on growth and international competitiveness. Planning evolved over the course of a decade, beginning with an urban design ideas consultation and exhibition referred to as 'Le Grand Paris' that was presented to the public in 2009. The effort was taken up by the subsequent socialist administration of President Hollande. There are two primary outcomes of this initiative: the construction of an ambitious regional metro network dubbed the 'Grand Paris Express', currently under construction, and the restructuring of metropolitan governance under a new integrated intercommunal administrative body called the 'Métropole du Grand Paris' (see Belkind 2013, 2021).

The new public transport strategy of the Grand Paris Express is the result of a long negotiation process that has involved different institutional actors and territorial bodies and can be understood as a form of territorial compromise among conflicting interests (Belkind 2021). It offers first and foremost much better connectivity to the petite couronne. At the core of the project is a circular line, the new Metro 15, which will surround the city of Paris and connect the main centres of the petite couronne with one another. Additional concessions have been made to improve connections to the disadvantaged municipalities in the northeast. This extension will further strengthen the current process of embourgeoisement in the zone of metropolitan heterogeneity and also in parts of the postproletarian areas currently under urban redevelopment. The Grand Paris Express also offers improved connections to the region's airports and high-speed rail network, and it contains an added line connecting the science and technology cluster developing with state support in Saclay with the thriving business clusters in neighbouring Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines.

The second element of the new regional strategy, the creation of the new administrative unit Métropole du Grand Paris in 2016, to a certain extent revives the coherence of the former Département de

la Seine, which had been dissolved in 1968. This strategy creates a renewed, strengthened relationship between the city of Paris and the petite couronne, while excluding the villes nouvelles and their centralities (Belkind 2021). It also reduces the authority of the Île-de-France region, which was instrumental in the planning of Paris in the 1960s and of the creation of the villes nouvelles. As a result, the entire zone of multilayered patchwork urbanisation is not taken into consideration in this new round of strategic planning. At the same time, this new territorial unit is fragile and last-minute changes have severely weakened its capacities. It has primarily added an additional layer to an already complex structure and the deep fragmentation of territorial powers that Subra (2012) calls the Balkanisation of Paris. The innumerable interactions and mutual interrelationships between départements, municipalities and various forms of inter-communal cooperation give the strongest weight to the two types of territorial entities with the most entrenched power structures — the central government and the region's 1,260 municipalities.

The Grand Paris strategy reinforces the tendencies of the new emergent urbanisation paradigm. While the city of Paris has become a privileged, exclusive place for the metropolitan elite, we see the development of three main urbanisation processes. Firstly, the process of multilayered patchwork urbanisation defines the everyday experiences of the relative majority of the people of Paris. The two other main processes, embourgeoisement and post-proletarian urbanisation, are diverging from each other and lead to the socioeconomic polarisation of the Paris Region. The most striking characteristic, however, is the blurring of the long-entrenched opposition between the centre and the periphery, which is produced by the process of embourgeoisement. While this process has been confined to the centre and the western parts of the city of Paris for decades, it is currently transforming the last working-class pockets at the northern and eastern edges of the city; it has crossed the périphérique and is extending rapidly towards the western parts of the banlieue.

In contrast, the core of the working-class areas in the northern and eastern banlieue is being profoundly transformed by the dissolution and relocation of industrial activities and by socioeconomic and racialised peripheralisation. The state politics of the demolition of the grands ensembles, the construction of new tramways, and the urban redevelopment of the Plaine Saint-Denis, which once constituted the industrial core of Paris, has fundamentally changed these areas. But in this urban configuration, the boundary of Paris is also disappearing. The new zones have little connection with the working-class legacy of the area and in themselves constitute a form of embourgeoisement, further isolating the post-proletarian configuration of the city.

Yet, despite overarching tendencies of polarisation, Paris does not conform to a 'dual city' model of urban development. Between zones of concentrations of wealth and of poverty, a large part of the region remains heterogeneous and mixed, albeit with a middle-class dominance. Despite the overall dynamics of self-segregation of the wealthy and the increasing isolation of poor and immigrant communities, nearly a third of the region's households live in mixed-income areas, mainly within configurations of metropolitan heterogeneity and of multilayered patchwork urbanisation (Berger et al. 2014; Oberti and Préteceille 2016; IAU 2019). Lastly, the fine-grained patchwork of municipalities as well as continuous public investment in housing, infrastructure, and regional planning help to resist homogenising large-scale processes.

The centre–periphery relation that has constituted the main contradiction of the Paris Region since Haussmann's radical and brutal urban transformation has thus been sublated in a dialectical sense: On the one hand it has been superseded by the polycentric development that profoundly transformed the former urban peripheries. On the other hand, however, this contradiction is preserved in the enlargement of the area of embourgeoisement that is not exclusively situated 'intra muros' anymore, but consolidates and extends further towards the west. This results in a new duality between a densifying and affluent 'inner metropolis' and a heterogeneous and polycentric 'outer metropolis', which includes the urban configurations of multilayered patchwork urbanisation, post-proletarian and metropolitan heterogeneity. The new emerging paradigm of urbanisation thus remains conflict-ridden, fragmented and uneven.