

The Rise of the Small Household: Demographic Change and Household Structure in Paris

Philip E. Ogden^{1*} and François Schnoebelen²

¹Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London, London E1 4NS, UK

²Human Resources Manager, Bouygues Telecom, Site d'Alsacia à Illkirch-Graffenstaden, France

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the changing numbers and structure of households in the City of Paris during the 1980s and 1990s. It sets the findings in the context of the Paris agglomeration and considers the results in the light of broader demographic trends associated with the second demographic transition. Although part of a longer-term historical process of declining household size, the growth of one-person households was rapid in this period, accounting for most of the growth in numbers of households. Over 50% of all households were one-person in 1999 in the City of Paris, and four-fifths consisted of just one or two people. The greatest increase was in the pre-retirement age groups. The paper examines the demographic structure of these households and their geographical distribution, raising questions about the relationship between household changes, occupational structure, housing markets and patterns of residential mobility. Whilst the analysis confirms the well-established concentration of one-person households in the central city, it indicates considerable dispersion of new household forms to the rest of the agglomeration. Moreover, although young adults continue to play an important role in the City of Paris, the effects of previous demographic change on the

size of generations points to a sharp increase in older adults in their forties and fifties during the 1990s. As in other leading French cities, gender, occupational status and housing are found to be important ingredients in the explanation of one-person households, with the increase in women in professional employment a particular feature. A case study of one *quartier* exemplifies these relationships. Copyright © 2005 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

Eric Rohmer's 1984 film 'Les nuits de la pleine lune' was part of his series *Comédies et Proverbes* depicting aspects of French, and especially Parisian, life in the 1980s. The young Louise (played by Pascale Ogier), whilst working in Paris, lives with her partner, Rémi, in the suburban new town of Marne la Vallée to the east of Paris. However, she craves a certain independence and, egged on by her journalist friend Octave, rents a studio flat in central Paris. Rémi cannot accept this bid for partial independence and the relationship folds. The film was a clever and touching evocation of the tension between central city and suburban living and of the complex relationships characterising young Parisian adults. More prosaically, Louise, finding herself a one-person household in Paris, unwittingly becomes a statistic in the 1990 census

*Correspondence to: P. E. Ogden, Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London, London, E1 4NS, UK.
E-mail: p.e.ogden@qmul.ac.uk

which, with the results of the most recent census taken in 1999, lies at the core of the present paper. In contrast to Marne la Vallée, where about 10% of households were one-person in 1990, central Paris recorded a figure of over 50%. The general proportion of the population living alone has risen rapidly in France as a whole, in common with many other European countries, and is a reflection of much wider inter-related processes of demographic change, household structure and occupational patterns, as well as of changing attitudes towards living alone. The central areas of major cities have been undergoing profound changes in their demographic composition over recent decades, in response both to changing patterns of individual behaviour and to the transformation of labour and housing markets.

This paper examines the relatively neglected theme of the changing numbers and structure of households. It completes a series of papers which deals with the general rise of one-person households in France and the UK (Hall *et al.*, 1997, 1999; Ogden and Hall, 2004); the links between household change and population mobility (Ogden and Hall, 1998); recent change in London (Hall and Ogden, 2003) and in the cores of French cities (Ogden and Hall, 2000). Although some limited attention was paid in these papers to the distinctiveness of the Paris case, the recently published results of the 1999 census of population now allow a full and up-to-date analysis. This paper focuses on the core of the urban area, the City of Paris (Ville de Paris), with a population of just over two million and with about 1.1 million households, but provides some discussion of the suburban departments, which constitute the Paris agglomeration,¹ with a total population of

9.4 million and a little over 4 million households in 1999 (Table 1).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURES

The paper draws upon two bodies of theoretical work by way of background: firstly, the so-called 'second demographic transition', and secondly, ideas on the geography of demographic structures in urban areas. In addition, the paper also relies on, and aims to contribute to, recent work on gentrification, professionalisation and migration in urban populations and their impact on household structures – ideas discussed in the following section with specific reference to Paris.

The 'second demographic transition' (van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe, 1995; Kuijsten, 1996), which has characterised much of Europe over the last two decades, has a number of aspects that have a direct impact on household structures. These have recently been explored at some length by Ogden and Hall (2004) but, as a background to the analysis which follows, it is worth outlining the argument here in summary. Households are the basic units of consumption and reproduction, influencing income and social well-being (Wallerstein and Smith, 1992). Changes in household size and structure come about both directly through the demographic processes of fertility, mortality, rates of partnership, marriage and divorce, and indirectly through wider changes in economic and social structures. Within the general context of declining fertility, marriage is both less widespread and takes place at later ages. Rising rates of divorce and couple

Table 1. Population and household change for France, the Paris Agglomeration and the City of Paris, 1982–1999.

	Total population (in households)			Households			One-person households		
	1982	1999	% change 1982–1999	1982	1999	% change 1982–1999	1982	1999	% change 1982–1999
France	52,987,260	57,226,208	+8.0	19,588,924	23,810,161	+21.5	4,816,700	7,380,512	+53.2
City of Paris	2,127,656	2,077,806	–2.3	1,097,452	1,110,912	+1.2	528,796	581,691	+10.0
Inner Crown	3,810,188	3,954,099	+3.8	1,495,397	1,648,717	+10.2	412,464	558,136	+35.3
Outer Crown (within the agglomeration)	2,907,334	3,407,813	+17.2	1,002,569	1,279,720	+27.6	185,416	320,532	+72.9
Total agglomeration	8,845,178	9,439,718	+6.7	3,595,418	4,039,349	+12.3	1,126,676	1,460,358	+29.6

separation have had a major impact on households, creating both more single-parent households and more adults living alone. Improving life expectancy has produced larger proportions of elderly in the population and, consequently, larger numbers of elderly, especially women, living alone in widowhood. Finally, there have also been significant changes in the age at which young people leave the parental home (Kiernan, 1986), in the employment pattern of women in particular, and in the tendency for both men and women to live alone.

Several of these factors combine to increase both the number of households and the level of transitions from one household type to another, so that a higher proportion of the population spends at least some part of the life course living alone. In addition, changing lifestyles are adding to the complexity and diversity of living arrangements, for example, step families (Bornat *et al.*, 1999), gay relationships (Lauria and Knopp, 1985) or dual career couples (Green, 1997), where one partner lives alone for part of the week, although these arrangements are not necessarily recorded in the census or other data sources. At any one moment, the proportion of one-person households is a reflection both of age structures (which in turn reflect, for example, previous shifts in fertility) and of changes in the desirability and practicality of living alone. Recent literature has begun to explore the relationship between so-called new family and household forms and wider socio-economic and geographical processes in major cities. Thus, for Sassen (1991), demographic change represents one of the ways in which the global city – in her analysis Tokyo, London and New York – has evolved over the last two or three decades. Yet the burgeoning literature on world cities pays relatively little attention to the relationship between their demography and their role as financial, commercial, administrative and cultural centres, despite the earlier promising lead given by Savitch (1988) in his analysis of London, Paris and New York, or Gober (1990) in her discussion of urban demography. The arguments for studying the household as the link between housing and labour markets have nevertheless been elegantly summarised by Randolph (1991) and Ermisch (1988).

An important idea to be tested here for the wider agglomeration, as well as for the City of

Paris, is the evolution of the geography of household structures and the influence of the second demographic transition on that geography. Has the 'traditional' pattern of increasing household size from the centre of the agglomeration outwards, accompanied by an increasing preponderance of family households, been sustained? Gober (1986, 1990: 234) has pointed to the weakening of the patterns that had been assumed in conventional models of urban ecology and the 'life-cycle':

'As household structure has increased in complexity, the family-status dimension has become an increasingly narrow and fuzzy dimension of residential location... most neighbourhoods contained a relatively wide range of family types. To differentiate areas, therefore, according to how closely they conform to the norm of married couples with children captures only a narrow slice of all households and ignores the multidimensionality of contemporary household structure'.

Frey (1985), too, has insisted on the demographic heterogeneity of the suburbs, while more recently Mullins (1995) has argued not only for more attention to be given to the household's place in urban social structures, but also for the interest shown in gentrification in the central city to be matched by a greater concern for new developments on the city fringe.

This paper addresses, therefore, two principal questions, prompted by the snapshot provided by the 1999 population census. Firstly, for the agglomeration of Paris as a whole, how far have the effects of the second demographic transition influenced the general geography of household structures? And secondly, concentrating on the City of Paris alone and at greater length, what has been the detailed evolution of household composition over the last two decades and how may it be explained? The briefest examination of the statistical data reveals that recent household change has been particularly rapid. In France as a whole (Ogden and Hall, 2004), the number of households increased by 22% (from 19.6 to 23.8 million) between 1982 and 1999, compared with a population increase of just under 8%. The numbers of people living alone rose by 53% from 4.8 million to 7.4 million over the same period, the latter representing almost one in three of all households. In the Paris agglomeration, as Table

1 shows, household increase has easily outstripped population growth, with a sharp rise in the number of very small households. In the City of Paris by 1999, over 52% of all households consisted of just one person. While the trend towards smaller mean household size is characteristic of other French and indeed Western European cities, the City of Paris remains exceptional and the analysis of its household structure is at the core of this paper.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN PARIS IN THE 1980s AND 1990s

There are three further significant points at which the analysis of urban households intersects with wider theoretical issues in the current literature, and which may be illustrated with reference to Paris and its agglomeration. Firstly, professionalisation of the labour force noted for London (Hamnett, 1994a, b) is also a clear feature of other European and French cities (Jobse and Musterd, 1993; Ogden and Hall, 2000). Census evidence from the 1980s and 1990s certainly supports the notion of professionalisation both for France as a whole and overwhelmingly for Paris itself, which has long occupied a leading role in French commerce, politics and culture, with a greater dominance within the national urban structure than most European capitals (Rhein, 1996). As Sallez (1998: 99) has recently pointed out, Lyon is seven times smaller than the Paris agglomeration and Bordeaux (the fifth agglomeration in France) is only one thirteenth the size of Paris. If we look at the City of Paris itself, by

1999, 87% of employment was in the tertiary sector. Table 2 illustrates the large increase in manager/professional occupational categories between 1982 and 1999, the smaller increase in intermediate professionals, and the decline in numbers in all other occupational groups. The increase in professionals was particularly large among women, doubling between 1982 and 1999. Women accounted for 43% of professionals in the City of Paris in 1999, compared with 35% in France as a whole and 34% in Paris in 1982. The increase among intermediate professionals was concentrated almost entirely among women. This is further reflected in the educational level of the Parisian population: some 28% of the population aged 15 or more in 1999 had a higher education qualification, compared with a little under 10% for France as a whole. Even comparing Paris with other central cities, it is in a league of its own: 26% of all households were headed by someone in a professional job, compared with 16% in Lyon, its nearest rival, and 10% in France as a whole.

Secondly, gentrification has had a profound influence on the social class composition of French central cities, as elsewhere in the developed world (Hamnett, 1991), and here gender (Bondi, 1991) and demography (Gale, 1986) also play a leading role. Savitch (1988) has discussed the process of deindustrialisation and gentrification in the centre of Paris and the influence of increased right-wing political control, including the extensive intervention by planners from the 1960s, given the aim of reducing population densities and improving housing conditions. This

Table 2. Economically active population by sex, City of Paris, 1982–1999.

	Total			Males			Females		
	1982	1999	% change	1982	1999	% change	1982	1999	% change
TOTAL	1,016,748	990,524	-2.58	539,784	501,663	-7.1	476,964	488,861	+2.5
1. Agriculture	530	252	-51.5	240	96	-60.0	280	156	-44.3
2. Artisans/ commerce	79,460	62,961	-20.8	52,580	45,262	-13.9	26,880	17,699	-34.2
3. Managers/ professionals	236,928	371,665	+56.9	156,636	212,079	+35.4	80,292	159,586	+98.8
4. Intermediate professionals	200,216	229,550	+14.7	96,100	98,411	+2.4	104,116	131,139	+25.9
5. Employees	326,648	237,022	-27.1	94,636	74,611	-21.2	232,012	162,411	-30.0
6. Workers	172,976	89,074	-48.5	139,592	71,204	-49.0	33,384	17,870	-46.5

provoked major changes in population structure: 'those who could afford it would settle in the urban core and remould it. Those who could not afford it would move into the new towns and suburban growth poles or still further out into the provinces of France' (p. 105). Rapid changes in the housing market of inner Paris were part of these processes, and gentrification is well established in many parts of the city (Rhein, 1996; Hall *et al.*, 1999), leading to a greater social homogeneity (Noin and White, 1997: 192). A good example is the Marais, where the physical renovation of the area was accompanied by the loss of large numbers of its population classified as 'workers' or in unskilled services, to be replaced by business executives and professionals (Savitch, 1988: 119), who were likely to be living in small households and often alone. Other arrondissements are also experiencing this process of gentrification, as well as other forms of urban renewal (Carpenter *et al.*, 1994; Carpenter and Lees, 1995), for example Belleville in the north or the Bastille area, the subject of the brief case study presented below.

Changes in tenure and other aspects of housing provision in the City of Paris make these points very well. There has been a long-term increase in owner-occupation – from 20% in 1962 to 30% by 1999. This has been the case in all 20 arrondissements, although the level remains relatively low even by the standards of other French central cities. Paris has also experienced a sharp decline in furnished dwellings for rent (the *chambres* and *hôtels meublés*), and an increase in the rent levels for unfurnished property and in the numbers of *pièdes à terre*. While the housing stock remains dominated by pre-1914 property, there has been a certain amount of new development in the peripheral arrondissements of, for example, the 12th, 18th or 20th, with a particular increase of local authority HLM (*habitations à loyer modéré*). The size of dwellings is crucial to the geography of household structures. Much of the character of the City of Paris is related to its dense pattern of small flats in apartment blocks. Nevertheless, the average number of rooms per dwelling increased from 2.24 in 1962 to 2.54 in 1999; and the average number of persons per room declined from 1.02 to 0.74. The continuation of a large and increasingly modernised privately-rented sector, as well as the rise of owner-occupation, means the housing market is conducive to the increase of

affluent living alone. The contrast between the City of Paris and the rest of the agglomeration is sharp. The great twentieth-century expansion of the population in the latter was accommodated both in private individual dwellings and in the great HLM estates of the inner suburbs, to which much of the population displaced by gentrification from the City itself was destined (Noin and White, 1997). The changing distribution of immigrant and ethnic minority groups illustrates this point, with a small decline in numbers of foreign nationals and of the naturalised population in the City of Paris and sharp increases in the inner suburbs. The make-up of the immigrant population has also changed in the City, with a decline in the numbers of single migrant workers who were characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s (Rhein, 1998: 436).

A third factor, migration, has been a key mediating influence between demographic structure, labour and housing markets. The relationships between geographical and social mobility are complex (Gober, 1990) and particularly repay analysis for the largest cities. The central cities at the core of urban regions clearly exert a particularly important attractive force for young adults, given their key role as centres of cultural consumption and their potential for upward social mobility. As Lelièvre and Bonvalet (1994: 1663) remarked 'The Paris region appears to be the ideal location to improve one's chances of social advancement'. Recent trends in the rest of France have provided evidence (Ogden and Hall, 2000, 2004) of repopulation of the city centres, fuelled particularly by the growth in household numbers (even when population continues to decline), of which a high proportion are people living alone. As far as the Paris region is concerned, the evidence from the 1999 census is mixed. The Ile de France as a whole has become rather less attractive over the last two decades, with net out-migration affecting not only the Ville de Paris and the inner suburban departments, but also the outer areas. The region is still strongly attractive to migrants aged 20–35, although net migration is negative for all other age groups (Baccaini, 2001: 49). In the central city itself, Bonvalet and Tugault (1984) have pointed out that net population loss has been a feature since the 1920s, with particularly pronounced declines in the six central arrondissements. Yet, after a long period of out-migration there has, since the later 1970s,

been some tendency towards a lessening of the effect (INSEE, 2000) and the City of Paris has retained its strong appeal for young adult migrants.

SPATIAL DEMOGRAPHIC SEGREGATION OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES

Demographic change over the last two decades both reflects and influences the wider socio-economic changes outlined above. Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate some aspects of the population geography of the City of Paris and the agglomeration. With respect to the geography of households, we may make three points. Firstly, there was a sharp decline in mean household size during the 1980s and 1990s throughout the agglomeration (Fig. 1a, b). Secondly, mean household size does indeed, as we might expect, show the classic concentric pattern of small households being at the centre and a gradual increase in size towards the suburbs. Figure 2a shows this concentricity particularly clearly in the distribution of one-person households. Figure 2b, however, demonstrates the third point, that this pattern is being disturbed by the widespread changes in demographic behaviour, leading to a growth in one-person households in many areas. The agglomeration, with 36% of all households being one-person in 1999, saw the numbers of people living alone rise from 1.12 million in 1982 to 1.46 million in 1999. The greatest absolute percentage growth in one-person households was in the outer ring of departments. As in France as a whole, and as Table 1 has demonstrated, for the agglomeration there was a disparity between population change and changes in the number of households, the latter increasing at twice the rate of the former. These households are becoming more diverse: as well as the rise of living alone in suburbia, there is also a steep rise in one-parent families and a decline in the 'conventional' family of two parents and one or more children. For the Ile de France as a whole during the 1990s, while the number of households increased by 6.5%, the number of one-parent families increased by a fifth (for both male- and female-headed households).

The Rise of Living Alone in the City of Paris

Whatever the changes in suburbia, the preceding maps continue to point to the great distinctive-

ness of the core of the agglomeration. The City of Paris has long had a distinctive demography (see e.g. Bertillon, 1882), and Coppée (1990) demonstrated that as early as 1900 the mean household size in Paris had fallen to 2.72 compared with a national average of 3.47, itself the lowest in Europe at that date (Bongaarts, 2001). Figure 3 shows trends over the last 40 years for the City of Paris itself. Rapid population loss from 1962 to 1982 was matched by a decline, although less marked, in the number of households. From 1982, population losses were much less and the number of households stabilised during the 1980s and increased slightly during the 1990s, by just under 16,000 households. This was due above all to the increase in one-person households – some 36,000 extra – and the decline in all other household sizes (Roussel, 1983; Chauviré, 1988; Delbès and Gaymu, 1990). Average household size in France was 2.40 in 1999 compared with 2.70 in 1982; and in Paris 1.87 in 1999 compared with 1.94 in 1982. Perhaps the most striking figure of all is that by 1999, some 25% of men and 31% of women were living alone, compared with national figures of 11% and 15%. At the same time, as in the agglomeration as a whole, there have been increases in other 'non-traditional' living arrangements. Only 36% of the population were couples with children (and of course of these a good number would be step-children; see Barre, 2003); a further 9.5% were one-parent families with their children; and 6% were in non-family households of more than one person (Table 3). The proportion of households made up of just one or two people rose from 66.5% in 1962 to 76% in 1982 and 78% by 1999.

Geography

Within the City, as we have shown for earlier decades (Hall *et al.*, 1999), there is considerable variation in the pattern of population and household change and in the distribution of one-person households amongst the 20 arrondissements. Continued population decline is still apparent in the ten central arrondissements, with a more mixed picture, including some areas of marked household increase, in the outer arrondissements. As far as one-person households are concerned, in individual quarters within arrondissements, the proportion may exceed 60%. Figure 4 shows for the quarters the dominance of one-person households in the

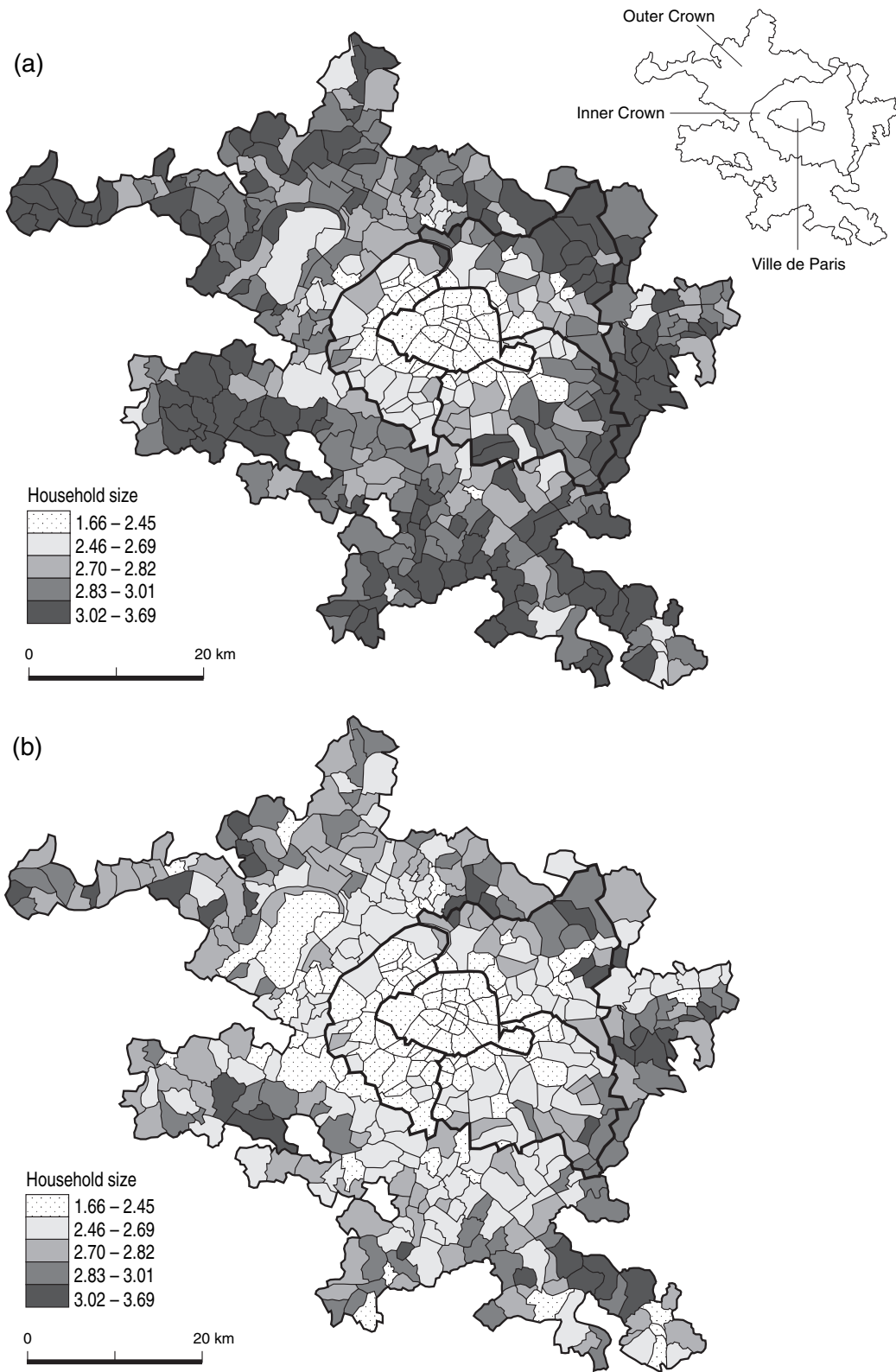


Figure 1. Mean household size for the Paris agglomeration (a) 1982 and (b) 1999.

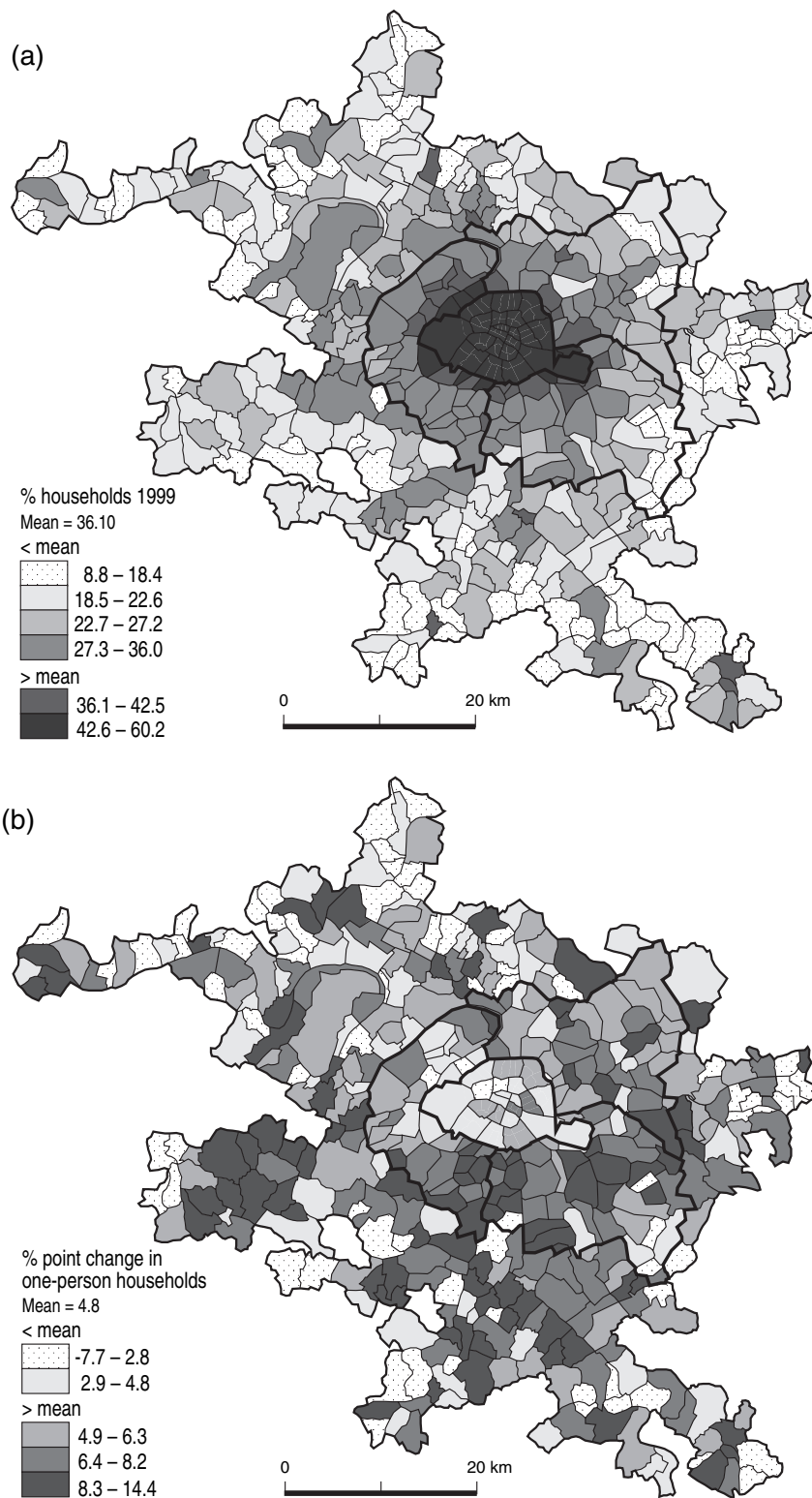


Figure 2. (a) Percentage of one-person households in 1999. (b) Percentage point change in the proportion of one-person households in the total number of households, 1982–99, for the Paris agglomeration.

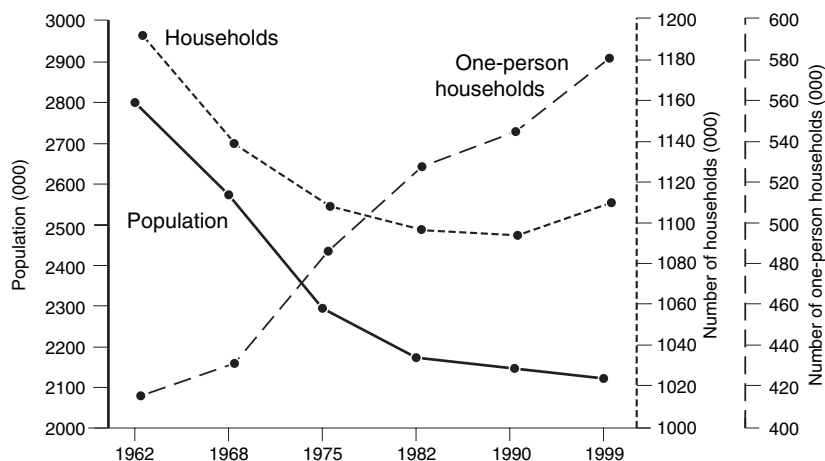


Figure 3. Evolution of the total population, numbers of households and of one-person households, 1962–1999, City of Paris.

Table 3. Population living in different household structures for France, the City of Paris and the sample quarter, 1999 (%).

	France	City of Paris	La Roquette (11 th)
1. Total population in households	100	100	100
2. Population in families	84.0	65.7	60.2
Children in families:	31.2	22.9	20.3
of a couple	25.8	17.3	14.9
of one-parent family	5.3	5.6	5.4
Adults in families:	52.8	42.7	39.9
of couple without children	21.9	19.9	19.7
of couple with children	27.4	18.9	16.4
of one-parent family	3.5	3.9	3.8
3. Outside family in households	3.1	6.3	7.5
of more than one person			
4. Living alone	12.9	28.0	32.3

Source: Population Census 1999, Table MEN 3.

centre (4a), especially for the younger age groups (4b) who tend to dominate in the centre and east of the city. Figure 4c shows the way in which the phenomenon is, as in the agglomeration as a whole, diffusing outwards, with some of the largest increases in the more peripheral quarters.

Age, Gender, Social Class and Mobility

In the City of Paris, one-person households are markedly younger than elsewhere in France. In every age group, a considerably higher proportion live alone and the differences are especially marked for those aged between 20 and 50 (Fig.

5). While nationally some 46% of those living alone are aged over 60, this figure falls to 36% for the Ile de France and 31% for the City of Paris itself. The proportion of women living alone is greater than men in all age groups apart from the 25–50 year olds. An influential factor here is that following divorce or separation, it is generally the woman rather than the man who keeps the child. It is important to distinguish between changes in the propensity to live alone, as noted for the other major French cities during the same period (Ogden and Hall, 2000, 2004), due to changing behaviour, and in the numbers living

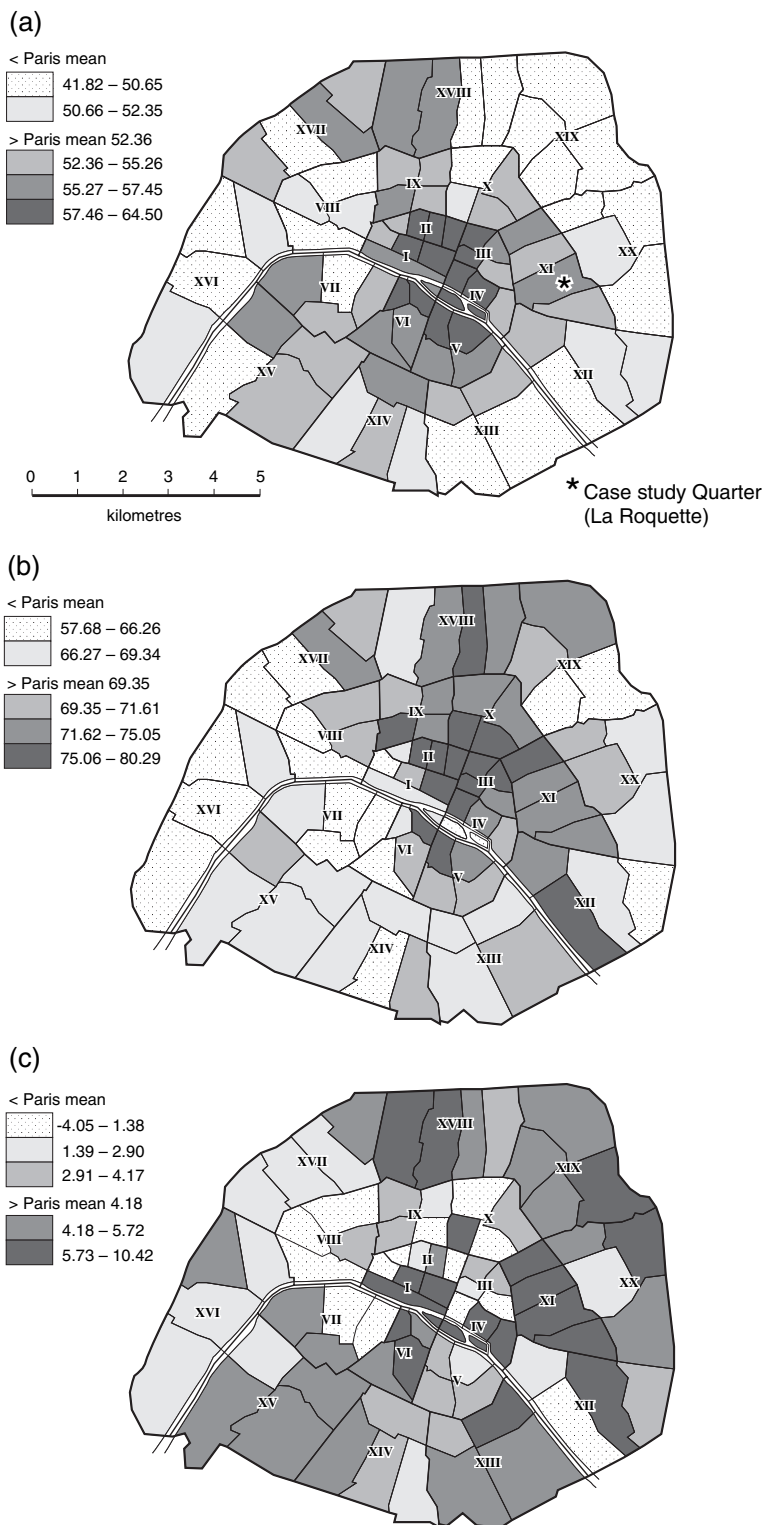


Figure 4. One-person households by quarter in the City of Paris. (a) Proportion of one-person households, 1999. (b) Proportion of one-person households aged under 60, 1999. (c) Percentage point change in proportion of one-person households, 1982–1999.

Source: Special tabulations from the 1982, 1990 and 1999 population censuses.

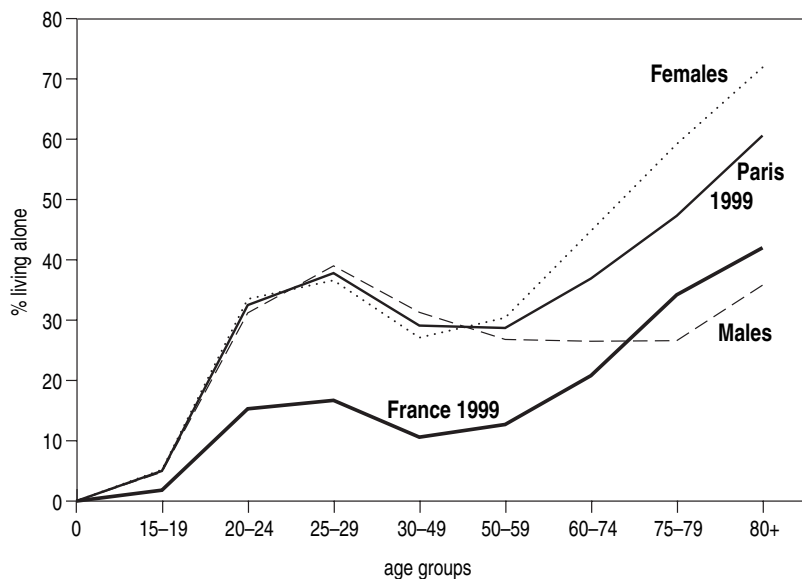


Figure 5. Percentage living alone by age in France, and by age and sex for the City of Paris, 1999. Sources: Published sources and special tabulations from the 1990 and 1999 censuses.

alone due to changing age structures. As far as the former is concerned, the greatest increase in propensity was amongst those aged 20–50. Changes in the absolute numbers by age, on the other hand, reflect the effects of the post-war baby boom (for whose varied effects see, for example, Ley, 1996 or Macunovich, 2002). Figure 6 gives a longer-term view of this cohort effect. It shows that population decline between 1962 and 1999 considerably reduced the numbers of children and older adults in the city, the relative role of young adults being reinforced. Between 1982 and 1999, however, the effect of the large post-war generations may be seen in the increase in the numbers of women and men aged between 35 and 55. During the most recent period of the 1990s, even when there was a decline in numbers in some adult groups, there was an increase in all age groups in the numbers living alone (Table 4). The effect of the baby-boom generations is very clear, and the 1990s saw the numbers of both men and women in their fifties growing rapidly. Thus, there was an increase of nearly a third of men and a quarter of women living alone in their fifties over the last decade.

How far is living alone related to the changing social class composition of the city outlined above? As we have seen (Table 2), numbers in professional and semi-professional employment

increased substantially between 1982 and 1999 within a stable population. While the numbers of men in the former rose by 35% from 1982 to 1999, the numbers of women almost exactly doubled. When we look at the living arrangements of that population, we find that the highest proportions living alone in 1999 were amongst the professional (33%) and semi-professional (35%) groups, compared with figures of around a quarter in the early 1980s. Gender plays a key role (Kaufmann, 2001). There were important increases in the numbers of women of working age living alone, matching those of men, during the 1980s and 1990s, but perhaps the clearest social change of all was the increase in the numbers of younger women in professional jobs living alone, as noted for the other major French cities during the same period (Ogden & Hall, 2000, 2004). The combination of changing demographic behaviour, a changing economy (providing the jobs and therefore the means to live alone) and changing social mores (making living alone feasible and acceptable) has proved very powerful. The City of Paris is the only department in France where the ratio of economically active women to men who live alone is over 100. It is worth noting that students, whilst important in the Paris case where the tradition of living alone is strong, account for only a small part of the population living alone.

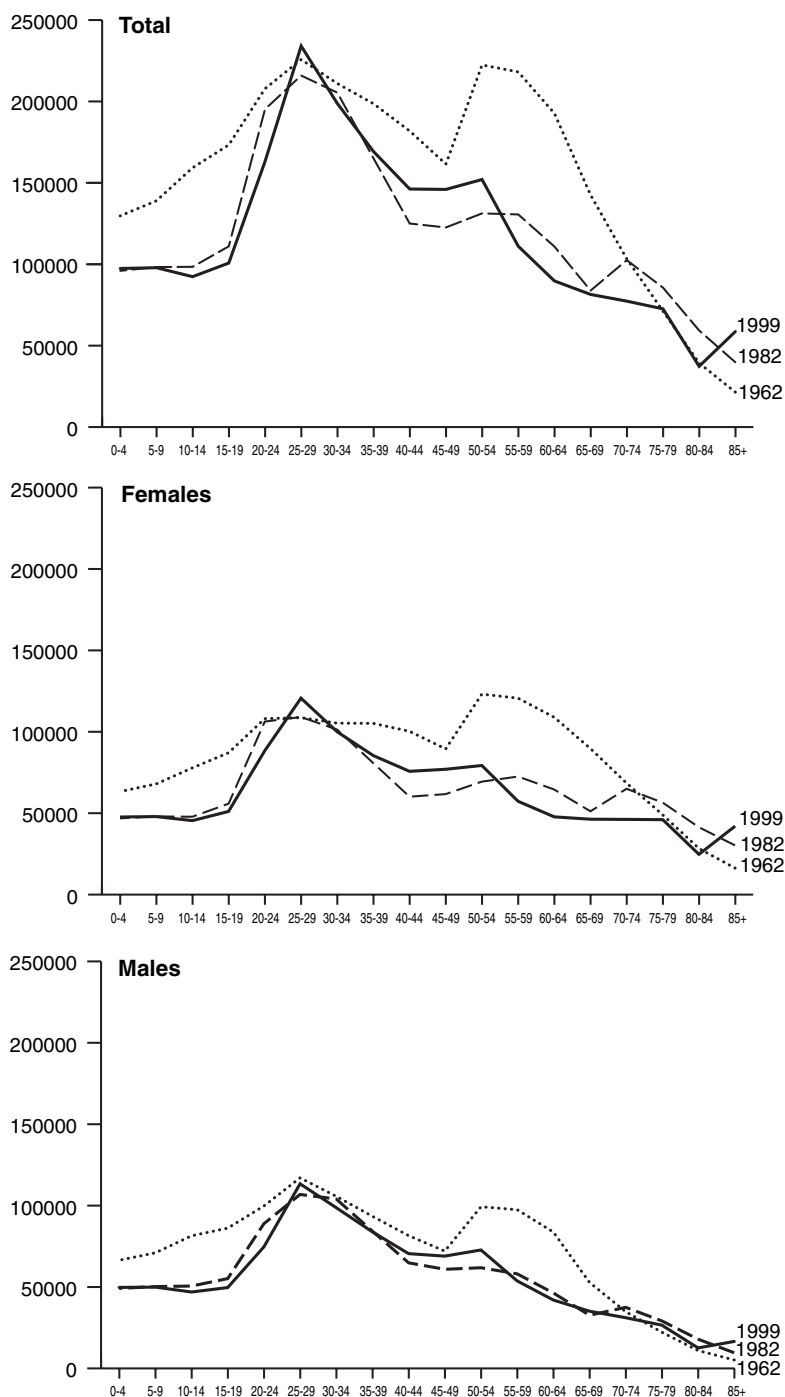


Figure 6. Population of the City of Paris by age and sex, 1962, 1982 and 1999.

As we noted above, one hypothesis links the changing occupational structure of large cities to the highly mobile population that chooses to live there. Young, professional adults with good prospects are both more able and more likely to

migrate in order to obtain better jobs offered by a global city (Coombes and Charlton, 1992). Couples with children or nearing retirement have different priorities and are more likely to move out, although there is some evidence to suggest

Table 4. Changes in the total population and persons living alone by age, City of Paris, 1990–1999 (%).

Age group	Total		Males		Females	
	Total	Living alone	Total	Living alone	Total	Living alone
All	-1.13	+6.55	-0.07	+13.58	-2.15	+2.02
0–14	-1.82	–	-1.13	–	-2.52	–
15–19	-6.86	+28.17	-8.67	+21.39	-5.03	+34.89
20–24	-10.31	+5.40	-11.53	+3.52	-9.26	+6.93
25–29	+1.38	+10.36	+2.13	+10.48	+0.69	+10.24
30–49	-0.20	+12.32	-0.69	+12.56	+0.26	+12.05
50–59	+15.38	+26.81	+15.00	+31.24	+15.72	+23.50
60–74	-5.88	-2.50	+1.08	+20.10	-10.45	-10.12
75–79	+2.80	-3.18	+10.00	+12.35	-0.55	-6.53
80+	-15.53	-14.11	+10.61	-3.81	-17.61	-16.16

movement of retirees in from the suburbs too. Bonvalet and Lelièvre (1991: 1167–8; and see Courgeau, 1987; Bonvalet and Lelièvre, 1989; Lelièvre and Bonvalet, 1994; Bonvalet, 1994; Jacquot, 1994) have recently sketched out the relationship between demographic trends, increasing mobility for some groups, and the rise in demographic spatial segregation. Increasing rates of household transitions and the changing structure of households have a clear relationship with rates of mobility. Bonvalet (1994: 57; and see also Moore and Clark, 1990; Frey and Kobrin, 1982) makes two points. Firstly, the break-up of families into smaller units results in greater mobility through the processes of leaving the parental home, formation of couples, separation and divorce, and retirement. And secondly, that family break-up may indeed lead to spatial demographic segregation, with more single and divorced people in the cores of urban areas. By 1999, 7.6% of Parisians aged over 15 living in the City of Paris were divorced and 38.4% married, compared with 6.2% and 51% nationally. However, the evidence of the 1999 census presented here suggests that it may also be that the force of demographic change throughout the population is such that it produces widespread geographical change in household structure, as indicated earlier in this paper for the agglomeration as a whole.

Migration is highly age-specific (Le Jeannic, 1993; Simon, 1995). Results from the 1999 census migration tables indicate that some 43% of residents in the City of Paris were living in the same dwelling in 1999 as in 1990, compared with 50%

nationally. However, this figure falls to 14% amongst 25–29 year olds (22% nationally). The most mobile occupational group were those in managerial and professional jobs: only 30% were living in the same dwelling in 1999 as in 1990. Almost 30% of the total population had moved into the City from beyond its borders since 1990, and this figure rises to 52% for adults aged 25–40. Elsewhere (Ogden and Hall, 1998; Hall *et al.*, 1999), we have elaborated this picture by using longitudinal data from the *Echantillon Démographique Permanent*, demonstrating in particular the high levels of mobility amongst those living alone. By tracing the same groups through time, we were able to relate household transitions to mobility more precisely, our results showing the crucial role of the migration of young, professional men and women to live alone in the heart of the capital. However, there is also evidence to suggest a relative immobility of one-person households in Paris, especially those in their forties and fifties, reflecting the fact that once individuals are well settled in the city they tend increasingly to stay put.

Case Study: La Roquette

In order to illustrate in more detail the mechanisms of change, the quarter of La Roquette has been selected as a brief case study. The 11th arrondissement, to the east of the Bastille and in which the quarter is located, showed the largest increase in one-person households of any of the 20 arrondissements in the City during the 1980s and 1990s. By 1999, all four quarters of the

arrondissement were well above the city average, with La Roquette the highest at 56%.² During the 1980s the area had become a classic newly-gentrifying district, fashionable and with a considerable diversity of housing types and properties that could be converted from industrial to residential use. Its location adjacent to the third and fourth arrondissements, which had become classic areas of gentrification from the 1970s and where property prices were now high, was an important factor in attracting a new generation of residents. Simon's (1995) classification of the Parisian quarters characterised the area as dominated by the 'new tertiary middle classes'. A revived social and cultural climate in the streets surrounding the Bastille made the area particularly attractive for young adults. Table 3 shows the distinctiveness of the quarter's household structure. Only 60% of the population is classified as belonging to a family, with an additional third of the population living alone, and over 7% in households of unrelated adults. In this last category, although the census itself does not permit an exact analysis, were an increasing number of gay singles and cohabiting couples who were attracted to the area's location adjacent to the Marais, which had become the focus of the Parisian gay community. A very small proportion of the population (under a third) are heterosexual couples or children of those couples, compared with 36% in the City of Paris and 53% nationally. The proportion of one-parent families has increased substantially.

Table 5 presents a summary of the principal demographic and associated socio-economic changes. Firstly, in terms of demographic factors, household growth outstripped that of the population. Mean household size, therefore, declined to well under two persons per household. There was a sharp increase in both the young adult population and in the contribution of women to that population, indicating their role in gentrification in an area very much at the leading edge during the 1980s and consistent with the ideas presented by Bondi (1991). This is further reflected in the structure of one-person households, with three-quarters of those in La Roquette being under 60 in 1999. Secondly, the proportion of professionals rose very sharply too. Here the role of gender is again evident, as Table 5 shows. The increase in the proportion of women in professional jobs was from 10% to 32% in La

Table 5. Profiles of the sample quarter of La Roquette, 1982–1999.

Variable	1982	1999
<i>(A) Demography</i>		
Total population	46,364	47,520
% aged 0–14	13.9	12.5
% aged 20–49	48.2	54.6
% females in 20–49 population	45.0	51.6
Number of households	24,656	26,760
% one-person households	49.9	56.9
Mean household size	1.88	1.76
<i>(B) Housing</i>		
% of dwellings owner-occupied	24.7	28.8
<i>(C) Employment</i>		
% active population in professional jobs ^a		
Total	13.4	34.9
Male	16.2	38.3
Female	10.1	31.6
<i>(D) Migration^b</i>		
% living in same dwelling as in 1975/1990	51.3	41.6

^aManagers and intellectual professions.

^bIntercensal rates, i.e. for 1982, place of residence in 1975; for 1999, place of residence in 1990.

Roquette, and more than half of women in professional jobs in 1999 were aged between 25 and 40. Moreover, if we were to include semi-professional jobs as well as professional, the overall increase is from 34% in 1982 to 59% in 1999. The numbers of women in such jobs rose from 3600 in 1982 to almost 8000 by 1999, although the total economically active population grew by under 10%.

Thirdly, the housing market was diverse. While there was a sharp increase in owner-occupation, there was also a strong privately-rented sector, mainly of unfurnished property. Public sector housing accounted for 14% of the stock in La Roquette, often in new or newly-refurbished blocks. Some 10% of dwellings were constructed after 1982, and of these 90% were inhabited by those under 60 years old. Fourthly, there was clear evidence of increased population mobility: the proportion of people in 1999 who had changed dwelling during the previous intercensal period was considerably higher than it had been for the population in 1982 (Table 5).

The importance of age-related migration is also clearly seen at this local scale, and the data give a good impression of the rate of population turnover. Thus, only 12% of the 25–29 year-olds and 18% of the 30–39 year-olds were living in the same dwelling in 1999 as in 1990. While only 30% of the 25–29 year-olds had been living in the City of Paris at the beginning of the decade, the figure rises to 57% for those in their thirties. This illustrates both the attractiveness of the central city for young people of working age, and the high degree of mobility within the city. We should also note the high turnover in the smallest dwellings. In Paris as a whole, some 76% of dwellings consisting of just one principal room had changed hands since 1990, indicating the high mobility of the smallest households. As elsewhere in the City, the dominance of small flats in the quarter's housing stock is very important in explaining the geography of household types. Some 50% of all dwellings in La Roquette were of less than 40 m², compared with 38% in the City as a whole.

CONCLUSIONS

As far as the wider debates referred to at the start of this paper are concerned, there are two principal conclusions from the evidence presented here. Firstly, the Paris case has shown the local effects of a number of demographic changes known together as the second demographic transition (whose national effects have been analysed by Ogden and Hall, 2004). The City of Paris is an 'extreme' case of a demographic structure dominated by adults, many of whom live alone, and where 'conventional' families of couple and children are in a small minority. Trends observed during the 1980s and before have been further reinforced during the 1990s. Secondly, the data for the wider agglomeration suggests that demographic structures are evolving rapidly in the suburbs too, modifying to a degree the contrasts in geography between the central city and suburbia. One of the major consequences of the increasing rates of household transitions, which deserves greater attention from geographers, is a greater variety of household types and more complex ties of kin and friendship throughout the agglomeration. More and more people are spending at least a part of their life course living alone. The trend towards individualisation,

where the interests and wishes of the individual are paramount, is matched by a pluralisation of household structures and lifestyles as social norms have relaxed and as patterns of partnership and living arrangements have become more fluid (Kuijsten, 1996; Ogden and Hall, 2004).

It is important for future work to recognise that new household forms are having a profound effect not just on central cities (where they are perhaps most visible) but on populations as a whole. Thus, as Buzar *et al.* (2005) argue, the rise of the small household and of more flexible living arrangements may be one of the keys to the revitalisation of historic urban cores, but there is also a need to recognise, and to research, the impact of the second demographic transition on the suburbs. While there is certainly a strong spatial dimension to the impact of this transition, the changes in human relationships and behaviour summarised in the bare statistical data are very widespread. The experiences of both children and adults during the life course are profoundly influenced by these changing processes of household formation and dissolution.

For the City of Paris, we have shown that one-person households among adults of working age have increased rapidly during the 1990s as they did during the 1980s (Hall *et al.*, 1999). Younger women as well as younger men are increasingly living alone and, in both cases, large numbers are in higher socio-economic groups and therefore have the means to live as they choose. Tenure changes show that one-person households are moving away from their traditional pattern of renting and that owner-occupation is common. There are significant geographical variations within the city, but the evidence supports the contention of Jobse and Musterd (1993: 311) that, through their increasing diversity and affluence, one-person households 'have gained access to the housing market. They are no longer relegated to those segments of the housing stock that stronger contenders reject'. Housing structures within the City of Paris have indeed long been suited to the growth of small households. The data presented here, not least in relation to the case study of La Roquette, tend to support Lefancheur's (1989) portrait of the distinctiveness of the city: 'a young population living alone, more often in work than in the provinces and more often in high-status jobs'. Changes affecting all adults of working age are amplified by the

generational effects of the baby-boom cohorts of the post-war years. The ageing of the post-war generations means that older adults under 60 are also of increasing importance, providing a well-heeled population attracted to the cultural and social life of the central city. While insisting on the importance of small households, we need, though, to take care not to indulge too far in the 'reification of co-residence' (Kobrin, 1976: 137) or to confuse the fact of living alone with any necessary social isolation. Indeed, as Léridon and Villeneuve-Gokalp (1988) pointed out, of people living alone aged 21–44, a quarter of men and a third of women were in 'stable, loving relationships' and there are many questions to be asked about family and social networks within the capital (Bonvalet, 2003). Louise of *Les nuits de la pleine lune* may not have been untypical: a desire to live independently was matched by a wide circle of friends and confidants.

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NOTES

- (1) The geography of the Paris region is divided as follows. At the core is the City of Paris (Ville de Paris) made up of 20 *arrondissements* and 80 quarters. The agglomeration is the continuously built-up area whose boundaries are revised at the time of each census. By 1999, the agglomeration consisted of 396 communes including the City of Paris (which counts as one commune), all 123 communes in the 'inner crown' of the three departments and a further 272 communes in the four departments which make up the 'outer crown' in the rest of the Ile de France region. See Fig. 1a.
- (2) The selected quarter is in the top decile of quarters (out of 80) whose percentage point increase in the proportion of one-person households between 1982 and 1999 exceeded 6.9%, compared with the City average of 4.2%. For location, see Fig. 4a.

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