PLANNING FOR SOCIALLY-MIXED HOUSING IN PARIS, FRANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

This master’s thesis seeks to update and expand upon current research on social mix housing policies in Paris, France by focusing on the effects of promoting socially-mixed communities through a recently passed legal mandate (the Loi Relative à la Solidarité et au Renouvellement Urbains (SRU)) in two distinct neighborhood: the 16th arrondissement in the western section of the city and la Goutte d’Or in the north-east. More specifically, this research analyzes social mix policies within the historical context of social housing policy in Paris and France at large, and examines four critical components: (1) data related to how social mix policies are being carried out throughout the city and within these two neighborhoods; (2) physical manifestations of social mix within each neighborhood; (3) the opinions of local residents and community members to decipher whether actual mixing between social classes is taking place within these neighborhoods; and (4) if there are any services and/or programs that can be put into place in order to better facilitate neighborhood cohesion.

A historical analysis of policies and programs in Paris shows that the city has come a long way in terms of seeking effective social housing policies and programs, and has indeed achieved its goals to make affordable housing available within the city limits, albeit with some concerns remaining over the spatial distribution of units. Findings from site visits show that physical manifestations of changing neighborhood demographics appear to be present in la Goutte d’Or, though less so in the 16th arrondissement. Interviews also support previous research that interactions between differing ethnic and social groups appear to be minimal. Furthermore, interviews suggest that improving efforts on behalf of city officials to communicate their rationale for creating socially-mixed communities, as well as improving local schools and encouraging local community members and businesses to host social events, may also help facilitate social interactions between groups within these communities as well.

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INTRODUCTION

The goal to create a desirable "social mix" within a community has become an important dimension of social housing policies worldwide. Social mix policies espouse the importance of creating neighborhoods with mixed-income, race and other variable sociological factors in order to promote community vitality, health and long-term sustainability, particularly in the form of the avoidance of "housing (type and tenure) homogeneity that creates social homogeneity (concentration of poor people) that reduces social opportunities for those that are living there" (Musterd and Andersson 2005, 762). Socially-mixed communities are generally seen as having a positive impact on the lives of community residents, particularly with regards to the opportunities of low-income residents (Ibid).

France, in particular, has made the goal of creating social mix an important component in planning for housing. While the state does not officially recognize ethnicity (France's modèle républicain d'intégration is built on the idea that no French citizen should be distinguished by their race nor ethnicity) (Ibid), the national government has passed laws to facilitate a mixité sociale (social mix) in order to avoid "urban ghettoization" (Ibid, 765). The Loi Relative à la Solidarité et au Renouvellement Urbains (SRU) passed in 2000 requires communes with more than 1500 inhabitants to have a minimum of 20% social housing by 2020 in order to create a "balanced distribution in the supply of accommodation" (Baque, Fijalkow and Vermeersch 2011, 258); those communes that do not meet this requirement and do not establish a program to catch-up with their defaults are faced with financial sanctions (Ibid).

This master's thesis seeks to analyze social mix policies within the context of the history of social housing policy in Paris and France at large, looking specifically at (1) data related to how social mix policies are being carried out throughout the city and within two selected neighborhoods; (2) the physical manifestations of social mix within each neighborhood; (3) the opinions of local residents and community members to decipher whether actual mixing between social classes is taking place within these neighborhoods and (4) if there are any services and/or programs that can be put into place in order to better facilitate neighborhood cohesion. Research consists of site visit observations, interviews of local residents and community members, and data analysis pertaining to the type of individuals effected by this program in Paris. More broadly, this thesis aims to update previous research on social mix with the hopes that Paris and other global cities around the world can learn and benefit from its findings in their own quests to provide adequate housing for their citizens, as well as promote vitality and long-term sustainability of existing and future communities.

CHAPTER 1:
PLANNING FOR SOCIAL HOUSING IN FRANCE

HISTORY OF SOCIAL HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN FRANCE

France, and the city of Paris in particular, have a long and rich history of social housing policy and planning whose development is deeply linked to larger-scale city planning and urban renewal goals. In her article "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control", Ann-Louise Shapiro (1982) covers the history of social housing policy and planning extensively, noting that during the Second Empire, Napoleon III and his prefect Baron Georges Haussmann worked extensively to "transform Paris from a medieval city to an imposing capital" (Shapiro 1982, 486). Due to rapid increases in the city's population resulting from a wave of rural migration beginning in the 1850's, housing shortages, deteriorating housing conditions and the ensuing development of informal slum settlements in the city's center, housing became a major issue of concern for city officials in Paris (Ibid). Many of these officials, heeding the warnings of public health advocates at the time, were concerned that germs and tuberculosis could spread to residents in other parts of the city (Platt 2010). As a result, slum clearance became a forerunning initiative for city officials; efforts were made to drive broad boulevards through congested areas of the city center, to open up corridors for light and air, to implement a coordinated network of roads to improve access to central markets and to create railways to the outskirts of the city, to construct sewers and water supply systems to improve public health conditions and to build landscaped squares, public parks and grand monuments (Shapiro 1982; Platt 2010; Angélil and Siress 2012).

These efforts, which focused primarily in Paris' city center, resulted in a tremendous real estate boom, thereby causing a large exodus of working class citizens from the city center to the eastern and southeastern peripheries of the city. At this time, no public efforts were made to rehouse those displaced by the city's renewal efforts. Private industry instead focused its attention primarily on targeting a growing luxury market in the city's center (Shapiro 1982; Platt 2010; Angélil and Siress 2012). As a result, instant slums characterized by illegal subdivision plots without basic infrastructure and male lodging homes sprang up on the periphery of the city (Platt 2010), thereby creating two increasingly disparate regions within the city: a wealthy interior and an impoverished exterior (Shapiro 1982). The peripheral area of the city became known as the banlieue (a portmanteau of two French words: ban (to forbid) and lieue (league, or approximately four kilometers). Wealthier residents living in the city's center rarely, if ever, ventured into this area in fear of coming into contact with slum dwellers living in seemingly unsanitary and lawless conditions (Angélil and Siress 2012).

The growth of "plaster and tar paper shantytowns" during the late 19th century in the banlieues alarmed bourgeois reformers, who "more and more... were coming into contact with an alien culture, a population living outside of accepted norms" (Shapiro 1982, 488). Public health concerns and the deemed lack of orderliness taking place in the banlieues compelled public officials to take action in order to remedy the "formidable belt of suffering humanity" surrounding the city of Paris (Shapiro 1982, 488). Many reformers at the time, however, feared the prospect of grouping large working class populations together in large complexes. This sentiment was particularly pronounced in the city's center, where wealthier Parisians feared not only contact with these individuals, but also worried about the consequences of housing these individuals en masse; Shapiro (1982) states that "the prospect of large numbers of workers living under the same roof suggested all forms of irregular behavior--'la reunion pour la debauche'"(Shapiro 1982, 489) and that "in the bourgeois imagination, common rooms [in large public housing projects could become] incubators of conspiracy and sedition and dark corridors and stairways the site of prostitution and moral decay" (Ibid, 489).

By the 1870s, how and where to house the working-class in Paris, as well as where the housing should be built, in what style and by whom, became a pressing concern to city officials, causing reformers to "reevaluate the use of physical space to monitor and mediate interactions among potentially hostile social classes" (Ibid, 490). More efforts to improve the habits and morals of the working-class also came into focus; Shapiro (1982) states that "for the most significant and influential group of reformers, the problem of working class housing was essentially a social and moral one" (Ibid, 490) and that "the precondition for this regeneration of habits and morals was to be the establishment of a stable family life within the privacy of an individual home"(Ibid, 490). As a result, workers housing financed by industrialist Jean Dollfus in 1853 became a dominant model for housing reformers. This model consisted of single-family dwellings grouped in units of four where the tenant could become the owner of their own lodging after fifteen years of mortgage payments (Ibid).

Image 1: Single-family workers housing built by industrialist Jean Dollfus as a model for housing reform
Source: http://www.tslr.net/2008/01/reissue-quadruple-houses-in-france.html

The ideology behind these workers houses espoused an ideal that property ownership, sobriety and economic prosperity could transform the working-class character, allowing low-income workers to "reenter the mainstream of social life, transformed from an uprooted nomad into a settled petty proprietor" (Ibid, 491).

Following World War II, the national government undertook efforts to build public housing projects in Paris, and France at large, in reaction to a housing crisis caused by the destruction of existing housing stock from the war and increased population growth (Blanc 2010, 261; Guerrand 1967). Many of these projects were financed primarily by private investors, who were offered low interest tax rates and tax benefits (Angélil and Siress 2012). This population growth consisted heavily of emigrants from other regions of France who flocked to Paris in search of work in the city's many industrial firms, and upon the conclusion of the Algerian War in 1962, of pieds-nords (European colonists in Algeria) and Harkis (native Algerians who fought with the French army during the war) (Castells 1983). In response to pressure put on the State from industrialists who feared the impact of raising rents in the city of Paris would affect wage demands, as well as labor unions and the Communist Party (Ibid), the French government began an ambitious housing policy in the early 1950's to address this issue, seeking to construct approximately three million dwelling units within the next ten years (Blanc 2010).

From 1957-1977, 2.3 million affordable units were created under a "moderate rental housing" program (habitation à loyer moderé, HLM), including massive projects known as grands ensembles. Many of the grands ensembles (or ville nouvelles (new towns)) were built in socially and physically isolated suburbs (or banlieus) of the nation's major cities, particularly Paris (Calavita and Mallach 2010). Manuel Castells (1983) notes in his book The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements that the construction of the grands ensembles typically consisted of "large, very dense, high-rise housing estates...connected to Paris by train and road, so that it's 20,000 to 60,000 dwellers can commute every day either to Paris or some industrial location in the surrounding periphery" (Castells 1983). These constructions often took the form of standardized, uniform high-rise buildings in parallel rows in a grid pattern, often lacking urban amenities such as health services, cultural centers and shops, a reflection of the popular ideals espoused at the time by influential Swiss architect Le Corbusier to separate living spaces from commercial and working centers (Arts Council of Great Britain 1987). Many of these housing complexes, Bullock (2009) notes, were based on the Camus system, a "closed" factory-based system of large panel construction rooted in the tradition of pre-fabricated, precast concrete components (Bullock 2009). While Bullock (2009) notes that the creation of grands ensembles were successful in the sense that housing was built quickly and more cheaply than would be possible by more traditional means and, thus, could be seen as fulfilling Modernist goals such as building houses as Ford (or Citroen) produced cars (Bullock 2009) or adhering to Le Corbusier's vision for a truly Modern metropolis (serving the needs of a machine-age society where "an efficient and hygienic environment in which every element found its correct place" (Sayare 2011, 82) , Castells (1983) adds that the creation of the grands ensembles is more appropriately characterized as "the ultimate expression of socialized housing under state initiative" that "fits almost too well into the theoretical model that sees housing as a means of reproduction of labour power" (Castells 1983, 58). Angélil and Siress (2012) note the"bland architectural uniformity" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 59) of the grands ensembles, adding that "though it is questionable whether or not early urban planners consciously fought to enact a discriminatory spatial design, the impact is clear. In the creation of social housing in Paris' banlieues, France found itself replacing a former colonial refrain, only this time within its national borders" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 60).

Image 2: Older photograph of grands ensembles project in Sarcelles exemplifying large, dense high-rise estates
Source: http://www.hipcescu.com/2011/02/welcome-to-sarcelles/

Ville nouvelles that include grands ensembles projects around Paris include Sarcelles (located in the north of Paris near the Charles de Gaulle airport), Cergy-Pontoise (located north-west of Paris on the Oise River), Marne-la-Vallée (located to the west of Paris near Disneyland), Sénart (located south of Paris) and Val d'Yerres (located south of the Orly airport), among others.

Image 3: Social housing construction based on the Camus system of large panel, pre-fabricated construction in Nanterre.

Source: Bullock (2009)

Image 4: A social housing project in La Courneuve, northeast of Paris, exemplifying typical grande ensembles architecture of large, dense high-rise estates.
Source: http://silverparticules.blogspot.com/2012/09/the-we-and-i-michel-gondry.html

Conditions in housing estates of Paris' banlieues worsened considerably during the 1960's-70s as a result of a number of factors, including (1) the physical dilapidation and lack of upkeep of buildings developed in the 1950's and 60's; (2) a new state housing policy that promoted cheap home ownership among French citizens, thus leaving many of the housing units in Paris' banlieues vacant; (3) the 1973 oil crisis, which caused high rates of unemployment, leaving a number of individuals who could not afford to pay even subsidized rental costs; (4) a new national immigration policy which restricted any new migrations into France, but allowed those immigrants already residing in France to house their families. Because many of these immigrants could not afford housing at market rates, many were forced into vacant and dilapidated units in the banlieues (Blanc 2010; Blanc & Stébé 2004).

As a result, low-income tenants currently living in social housing complexes in Paris' banlieues increasingly come from black and immigrant (ie, "ethnic") groups (Blanc 2010, 263, Verdugo 2011) of north-African descent (mainly from former French colonies). According to the 1999 census, while 15% of French natives lived in public housing in 1999, an astonishing 50% were immigrants from the Maghreb (Northern Africa) (Verdugo 2011). These communities have increasingly been stigmatized as "ghettos" in Paris, whereby the term banlieue "has become a pejorative euphemism for neighborhoods with low-income housing projects, predominantly for immigrant families, that are characterized by widespread poverty, unemployment and violence" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 57). Blanc (2010) states that residents of the banlieues have been segregated from the rest of French society with little hope of integration and upward social mobility, thereby fueling a general sentiment of racism and classism throughout the city (Blanc 2010).

Since the 1980's, crime and civil unrest have erupted in lower-income banlieues, particularly amongst youth residents. Riots and protests in the early 1980's and throughout the mid-1990's garnered local, national, and international attention on the poor living conditions in these areas, as well as a general sense of "otherness" and "outsiderness" felt by many immigrants residing in Paris, particularly those of North-African and Arab descent (Verdugo 2011). Angélil and Siress (2012) argue that this phenomenon may have been exacerbated by worldwide globalization trends, whereby employment in lower-wage jobs in France, as in much of the western world, "became a rare commodity as companies moved to the Global South to pursue more profitable business interests" (Angélil and Siress 2012,), as "modernization in Western cities therefore meant local deindustrialization in order to balance the rise of foreign-based manufacturing" (Ibid, 61). Angélil and Siress (2012) also note that during this time, unemployment rose tremendously and layoffs were widespread, resulting in "ever-larger portions of the population [being] pushed to the margins of society" (Ibid, 61); a trend sociologist Loic Wacquant characterizes as "advanced marginality" associated with the rise of a neoliberal economy (Ibid, 61).

Image 5: A burned-out truck sits in front of a dilapidated social housing complex in La Courneuve, highlighting a general atmosphere of poverty, unemployment and violence that characterizes many of Paris' banlieus.
Source: http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=564

The future of social housing in Paris' banlieues is one of the most troubling issues facing French social and housing policy today (Calavita and Mallach 2010). Since the 1990s, the devalorization of many of the high rise social complexes found in the banlieues, considered difficult to counter without substantial public intervention, made them a major concern for urban renewal. The Politique de la ville identified a geography of priority sites for renovation whose renewal would be supported by heavy public intervention (Bonneville 2005). In February 2008, the French government announced a policy entitled Espoir banlieues in an attempt to "mainstream" urban policy in France. Ministries in this program were required to produce a three-year roadmap specifying how they would reduce disparities between the poorest areas and the national average.

The success of these projects has, however, been met with mixed results. In their article Resident Participation in Housing Regeneration in France, authors Stephen Hall and Paul Hickman (2011) argue that the French government has devoted limited attention to the issues of local participation and, thus, the program has not achieved tremendous success (Hall and Hickman 2011). Angélil and Siress (2012) add that many of the banlieues are still governed through a focus on policing rather than actual meaningful social and economic action, while policies to alleviate social issues in Paris' banlieues are often applied "in isolation, affecting a particular 'problem space'" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 64) which, while effective in the short-term, may not be sufficient to tackle "the larger root causes that defy spatiality" (Ibid, 64).

As a result, more recent approaches to tackle social housing issues in France have looked to correct mistakes of the past. Following a 1973 official directive to halt the construction of large social complexes on the outskirts of the city (Sayare 2011), social housing in France from the mid-1970s onward has shifted from primarily state-directed initiatives serving only the lowest classes to more individualized, localized approaches that also look to serve medium and lower-medium income households. In 1977, a system of contracting between the state and private builders was introduced, providing builders with access to financing and subsidies in order to provide for affordable units (Levy-Broeland and Tutin 2007). Quoting architect Brendan MacFarlane in her article "Jakob + MacFarlane Architects", author Catherine Slessor writes "we need new sorts of housing that can address issues such as altered family structures and environmental concerns. But even if people feel some generosity of spirit in the buildings they inhabit, that would be a start. Tough places breed toughness" (Slesser 2009, 53).

Today, social housing in France, and Paris in particular, is characterized by a variety of goals. The City of Paris has made housing the middle class, who have increasingly found it financially difficult to reside within the city center, a primary concern. The City of Paris website claims that it hopes to assure that a third of its planned social housing construction by 2014 is devoted to housing this group (City of Paris Website). Julie Touber, a Columbia University Planning PhD student with extensive experience and expertise in housing issues in Paris, corroborates this viewpoint, adding that for her Parisian friends in particular, finding housing affordable for younger middle-class younger within the city is extremely difficult, and often pushes them out to the suburbs in search of more affordable housing options (Touber 2013). The City of Paris is also undergoing tremendous construction to refurbish vacant and underutilized properties within the city center for social housing; notable projects include upgrading a seventeenth-century building in the 4th arrondissement for social housing and the elderly on the corner of Rue de Turenne and Rue Saint-Antoine, converting a former hotel for social housing in the 12th arrondissement and renovating the Palais de Femme, a picturesque property built in the 1920's in the 11th arrondissement on Charonne street for the creation of 300 affordable housing units.

Other government initiatives related to social housing at the present time include a government endorsement to use sustainable materials and innovative energy systems, a promotion of buildings that facilitate homeownership rather than merely rental, and a goal to meet the needs of a changing demographic among the French populace, which include higher divorce rates that might require more space to accommodate children, a rise in homelessness since the 1980's, as well as a growing elderly population that might require smaller units located closer to necessary facilities (Levy-Broeland and Tutin 2007)

Image 7: Renovation of the Palais de Femme, a picturesque property built in the 1920's in the 11th arrondissement on Charonne street for the creation of 300 affordable housing units.

Source: City of Paris Website

Image 6: Upgrades of a seventeenth-century building in the 4th arrondissement for social housing and the elderly on the corner of Rue de Turenne and Rue Saint-Antoine
Source: City of Paris Website

In a presentation entitled "Enchanting the Existing" given at the Columbia School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation on March 25, 2013, architect Anne Lacaton discussed recent projects to upgrade existing social housing estates located on the outskirts of Paris whereby buildings deemed for demolition by city authorities were eventually upgraded (improving lighting, outdoor space and overall building conditions) with the input of existing residents for only a fraction of the cost of demolition. Lacaton situated this project in the context of overall trends of architecture and urbanism in Paris at large, noting that in reaction to the top-down, centralized planning schemes that dominated the city for many years, current projects in urbanism take "architecture as the start of urban planning, not the opposite", thereby highlighting a more localized, decentralized approach to tackling housing in France, as well as other urban planning issues at large (Lacation 2013).

Image 8: Transformation of an existing housing estate in Saint-Nazaire, France by Lacaton & Vassal
Source: http://www.lacatonvassal.com/

Housing in France is currently governed by national regulations organized by the central government creating various subsidies and establishing tax rebates. The responsibility of social housing is shared between local government representatives and local authorities. Power has shifted in recent years to gradually increase the powers of local authorities (Schaefer 2003). Currently, social housing rental programs in France are characterized by (1) offering renters graduated levels of assistance to both low and intermediate-level and (2) offering various combinations of low-interest financing and tax waivers, including an approximate 12 % subsidy.

Additionally, since 1953, the French government has mandated that all firms with ten or more employees contribute to a workers' housing fund known as the 1 pourcent logement (1 percent for housing). The 1 pourcent logement assists the households of company employees through a number of financial assistance mechanisms, including direct assistance (often in the form of loans) to employees for security deposits and home purchases, moving expenses and home improvements. The 1 pourcent logement is usually managed by representatives of employees, unions and the state. Forciere Logement, a nonprofit organization created in 2002 governed by a board that includes representatives from unions, the private sector and the government, has been particularly active in pursuing social mix strategies by seeking to create social housing in economically homogenous neighborhoods. More specifically, Forciere Logement works in conjunction with the ANRU to develop free market rental housing in lower-income neighborhoods in order to not only increase the development of social housing, but also to diversify the housing stock and foster greater social and economic integration (Ibid).

PLANNING FOR HOUSING IN THE FRENCH CONTEXT

Urban and regional planning in France has been characterized as both highly centralized and highly fragmented. Its centralization stems principally from concerns that the country would disintegrate into a myriad of competing provinces following the rebuilding of the French state after the Revolution. As a result, the development of a central state with a written Constitution defining both the obligations of the government, as well as the rights and liberties of its citizens, was created. This desire to centralize, however, was coupled with a "genuine desire to bring the benefits of democratic freedom to the citizens of every part of the country" (Booth 2010, 952) and resulted in the creation of communes headed by a mayor given power to create policy and provide local services (Ibid).

Presently, communes are responsible for land-use planning (Booth 2010) and have legal jurisdiction over housing and planning matters, except in cases where the state has transferred certain powers or responsibilities to inter-communal or regional organizations. Political and administrative authority within each commune is concentrated in the position of the mayor, who is elected for a six-year term (Calavita and Mallach 2010). Booth (2010) notes the difficulty of ensuring coherent land-use planning among communes, particularly in situations where large public housing complexes are located in a single, suburban communes that have to grapple with a myriad of social issues (including access to education, employment and services) on their own (Booth 2010).

The contemporary framework for local planning in France was established in 1967 and created a two-level regulatory scheme similar to the U.S. system of planning, which includes a master plan (schéma directeur) and a land use regulatory document known as the plan d'occupation des sols (POS). French planning systems use zonage (zoning) to regulate land use (Calavita and Mallach 2010). The schéma directeur was particularly innovative at the time of its creation, as it introduced strategic land-use reform that would allow for a more comprehensive vision for an entire region rather than for a single commune alone (Booth 2010). In 2001, however, a new document entitled the schéma de cohérence territoriale (SCOT) was created to replace the schema directeur, which must be prepared by an inter-communal body to define housing needs and establish overall goals for social housing development (Calavita and Mallach 2010).

In light of growing differences and disparities among the multiplicity of planning strategies headed by strong local political will, the national government has recently offered communes financial incentives to join together in order to form establissements publics de coopération intercommunales (EPCIs) or public entities for inter-municipal cooperation (Calavita and Mallach 2010, Savarit-Bourgeois 2006). Based on the SCOT and depending on the extent to which local powers have been delegated to the inter-communal body, the commune or EPCI must prepare a local planning document, or plan local d'urbanisme (PLU). This plan acts as a short-term guide that reflects the larger, long-term framework of the SCOT and a regulatory document governing land use in the commune. The PLU will typically divide the commune into generic zones (ie, "residential") as well as future urbanizing areas in which development can take place. The commune or EPCI also has broad authority to designate uses, densities and design standards within zones specified by the PLU (Calavita and Mallach 2010).

The local housing strategy, or programme local de l'habitat (PLH), is a mandatory document that assesses housing needs and priorities, and lays out an implementation strategy for the commune or EPCI. Large scale redevelopment efforts in a commune are created through the designation of special districts known as zones d'aménagement concerté (coordinated development zones, or ZACs), which allows the commune to permit a public or private entity to run the project as its development agent; typically, social housing projects are incorporated into ZACs (Ibid).

From an economic and financial standpoint, France is in a fairly solid position with regards to housing. According to a 2011 report issued by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), current average household spending on housing in France represented 21% of disposable household income (compared to 10% in the 1960s, 17% in 1984 and almost 23% in 2006). French property prices rose sharply during the ten years before the global financial crisis, more than doubling in nominal terms. At the height of the crisis, prices fell by nearly 10%, yet have picked up since then and have returned to their previous record level. There were 27.9 million principal dwellings in France in 2009, 58% of which were owner-occupied, 24% privately rented, 16% publicly rented and 2% in other forms (hotel accommodations, etc.), plus 3.2 million second homes and between 2 and 3 million vacant housing units, depending on the source.

An analysis of price and rent trends by region suggests that France is, for the most part, not experiencing a housing crisis; however, in large urban centers such as Paris, there appears to be a strong imbalance between supply and demand, as property prices have risen significantly faster than both rents and average disposable income. Both tenants and first-time buyers are affected by this increased burden, despite longer mortgage maturities made available to them (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2011).

Current data suggests that approximately 5.5%, or 3.4 million people, are still housed in unsatisfactory conditions, while homeless individuals (approximately 130,000) contribute to a growing issue in France. Additionally, according to 2009 census data, approximately 7% of Paris' housing stock is considered "vacant", with inner arrondissements carrying the highest percentage of these units.

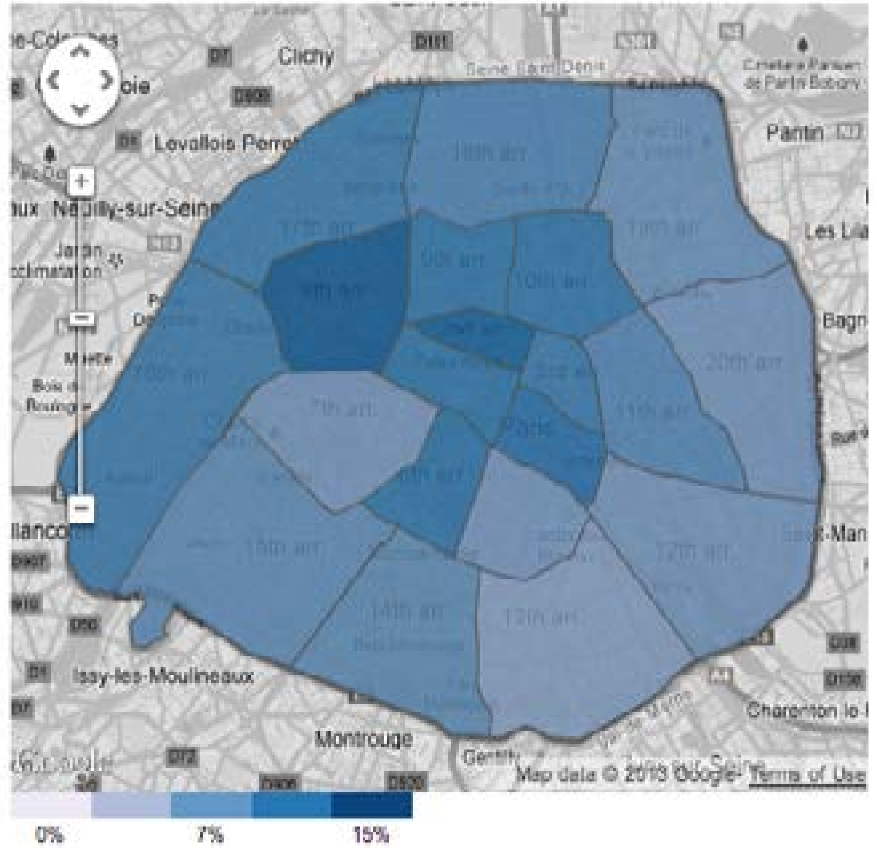


Image 9: Map of percentage of housing vacancies per arrondissement
Source: http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2013/01/08/des-logements-vacants-mais-pas-toujo-urs-disponibles_1813743_3224.html

Foreign-owned secondary homes also appears to be a key issue affecting the housing stock in Paris. In the first trimester of 2011, only 5.9% of real estate transactions (1 in 19) involved foreigners, but for apartments over 4 million euros, 50% were from abroad, while 85% of apartments worth over 10 million euros were owned by foreigners. In the 1st arrondissement, 2010 figures show that one out of every six apartments was bought by a foreigner. Reports also show, however, that only 6.9% of foreign buyers use their apartment as a permanent residence In 2005, France passed a law designed to regulate the Parisian rental industry in order to fill foreign-owned apartments with long term renters. This law has largely failed, however, due to financial cutbacks on behalf of the city government due to the financial collapse in 2008 (Ibid).

Social housing currently accounts for 45% of the rental stock, with significantly lower rents than the private sector, causing a high degree of segmentation (average social housing rents are 60% lower than in the private sector). The chart belowdemonstrates this phenomenon, highlighting a glaring shortage of mid-priced rental units (Ibid).

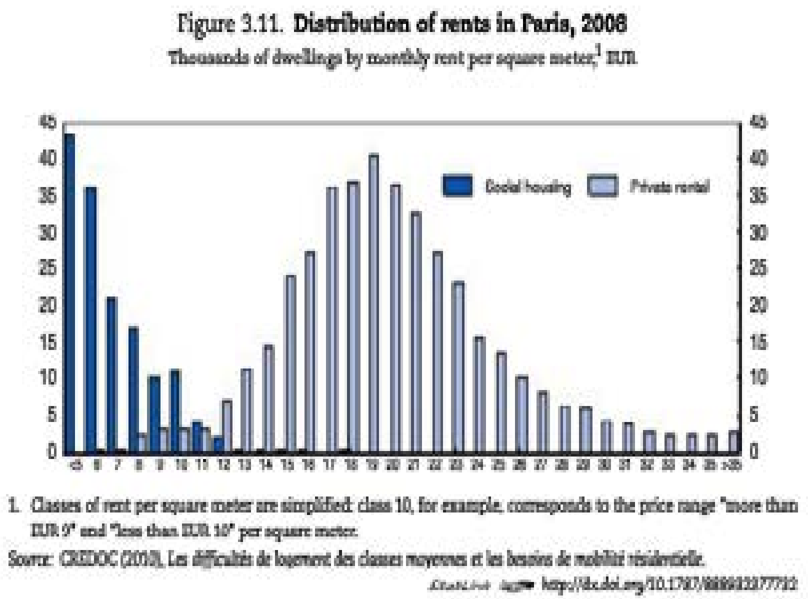


Figure 3.11. **Distribution of rents in Paris, 2008**

Thousands of dwellings by monthly rent per square meter,[1] EUR

1. Classes of rent per square meter are simplified: class 10, for example, corresponds to the price range "more than EUR 9" and "less than EUR 10" per square meter.

Source: CREDOC (2010), Les difficultés de logement des classes moyennes et les besoins de mobilité résidentielle.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932377732

Image 10: Distribution of rents in Paris, 2008
Source: Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2011

There are two forms of public support for social housing in France: production subsidies and means-tested individual allowances. While production subsidies have been criticized for being inefficient and unfair in comparison to individual allowances (a number of studies suggest that many more households could benefit from allowances for the same amount of money spent on production), authors of the 2011 OECD report state that "the way social housing currently works and rental regulations in the private sector are..unfair", as allowances are not always allocated to those most in need. A 2006 National Housing Survey showed that in the social sector, only 900,000 households out of the 1.4 million low-income tenants were located in the 2.5 million low-rental housing units in the social rental sector and 700,000 in the private rental sector, indicating that while supply of social housing might be available, it may not be serving those individuals for whom the subsidy was intended. Institutional failure, and perhaps corruption, may be to blame for this discrepancy (Ibid).

The provision of social housing, however, appears to be remain an important goal for France's welfare state, particularly in comparison to other countries across Europe, where governments are increasingly trying to limit the extent of their own direct financial assistance to social housing support (Ibid).

URBAN POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN FRANCE

Urban policy (politique de la ville) aims to promote social cohesion and to combat segregation and insecurity within urban neighborhoods (Calavita and Mallach 2010). Neighborhood management policies appeared in the mid-1970s (such as the Habitat et vie social in 1977) to improve living conditions for local residents. Following riots in the suburbs of Lyon in 1981, a permanent National Commission for Neighborhood Social Development (CNDSQ) was established, whose main goals are to improve the overall attractiveness of deprived neighborhoods by supporting diversified housing offerings (rental and ownership, public and private) (Ibid). The term "urban renewal", however, is a bit ambiguous in the French context. Levy-Vroelant (2007) explains:

> "for those who expect more social equity and greater state protection, the aim is to improve neighbourhoods to the greater benefit of their inhabitants. For those whose objective is to improve mobility and urban development - this includes a large part of social housing providers - urban policies should help reduce further poverty concentration by scattering migrants and the poor to different areas and by preventing them from entering the social housing market in areas where they are already perceived as numerous. Subsequently, it is not surprising that urban renewal does not correspond to a unique model, but is differently perceived and promoted depending on the municipality and the characteristics of the neighborhood" (Levy-Vroelant 2007, 111).

Many tools have been developed in order to implement urban development policies, including urban contracts (Contrats de ville) set up between the State and municipalities or inter-communal cooperatives named EPCIs (Establissement public de cooperation intercommunale), Local Security and Delinquency Prevention Boards (Conseils locaux de securite et prevention de la delinquance) and the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU). ANRU, which was developed in 2003, is in charge of financing local urban renewal projects in deprived neighborhoods; its work includes the reconstruction and destruction of around 450,000 housing units (Levy-Vroelant 2007). ANRU is in charge of coordinating urban renewal efforts of government and quasi-governmental agencies at all levels; its responsibilities include not only housing, but infrastructure, economic development, public facilities, education, open space and culture. Calavita and Mallach (2010) notes however that "the ways in which inclusionary housing strategies have become part of French housing practice are an important element in achieving that mandate have arisen with little or no central direction. This reflects the complex, even seemingly contradictory, nature of the French system, which is at one both centralized and decentralized in ways that may lead to unanticipated outcomes for both planning and housing policy implementation" (Calavita and Mallach 2010, 203). As a result, there appears to be a general trend for urban policies to become more and more decentralized, with higher levels of responsibility taken upon by local actors (Levy-Vroelant 2007). Rose et. al (2013) corroborates this viewpoint, stating that in France, the scope for local (municipal) adaptation and adjustment of national urban policies is much stronger than in other countries such as England (Rose et. al 2013).

The immediate target of urban renewal programs are known as vulnerable urban areas (ZUS, zone urbaines sensibles) that encompass approximately 750 areas covering 4.7 million inhabitants, primarily comprised of larger social housing estates (grand ensembles). These areas typically consist of a higher unemployment rate, a higher share of persons living in households that are dependent on social benefits, a higher share of unskilled workers, a higher share of migrant households and a greater share of non-qualified young people older than age 15. Approximately one-quarter of ZUS are located within greater-Paris (Calavita and Mallach 2010), including la Goutte d'Or.

CHAPTER 2:
SOCIAL-MIX POLICIES

DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL MIX POLICIES AND INCLUSIONARY HOUSING

Segregation studies, particularly those focused on the United States and Europe, highlight the negative consequences associated with congregating poorer individuals in an urban environment and excluding them from integration with the rest of society. Stec (2009) states that "areas of concentrated poverty (where over forty percent of the inhabitants live at or below the poverty line) provide havens for social ills, where the sum of these ills is considered 'greater than the whole'. Violence, drug use, low life expectancy rates, and a lack of social services and meaningful education opportunities typify such neighborhoods" (Stec 2009, 30). William Julius Wilson (1987) concludes that in US cities, Black Americans living in ghettos are "trapped", as their social network is limited and they cannot escape the pressure and the criminal culture of the ghetto, producing a "neighborhood effect" (Blanc 2010, 258; Andersson & Musterd 2005; Blasius & Friedrichs 2007; Galster et al. 2007; van Kempen 2001; Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997; Rose et al. 2013). Sélimanovski (2010) adds that because people in poverty cannot "merge into an anonymous mass [of attractive towns and neighborhoods]" they often withdraw from society on their own, as "they bear the brunt of hostility that society shows toward dependent people...to an extent that..social workers who support them often try to hide this 'shameful' status behind a more acceptable screen such as disability and unemployment" (Sélimanovski 2010, 5). The spatial implications of this withdrawal, Sélimanovski adds, are such that exacerbate the cyclical nature of poverty, for

"households in a situation of poverty who live in such areas are stranded in an area where the vast social distance between them and others can become overwhelming and where their limited daily usage of space due to their lack of financial resources is totally at odds with the mobility that prevails as an attribute of modernity and social success" (Ibid, 5).

Musterd (2008) suggests that an overrepresentation of negative role models reduces opportunities of those wishing to better their social situation, as group pressures appear to stymie individuals' efforts to improve their skills, subsequently reducing their labor market opportunities (Musterd 2008). Angélil and Siress (2012) cite the work of Viviane Forrester in her book The Economic Horror, wherein Forrester demonstrates the irony of permanent mass unemployment as a civilized society that relies on labor soon abolishes opportunity for work and simultaneously degrades those who struggle for work that may not exist, thereby leading to a situation in which the perpetually unemployed are labeled as "lazy" and "lacking initiative" when, in actuality, they are "internally exiled foreigners in their own country living in a wholly different social and physical construct" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 61-62).

Others argue that the segregation or exclusion of poorer individuals and families from the rest of society can result in a condition whereby issues of poverty and inequality are essentially ignored, or become invisible, to the greater society at large. Selimonovski (2010) opines that the sight of homeless individuals in public spaces in particular forces more well-off residents to confront poverty in a way that perhaps causes discomfort and unease, stating that "the occupation of...places downtown..can be a source of conflicts with the public and contributes to the visibility of people affected by poverty...the intimate space exposes itself in the public space and the social boundary is overlaid on that body. Such a boundary weighs on the conscience of a rich society" (Selimonovski 2010, 5).

Socially-mixed housing policies, therefore, aim to combat segregation and the "ghettoization" of lower-income individuals and households. Many of these policies originated out of English utopian experiments "seeking to reverse the class-based spatial segregation produced by capitalist urbanization and to restore certain elements of an idealized pre-industrial community, based on shared moral order" (Rose et al. 2013, 431) and seek to embrace "the principle of spatial propinquity of a range of social classes while assuring the legibility of social hierarchies: the belief being that the better-off would take more of an interest in the problems of the poor while the poor would be encouraged to emulate 'respectable working-class' behaviours" (Ibid, 431; Sarkissian 1976). These studies influenced a number of Anglo-American bourgeois reformers, though many of them focused more on socializing different classes through the creation of shared public spaces such as large urban parks (Ibid; Sarkissian 1976). Rose et. al. (2013) also note that early twentieth century garden city prototypes, drawing on a utopian "social unity through diversity" concept, proposed a rationale for social mixing that granted individuals of a lower socio-economic status access to decent housing and good quality urban amenities when new urban developments arose (Ibid; Sarkissian 1976). These design ideals, however, have rarely been carried out, often limiting neighborhood units to a particular class or demographic segment (Rose et al. 2013; Simpson 1985; Cole and Goodchild 2001; Harris 2004).

Chaskin and Joseph (2013) note that social-mix policies are also grounded in Henri Lefebvre's notion of the "right to the city"(Chaskin and Joseph 2013; Lefebvre 1996), published in two segments in 1968 and 1972 (Angélil and Siress 2012), which outlines an argument for reclaiming the city and reframing our orientation to it as oeuvre-"closer to a work of art than to a simple material product"-rather than primarily as a site of commerce and production, which therefore includes the right to appropriation, which concerns access, use and enjoyment rather than ownership, and the right to decision making and the production of public space (Chaskin and Joseph 2013, 484; Lefebvre 1996). According to Angélil and Siress (2012), the city should be managed as a common good instead of being ruled by "ruthless political power and arbitrary economic machinations" (Angélil and Siress 2012). Mixed-income development, Chaskin and Joseph (2013) argue, may act as a mechanism to help those formerly isolated in poverty to attain this right (Chaskin and Joseph 2013, 64; Lefebvre 1996) and quote Joanna Duke's (2009), who states that the:

"right to the city' provides a foundation for social integration that goes beyond a superficial level of social interaction. Through encouraging diversity, a respect for different cultures can be fostered. Through appropriation, residents can feel meaningful connections to their communities, and through participation, residents can help shape outcomes for their communities" (Chaskin and Joseph 2013, 484).

Angélil and Siress (2012) add that the right to the city has spatial implications as well, particularly in the case of Paris, stating that "the right to the city cannot emanate solely from the center, but must also arise from the margins-from the thousands of peripheries that must now fake center urban stage as the main protagonists in a new course of urban political economy" (Angélil and Siress 2012, 64).

Social-mix policies are often implemented by means of inclusionary zoning policies. According to a report issued by the RAND Institute in 2012, inclusionary zoning is defined as a form of land-use policy implemented in the United States and internationally that enable some lower- and moderate-income households to live in middle-and upper-income communities either by mandating or encouraging real estate developers to incorporate a proportion of homes that are sold or rented at below-market prices in exchange for development rights or zoning variances. Authors Schwartz, Ecola, Leuschner and Kofner (2012) note, however, that the primacy of ownership over rental units in inclusionary housing units, as well as the minimum-income requirements in some ordinances, indicates that perhaps inclusionary housing strategies do not target the most disadvantaged households served by affordable housing programs (Schwartz, Ecola, Leuschner and Kofner 2012).

Social mix policies, as well as their intended consequences, however, are not all entirely identical. Schwartz and Tajbakhsh (1997) note that social mix policies increasingly emphasize two approaches: the dominant method appears to disperse lower income individuals by providing them with rental vouchers for use in privately owned housing, while another approach combines low-income and higher income households into the same development. In other words, the first method (a "dispersal strategy") seeks to move the poor into more affluent neighborhoods, while the second method ("mixed-income housing") attempts to attract higher income households to developments that are also occupied by the poor (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997). The term "positive gentrification" or "mixed-income housing" has also been used to describe the second method, and typically looks to employ private capital and market forces to attract residents of higher-income in order to generate neighborhood revitalization, reduce segregation and foster inclusion (Chaskin and Joseph 2013; Cameron

2003). Rose et al. (2013) note that mixed-income housing strategies have attracted a good deal of research attention on land where entire low-income social housing complexes have been designed or demolished, providing great potential to escalate dramatically in value when replaced by higher income or mixed-income/mixed-tenure developments (Rose et al. 2013, 432; Chaskin and Joseph 2011), while less studied programs include those that have been designed to reshape and change the image of a particular neighborhood by creating pockets of higher income housing and rebranding certain streets so as to appeal to higher-income residents and consumers (Rose et al. 2013, 432; Hackworth and Rekers 2005; Ward 2007).

Advocates of socially-mixed housing policies through dispersal methods cite a number of positive economic and social benefits. Many countries, including France, the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands, have implemented social-mix policies with the aim of improving the lives and opportunities of poor individuals, as well as to strengthen the solidarity among its citizens (Blanc 2010). Some argue that the spatial de-concentration of unemployed people might make a better impression on younger individuals seeking to improve their employment opportunities (Blanc 2010; Wilson 1987), provide low-income individuals and families with access to material opportunities and the diminishment or reduction of negative factors such as poor-performing schools and crime (Stec 2007), improve social networks that might link poorer individuals to people with resources (Blanc 2010; Granovetter 1995; Stec 2007), as well as improve the reduction of communities stigmatized for their concentrations of poor people where problems may accumulate (Blanc 2010; Carpenter, Chauviré and White 1994; Reviews in Ellen and Turner 1997; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Galster 2002b; Friedrichs, Galster and Musterd 2003).

Advocates of creating mixed-income communities in particular (ie, bringing more affluent households to a development or neighborhood previously occupied exclusively by the poor) argue that bringing in wealthier families or individuals into an area may lead to improved sanitation, police protection, schooling and other services. Authors Schwartz and Tajbaksh (1997) note, however, that the location, size, design, condition, cost of housing and demographic characteristics of its occupants are very important in attracting higher income households, and that these factors "are important individually and in combination, but there has been little research on the way their interaction creates viable mixed-income housing" (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997, 76). Additionally, Schwartz and Tajbakhsh (1997) note that the viability of mixed-income housing also depends on the state of the region's housing market; a greater supply of affordable moderate-and middle- income housing, the greater the range of housing options available to those households and the more difficult it is for mixed-income housing to attract them (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997). Chaskin and Joseph (2013) note that the higher-income residents arriving to a mixed-income community are likely to be more able than lower-income residents to exert pressure to maintain order and safety in the neighborhood and to enforce rules and protect their investment (Chaskin and Joseph 2013; Logan and Molotch 1987; Sampson et al 1997) and that, furthermore, law enforcement and other formal institutions of neighborhood control are likely to be more responsive in communities with higher-income residents (Chaskin and Joseph 2013; Sampson et al. 1997).

Social-mix policies have, however, been met with a fair amount of debate and criticism. Some scholars believe in a lack of evidence to support the benefits of the social-mix hypothesis. Musterd (2008), citing Cole and Goodschild (2000), for example, states that "policy intervention is overtly premised on the assumption that more mixed communities will promote more positive social interaction for residents, despite the lack of evidence for this claim" (Musterd 2008, 900; Cole and Goodschild 2000; Graham, Manley, Hiscock, Boyle and Doherty 2009). This view is corroborated by Arabaci and Rae (2013), citing Cheshire (2009), who states that social mix is a "faith-based policy because there is scant real evidence that making communities more mixed makes the life chances of the poor any better" (Arabaci and Rae 2013, 452; Cheshire 2009) and also by Kesteloot et al. (2006), as cited by Arbaci and Rae (2013), who states that it is "unclear whether mixed-tenure neighbourhoods offer better access to jobs and services, or better opportunities for mutual exchange of various goods and services" (Arbaci and Rae 2013, 455; Kesteloot et al. 2006). Graham et. al (2009) note that many researchers have paid little or no attention to issues such as how the level of mixing between owner-occupiers and social renters, as well as the geographical scale of the community in which social mix policies are taking effect, might impact sociological outcomes; their own research in Great Britain demonstrates little support for the hypothesis that mixing tenures is good for social well-being, particularly with regards to employment, health and mortality (Graham, Manley, Hiscock, Boyle and Doherty 2009).

Citing Cheshire (2006), Arabaci and Rae (2013) point out that perhaps the concentration of poverty is symptomatic of a societal failure rather than causal, stating that "concentration of poverty often 'reflects economic inequality, it does not cause it. Forcing neighborhoods to be mixed in social and economic terms is treating the symptoms of inequality, not the cure'" (Arabaci and Rae 2013, 451; Chesire 2006). Gilbert (2009) notes that mixed-tenure policies "do not address poverty directly , but rather its spatial distribution, as it has been noted that these policies often amount to nothing more than problem dilution" (Gilbert 2009; Kleinhans 2004) and that removing households from an area following urban renewal may reinforce problems; territorial rooting based on length of time spent in a neighborhood can constitute a major resource for integration into local networks and access to social recognition, as households with a longer duration of residence tend to want to stay in the same area more than others (Gilbert 2009).

Rose et al. (2013) add that social mix policies have also been critiqued as a symptom of "neo-liberalization of urban social policy" whereby poverty and exclusion are seen in terms of "individual inadequacies and the failure of family and community supports; an analysis that obfuscates structural mechanisms" (Rose et al. 2013, 432). Rose et al. (2013) also mention national and transnational policy discourses which view social mix as "an aspect of urban liberalism absolving the state from responsibilities for tackling poverty and advancing a pro-gentrification agenda" (Rose et al. 2013, 431; Lees et al. 2012) and that, furthermore, social-mix policies may wind up serving as a form of"poverty dilution" that displaces in situ anti-poverty and local economic development programs associated with the welfare state and urban social movements of the 1960s-70's "which fostered a more endogenous kind of social mix" (Rose et al. 2013, 432, Donzelot 2006; Lupton and Fuller 2009).

This viewpoint is furthered by Stec (2007) in his article "The Deconcentration of Poverty as an Example of Derrick Bell's Interest Convergence Dilemma: White Neutrality Interests, Prisons and Changing Inner Cities", wherein Stec argues that social-mix policies (what he names "deconcentration") may in fact hinder poverty alleviation, as deconcentration may perpetuate inequality by encouraging low-income groups to strive towards a norm that they ultimately may never be able to reach. Drawing parallels between the 1954 landmark U.S. Court decision Brown v. Board of Education (wherein the segregation of public schools was declared discriminator) and social mix housing policies, Stec states that "the implicit norm of whiteness and white privilege...allows the subtle re-instantiation of such privilege, helping to produce the same racial norms and codes of behavior that led to the Brown decision in the first place" (Stec 2007, 31) and that "deconcentration policies [in the United States] originate from a racialized claim; they too usurp whiteness as a point of assimilation rather than contestation" (Ibid, 40). Deconcentrating low-income groups, Stec argues, "erases their visibility" (Ibid, 59) and hinders their opportunity to work collectively to make political changes that will ultimately benefit them. Additionally, Stec argues that deconcentration programs, especially those that are selective in choosing which individuals or families may be suitable for living in higher-income neighborhoods may, in turn, exacerbate sites of poverty even more, stating that

> "when families move out of [low-income] neighborhoods to obtain better housing, they may often leave members who have been convicted of crimes because many local housing authorities ban those that have been convicted of felonies in a variety of manners. Thus, the social systems of the areas of concentrated poverty are further reduced and the likelihood drug-selling activity and other circumstances of illegal behavior (ie, prostitution and property crimes) is increased"(Ibid, 58).

Stec argues that a better solution would be to keep individuals in their current neighborhoods so that they themselves may improve their own conditions and integrate into mainstream society through other means (including access to employment, improved transportation to important shared amenities and more),. He adds: "we do not want to disrupt social networks in paternalistic fashion" (Ibid, 61), as "a fully-funded neighborhood, one that includes necessary social services, health care, drug treatment...genuine mixed-use space, proper city services and genuine employment possibilities, can begin to prosper without the removal of the residents of that neighborhood. Rather, the goal should be full involvement and collective action, rather than the ideology of removal" (Ibid, 59).

Other scholars argue that creating a neighborhood mix will in turn only create neighborhoods wherein different people only live beside one another and do not interact (Musterd 2008) as these individuals may have too little in common to reach a sufficiently high level of interaction that is required to achieve positive socialisation (Musterd 2008; Murie and Musterd 2004). Rose et. al. (2013) find that where social mix policies had been implemented in Bristol, England's Easton neighborhood, racial differences rather than class-based differences created an environment of "peaceful but distant coexistence" (Rose et al. 2013, 433) coupled with concerns regarding "the inadequacy of local vehicles for negotiated conflict resolution" (Ibid, 433). Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) also point to a lack of communication and contact between inhabitants of socially-mixed communities, and more particularly, an unwillingness to interact, thereby leading to negative impacts on the surrounding neighborhood (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001). Van Beckhoven and van Kempen (2002) cite in their research that a move to another neighborhood may decrease social relations and activities within the neighborhood of destination and that mixed neighborhoods may result in "the development of non-communicating separate worlds in small territories" (Van Beckhoven and van Kempen 2002). Blokland (2003) notes that the larger the social difference between residence, the more moderate the contact (Blokland 2003). Kearns and Parkes (2003) also add that social mix strategies are not automatically welcomed by residents, stating that "there is not a majority in the UK in favour of mixing communities by income, class or housing tenure, with owner-occupiers being particularly opposed and people in rented housing areas more in favour" (Kearns and Parkes 2003, 847). Chamboredon and Lamaire (1970) even go as far to say that the spatial proximity of households from different social classes, with different norms and different residential ambitions, tend to exacerbate existing social tensions (Chamboredon and Lamaire 1970).

Chaskin and Joseph (2013) also point to tensions that can arise in appropriation and control of public spaces among different income groups in mixed-income communities, citing"integration and exclusion, use value and exchange value, appropriation and control, poverty and development" (Chaskin and Joseph 2013, 480) which "manifest in responses to competing expectations regarding appropriate normative behavior and the negotiation of these expectations in the context of arguments about safety, order, what constitutes 'public' space, and the nature and extent of rights to use that space in daily life" (Ibid, 481). Chaskin and Joseph (2013) also note that concerns relating to safety, crime and social order may contribute to tensions with respect to social mix, but that "more fundamental are values and expectations about 'appropriate' use and behavior" (Ibid, 497). Chaskin and Joseph (2013) note that the success of social mix polices is conditioned by the "particular dynamics put into play by virtue of the public policy that shapes these developments" (Ibid, 497), as well as the interplay between actors such as the state, private developers and nonprofit organizations, and the range of services, supports and community-building activities. These authors also note that the establishment of central governing mechanisms are often in charge of setting, monitoring and enforcing rules governing social life of developments, particularly those related to access and use of space. These rules might, however, restrict residents' "right to the city" by privileging the rights of private property over public access and public order over specific kinds of individual freedom. Low-income residents in particular may feel constrained, observed and watched ("walking on eggshells" (Ibid, 497) as one interviewee described) in fear of losing their home if they fail to meet the standards of behavior set forth by local governing authorities, "even as they recognize and appreciate that their overall quality of and satisfaction with their living arrangements has improved" (Ibid, 498). As a result, low-income residents in this situation are likely to withdraw socially, isolating themselves and avoiding engagement or interaction (Ibid).

To combat these issues, Chaskin and Joseph propose three potential avenues of exploration to protect the desire for order, safety and sound investment in mixed-income communities without overly constraining individual freedom and access to public space: (1) the creation of public social space that finds "pleasure in difference, embraces inclusion and celebrates the public and private sphere, which is by definition accessible to anyone" (Ibid, 498); (2) engaging low-income renters to participate in ongoing planning, deliberation and decision regarding community life and (3) fostering "greater intentionality and investment" (Ibid, 499) around opportunities for inclusion through organizational infrastructure and institutional strength, providing for places of shared use (stores, coffee shops, recreational facilities and schools) in which residents may find some commonality or at least comfort in their differences (Chaskin and Joseph 2013).

Others argue that the benefits sought in social mix policies (such as poverty alleviation and improved opportunities for low-income individuals and their families) may require factors other than merely mixing groups of individuals in housing tenure. Arbaci and Rae (2013), citing Van Gent et al. (2009), state that many European scholars question whether the neighborhood itself plays a greater role than the decommodification of welfare services in providing or constraining socioeconomic opportunities and access to resources (Arbaci and Rae 2013; Van Gent 2009). Arbaci and Rae (2013), citing Atkinson and Kintrea (2001), note the importance of analyzing neighborhoods within a broader socio-economic context, stating that "economic forces may exaggerate neighbourhood problems and that public policies beyond the neighbourhood may have more influence on people's lives than specific area-based initiatives" (Arbaci and Rae 2013, 455; Atkinson and Kintrea 2001). Musterd et al. (1998) and Cheshire (2006) add that other policy issues such as labor and education, ultimately influence housing mobility as well as socioeconomic segregation (Arbaci and Rae 2013; Musterd et al. 1998; Cheshire 2006) and from Ellen and Turner (1997) that "research should not limit its attention to the question of 'whether' neighbourhood matters, but begin to tackle the more difficult question of 'how' and 'for whom' (Arbaci and Rae 2013, 455; Ellen and Turner 1997). Rose et al. (2013) note the importance of local context in both creating and implementing social mix, stating that "locally grounded agendas can shape policies in different ways in different places, and the interplay of dynamics set in motion by local systems of actors can create varied and not always predictable outcomes" (Rose et al. 2013, 433). Blanc (2010) notes that social-mix policies often take time to come into fruition, stating that these policies often "require a strong political commitment and at the same time pragmatism and patience. Such changes do not occur rapidly" (Blanc 2010, 269).

SOCIAL MIX POLICIES IN FRANCE AND PARIS

In France, social mix (mixité sociale) is "the objective of social policy aiming at the coexistence of various social classes, mainly by the elaboration and implementation of relevant housing programmes within a given unit, ie neighbourhood or commune" (Blanc 2010, 266). Rose et al. (2013) notes that social mix policy justifications are cast in "anti-ghetto, anti-segregation language that invokes republican values of social cohesion" (Rose et al. 2013, 434). Social mix policies focus mainly on mixing individuals of differing incomes, as ethnicity is not taken into account by French authorities nor the French census (Blanc 2010).

In 1990, the Besson Act created a "right to housing" in France, stressing access to social housing for the poorest households (Blanc 2010). The Besson Act states that:

"every person or family experiencing particular difficulties, because of the insufficiency of their resources or their conditions of existence, has the right to an aid from the government...to obtain access to a decent and independent home or to maintain himself there" (Ball 2009, 313).

In 1991, the Loi d'orientation pour la ville (LOV) introduced the "right to the city" (Ibid) and included the programme local d'habitat (PLH, local housing programme) (Booth 2010), which set an objective to assure that 20% of housing stock in cities with over 200,000 residents be devoted to social housing (Ball 2009). Its first article held that all public bodies, including the state, communes, and other public entities must:

"assure to all inhabitants of the city the conditions of life and housing accommodations that favor social cohesion and discourage or eliminate the phenomena of segregation...To that end, the State and all other public bodies must, in carrying out their responsibilities, take all measures leading to diversify the types of housing in each agglomeration, commune and neighborhood" (Calavita and Mallach 2010, 211).

According to Bacqué et al. (2011), the LOV lacked appropriate penalties and sanctions for those cities that did not comply with its mandates and, thus, proved to be ineffective in achieving its goals (Bacqué et al. 2011). The LOV did, however, according to Calavita and Mallach (2010), appear "to have at most raised awareness of the issue, making communes adopt at least a rhetorical commitment to the amorphous principle of social inclusion" (Calavita and Mallach 2010).

In 2007, the loi DALO was established, providing an initial mediation process and remedies through administrative law courts in order to enforce social mix (Ibid). Calavita and Mallach (2010) note the potential positive implications of the loi DALO on desired mixed social housing, stating that:

"with the government now potentially responsible for finding housing for those in need, and the prefects given new powers to enable them to do so, the availability of an adequate social housing stock through the country is likely to become a matter of considerably more than local concern..that, in turn, may lead to a greater readiness on the part of the state to police municipal compliance with the loi SRU and a greater willingness by the prefects to override municipal objections than has been the case in the past" (Ibid, 232).

In 2000, France passed the Loi relative à la solidarite´ et au renouvellement urbains (SRU), whose main goal is to combat segregation in housing and to strengthen solidarity among its citizens (Blanc 2010, 257). Booth (2010) notes that the SRU consists of three distinct but related sections: (1) the replacement of the older strategic plan, schéma directeur, with the schéma de cohérence territoriale, which includes elements of sustainability into its land-use planning goals; (2) the distribution of social housing to prevent ghettoization and the concentration of "excluded populations" (Booth 2010, 950); and (3) a section dealing with the creation of urban transportation plans (Ibid). Booth (2010) also notes that the SRU is distinct in its "desire to make planning genuinely prospective and strategic, with an accent placed upon the sustainability of development" (Ibid, 951). While similar goals and strategies are present in other countries including the UK, Sweden, the Netherlands and other EU countries, France is unique in mandating social mix through law (Ibid). More specifically, article 55 of this law SRU requires municipalities with more than 1500 inhabitants in the central Ile-de-France region or more than 3,500 residents in other urban areas to have a minimum of 20% social housing by 2020 (Calavita and Mallach 2010). The Department of Housing is monitoring the implementation of this program and will fine communes for not taking the appropriate measures to fulfill their obligations (Blanc 2010). The fine is set at 152.45 euros per unit, up to a maximum of 5 percent of the municipal operating budget, and can be adjusted upward or downward based on local conditions as determined by the prefect, the regional representative of the state; the prefect may increase the fine substantially in wealthy communes and, in extreme cases, the prefect may enter directly into agreements with development entities to build or rehabilitate social housing with which the municipality is required to comply (Calavita and Mallach 2010; Renaudin 2004). Blanc (2010) notes that no justification has been provided for either the choice of policy implementation level (the commune) or of the chosen 20% implementation (Blanc 2010).

Since its implementation, this policy has had undoubted success in numerical terms, as the annual objective that the council set itself has been achieved (it has produced an average of 4,300 units per year) (Ibid). More than one-third of communes have met their obligations in full, and a substantial number have come close, a particularly impressive fact, according to Bilek, Costes and Monmosseau, in light of the complex political and fiscal realities facing local governments (Bilek, Costes, and Monmousseau 2007; Calavita and Mallach 2010). While, according to Calavita and Mallach (2010), "there is no question that many communes dragged their feet" in meeting these requirements, small communes in particular face substantial difficulties, as they are equipped with severely limited technical and financial resources in attempting to comply with the law (Calavita and Mallach 2010, 214). McCann notes that in the United States, similar compliance with state mandates took much longer to implement and happened, if at all, only after local officials had learned that meaningful sanctions were associated with failure to comply; this process, however, often took a number of years to investigate and was never fully universal in implementation (McCann 2006; Calavita and Mallach 2010).

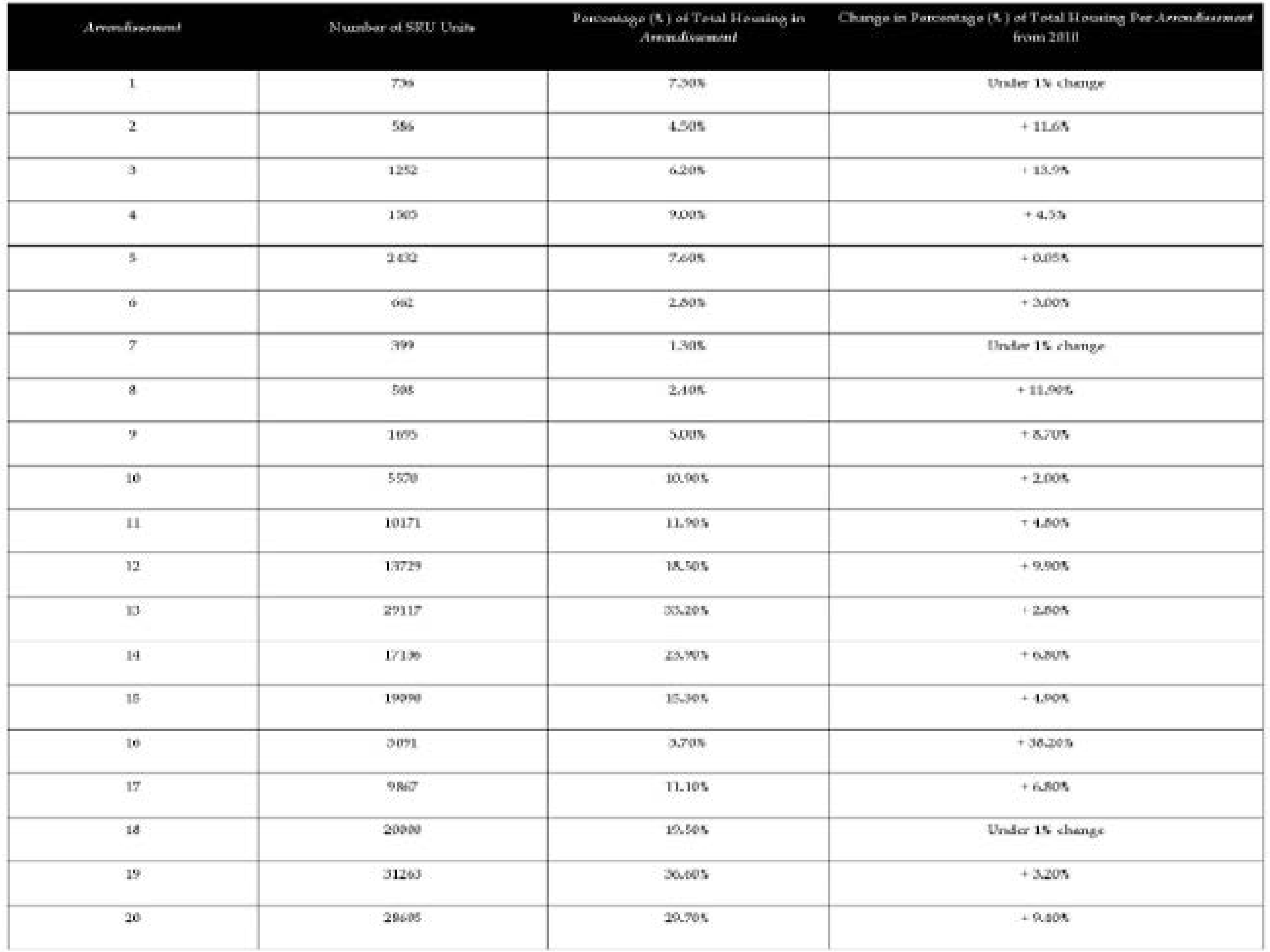
The policy has been met with much criticism, however, especially from the mayors of the wealthiest arrondissements who complain of the "inadequate lifestyles" of social housing tenants, as well as high costs of implementing SRU units (Bacqué et al. 2011, 261). Calavita and Mallach (2010), citing Laferree and Le Blanc (2006, note that "many rich communities prefer to pay the tax than to build public housing" (Calavita and Mallach 2010, 213; Laferrere and Le Blanc 2006). Calavita and Mallach (2010) also find that sanctions associated with the SRU, with the exception of the fine, are not credible, as "fines are too small to be a meaningful deterrent, while at the end of 2007 no prefect had ever exercised the preemptive powers granted by the law" (Calavita and Mallach 2010, 214). In 2005, an advocacy group consisting of mayors of many of the inner-ring suburbs of Paris formed, calling for amendments that would increase the fine for failing to produce the required inclusionary housing requirement for all new developments containing more than 1,000 square meters of floor space (Ibid).

The city of Paris, however, has made a particularly concerted effort to implement social mix and inclusionary housing policies. In 2004, for example, Paris adopted a provision which required a 25 percent social housing set-aside in all new developments located in arrondissements where the current percentage of social housing was less than 20 percent (Calavita and Mallach 2010). Adam Sage, the city counselor in charge of Paris' housing policy in 2005, stated "I don't want Paris to look like London, with a very wealthy population on one side and a very poor population on the other. It is the social balance that makes Paris what it is" (Ibid, 219). According to Calavita and Mallach (2010), however, many of these efforts were stymied due to the "cumbersome and complex" housing regulatory system, often leading developers to "offer the city almost anything or put up with nearly any imposition in order to receive planning permission, no matter how tenuous the legal justification may be" (Ibid, 219) and to pay particular deference to the local desires and wants, especially those of the mayor. Economist Vincent Renard states, for example, that "it is the mayor and he alone who provides permission to build, it is he and his staff who establish the local plan (PLU)" (Sabbah 2007; Calavita and Mallach 2010, 219).

Against the backdrop of a growing disparity in incomes and occupations of people living in Paris (since 1990, the total number of people in routine and manual occupations living in Paris has fallen steeply, while the number of senior managers and independent professionals has gained ground), as well as a considerable rise in property prices, Paris' new city council plans a "sociological rebalancing" of the city with the construction of at least 4,000 housing units per year from now until 2020, thereby representing a higher proportion of social housing than is required by the SRU Act (25% instead of just 20%) and the geographical rebalancing of this housing stock in order to avoid the emergence of "ghetto neighborhoods" (Bacqué et al. 2011). In more affluent neighborhoods of Paris, the City Council is collaborating with social housing landlords by buying existing buildings, some of which are already occupied by tenants, and allocating this housing to working class households. In working class neighborhoods, the City Council is constructing social housing to replace sub-standard buildings and creating new mixed-income housing schemes in order to restrict the concentration of poor households and/or those of immigrant origin (Ibid). The mayor of Paris also purports to make sure that a third of newly constructed social housing will benefit the middle class, and that creating an effective distribution of housing for this demographic is also a top priority (City of Paris Website).

France's National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies reports that there are currently 197,417 SRU units in Paris within the 20 arrondissements as of 2011, comprising 17% of the city's total housing stock (an increase of 5.6% from 2010) (Atelier Parisien Urbanism 2012). The table on the opposite page shows the allocation of SRU units per arrondissement.

Data from this table informs us that the 19th arrondissement has the highest total number of SRU units (31, 263) as well as the highest percentage of SRU units in its total housing stock (36.60%), while the 16th arrondissement shows the highest percentage change in SRU units out of total housing stock since the previous year (up 38.2% units from 2010). The 7th arrondissement contained the lowest number of SRU units (399) as well as the lowest percentage of SRU units in its total housing stock (1.3%), while the 1st, 7th and 18th arrondissements showed the lowest percentage change in SRU units out of total housing stock since the previous year. Further analysis of the implications of these findings is discussed in the Research Findings and Conclusions sections of this report.



Arrondissement	Number of SRU Units	Percentage (%) of Total Housing in *Arrondissement*	Change in Percentage (%) of Total Housing Per *Arrondissement* from 2010
1	736	7.30%	Under 1% change
2	586	4.50%	+ 11.6%
3	1252	6.20%	+ 13.9%
4	1505	9.00%	+ 4.5%
5	2432	7.60%	+ 0.05%
6	662	2.80%	+ 3.00%
7	399	1.30%	Under 1% change
8	598	2.40%	+ 11.90%
9	1695	5.00%	+ 8.70%
10	5570	10.90%	+ 2.00%
11	10171	11.90%	+ 4.80%
12	13729	18.50%	+ 9.90%
13	29117	33.20%	+ 2.80%
14	17136	23.90%	+ 6.80%
15	19990	15.30%	+ 4.90%
16	3091	3.70%	+ 38.20%
17	9867	11.10%	+ 6.80%
18	20000	19.50%	Under 1% change
19	31263	36.60%	+ 3.20%
20	28605	29.70%	+ 9.40%

Table 1: Allocation of SRU units per arrondissement
Source: Atelier Parisien Urbanism 2012

LITERATURE REVIEW

As discussed in previous sections, there is a tremendous amount of literature written on the history of affordable housing development in France and the factors that prompted socially-mixed housing policies to come into place. Other literature discusses how the French planning system works and the actions France has undertaken to make social-mix a priority within its social housing framework. Literature discussing the theoretical implications of socially-mixed housing policies, including its benefits as well as its shortfalls, is also mentioned in previous sections, as is literature dealing with social mix housing policies in France and Paris.

A number of studies undertake larger-scale analysis of the impacts of socially-mixed housing policies, employing the use of data sets and statistical analysis in order to generate meaningful information on how socially-mixed housing policies actually play out in the real world. Musterd and Andersson’s article “Housing Mix, Social Mix, and Social Opportunities” (2005), for example, uses information from a data set of over 5.5 million individuals from Sweden during the 1990’s to determine the association between housing mix and social mix in delineated neighborhoods, examining variables such as social mobility, individual attributes (including levels of education and employment status), household attributes (including family position, urban or non-urban residence) and ethnicity. Musterd and Andersson ultimately conclude that there was a low statistical association between housing-mix and actual social-mix, finding that those who lived in homogenous low-income neighborhoods and were employed in the 1990’s had the lowest chance to stay employed throughout the period under investigation and that their chances were lower than those who lived in mixed low-income environments.

Musterd’s article “Residents’ Views on Social Mix: Social Mix, Social Networks and Stigmatization in Post-War Housing Estates in Europe” (2008) addresses questions about the relation between perceived levels of social mix and the strength of social networks, as well as the neighborhood’s reputation. Information was collected from the EU RESTATE project and focuses specifically on large post-war housing estates in sixteen cities across Europe. This report ultimately concludes that respondents do not uniformly value a high level of social mix as a positive attribute, and that differences exist in Northern and Western cities of Europe in comparison to Southern and Eastern cities. Musterd noted that those with a strong social network more often favor highly mixed estates compared with those with a weaker social network, and that the reputation of a housing estate generally benefited from an increased social mix.

Arabaci and Rae (2013) use a mix of both quantitative and qualitative data to explore whether housing-tenure diversification is a device for alleviating deprivation in terms of increasing socioeconomic opportunities (production) and access to resources (consumption) in Greater London neighborhoods. Analyzing approximately twenty neighborhoods with data from the 2004 and 2007 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), as well as with semi-structured interviews with both managers of social housing estates and social tenants, Arabaci and Rae ultimately conclude that social housing tenants do experience differing socioeconomic opportunities and access to resources, but that those are not dependent on, nor improved by, the level of tenure mix within a neighborhood. Furthermore, Arbaci and Rae also find that mixed-tenure policies cannot be used uniformly among neighborhoods in Greater London, let alone the entire country, and that each neighborhood should be viewed within its own context, thereby offering support for a combination between an area-based, as well as comprehensive, policy approach to tackling the issue of social mix in London.

Chaskin and Joseph (2013) use in-depth interviews, field observations and a review of documentary data concerning three mixed-income developments that are part of the Chicago Housing Authority’s Plan for Transformation in their article “‘Positive Gentrification, Social Control and the ‘Right to the City’ in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place”. Chaskin and Joseph ultimately conclude that deconcentrating poverty through mixed-income development in Chicago provides a potential mechanism to reduce the isolation that low-income families experience in the dense, highly segregated public housing complexes. They also note, however social mix often generates tensions between integration and exclusion, value, appropriation and control. They add that concerns about crime, safety and social order contribute to these tensions, but more fundamental are values and expectations about “appropriate” use and behavior. Furthermore, Chaskin and Joseph note that mixed-income developments as implemented in the sites they studied fail to avoid fundamental social challenges common to other gentrifying neighborhoods such as stigmatization based on race, differences in opinions over accepted behavioral norms, as well as general discomfort and distance based on perceptions of difference.

Graham, Manley, Hiscock, Boyle and Doherty (2009) conducted a nation-level, ecological analysis of mixed-tenure in Great Britain using national decennial census and geocoded vital registrations to establish under what circumstances, if any, tenure mixing is positively related to indicators of the social well-being of an area’s population. By examining factors related to health, housing quality, employment and ethnicity, among others, this report ultimately finds little support for positive outcomes associated with social mix, finding that once the proportion of social renting rises above thirty percent, beneficial effects on well-being are not observable.

Of particular significance to this thesis is a study conducted by Bacqué et al. (2011), who look specifically at how the Loi SRU has been implemented in Paris since 2001 and has generally shaped France’s housing stock in two distinct types of neighborhoods (la Goutte d’Or, a newly developing mixed-income neighborhood and the 16th arrondissement housing existing wealthier communities). This comprehensive study conducted over a two-year period is replete with interviews of residents, representatives of community groups and non-profit organizations, and observations of community councils and various local participatory bodies, as well as statistical information generated from landlords’ files and the City Council’s office.

In this report, Bacque et. al analyze not only the effects of social-mix in terms of housing stock but also the perspective of individuals affected by social-mix policies in terms of levels of comfort felt by residents living with new neighbors and in new neighborhoods. They conclude from their findings that Paris’ objectives of “eliminating the poorest concentrations of population and of keeping the working classes and the middle classes in the capital seem to have been fulfilled in the short term” (Bacqué et al. 2011, 271) , yet that perhaps the most excluded populations of Paris’ society have in fact suffered. They note that many urban redevelopment projects such as the one in la Goutte d’Or actually force residents out of the neighborhood who can no longer afford rising rents (stating that “in the final analysis it is the middle classes who are the centre of concern, and the most vulnerable people are actually losers in the social change and urban development undertaken” (Ibid, 271) and that “the working classes remain confined in a situation of domination” (Ibid, 271)).

Furthermore, they find that social housing allocation in wealthier areas such as the 16th arrondissement appears to only affect certain types of individuals, stating that “there are very few people from the ‘most working class’ categories, and the large majority of beneficiaries are white-collar workers. There are very few blue-collar workers, and those that are have partners who are white-collar workers” (Ibid, 265). They also find that there are “very few immigrants” (Ibid, 265) and that the few that do exist are “well-educated”(Ibid, 265).

Bacque et. al also conclude from their findings that social dynamics often include a strong degree of conflict between existing and new residents, stating that these conflicts are “connected as much with living alongside people one has not chosen, with feelings of downward social mobility and with forms of social and racial rejection, as with the opposition between different social norms” (Ibid, 266). While Bacque et al. note that “ignorance is the most common currency between social groups which intersect and live side-by-side in neighborhoods and buildings without ever meeting” (Ibid, 268) whereby “the polite mutual avoidance of working-class families... means avoiding the social fate that one is desperately trying to escape...a behavior far-removed from the idealized image of unshakeable working-class solidarity” (Ibid, 268), they also note feelings of strong discontent felt by higher-income residents towards their new, lower-income neighbors. Bacque et al. report that for some higher-income residents, the presence of a plaque on their building showing that the property belongs to a social landlord is “an irredeemable marker of the loss of its symbolic value” (Ibid, 266), quoting one higher-income resident who stated “there we were, in a lovely spacious old apartment, we had really got on in life, had some success-you might even say we had made it, and then...they all tell us we're living in social housing; we feel as if...we came to Paris just to be given a hard time"(Ibid, 267), another who stated "I'm not a snob, but I'm just not used to this kind of population; the people who live here are the kind of people who live in social housing" (Ibid, 267) and another who stated "we hope [new lower-income residents arriving to higher-income neighborhoods] won't steal a lot" (Ibid, 269).

Racial tensions also appear to be an issue as well; Bacque et al. note the existence of a condition whereby higher-income residents classify other residents into two groups, explicitly defined in racial terms as "us" ("French", "white people") and "them" ("Sub-Saharan Africans and Northern Africans"). In la Goutte d'Or, interviewees also commented that they had withdrawn their child from a local public school because he or she was "the only white kid in the class" (Ibid, 270).

In terms of benefits for lower-income residents moving into neighborhoods that supposedly will bring them improved living conditions and opportunities, Bacque et al. find mixed results, stating that "the eagerly awaited social cohesion and the school effects of the spatial proximity of the middle classes have not materialized. In fact, at various scales, these social mix policies seem to create as many problems as they solve" (Ibid, 271). While they quote one lower-income interviewee who had moved into a higher-income area as being very content with their new living conditions (stating "it's a block of luxury flats, very well maintained, so from that point of view we were very agreeably surprised, because by comparison with other council flats...in fact, we feel we are very privileged in that regard...for the most part, social housing is situated on the outskirts and the architecture is not nearly as nice as this block, you can really see that this wasn't originally built as social housing" (Ibid, 267)), they also note that some households of African origin do not necessarily appear to be satisfied with their surroundings in the 16th arrondissement, as many cannot find any shops in the vicinity catering to their tastes.

Tensions felt on both sides by both lower-income residents moving into higher-income neighborhoods as well as higher-income residents moving into la Goutte d'Or appear to be especially pronounced in public spaces; Bacque et al state that "these tensions are sometimes expressed even in the street and the public space, when new inhabitants of la Goutte d'Or are treated as strangers in the neighborhood, when new shops are vandalized or when shopkeepers in the 16th arrondissement treat social housing tenants with obvious disdain" (Ibid, 270).

Bacque et al also note cross-class solidarity links between heirs of the "new classes", particularly in Goutte d'Or-people working in the arts, healthcare, the social services and education who have more cultural than economic capital-as being specifically inclined to value and develop links with the working-class, especially in the form of joining local associations. Owner-occupiers in the la Goutte d'Or in particular appear to be especially eager to join community improvement organizations in order see their investments in property levels rise.

In the end, however, Bacque et al ultimately conclude from their findings that "social mix cannot settle the issue of poverty through social dispersion; this can only be done through vital social redistribution" (Ibid, 271).

In a comparative study of the neighborhoods la Goutte d'Or (Paris), Easton (Bristol) and Hochelaga (Montréal), Rose et al. (2013) conclude on the basis of interviews with policy officials and residents that, although policy officials may state that they are indeed optimistic about social-mixed housing policies, little, if any, interaction between social classes occurs within the neighborhood. Rose et al. find that, according to both policy officials and school principles, schools (particularly elementary schools) are an important site for social-mix, yet that much social mix in this area in particular "stops at the gate" of public elementary schools due to "the overwhelming tendency of middle-class Parisian parents to avoid schools with high concentrations of low-income and/or minority ethnic children" (Rose et al. 2013, 442). Rose et. al also cite the opinion of an arrondissement councillor (a former neighborhood housing activist), who believes that creating intermediate social housing targeting the middle-class in separate buildings from those housing welfare-dependent (and lower-class individuals) perpetuated higher-income residents to "fence themselves off" (Ibid, 442) from lower-income residents. Rose et. al note, however, that fostering "non-threatening and

non-hierarchical" encounters between groups of different ethnicities and social classes (including community gardening, as well as activities involving mothers and pre-school children) could be effective to achieving a greater degree of social mix in this area (Ibid, 442).

This master's thesis looks to update quantitative and qualitative analysis of how social-mix policies have played out in two neighborhoods already studied by Bacque et al. (2011): the 16th arrondissement, where lower income income individuals and households have been housed via the "dispersal method" (Schwartz and Tabalchsh 1997) and la Goutte d'Or, where the city of Paris seeks to attract middle and higher-income individuals and households in order to create "mixed-income communities" (Ibid). Integrating observations conducted during site visits pertaining to the physical urban characteristics of each neighborhood, interviews conducted of residents and local community members, as well as quantitative data, this master's thesis seeks to contribute to existing literature by providing an "outside" (ie, non-French) perspective on Paris' attempt to achieve social mix. More specifically, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of social-mix housing policies within the context of French social housing history and planning, relays observations to determine if social mix policies have resulted in physical manifestations of social and ethnic diversity, as well as communicates findings from residents and local community members relating to if and how social interaction is taking place between different groups in these neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design and methodology included site visits to both la Goutte d'Or and the 16th arrondissement in Paris, interviews conducted by both email and Skype and data collection analyzed from a 2012 report produced by the Atelier Parisien Urbanism.

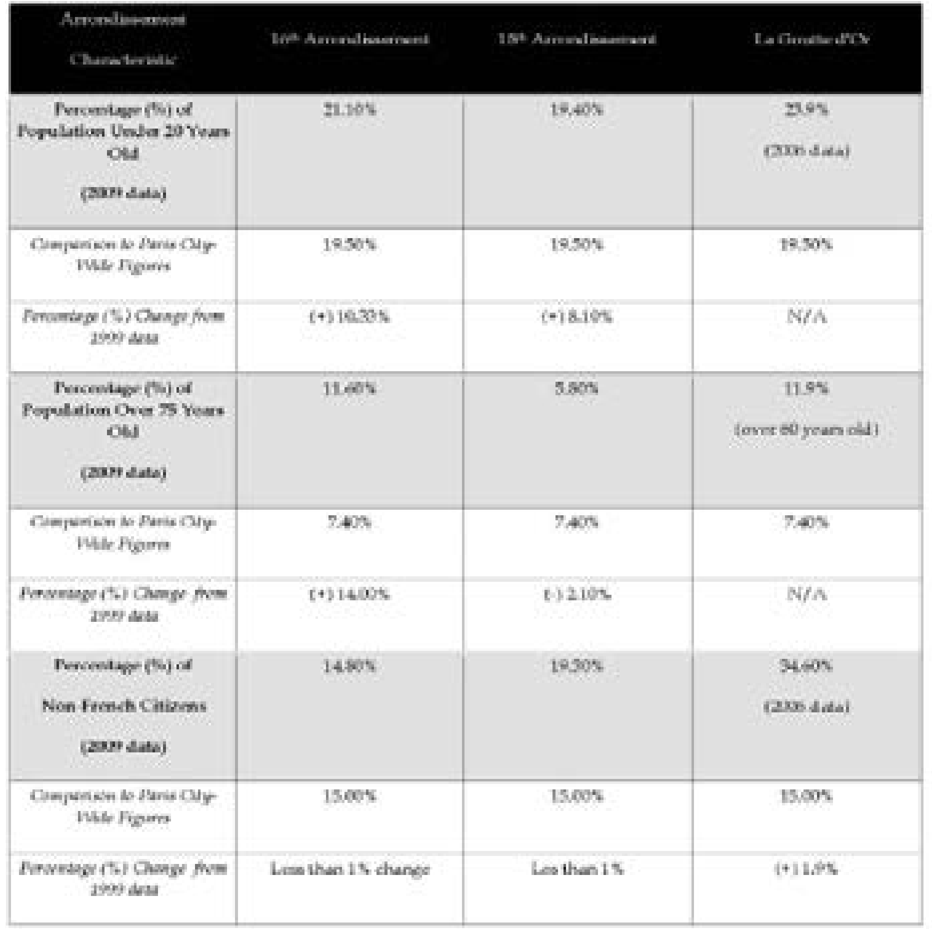
Site visits to both la Goutte d'Or and the 16th arrondissement in Paris were conducted in January 14-28, 2013 and included (1) general observations of the neighborhood itself (2) photography of sites and neighborhoods (photographs were taken using an Iphone camera of buildings and neighborhoods, but not of specific individuals) and (3) inter-views of community members and people either working or visiting the sites. All in-terviews were conducted by approaching individuals on the street, asking if they were over the age of eighteen and if they were interested (and would give their consent) to participate in a study conducted by an American graduate student from New York (myself) examining "social mix" policies in Paris. All interviews were conducted on a semi-structured basis and were either conducted in English when the interviewee felt comfortable doing so, or were translated back and forth between the interviewee and myself with the help of a native French-speaking Parisian.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following section details research findings from both data analyzed from a 2012 report produced by the Atelier Parisien Urbanism, as well as information collected from site visits.

Data Analysis

Data analyzed from a 2012 report produced by the Atelier Parisien Urbanism produce the following results with respect to housing and demographic characteristics in both the 16th arrondissement and the 18th arrondissement (where la Goutte d'Or is located). Information regarding la Goutte d'Or (where applicable) was analyzed as well from INSEE (French Bureau of Statistics). Race and/or ethnicity are not collected by the French Bureau of Statistics and, thus, are not included in findings:



Arrondissement Characteristic	16th Arrondissement	18th Arrondissement	La Goutte d'Or
Percentage (%) of Population Under 20 Years Old **(2009 data)**	21.10%	19.40%	23.9% (2006 data)
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	19.50%	19.50%	19.50%
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	(+) 16.30%	(+) 8.10%	N/A
Percentage (%) of Population Over 75 Years Old **(2009 data)**	11.60%	5.80%	11.9% (over 60 years old)
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	7.40%	7.40%	7.40%
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	(+) 14.00%	(-) 2.10%	N/A
Percentage (%) of Non French Citizens **(2009 data)**	14.80%	19.30%	34.60% (2006 data)
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	15.00%	15.00%	15.00%
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	Less than 1% change	Less than 1%	(+) 11.0%

Arrondissement Characteristic	16th Arrondissement	18th Arrondissement	La Goutte d'Or
Household benefitting from financial aid (2009 data)	1.60%	3.00%	N/A
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	2.80%	2.80%	N/A
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 2010 data	(-) 10.1%	(-) 36.00%	N/A
Percentage of Single-Person Families (2009 data)	45.70%	52.90%	45.50%
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	51.50%	51.50%	51.50%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 1999 data	Less than 1% change	(+) 3.5%	N/A
Percentage of Families with Three or More Children (2009 data)	20.40%	17.50%	9.50%
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	17.40%	17.40%	17.40%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 1990 data	(+) 22.1%	(+) 11.7%	N/A

Arrondissement Characteristic	16th Arrondissement	18th Arrondissement	La Goutte d'Or
Percentage of Population with Higher Education (2nd degree) (2009/2010 data)	45.30%	17.50%	32.00%
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	78.00%	78.00%	78.00%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 2009 data	Less than 1% change	(+) 11.7%	N/A
Percentage of Population 15 years or older without a diploma (2009 data)	6.40%	14.10%	35.80%
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	9.70%	9.70%	9.70%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 1990 data	(-) 37.00%	(-) 17.3%	(+) 7.2%
Percentage of Housing Stock-Owner Occupiers (2009 data)	43.50%	32.80%	67.90%
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	35.10%	35.10%	35.10%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 1999 data	10.40%	(+) 33%	N/A

Arrondissement Characteristic	16th Arrondissement	18th Arrondissement	La Goutte d'Or
Percentage of Housing Stock-Tenant Occupiers (2009 data)	48.30%	65.20%	N/A
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	61.30%	61.30%	N/A
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 1990 data	(-) 1.10%	(+) 5.8%	N/A
Percentage of Households in Social Housing (2011 data)	4.70%	11.50%	18.6% (2009 data)
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	8.30%	8.30%	8.30%
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 2010 data	(+) 6.4%	(+) 2.0%	N/A
Percentage of Housing Units Dedicated to Social Housing (SRU) (2011 data)	3.70%	19.50%	N/A
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	17.10%	17.10%	N/A
Percentage (%) Change in Arrondissement from 2010 data	(+) 38.3%	(+) 3.7%	N/A

Arrondissement Characteristic	16th Arrondissement	18th Arrondissement	La Goutte d'Or
Percentage (%) of Population Characterized as "Workers" or "Employees" (2009 data)	23.20%	35.70%	N/A
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	28.90%	28.90%	N/A
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	(-) 4.90%	(-) 9.5%	N/A
Percentage (%) of Population Characterized as "Executives" or "Higher Intellectual Professions" (2009 data)	49.40%	35.10%	N/A
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	42.80%	42.80%	N/A
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	(+) 5.7%	(+) 9.6%	N/A
Median Revenue per Consumption Unit (2009 data)	38, 205	18, 030	10,700
Comparison to Paris City-Wide Figures	24, 625	24, 625	24, 625
Percentage (%) Change from 1999 data	Less than 1% change	Less than 1% change	N/A
Household benefitting from financial aid	1.60%	3.00%	N/A

The 16th arrondissement appears to have a higher percentage of its population over the age of 75 (11.60%) compared to the 18th arrondissement (5.8%), with the 16th arrondissement housing a higher percentage than city-wide figures for Paris (7.4%) and the 18th arrondissement housing a slightly lower percentage. This percentage has increased in the 16th arrondissement since 1999 (+14.00%) and has decreased slightly in the 18th arrondissement (-2.10%). La Goutte d'Or in particular appears to house a higher percentage of a population under 20 years old (23.9%) and population over 60 years old (11.9%) than both the 16th and the 18th arrondissements.

The 16th arrondissement appears to house a lower population of non-French citizens (only 4.8%) compared to the city average (15%), as well as the 18th arrondissement (19.3%). La Goutte d'Or appears to house a fairly high percentage of non-French citizens in comparison (34.6%).

The 16th arrondissement also appears to have a slightly lower percentage of its population characterized as "workers" or "employees" than the 18th arrondissement (23.20% in the 16th compared to 35.70% in the 18th), as well as a higher percentage of "executives" and "higher intellectual professionals" (49.40% in the 16th compared to 35.10% in the 18t). While the percentage of "workers" or "employees" is lower in the 16th and higher in the 18th than the city-wide figures for Paris (28.90%), both appear to have decreased in percentages since 1999 (the 16th decrease 4.90% while the 18th decreased 9.50%). The percentage of "executives" and "higher intellectual professionals" is significantly higher in the 16th (49.40%, greater than the city-wide figures for Paris of 42.8%) compared to the 18th (35.10%, less than the city-wide figures for Paris).

Residents of the 16th arrondissement appear to have a significantly higher median income than residents of the 18th arrondissement. Median incomes for the 16th were 38, 205 euro per year, higher than the city-wide figures for Paris (24,623). Median incomes for the 18th were 18,050 euro per year, lower than city-wide figures. However, neither the 16th nor the 18th appear to have undergone much changes in median income since 1999. Residents of la Goutte d'Or appear to have the lowest median incomes compared to city-wide figures and the other two arrondissements (10,700).

A slightly higher percentage of residents in the 18th arrondissement receive some form of welfare assistance than in the 16th arrondissement (3% compared to 1.6%), yet both seem to be hovering around the city-wide figures for Paris (2.80%). Both arrondissements, however, appear have had fairly large decreases in these percentages since 2010 (10.01% in the 16th and 16.00% in the 18th).

Lastly, the 16th arrondissement appears to have a higher percentage of individuals with higher-level degrees, and a lower percentage of individuals without degrees, than the 18th arrondissement. The percentage of individuals with higher education (2nd degree or higher) is significantly higher in the 16th compared to the 18th (46.30% compared to 17.50%), as well as the city-wide figures for Paris (28.00%). The percentage of individuals with higher-level degrees, however, appears to be increasing in the 18th arrondissement in one year alone (up 11.7%); figures seem steady in the 16th. The 16th arrondissement also has a lower percentage of individuals without degrees (6.40%) than the 18th arrondissement (14.10%), with the 16th lower than the city-wide average of 9.70% and the 18th higher. The percentage of individuals without degrees, however, appears to be decreasing substantially in both arrondissements (the 16th by 37.00% and the 18th by 17.2%). La Goutte d'Or appears to have higher percentage of individuals both with higher education (32%) and without a diploma (35.8%).

In terms of housing characteristics pertaining to the percentage of owner-occupied housing, tenant-occupied housing, households seeking social housing and percentage of housing units dedicated to social housing (as mandated by the SRU), the 16th and 18th arrondissements differ considerably.

The 16th arrondissement has a higher percentage of its housing stock occupied by owner-occupiers than the 18th (43.50% in the 16th compared to 32.80% in the 18th), and a lower percentage occupied by rental tenants than the 18th (48.30% in the 16th compared to 63.20% in the 18th). The percentage of owner-occupiers in the 16h is higher than the city-wide average of 33.10% and appears to have increased 16.40% since 1999, while the percentage of housing occupied by rental tenants is lower than the city-wide average of 61.30%, yet has stayed fairly steady over the past ten years (only decreasing by 1%). The percentage of owner occupiers in the 18th is only slightly lower than the city-wide average (yet has grown 15% since 1999), while the percentage of rental tenants is only slightly higher than the city-wide average (and has only frown 5.8% since 1999). La Goutte d'Or in particular appears to have a fairly high percentage of owner-occupiers (67.9%) compared to the other two arrondissements and the city average.

The 16th arrondissement also has a lower percentage of households seeking social housing than the 18 (4.70% compared to 11.50%), as well as a significantly lower percentage of housing units dedicated to social housing as mandated by the SRU (3.70% in the 16th compared to 19.50% in the 18th). The percentage of households seeking social housing in the 16th in 2011 is lower than the city-wide average of 8.30%, yet has increased by 5.4% since 2010, while the percentage of housing units dedicated to social housing as mandated by the SRU is significantly lower than the city-wide average of 17.10%, yet has increased tremendously by 38.2% in one year alone. The percentage of households seeking social housing in the 18th in 2011 is slightly higher than the city-wide average and has increased modestly since 2010 by 2%, while the percentage of housing units dedicated to social housing as mandated by the SRU is slightly higher than the city-wide average, yet has only grown by 2.7% since 2010. La Goutte d'Or appears to have a higher percentage of households seeking social housing (18.6%).

Site Visits

The following section outlines findings from site visits to both la Goutte d'Or and the 16th arrondissement.

La Goutte d'Or

La Goutte d'Or, located in the northern central-east section of Paris, is bordered by metro station Barbés-Rouchechouart to the south-west, Boulevard de la Chapelle to the south, metro station La Chapelle to the south-east, Rue Marx Cormoy and Rue de la Chapelle to the east, Boulevards des Maréchaux to the north, and Rue des Poissonnaiers to the west.

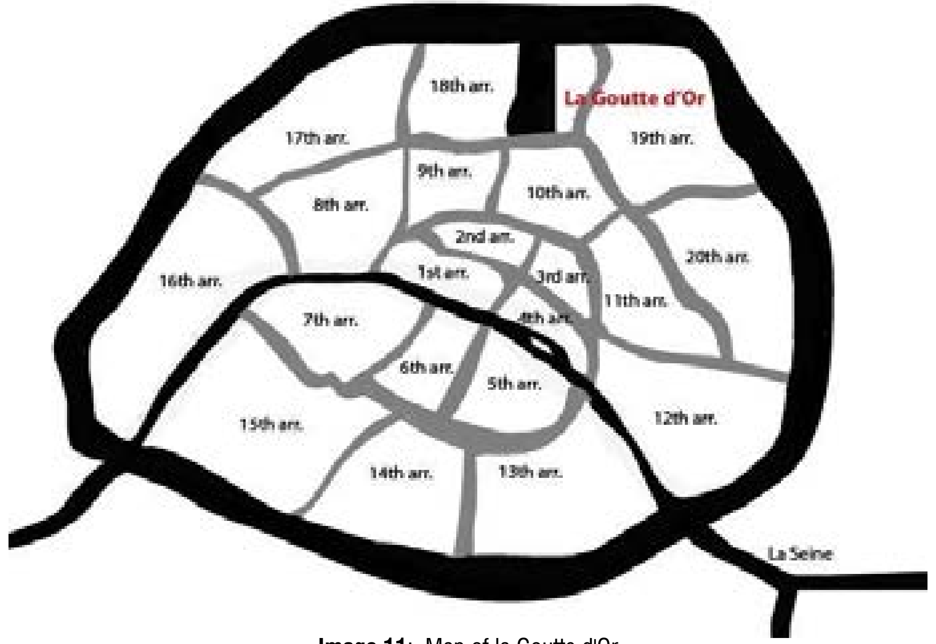


Image 11: Map of la Goutte d'Or

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, la Goutte d'Or was a very densely populated and diverse working-class and immigrant neighborhood. Overcrowding and physical degradation of this neighborhood led the City of Paris to embark on a number of urban renewal projects in the 1980s aimed at eliminating unsanitary dwellings through code enforcement as well as "reclaiming" local public spaces to fight delinquency and prostitution (Rose et al. 2013, Bacqué and Fijalkow 2006). Rose et al. (2013) note, however, that a local alliance of middle-class activists and working-class associations successfully opposed municipal plans to disperse lower-income residents to other more affluent neighborhoods in Paris and encouraged the City of Paris to maintain the neighborhood's local urban heritage (particularly its multi-ethnic and "village" character), as well as take an approach based more on rehabilitation and creating new social housing projects onsite. In 1983, la Goutte d'Or was established as the first of twenty-two neighborhoods in France to be designated as a "sensitive zone", whereby local associations would be increasingly delegated providers of specialized social services and coordinators of a local participatory democracy process. The middle class activists initially involved with fighting to keep la Goutte d'Or's mixed income and ethnic urban heritage became the early gentrifiers of this neighborhood, yet over time, became impatient with what they perceived as the associations' slow pace to fight many of the neighborhood's flaws (including the visibility of drug-related activity, the lack of shops associated with their own tastes and self-image, and the "nuisances" associated with some of the area's minority ethnic businesses (particularly an African market that attracted a clientele from other areas of Paris)). As a result, many of these residents pushed for stronger public interventions to further their goals and desires (Rose et al. 2013, Bacqué and Fijalkow 2006).

A city-wide election of a leftist coalition in 2001 allowed middle class residents to push for stronger social mix policies. Backed by the support of the State across a fairly wide political spectrum concerned with eliminating the concentration of poverty, as well as a growing concern over an affordable housing shortage in Paris for middle-income households, the City of Paris and the 18th arrondissement administrations reserved a third of the area comprising the la Goutte d'Or for the allocation of social housing for middle-income households (Rose et al. 2013). Interviews collected by Rose et al. 2013 of civil servants and local elected officials highlight a number of policy rationales for implementing social-mix policies in la Goutte d'Or, the majority of which "dovetail...the anti-ghetto discourse with the pragmatic goal of 'recapturing' strategic fractions of the middle class for the City of Paris" (Ibid, 435). Rose et al. note a number of responses from interviewees, including espousals of the importance of considering the "neighborhood effect" thesis, the importance of French-republicanism in the role model concept ("seeing social mix, at the scale of the apartment building and in schools, as helping working-class immigrant families familiarize themselves with the building blocks of French culture while orienting their material ambitions to the French middle-class mainstream" (Ibid, 436), anti-segregation sentiments ("no neighbourhood should be the exclusive preserve of the wealthy or a place relegated only to the poorest" (Ibid, 436) and the belief that social mix policies "can help dissolve stereotypes held by the wealthy about the poor" (one interviewee stated that "if the rich only live among themselves, obviously they're going to imagine that those blacks and those Arabs are always killing sheep in their bathtubs, in short they're going to dream up all kinds of idiocies" (authors' translation) (Ibid, 436). Rose et al. also add, however, that middle-class residents have been encouraged to reside in la Goutte d'Or in order to attract their economic capital, in order to create a "multiplier effect" on the neighborhood's commerce and to "deploy their cultural capital to contribute to the collective well-being of the neighborhood" (Ibid, 436); they cite one policy official who states that "the aim of social mix in la Goutte d'Or...[is targeted as] 'modernizing without excluding'" (Ibid, 436).

Rose et al. find that the majority of policy officials working in this area believe that gentrification will not get out of hand with implemented housing and retail changes, stating that policy officials generally believe that their efforts will in fact help to limit "extreme" forms of gentrification that would be produced if housing supply was left entirely to the private market (Ibid, 444). INSEE reports a population of 23, 498 living in la Goutte d'Or as of 2009, with 51% of households installed less than five years ago ("Situation des demanduers d'emploi inscrits" 2010).

Site visits to la Goutte d'Or were conducted during three separate visits during both the work week and on a Sunday. The site itself is bordered by two bustling streets hosting a great deal of activity: Boulevard de la Chapelle to the south, between metro stations Barbés-Rouchechouart to the west and La Chapelle to the east, and Rue des Poissonnaiers to the west. Both streets during site visits during the week and on a Sunday were filled with shops catering to what appears to be a mostly ethnic, north-African immigrant population, and were crowded by a variety of individuals either passing by, shopping in local stores, selling goods or casually socializing with one another. Small cafes, vendors selling African clothing, men approaching individuals to sell cigarettes and incense, small appliance shops and tabacs (cigarettes stores) were common on these streets, as were street vendors selling food items.

La Goutte d'Or appeared to be an area transitioning from a working-class neighborhood comprised primarily of immigrant individuals and families to one that might attract a higher-income, whiter (more "French") population found in surrounding neighborhoods of Paris such as the 9th arrondissement. A number of streets in the site itself (particularly those in the south-west section of the site) were somewhat unkempt and slightly run-down compared to other areas of Paris frequented by tourists, with trash strewn on the sidewalks, roads, paper flyers and advertisements posted on buildings, and graffiti drawn on buildings and public infrastructure.

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REPARATIONS
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Image 12: Street-view from the south-west section of la Goutte d'Or

Image 13: Graffiti drawn on buildings is a frequent sight in la Goutte d'Or

A police station is located in the south-western region of the site and police officers were patrolling the streets of Paris both during the week and on Sunday. A fairly large park (Square Léon) is located in the central region of the site (this park was open during the week, but gated shut on a Sunday), and smaller DIY gardens (such as the Jardin Mobile) can be found throughout the site as well. Two schools were observed in the site as well: a kindergarten located in the south-western part of the site (Ville de Paris Ecole Maternelle) and what appeared to be a high school located in the northern region near a large church.

SOCIETE GENERALE

Image 14: Police presence is common in and around la Goutte d'Or

Image 15: Police Station located in the south-western region of la Goutte d'Or

Image 16: Square Léon in the central region of la Goutte d'Or

JARDIN MOBILE

Image 17: Jardin Mobile: a smaller, DYI garden located within la Goutte d'Or. Such gardens are a common sight within this neighborhood.

A mix of shops and restaurants were present in this site: cafes, bakeries (both typical French bakeries and Muslim/Halal bakeries), African clothing and textile shops, Western Unions, cellphone stores and chain grocery stores were present and typically situated in older, slightly dilapidated buildings, often covered with graffiti. Some shops and community centers were situated in buildings consisting of newer construction (including the Accueil Goutte-D'Or-Centre Social (Welcome Goutte-D'Or Social Center), La Goutte D'Ordinateur (computer center and employment services center), and an after-school childrens' center, as well as a number of clothing shops appearing to cater to a higher-income, "white"/"French" clientele. On Sunday, a market selling fruits and vegetables, typical French and more ethnic (Northern-African/Muslim) food took place and, despite the heavy snow, was crowded with patrons of various ethnicities and ages. A mosque and muslim community center were also present in the site.

BOUCHERIE MUSULMANE HALLAL
مجزرة إسلامية حلال
BOUCHERIE MARHABA

Image 19: Halal bakery shops are a common sight in la Goutte d'Or

BELTAIEF
TEXTILE
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Image 20: African clothing/textiles shops in la Goutte d'Or

Image 21: Supermarket located in la Goutte d'Or, with flyers and graffiti on the outside of the building (typical of many shops in la Goutte d'Or, particularly those in the south-western section of the neighborhood).

AGO
ACCUEIL GOUTTE D'OR
CENTRE SOCIAL

Image 22: Accueil Goutte-D'Or-Centre Social, dedicated to improving economic development in la Goutte d'Or, situated in a newly constructed building

Image 23: La Goutte D'Ordinateur, computer center and employment services center

Image 24: A mix of patrons of various ages and ethnicities taking part in an outdoor Sunday market, despite the heavy snow.

Image 25: Construction underway for a central square with cafe

Image 26: New construction for housing

Image 27: Newer construction for housing and clothing shops catering to a more white/"French" clientele

Image 28: Older construction, often slightly dilapidated, as a typical example of housing in la Goutte d’Or

la ville de Paris
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logements sociaux

Image 29: Signs for social housing construction in la Goutte d’Or

During both the week and on Sunday, streets were filled with people passing through and socializing on the streets, many of whom were black and/or appeared to be immigrants from African and/or Northern-African descent. Groups of younger men who appeared to be of African and Northern-African descent were often congregated both during the week and on Sunday, often speaking loudly to one another and jokingly throwing snowballs. Men and women appeared to inhabit the streets in equal numbers, while families with younger children appeared to be more prevalent on Sunday than during the week. Younger individuals who appeared to be from what is termed the “Bobo” class (young individuals who associate with or work in the arts and other creative industries) were also more prevalent on Sunday, oftentimes passing through alone or in smaller groups, and sometimes in what appeared to be families consisting of younger children. Very few tourists, if any, appeared to frequent the streets of this site.

Approximately eleven individuals were interviewed during site visits and included: a middle-aged white woman working in a newly-constructed clothing shop catering to individuals of a higher income, a nineteen-year old young man of what appeared to be North-African or middle eastern descent, a middle-aged white gentleman in a coffee shop observing a horse race taking place on the television, an older black man on the street, a middle-aged woman of African descent working in an African clothing shop, a younger woman who appeared to be of North-African or middle-eastern descent working in a typical French bakery, two younger black men socializing on the street, a middle-aged white woman who owned and worked in a vegetable shop, a middle-aged black man visiting the same vegetable shop, a younger white woman who appeared to be in her late-20‘s/early-30‘s working in a children’s youth outreach center and a white man who appeared to be in his 30‘s or 40‘s who served as the director for the aforementioned youth outreach center. Interviewees who were stopped on the street, particularly non-whites, often appeared to be slightly hesitant to respond to questions, often averting their eyes and looking elsewhere. Shopkeepers and community workers appeared to be much more engaged, calm and willing to divulge more information.

When asked what kinds of individuals frequented and inhabited la Goutte d’Or, many interviewees responded that the area was primarily made up of immigrants and their families (primarily of African and North-African descent), though many noted that the area has been changing within recent years and attracting a younger white individuals and their families (primarily those of the Bobo class). The middle-aged white owner of the vegetable shop also remarked that a few American students live in the area as well. Many interviewees cited lower rents as the cause of these demographics, while others commented that the local government has made a big push to gentrify the area and attract white individuals of higher socio-economic classes. The director of the children’s youth outreach center stated that only approximately 30% of the families residing in the area that send their children to the youth center speak French.

When asked how the neighborhood has changed, if at all, in recent years, interviewees came forth with a number of responses. Some interviewees remarked that new shops had opened in the area. The white woman working in the knitting shop, who had worked in la Goutte d’Or for the past eight years, commented that the local government has made a tremendous push to try to gentrify the neighborhood, particularly by soliciting clothing shops (such as the one she works in) to inhabit this site to create a new “fashion street” in Paris. She mentioned that her shop receives no government funding to occupy the site, but that they did have to apply to local government agencies in order to be granted permission to occupy the site; she also cites that her shop also functions as a prestigious knitting school (“the only one in Paris!”) and that perhaps this type of community-outreach focus (coupled with the fact that the store often organizes and participates in community events) could have aided them in securing the site. The director of the children’s youth outreach center also commented that new housing had recently developed as well, resulting in newer housing complexes (some of them socially-rented) being build alongside older ones. A number of interviewees also responded to changing crime rates in the area. Both the nineteen-year-old man presumably of northern African/middle eastern descent (who had lived in the area for the past nine years, yet attends school in a different area of Paris), as well as the two young black gentlemen, mentioned that crime in la Goutte d’Or was very bad in the past; the nineteen-year old man in particular commented that crack and heroine were big issues in the community and that more affluent, white individuals feared setting foot in this neighborhood, but that this situation is indeed improving. The majority of respondents, however, noted that the neighborhood is, for the most part, safe (or at least safer than it was in previous years), but that crime does continue to be an issue of concern. The woman working in the clothing shop noted that people are often afraid “to be themselves” when on the street and that, while visiting students to the school soon learn that the area is not very dangerous, girls traveling by themselves should be somewhat careful at night. Both the young woman working in the bakery and the owner of the vegetable shop noted that petty thievery (particularly of cellphones) continues to be an issue. The middle-aged black gentleman visiting the vegetable shop stated that immigrant youth, particularly young males, are “very misbehaved” and lack education and job training, which makes the area unsafe and unpleasant for whites moving into the area, as well as visitors stopping through. The two young black gentlemen noted that in recent years, rules regarding usage of the park had changed, and that security cameras had been installed throughout the neighborhood.

Despite the changing demographics of the neighborhood, most interviewees responded that people of differing ethnicities and socio-economic backgrounds seldom mix. The the nineteen-year-old man presumably of northern African/middle eastern descent remarked that perhaps more recently arrived white residents felt “afraid” of those who had lived in the community for a long time (particularly non-whites) because of la Goutte d’Or’s former reputation as a haven for drugs and crime. The middle-aged black woman of African descent working in an African clothing shop remarked that shopkeepers in particular tend to stick along ethnic lines: owners of African clothing and textile shops, for example, do not mix with owners of the clothing shops catering to a more “French” clientele. The young woman working in the bakery remarked that different ethnic groups may mix in the area, particularly within apartment buildings (she added that she had been invited to a number of her neighbors’ parties who were not of the same ethnicity as she), but that newly arrived white French residents had a harder time integrating with the local ethnic communities. A few interviewees commented on the fact that white families in particular that had recently moved into the neighborhood did not send their children to local schools, which perhaps contributed to a lack of mixing amongst different ethnicities.

A few interviewees, however, commented that social mixing did occur on a few occasions, particularly in the form of festivities and public events. The middle-aged white gentleman in a coffee shop observing a horse race taking place on the television noted that he often saw people of different ethnicities and social classes mixing in coffee shops, particularly when a sporting event or horse race was taking place. The younger woman who appeared to be of North-African or middle-easter descent working in a bakery noted that people mixed while socializing in public gardens and parks. Others noted that on certain holidays and events, people mix as well; the two younger black gentlemen on the street noted that different classes often mixed during Ramadan celebrations, while the woman working at the children's youth outreach center stated that people will mix during community-led block parties.

When asked what could be done to facilitate social mix within la Goutte d'Or, interviewee responses tended to center around improving local schools, working with non-profit organizations and government associations to assist in education and general social conditions, and encouraging local community members and businesses to organize social events. While the middle-aged black man visiting the vegetable shop stated that "nothing can be changed to get people to mix more", interviewees were generally optimistic in suggesting possible solutions.

Five of the eleven interviewees responded that improving local schools would definitely encourage social mix within the area, both among students and their parents. The owner of the vegetable shop stated that the local schools in the area were "not good" and that she could sympathize with white families that wanted to send their children to other school districts, as she would do the same. The woman working in the children's youth outreach center commented that while students mix at a very young age (up to kindergarden), white families will often send their children to other school districts that they perceived as "better" (even though this may just be an impression and, in her opinion, is not necessarily the case). The director of the children's youth outreach center corroborated the viewpoint of his fellow coworker, adding that if schools in the area were improved, it would make a huge difference in contributing to improved interactions among social and ethnic groups in the area.

Four of the eleven interviewees believed that support from non-profit organizations and government associations could be an important way to facilitate social mix. The young woman working in the bakery stated that support from outside organizations, particularly those targeting the youth community, could be very influential in this goal; she also noted that offering affordable or free French lessons for immigrants would help overcome a language barrier that might be inhibiting social interactions. The owner of the vegetable shop and the middle-aged black man visiting the vegetable shop, on the other hand, commented that there were already enough organizations working in the area ("perhaps too many" according to the owner of the vegetable shop) but that these organizations could be doing more to bring about effective change (the middle-aged black man visiting the vegetable shop commented that associations working in the area were doing the "strict minimum" and that nothing truly substantial was being accomplished). The owner of the vegetable shop did comment, however, that many of these organizations had been successful in the past, particularly in alleviating issues concerned with drugs, while the middle-aged black man visiting the vegetable shop stated that perhaps psychological help or job training for youth in the area could be particularly important in alleviating issues related to crime.

Three of the eleven interviewees stated that encouraging local community members and businesses to organize social events would also be a good way to encourage interactions between groups in la Goutte d'Or. The white woman working in the knitting shop recalled that when her shop organized community events such as National Knitting Day, as well as an event that collected used socks from neighbors and hosted a workshop that taught local women to learn how to make crafts from these used socks, social mix between community members was facilitated. The director of the children's youth outreach center remarked that asking different people in the community to come into the center to volunteer their time or give a presentation on their profession, for example, has been very successful in encouraging social mix. The middle-aged black woman of African descent working in an African clothing shop added that community events centered around food always works as a great way to bring people of different ethnicities and social classes together.

16th arrondissement

Site visits were conducted during three separate visits to the 16th arrondissement during both the work week and on a very snowy Sunday. The 16th arrondissement, located at the far west region of Paris, is bordered by the Boulevard Périphérique on both the south and west region, the Bois de Boulogne to the west, the river Seine to the east, Avenue Marceau and Avenue de la Grande Armée to the north. This area is much larger than la Goutte d'Or and consists of a mostly white, upper and upper-middle class population, thus providing a markedly different comparison with the ethnically-mixed, gentrifying area of la Goutte d'Or.

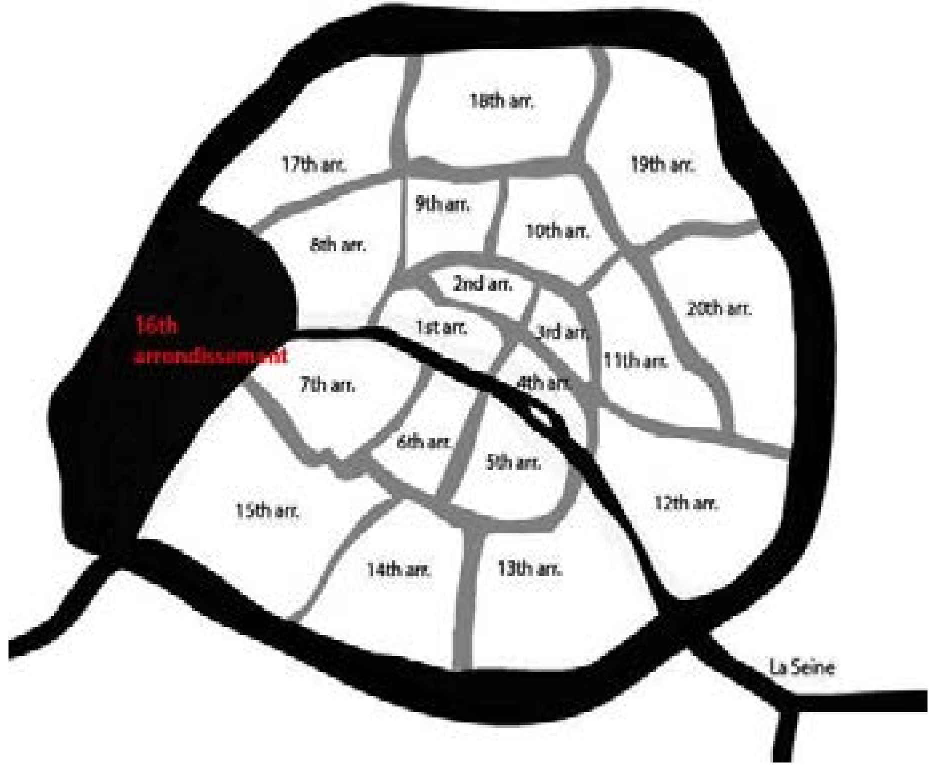


Image 30: Map of 16th arrondissement

The northern area of the 16th arrondissement (north of Rue de Passy and Avenue Ingres) appeared to consist primarily of an almost homogenous upper-class white population. Upscale housing complexes gated off from the sidewalks coupled with luxury shops, restaurants and cafes are common in this area, with predominantly older, white individuals and tourists inhabiting its streets; few families (with the exception of the families of what appeared to be tourists) appeared to be present. On an unusually snowy Sunday, there were few (if any) individuals on the streets, which contrasted greatly with the bustling market of la Goutte d'Or (where streets were crowded despite the weather). Very few signs of ethnicity in terms of shops or religious centers were present.

Image 31: Typical street view in the northern section of the 16th arrondissement, consisting of upscale cafes, pre-war housing and a mostly white, "French" population.

Image 32: Gated, upscale apartment buildings surrounded by parked cars in the northern section of the 16th arrondissement.

The central/southern region of the 16th arrondissement differed slightly from its northern counterpart. While the population wandering the streets also appeared to be predominantly white, more families with smaller children and less tourists appeared to be present. Housing in this area appeared to cater to a more middle-class population, with mixed housing typologies (both old and new) existing side-by-side. In the far southern region of the 16th arrondissement (just north of the Exelmans metro stop), housing seemed to consist of more modern construction that appeared to be slightly more dilapidated than in the northern region. Shops and restaurants appeared to cater to a more middle-class clientele, with many more people wandering the streets and frequenting their business than in the north. Additionally, a greater number of cars were parked on the streets outside of residential housing. On Sunday, more individuals could be observed on the streets than in the north (particularly families with younger children playing in the snow).

Image 33: Upscale apartment buildings and shops in the northern section of the 16th arrondissement.

Image 34: Mixed housing typologies existing side-by-side in the central/southern region of the 16th arrondissement

Image 35: Mixed housing typologies existing side-by-side in the central/southern region of the 16th arrondissement

Image 36: A number of individuals could be observed on the streets frequenting shops that appeared to cater to a more middle-class clientele

Thirteen individuals were interviewed in the 16th arrondissement, six from the north and seven from the south. Interviewees from the north included: a middle-aged white man from Normandy working at a butcher stand in a market, an older black man who appeared to be working for the municipality collecting garbage at an outdoor market, a younger man of what appeared to be north-African/middle-eastern descent selling fruits and nuts an an outdoor market, a younger white man working at an upscale mens clothing boutique, a younger man presumably of north-African/middle-eastern descent working as a chef in an upscale restaurant and an older Spanish white woman. Interviews from the central/southern region of the 16th arrondissement included: a middle-aged white man working in a flower shop, a middle-aged white man walking the streets with two small children, an older white gentleman walking the streets who had lived in the area for the past forty years, an older white woman walking the streets who had lived in the area for the past sixteen years, a middle-aged white couple working in a coffee shop, two middle-aged white women shopping for vegetables at a local market and a white middle-aged woman with two children.

When asked what types of individuals lived in and frequented the 16th arrondissement, almost all interviewees responded that the area consisted primarily of wealthy, white individuals.

In the northern region, interviewees stated that many very wealthy individuals, as well as foreigners, owned property in the area. The man from Normandy working at a butcher stand in an outdoor market responded that the market in which he worked was the second most expensive market in Paris (and that "a single chicken in this market costs an astonishing 25 euro!)". The older black man sweeping garbage at the market stated that rents were extremely high in this neighborhood, and that upper and middle class individuals were the only ones that could afford to live here. Four individuals responded that foreigners who owned property in the area were another common feature in this area: the younger white man working at an upscale mens clothing boutique, for example, stated that a number of foreigners (Asians, Brazilians and Russians) were both buying property (either as their primary residence or as a second home) and living in the area and that, as a result, this area has come to be known as the "gold triangle". An older white Spanish woman also added that the area has become so expensive that it is currently impossible to find "everyday" sorts of shops, as office buildings, expensive retail stores, restaurants and cafes drive up real estate prices.

In the central-southern region, interviewees responded similarly, noting that mostly white, middle and upper class individuals and families lived in this area. The white man working in the flower shop noted that there were a number of elderly individuals living in the area, and that, while the area remained predominantly white and upper-middle class, more and more foreign residents were moving in. Three individuals stated that the central-southern region of the 16th arrondissement was, while still relatively well-off compared to the rest of Paris, less expensive than in the northern region of the 16th. The middle-aged white man with children noted that more families lived in this area than in the north. The white middle-aged woman with two children added most of the residents in her neighborhood near the Exelmans metro stop in the far south were "maybe 10%" Muslim (the rest, she reported, were mostly Catholic) and that there were "some blacks, but not many; maybe 10%" (the rest, she reported, were white). She also noted, however, that there has been a recent influx of younger families with children moving into her neighborhood, as many previous older tenants had recently passed away.

When asked how they believed that residents of the 16th arrondissement would respond to allowing for social housing or the creation of some social mix within this area, the majority of interviewees responded negatively, stating that they did not believe residents of the 16th arrondissement would be open to such a proposal.

In the northern region of the 16th arrondissement, interviewees expressed a strong hostility and reluctance towards social mixing. While the white man from Normandy working at the butcher stand in the market stated that there is some social mix at the market (as people from all over Paris frequented it), the majority of respondents stated that people living in the 16th arrondissement did so because they wanted to reside among people of a similar socio-economic class. The older black man sweeping garbage at the market stated that residents of the 16th arrondissement had previously tried to block attempts to build social housing in the area and that mix would be impossible; in his opinion, "on ne mélange pas les torchons et les serviettes" ("towels and napkins do not mix"-a phrase equivalent to the English phrase "apples and oranges don't mix"). The younger man of what appeared to be north-African/middle-eastern descent selling fruits and nuts an an outdoor market stated that allowing for social housing in this area "would show a lack of respect" for current residents; in his opinion, if people wanted to surround themselves with other rich individuals, they should be allowed to do so. The younger white man working at an upscale mens clothing boutique expressed concerns regarding safety, stating that because many people living in the 16th arrondissement were so wealthy and had many valuable items in their houses, thievery and robbery might become an issue if people of a lower socio-economic status were to move into the area. The younger man presumably of north-African/middle-eastern descent working as a chef in an upscale restaurant stated that there was "no way" people would ever mix in his eyes, predominantly due to extreme differences in culture and habits; he also stated that even if affordable housing were to be built in the area, lower-income residents would have a hard time meeting their daily necessities, as many of the shops and grocery stores in the area were, in his opinion, overly priced.

Similar sentiments were expressed in the central-south regions of the 16th arrondissement, particularly with respect to safety, as well as a fear that real estate prices might drop, if lower-income residents were allowed to move in. The middle-aged white man working in a flower shop stated that people in this area might be afraid of lower-income individuals (perhaps due to cultural differences) and might be particularly nervous that real estate prices would drop with the influx of social housing. The middle-aged white man walking the streets with two small children stated that many of the older individuals and families living in the region might be somewhat ignorant, and as a result, frightened if lower-income individuals moved in the neighborhood. He also stated, however, that he personally wouldn't be too nervous and that social housing, in his opinion, could definitely be fine if implemented in smaller doses. The white middle-aged woman with two children added that some social housing already existed in her neighborhood, but she would not like to see more; "even though one can not generalize", she stated, "I feel that most of the people that live in social housing communities are not mentally stable, drink and do not work". She also added that a nearby school for underprivileged youth (mostly consisting of high school students who had previously dropped out of school and were working to finish their diploma) has brought a lot of youth into the neighborhood that "have become more and more violent, aggressive and disrespectful with the people around them", also stating that "more and more [graffiti] tags have appeared on the buildings and [the youth] often smoke drugs openly on the streets, which was never an issue five to ten years ago". The middle-aged white couple working in a coffee shop stated that they were afraid that if social housing were put in the area, "big ugly buildings would change the architectural character of the neighborhood". Other concerns, however, revolved primarily around numbers: if too many lower-income individuals moved into the neighborhood, they stated, demographics of the neighborhood could change unfavorably. The two middle-aged white women shopping for vegetables at a local market agreed, stating that some social mix could be fine, but too many poor people would create undesirable "ghetto-like" conditions.

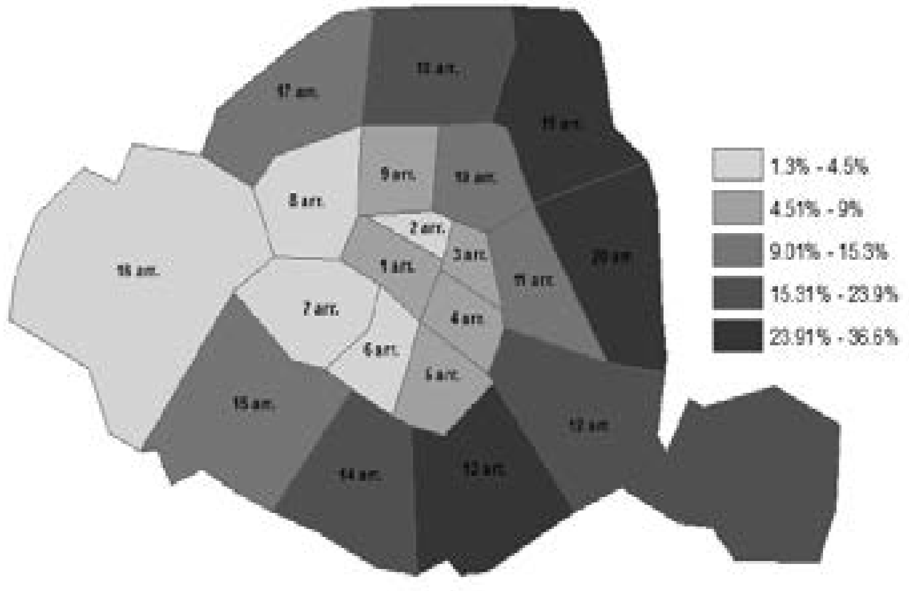
CHAPTER 4:
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The city of Paris, and France at large, have undoubtedly come a long way in terms of seeking solutions to house its poor and disadvantaged citizens. From erecting large housing estates that sought to pave the way for an ideal Modern city, to guaranteeing a “right to housing” for all citizens and, more recently, to seeking to ameliorate concentrations of poverty and crime in the city’s banlieues by mandating social mix housing legislation, the city of Paris has proven itself to be on the forefront of solving the ever-pressing and demanding conundrum of how best to create an equitable and just city for all.

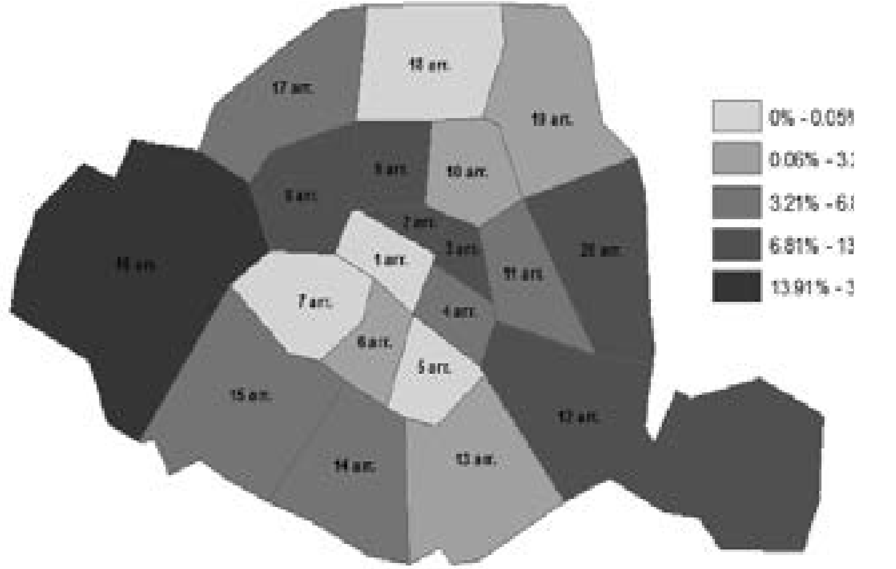
Thus far, as corroborated by numerous researchers, Paris appears to be hitting its goals of making more affordable housing units available throughout the city, as 17% of the city’s total housing stock as of 2011 has been allocated to social housing, an increase of 5.6% since 2010 alone (City of Paris Website 2013). A closer look at the physical spread of housing units mandated by the Loi relative à la solidarité et au renouvellement urbains (SRU) throughout the city, however, shows an uneven spatial distribution in the allocation of social housing units; less than 3% of total housing within each of the inner arrondissements is made up of SRU units (1.30% in the 7th arrondissement, 2.8% in the 6th arrondissement and 2.4% in the 8th arrondissement, for example), while upwards of 30% of total housing consists of SRU units within some of the outer arrondissements (33.2% in the 13th arrondissement, 36.6% in the 19th arrondissement and 29.70% in the 20th arrondissement), particularly those in the eastern part of the city. These numbers, however, do not necessarily signify that this trend will stick in the forthcoming years, particularly given that the percentage of SRU units out of total housing stock in the 16th arrondissement jumped 38.2% in one year alone, while some of the inner arrondissements appear to be growing at a faster rate as well. However, a higher percentage of SRU units in the outer-eastern arrondissements may signify a continued, though perhaps unconscious and even undesired, inclination on the part of planning officials to allow for the expulsion of social housing units, and individuals, away from the city center towards the exterior of the city. Though this trend may be due to pressing time and spatial demands, it could also point to a reluctance on the part of planners, or perhaps the citizens of Paris at large, to truly embrace the concept of social mix within the city as a whole and to share the effects of this policy among all citizens of Paris.

Percentage (%) of SRU Units
Out of Total Housing Per Arrondissement-2011



Source: Atelier Parisien Urbanism 2012

Percentage (%) Change
of SRU Units Out of Total Housing Per
Arrondissement (2010-2011)



Source: Atelier Parisien Urbanism 2012

This disparity in the percentage of SRU units out of total housing stock may be due to a reluctance on the part of residents (who appear to be older, in higher-ranking positions in work, with higher median incomes, higher levels of education, as well as a stronger tendency to be owner-occupiers than in the 18th arrondissement) to allow for the creation of SRU units within their neighborhood, a viewpoint not only corroborated by sentiments expressed by residents during on-site interviews, but also by previous research; Bacqué et al. (2011) find that mayors of the wealthiest arrondissements oftentimes complain of the "inadequate lifestyles" of social housing tenants (Bacqué et al. 2011), while Calavita and Mallach (2010) find that "many rich communities prefer to pay the tax than to build public housing" Calavita and Mallach 2010, 213). Residents of the 16th arrondissement are not, however, alone in its reluctance to embrace social mix, as Kearns and Parkes (2003) note that "there is not a majority in the UK in favour of mixing communities by income, class or housing tenure, with owner-occupiers being particularly opposed and people in rented housing areas more in favour" (Kearnes and Parkes 2003, 847), while findings in Musterd (2008) conclude that in sixteen cities across Europe, "respondents do not uniformly value a high level of social mix as a positive attribute" (Musterd 2008, 913).

Interviews and site visits suggest, however, that while social mix may be occurring on a numeric level (in that Paris is indeed on its way to meeting its percentage goals in the creation of social housing units within the city), social interactions between ethnicities and social classes in both la Goutte d'Or and the 16th arrondissement may not be taking place at the present time, with physical manifestations of social difference particularly scarce in the 16th arrondissement.

Site visits to la Goutte d'Or suggest that this neighborhood is indeed going through a period of transition from a primarily ethnic, working class neighborhood to one that also includes middle and upper-middle class individuals and families (including a whiter, more "French" populace). Physical expressions of the changing demographics of this neighborhood towards a greater social mix are visible through the presence of individuals of mixed ethnicities on the street, as well as the mix of shops and housing types; interviews conducted during site visits also support the notion that the neighborhood is socially and ethnically mixed, at least on the surface. However, interviews also suggest that at this stage, interaction between different ethnicities and social groups in la Goutte d'Or is not occurring, an observation supported by previous research conducted by Bacqué et al. (2011) and Rose et al. (2013), who also find that although policy officials state that they are indeed optimistic about social mix housing policies, interaction between social and ethnic groups may still be minimal. Interviews also seem to corroborate Bacqué et al.'s (2011) findings that racial tensions do indeed exist in this neighborhood, resulting in expressions of "us" ("white", "French") vs. "them" ("Sub-Saharan Africans and Northern Africans"). Additionally, comments that perhaps many families of higher-incomes are sending their children to schools outside of the neighborhood, as expressed by few interviewees, also seems to be backed by Rose et al. (2013), who state that schools (particularly elementary schools) are an important site for social-mix, yet that much social mix in la Goutte d'Or "stops at the gate" of public elementary schools due to "the overwhelming tendency of middle-class Parisian parents to avoid schools with high concentrations of low-income and/or minority ethnic children" (Rose et al. 2011, 442). Tensions in public space also appear to be present in restrictions placed on usage in the Square de Leon and DYI gardens such as the Jardin Mobile, as well as a seemingly recent injection of police presence into the neighborhood, a finding is corroborated by Bacqué et al. (2011), who find that "tensions are sometimes expressed even in the street and the public space, when new inhabitants of Goutte d'Or are treated as strangers in the neighborhood, when new shops are vandalized or when shopkeepers in the 16th arrondissement treat social housing tenants with obvious disdain" (Bacque et al. 2011, 270).

Site visits to the 16th arrondissement, however, show that interactions between different ethnicities and social classes appear to be even more minimal than in la Goutte d'Or. Physical manifestations of the changing demographics of this neighborhood in terms of income and ethnicity do not appear to be present, while observations and interviews suggest that the neighborhood appears to entirely made up of middle to upper class white "French" individuals, with housing types and shops to suit their needs only, particularly in the northern region of this site. This finding is supported by Bacqué et al. (2011) who note that "some households of African origin do not necessarily appear to be satisfied with their surroundings in the 16th arrondissement, as many cannot find any shops in the vicinity catering to their tastes" (Bacqué et al. 2011, 270)). The central-southern region of the 16th arrondissement appeared to have a slightly higher degree of social mix, expressed not only through the physical manifestations of the city in terms of mixed-housing typology, but also in terms of observations of residents and street inhabitants. These findings may support the notion that only certain types of individuals and families deemed "appropriate" to live in the neighborhood may be chosen as beneficiaries of social housing in the 16th arrondissement, an argument put forth by Bacqué et al. (2011), who find that there are very few people from the 'most working class' categories, and the large majority of beneficiaries are white-collar workers. There are very few blue-collar workers, and those that are have partners who are white-collar workers" (Bacqué et al. 2011, 265), that there are "very few immigrants" (Ibid, 265) and that the few immigrants that do exist are "well-educated"(Ibid, 265).

Additionally, interviews also suggest a certain amount of ignorance due to the fact that lower-income individuals may be residing in their neighborhood, as well as outright hostility towards the idea of housing a socially-mixed community in this neighborhood (particularly in the northern region). Issues appear to be raised relating to safety, differences in culture and habit, fear of real estate prices dropping and changes in the architectural integrity and character of the neighborhood. These findings also seem to be corroborated by Bacqué et al, (2013), who find that tension often exists between old residents and newly arrived lower-income residents in the 16th arrondissement; conflicts often erupt which are "connected as much with living alongside people one has not chosen, with feelings of downward social mobility and with forms of social and racial rejection, as with the opposition between different social norms" (Ibid, 266) and the presence of a plaque on the buildings of higher-income residents showing that the property belongs to a social landlord is "an irredeemable marker of the loss of its symbolic value" (Ibid, 266), quoting one higher-income resident who stated "there we were, in a lovely spacious old apartment, we had really got on in life, had some success-you might even say we had made it, and then...they all tell us we're living in social housing; we feel as if...we came to Paris just to be given a hard time"(Ibid, 267), another who stated "I'm not a snob, but I'm just not used to this kind of population; the people who live here are the kind of people who live in social housing" (Ibid, 267) and another who stated "we hope [new lower-income residents arriving to higher-income neighborhoods] won't steal a lot" (Ibid, 269).

The implications of these findings are relevant to the effects that social mix policies may have on neighborhoods in Paris. The benefits of social mix to low-income individuals being housed in the 16th arrondissement may in fact make a better impression on younger individuals seeking to improve their employment opportunities (as cited by Blanc 2010 and Wilson 1987), provide low-income individuals and families with access to material opportunities and the diminishment or reduction of negative factors such as poor-performing schools as crime (as cited by Stec 2007), improve social networks that might link poorer individuals to people with resources (as cited by Blanc 2010, Granovetter 1995 and Stec 2007), individuals in this area will indeed be exposed to individuals with relatively high incomes, working statuses ("executives" and "higher intellectual professionals") and levels of education (as cited in the "Data Analysis" section of "Research Findings" of this thesis). Increased police presence, reductions in crime, enhanced upkeep of public spaces and other community services in la Goutte d'Or, as corroborated by interviews, might appear to be brought on by the influx of higher-income individuals and families, a positive effect of mixed-income communities as cited by Schwartz and Tajbaksh (1997), Chasking and Joseph (2013), Logan and Molotch (1987) and Sampson et al. (1997). Furthermore, the presence of the "Bobo" class in la Goutte d'Or as observed in site visits and cited in interviews may aid facilitating social interactions between higher and lower-income groups, as put forth by Bacqué et al. (2011).

However, the lack of social interaction between social and ethnic groups as noted in interviews conducted in both the 16th arrondissement and la Goutte d'Or, as well as the homogeneity in physical neighborhood characteristics in the 16th arrondissement, could highlight a number of potential negative implications for social mix planning in Paris. Views expressed in interviews that little, if any, interaction is occurring between different social groups could result in conditions wherein different people only live beside one another and do not interact, a risk cited by Musterd 2008, Murie and Musterd (2004), Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) and Van Beckhoven and van Kempen (2002), which may result, according to Chamboredon and Lamaire (1970), in neighborhoods wherein social tensions are exacerbated. The physical homogeneity of the built environment as well as individuals observed in the 16th arrondissement could also potentially lead to a condition whereby low-income individuals and families living in the 16th arrondissement may be forced to strive towards a norm that they ultimately may never be able to reach, potentially leading to a sense of invisibility of poverty for society at large as well as hindering low-income groups from collectively working to improve their own circumstances, a concern espoused by Stec (2007) and Chaskin and Joseph (2013). Tensions may also arise in appropriation and control of public spaces among different income groups, particularly, according to Chaskin and Joseph (2013), with regards to expectations about appropriate use and behavior.

These findings further the conclusion that achieving socially-mixed communities in Paris characterized not only by a mix of housing available to individuals and families of differing socio-economic backgrounds, but also by a sense of neighborhood cohesion and equality as well as understanding of and commitment to the broader goals of social mix policies, may not come through housing mix alone, a finding supported by Bacque et al. (2011), who states that "social mix cannot settle the issue of poverty through social dispersion; this can only be done through vital social distribution" (Bacque et al. 2011, 271). While broader city-wide goals and actions are necessary, particularly in setting standards and communicating objectives as to the importance of social mix to the public at large, individualized actions on the part of policy-makers and community organizations tailored to particular neighborhood needs may in fact be necessary to facilitate social-mix within each neighborhood context, as confirmed by Arabaci and Rae's (2013) findings in the city of London, who find that "mixed-tenure policies cannot be used uniformly among neighborhoods in Greater London, let alone the entire country; each neighborhood should be viewed within its own context, thereby offering support for a combination between an area-based, as well as comprehensive, policy approach to tackling the issue of social-mix in London" (Arabaci and Rae 2013, 476). Social interaction and cohesion may not occur automatically in these neighborhoods, a viewpoint supported by Blanc (2010), who states that social-mix policies may take time to come into fruition, as these policies often "require a strong political commitment and at the same time pragmatism and patience. Such changes do not occur rapidly" (Blanc 2010, 269). Future research, therefore, will in fact be necessary in order to truly evaluate the consequences of Paris' efforts to promote mixité social, as well as implications for social-mix housing policies in France at large, as well as other cities around the world pursuing similar strategies and goals.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to create a more effective social mix, one characterized not only by mixed-income communities but also by a sense of neighborhood cohesion and equality, as well as understanding of and commitment to the broader goals of social mix policies, the following policy recommendations have been put forth.

In order to ensure a more even spread of SRU units throughout Paris and to assure that the entire city bears the responsibility of social housing allocation rather than just a few outer arrondissements, the following recommendations may free up existing units within some of the inner arrondissements in order to provide for social housing units:

Monitor foreign investment and use of buildings

Research suggests that the proliferation of foreign-owned secondary homes appears to be a key issue affecting the housing stock in Paris, and may be particularly pronounced in some of the more affluent arrondissements in the central regions of Paris. This phe-nomenon may affect the availability of units accessible for the construction and alloca-tion of social housing units, as well as the spread of these units across Paris. Improved monitoring of foreign investment and use of buildings may, therefore, free up housing stock that may make the creation of affordable units for lower-income individuals, as well as the middle class, more feasible.

Monitor and utilize vacant properties for affordable units

Data suggests that many of the inner arrondissements have a high percentage of vacant units coupled with a low percentage of SRU units out of total housing stock. Monitor-ing and utilizing vacant units for the creation of affordable units may, therefore, allow not only for the creation of more social housing within Paris, but may also allow for a more even distribution of social housing units throughout the city.

Improve communication with public as to why the City of Paris is making social mix an important priority for the city

While it appears as though the City of Paris has made a concerted effort to promote the creation of affordable (SRU) units, little if any information appears to be available to the public nor widely distributed (as noted in interviews) about why the city has made the goal of social mix an important priority. A lack of communication regarding the benefits social mix may bring to the city at large may contribute to feelings of hostility when affordable units are constructed or allocated and may even result in actions to block the creation of social units within certain neighborhoods, particularly in more well-off areas such as the 16th arrondissement where negative sentiments concerning social housing appear to be particularly pronounced. Improving communication con-cerning the rationale behind social mix on the City of Paris website and through other policy dissemination tools, therefore, could greatly enhance residents' understanding of why social housing is being implemented in its current fashion. Such efforts could perhaps encourage a stronger willingness on behalf of all residents to allow for the creation of affordable units through the city and generate an understanding that the costs and benefits of creating social housing can and will be shared collectively as city (and not just be a few arrrondisements).

Assure transparency in the allocation of affordable units

As previously mentioned in this report, authors of the 2011 OECD report state that "the way social housing currently works and rental regulations in the private sector are..unfair", as allowances are not always allocated to those most in need. Institutional failure and perhaps corruption may be to blame for this issue, thereby contributing to a situation in which the supply of social housing may not be serving those indi-viduals for whom the subsidy was intended and causing shortages of affordable housing units within the city center. Improving government transparency and accountability may help to alleviate this issue and allow for more affordable units to become available to those truly in need.

Additionally, the following suggestions may help to facilitate social interaction and, therefore, enhance community cohesion and solidarity between different social and ethnic groups resulting from social mix policies, both within la Goutte d'Or and the 16th arrondissement, and perhaps the city of Paris at large:

Facilitate social cohesion through community groups and non-profit organizations

As stated in interviews, facilitating social cohesion through community groups and non-profit organizations may allow for a greater degree of social mix beyond the strict numeric sense. These efforts should be local in their creation and implementation, re-flecting the individual needs of each neighborhood and its inhabitants.

Assure that public spaces allow for difference and diversity

In order to combat tensions that can arise in the appropriation and control of public spaces among different income groups which may "manifest in responses to competing expectations regarding appropriate normative behavior and the negotiation of these expectations in the context of arguments about safety, order, what constitutes 'public' space, and the nature and extent of rights to use that space in daily life", Chaskin and Joseph (2013) put forth the following suggestions, which may help neighborhoods in Paris to foster inclusive and fair public spaces within mixed-income communities: (1) the creation of public social space that finds "pleasure in difference, embraces inclusion and celebrates the public and private sphere, which is by definition accessible to anyone"; (2) engaging low-income renters to participate in ongoing planning, deliberation and decision regarding community life and (3) fostering "greater intentionality and investment" around opportunities for inclusion through organizational infrastructure and institutional strength, providing for places of shared use (stores, coffee shops, recreational facilities and schools) in which residents may find some commonality or at least comfort in their differences (Chaskin and Joseph 2013).

Improve local schools, especially in mixed-income communities

Improving local schools in mixed-income communities may deter middle and upper-middle class families residing in these areas to send their children to schools in other districts, thus encouraging greater social interaction between social and ethnic groups, particularly amongst families and children.

Track and analyze physical manifestations of changing demographics in neighborhoods

Tracking and analyzing physical manifestations of changing demographics in neighborhoods could serve as an excellent indicator of how social mix policies are actually being carried out, whether certain neighborhoods are receiving particular types of individuals over others and whether the "invisibility" of certain low-income individuals or groups (as cited by researchers above) is or could pose a problem in the alleviation of poverty throughout the city.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND AVENUES OF FURTHER RESEARCH

This master's thesis is fused with a number of limitations. Although research and subsequent analysis undertaken does provide an "outside" (ie, non-French) perspective on the effects of social-mix policies in Paris, the limited amount of time spent in Paris conducting research (thereby resulting in only a few number of interviews and photographs), as well as my own lack of in-depth familiarity with the city, language and culture of Paris and France at large, should be considered when reading into observations and conclusions put forth in this report. Therefore, suggestions for avenues of further research include:

- Corroborating findings with the knowledge and expertise of planning officials, members of non-profit organizations and more, to gain a holistic and insightful understanding of this topic.

- Including more interviews of residents and assuring a statistically-significant mix of residents, landlords and community members in both the 16th arrondissement and la Goutte d'Or in order to gain further insight.

- Examining other neighborhoods in addition to the two selected in order to see how social-mix policies have been played out in other regions of Paris.

- Including more focused photography of site, particularly around sites in the 16th arrondissement where SRU units have been placed.

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