Stony Brook University

THE ARCHITECTONICS OF SEGREGATION

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BODIES, BORDERS AND SPACE

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Through an exploration of theories of the body and space, as developed by philosophers in the continental philosophy tradition, primarily Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Michel Foucault, my dissertation demonstrates how these concepts are essential to our understanding of urban redevelopment projects involving the social marginalization of minority groups through housing segregation. As such, this analysis of the phenomenon of segregation in the urban environment is both philosophical in methodology and insight and interdisciplinary in scope.

Using Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological and Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods, I present the phenomenon of segregation as that which is primarily informed by how the relationship between the body and space is perceived. This perception, in turn, informs our political, sociological and historical understandings, and thus our analysis reveals the systems and logics that create and sustain the practice. By bringing this conceptual analysis to

bear on case studies of urban segregation, I demonstrate that such an understanding is an essential part of the search for solutions to the continued practice of spatial and social segregation.

I have chosen to focus my investigation on two large-scale, low-income housing estates (Cabrini-Green in Chicago and Les Tarterêts near Paris) that, despite bearing similar physical features, have significantly different social, historical, ethnic and cultural characteristics and demographics. Yet, I demonstrate that there exists a fundamental logic that lends itself to the formation of segregated enclaves at each of these sites, which can be extended to other sites of segregation as well.

My analysis of the architectural (spatial) practices and the systems of knowledge that inform them, support my thesis and offer a substantial critique of current and past urban planning methods and developments, while also creating space to offer proposals for other methodologies and planning schemes.

This work is dedicated to my mother

and

In loving memory of Peggy, John and Richard Langhout

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This dissertation is a culmination of my experiences, my passions, the people I have known, and the places I have lived. It is a work in progress and one that could easily become my life's work, as my commitment to social and political justice extends beyond these pages, spilling out into the streets and neighborhoods of someplace. As a child in Chicago, I was never far away from the effects of segregation and racism and was always aware of the injustice it represented. These early memories accompanied me as I began my undergraduate education in architecture, idealistically searching for a way to change what I witnessed. Years later, I found a new vehicle for my mission, philosophy, and it has carried me to this point in time where I now present my first large body of work containing my thoughts concerning segregation. Next, I would like to find a way to connect this work to more practical applications.

There are three central ideas that have guided the methodology and research, forming an underlying narrative: first, despite having studied endless numbers of philosophers since passed, I firmly believe that philosophy is a living field that is interactive rather than passive; second, in order to understand a given situation or event, it is necessary to view it in context, as well as in relation to other instances of the phenomenon; and third, one should remain open to the possibility that important insights can be gained from individuals outside of one's discipline. As such, this dissertation is about real people who live in real places. It employs a method that is tied not to the lifeless pages of a book but the living body that I am. I have taken this living body and explored actual instances

of segregation, trying to get a sense of the phenomenon as a whole while grasping its particularities. To achieve this, I realized that I needed to refer to and depend on the insights of all of those who have made insights into the phenomenon regardless of their education, field, or native language. During the process of researching and writing the dissertation, I began to realize the interconnectivity existing in the world that I had only had an intuition of before as I traveled spatially and intellectually beyond my former boundaries.

In the end, all of the pieces came together, but this is by no means a finished work. The ideas put forth here are merely to lay a foundation for what is to come, and so I welcome any dialogue or critiques that could arise concerning the content herein. The movement towards real change in urban planning and design has just begun, and I imagine that the changes needed will take some time to come. I offer this work as step forward in what I feel is the right direction at this moment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is a product not only of my own intellectual effort but also the emotional, creative, and intellectual support provided to me by family, friends, and scholars who opened their arms, homes and minds to me over the years and around the world. To name them all might fill a book in itself, as I have been extraordinarily blessed in my life with having met so many wonderfully generous people. I would, however, like to extend my gratitude here to a few of the many and hope that those whose names do not appear below know that they are no less appreciated.

I would like to begin by thanking my wonderful committee: to Ed Casey, I extend my warmest thanks for providing me with the intellectual sustenance, sincerity and space I needed to not only write this dissertation but also to grow as a philosopher; to Mary Rawlinson, I offer my gratitude for her support throughout this project; to Don Ihde, I am indebted for his non-stop promotion, encouragement for doing interdisciplinary research and for introducing me to endless numbers of scholars and new conferences that have contributed to the development of the thoughts contained in these pages; and, to Richard Alba, whose work has inspired some of the content in the following work, I am delighted that he is a part of this committee.

As I was crossing academic boundaries and international borders while writing this dissertation, there were a few people who not only made the transitions possible but who truly opened new doors to me. The research that I performed while in Paris was greatly facilitated by guidance and encouragement

INTRODUCTION

> If one were to find a place, and perhaps there are some, where liberty is effectively exercised, one would find that this is not owing to the order of objects, but, once again, owing to the practice of liberty. Which is not to say, after all, one may as well leave people in slums thinking they can simply exercise their rights there.[1]

The philosophical trend during the 1900s that revived interest in the concept of space – freeing philosophers from their temporally bound discourse and allowing them to reframe our understanding of human beings and the world – corresponds to similar movements in disciplines ranging from geography to urban planning to fine arts. Part of what is motivating this renewed interest in space can be explained by the fact that despite having technical mastery over space and matter, we, nevertheless, find ourselves alienated from our environment and ourselves as human beings—in effect, we have become, in many senses, *homeless*[2]. While focusing so intently on the mastery of our environment, we seem to have forgotten how to dwell in it.

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[1] Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge, and Power," trans. Christian Hubert, ed. Sylvère Lotringer, *Foucault Live: Interviews, 1961-1984* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996) 340.

[2] David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer use this term in their introduction to *Dwelling, Place and Environment* (2000) to describe the modern condition whereby we find ourselves increasingly dominated by and alienated from our environment and ourselves due to an overemphasis that has been placed on their technological mastery. [David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer. "Dwelling, place and environment: An introduction," *Dwelling, Place and Environment. Towards a*

By infusing it with our everyday activities, experiences, emotions and creativity, this act of dwelling builds upon our merely taking up, or occupying, a point in space. As such, we are beginning to rethink our cities as being not merely historical or economic artifacts but primarily as fields of bodily experience. Philosophical considerations of space, the body and identity are essential in making this transition, and I argue that phenomenology offers the best means for obtaining insight into the multi-faceted relationship that exists between space and the body and for providing insights into a style of design and planning that is more in touch with the idea of place-making and dwelling.

Phenomenology, particularly that strain promoted by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, considers the experience of the individual body to be primary in helping us to understand the body/space relationship while scientific constructs of this relationship based on materiality or physical dynamics plays a secondary explanatory role that depends on the former for its substance. Much of the recent literature, within and outside philosophy, addressing the concepts of "dwelling" or the body/space relationship uses a phenomenological approach that, as a method promoting the validity of individual, bodily experience, has, as I will demonstrate, proven to be a most useful tool in thinking about how we live in the world.

How we experience, construct and inhabit space is increasingly becoming a focal point for study in sociology, geography, urban studies, science and technology studies (STS) and other spatially-oriented social science disciplines. As in the case of philosophy, it reflects a desire to reconnect to our environment

phenomenology of person and world, eds. David Seamon & R. Mugerauer (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985) 1.]

and to explore how we have been shaped by its technological and design elements. In this text, I will be referring to several scholars who examine our relationship to the built environment and who have come to realize that: "The production and organization of the built and developed world have privileged a kind of manipulation of space that is based on a logic of repetition as well as on the following fundamental principle: *produce first the urban habitat so as to hand it over to them for use*"[3]. In other words, there is an increasing awareness of the reproduction, as opposed to production, of environment and that this reproduction or mass-production leads to a container/contained relationship in which the inhabitant no longer participates but simply takes up a position.

The construction of the built environment as a relation between a container and that which is to be contained is an expression of the systems of socio-economic and historic discourses that inform it, which the inhabitant necessarily becomes a part of but does not necessarily understand all of the significations that it has inherited from this "container" system; nor does the inhabitant necessarily recognize or realize their natural relationship to the whole. The inhabitant, in this system of container/contained is not fulfilling their potential as inhabitant, stopping short at what can be called merely occupying "housing." This housing shapes the everyday actions of the inhabitant, that is to say, it bends to the shape of the house the way a bound foot takes the shape of its binding. The inhabitant, in this way of residing, lacks mastery over the relation

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[3] Jean-François Augoyard, *Step by Step: everyday walks in a French urban housing project*, trans. David Ames Curtis (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007) 8-9.

of the whole to the parts, infusing their everyday lives with a sense of "inhabitant malaise."[4]

As a result, there is a growing trend in urban planning, and among those studying urbanism, to rethink the urban environment as a whole, the means by which it shapes activities and the methods by which it is designed. The thousands of buildings built almost overnight during the post-War period in Western cities are being examined for their physical and experiential sustainability as they begin to deteriorate to the point of requiring serious renovations or even demolition. Such reflection is being made primarily in fields that are concerned with the concept of urbanism; that is to say, with the study of that "concerning both the way by which one constructs the urban environment and the study of knowing how to construct"[5]. Included in such reflections, alongside considerations of the effects that these developments have had on the urban experience and psyche, is a critical assessment of the technologies used in creating the current urban environment and how such technologies might be improved upon for future projects that seek to redefine or correct past developments.

For instance, the technology of the 1900s that drove us into verticality in the city and horizontality in the suburbs is being questioned for its usefulness, aesthetics, and its effects on those inhabiting these spaces. Since this time, we also have socio-political and economic changes taking place that have

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[4] Augoyard, 8-9.

[5] "L'urbanisme est la manière dont s'effectuent à la fois la construction urbaine et l'étude meme de ce savoir-faire constructif." [my English translation] Bernardo Secchi, Première leçon d'urbanisme. Traduit de l'italien par Patrizia Ingallina (Marseille: Éditions Parenthèses, 2006) 10.

restructured the "look" of cities; for example, there is the influx of immigration and the insertion of their cultures which transform and add to the everyday appearance of a neighborhood or city. To a larger extent, there have been shifts in borders and boundaries with the elevated rates of migration and immigration as well as the incorporation of smaller towns into larger cities. How we used to conceive of space is being challenged by all of these factors and more and in turn introducing new ways of living that are found to be at odds with a built environment that acts as the background for all of our activities. We are living trans-spatially like post-modern nomads, hyper-spatially through 4D geometrical mapping, cyber-spatially through wires and waves, and, we are increasingly living in-between spaces as refugees.

The increase in global movement has greatly contributed to the fact that at the end of the 20th century we found ourselves living in a predominantly urban world.[6] Accompanying this shift from rural to urban settlement has been an increase in urban redevelopment[7] that seeks to rejuvenate urban areas that have fallen into states of disrepair or neglect. For several decades, urban infrastructures have been neglected and left to fall into a state of decay,

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[6] The United Nation's 2008 population study states that the percentage of those living in urban areas worldwide has now reached 50% of the global population and with an expected yearly growth rate of 2%. In more developed regions, this figure rises to 75% of the population but with a lower growth rate of only 0.5% per year: for instance, in the United States, 82% of the population lives in an urban area with a growth rate of 1.3% per year; while in France the figures are 77% and 0.8%, respectively. [United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Population Distribution, Urbanization, Internal Migration and Development" (New York, 21-23 January 2008).]

[7] I specifically use the term redevelopment so as to highlight the fact that the most of the construction and planning occurring at the urban level is in already established cities with there being little creation of new cities or development on undeveloped land within cities. This is particularly the case in European cities, where urban sprawl is not as widespread a phenomenon as it is in the U.S.

particularly in residential areas where there is less capital investment than in business areas. Plans seeking to reclaim and renovate residential neighborhoods or neglected city centers brought to light not only the state of their existence but also the substandard and precarious living conditions that the poor and minorities were living in. At once, developers discovered a mine of inexpensive real-estate, but along with it, a mire of social problems that included massive poverty, crime, under-education, and, first and foremost, a legacy of racist housing policies that had dramatic and long-lasting effects on the poor and minority populations and their ability to relocate or be relocated elsewhere.

With demand high for new urban housing by those moving from the suburbs or from elsewhere, developers and planners worked with city officials and real-estate companies to develop plans that would accommodate the need for better housing for the poor while constructing new housing for the growing middle-class. I am not arguing that this is the only reason behind the massive redevelopment of low-income housing projects in the U.S. and elsewhere; certainly there was pressure to ameliorate the obviously inhumane housing and neighborhood conditions of the poor and minority population, but I would argue that the burgeoning real estate market that catered to the middle-class did play a substantial role, one that becomes evident when we look closely at the plans that were approved for development.[8]

As with the massive suburban migration of the 1950s, the massive urban migration of the 1990s was in large part funded and promoted legislatively by the local or national government. Special legislation was put in place to target

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[8] I develop parts of this argument further in the case studies in Part II of this text.

areas that were economically deprived, crime ridden and plagued with substandard housing in order to create neighborhoods that were beneficial not only to residents but to the city's image as a whole. Examples include the Hope VI program that was started in 1992[9] by U.S. President Clinton's administration and the creation in 1998 of 247 *contrats de ville*[10] by Jacques Chirac's government in France. Developers and real estate investors working with officials on these projects were offered large financial incentives for their projects as they were seen to contribute to the public good, and the resulting plans drawn up between private investors and government officials reflected this co-interest of public and private development, leading to a blurring of the line that separates public and private spaces. In cases involving the renovation or demolition of large housing estates, this took the form of splitting land-use between the development of public or subsidized housing and market-rate housing—typically with the latter predominating. This was done on the premise that mixed-income housing would help bolster an area's economic and social chances and foster the integration of public housing residents into the rest of the city's activities. The outcome of this kind of shared development has involved problems such as determining where public money should or should not be allocated and what the levels of involvement should be for the private and public entities involved.

The general consensus of those promoting the redevelopment of cities and in particular slum areas was that the designs and buildings of the past led to the

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[9] The program began in 1992, but it was not until 1998 that a law was passed to support this project.

[10] "City contracts" that united the national, state and local levels in a combined effort to attend to problems designated in four areas: crime prevention, employment, economic development and urban regeneration.

current state of cities, which were viewed as obdurate, obsolete, and, in some instances, decaying. Criticism was primarily concentrated against the Modern school of planning and architecture (e.g., Le Corbusier and those coming out of the Bauhaus) for relying too heavily on a materialist aesthetic driven by doctrines of functionalism and minimalism and not enough on the needs of the inhabitants. Such massive reshaping of the urban environment challenged planners and architects to conceive of new ways of building that would immediately provide a sense of improvement on and break from the past methods and revitalize cities that had been thought of as static and dead. In many cases, this demand has been met with the addition of green spaces, the reduction of the heights of new buildings in residential areas, as well as the creation of mixed-use areas—attempts aimed at changing the look of a city.

During the second half of the 1900s in the United States and Western Europe, large-scale urban projects took place that had a homogenizing effect on the city-scape: immense high-rise housing blocks and segregated use areas divided everyday activities and inhabitants. People living in cities began to experience a new life in a vertically determined world that was founded on the ideas of efficiency and utility, placing residents with the task of learning how to rethink their everyday activities and their relationship to their living space. The concrete towers that dominated city skylines were the solution to a dire post-War housing shortage, primarily for laborers coming to cities to work in the factories, and to provide affordable housing to those in Europe who lost their homes during the destruction of cities during the War.

By the 1970s however, the demographics of the residents living in these housing towers underwent a transition from working-class laborers and their

families to low-income, often unemployed or underemployed individuals and their families (predominantly immigrant workers from Northern Africa in the case of France and Blacks heading to northern cities in search of jobs in the U.S.) who had no other place to go and who relied on government subsidies for housing and daily needs. It was at this point in time that we begin to see the decay of these housing estates and the formation of concentrated ghettos or slums. Current redevelopment schemes are aiming to revitalize and open up these areas to attract business and other resources needed to keep the crime and poverty that has taken over them at bay and, in some cases, to integrate the residents contained in these 'ghettos' into the rest of the city, socially and economically. I will be exploring and analyzing two such redevelopment projects in the second part of this text when I take a look at the neighborhoods of Cabrini-Green in Chicago and Les Tarterêts near Paris.

In looking critically at our cities we need to consider, along with the material nature and planning of the built environment, the technologies that have been used and will be used in the shaping of cities. An abundance of new technologies exist that can prove valuable in changing the current state of the urban environment but these new technologies cannot alone suffice to create the changes needed, and so a critical look at their implementation and potential effects should be included. That is to say, technologies must be considered in context and such a context always includes human beings as the creators, users and sites of the application of technologies.

Lewis Mumford captured this necessity in a letter he addressed to Benton Mac Kaye (31 May 1964) that states plainly: "man fashioned himself before he fashioned his first sophisticated tools…[as such] we are not to be victims of

technological society…we need to regain our freedom and creativity that we have too easily handed over to machines".[11] Our dependence on technology for shaping the urban environment has led to a flattening of the space to a level that is composed of coordinates, lines, and systems, lacking adequate representation of other dimensions that would flesh it out, e.g., people's movement and activities, interrelations between objects and individuals in the space, etc.

That is to say, the focus of urban redevelopment is concentrated on the material but not the social character of the city, and, as such, attempts at redesigning the built environment reflect this focus in its preference for structural soundness, utility or (abstracted) aesthetic appeal over that of the practicality and sustainability for actual everyday use. Walter Benjamin in the *Arcades Project* promoted the idea that the modern city could somehow incorporate both of these aspects of the city in what he referred to as an urban dialectic, whereby the administratively structured 'objective' space would be laid out for the use of inhabitants and the reflexively structured 'subjective' space would arise out of everyday activity, collective dwelling, appropriating, etc. He found that within the predetermined spaces lies an active, improvisational mode of engaging them that prevents the techniques of architectural administration and spatial domination to completely take hold of the inhabitant. When we look closely at everyday life patterns in a city, this duality, this push and pull of the two forces, becomes evident.

François Augoyard, in his seminal text *Pas à Pas,* captured the way in which the everyday actual use of a place often falls into conflict with the its

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[11] The letter as paraphrased by the editor in Lewis Mumford, *The Lewis Mumford Reader*, ed. Donald L. Miller (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995) 9.

material realities and expected uses. In examining the physical and psychological effects that the built environment has on inhabitants and their everyday activities, using a combination of critical theory and phenomenology, he found that while there has been a shift from quantitatively informed planning to inhabitant concerned planning, there remains a significant need to overhaul the methods by which planners deal with the everyday problems that arise out of intensive urban development. That is to say, the inclusion of the inhabitant in the design formula is one-sided; it thinks about the inhabitant as relating to the production side of the equation (i.e., must build for someone) but not the output, or post-production part of the equation (i.e., what is built has definite effects on the inhabitant and environment). How does the "user" of an environment come to live within the new arrangements? Quite often, once the new development is in place, those involved in the planning and construction leave the site to evolve on its own. This would normally be fine except in the case of the development of public and low-income housing when more postproduction involvement is definitely needed. The ensuing post-production negligence, I argue, has participated in the downfall of such sites and contributed to the perpetuation of building the kind of housing that fails to meet the needs of its users through a missed opportunity for reflection and study.

Augoyard, through his study of various urban development projects, has found that the problems arising out of intensive urban development are dealt with either through consideration "after" the development and construction is finished, when a search for remedies must be made to correct mistakes in the planning, or they are handled prior to the development using hypothetical data that uses preconceived ways of utilizing the space (and not real data based on

how similar spaces have been actually used). Both of these approaches take the user to be simply another thing that fills in the space and does so after the fact, once it has already been developed and structured. Augoyard argues that,

> In its operational mode, urban planning in reality merely manipulates representations of use. Everyday time—which cannot enter into a construction parameter—becomes secondary, accidental, incidental. But is not this omission itself of significance? Is there not a qualitative gap between lived practices and representations of these practices? Is everyday life to be reduced to a reproduction? Is its fate to go on repeating, blindly, the urgent imperatives dictated by the economic order and the ideological order? Or does it really have a productive and expressive capacity of its own?[12]

These questions have informed a number of backlashes against Modernist urban development methods and practices, leading to a search for new methods that would reinstate the user and their everyday activities into development plans in a way that represents their uniqueness and expressive nature.

Starting in the 1950s, we find this to be a quest among many artists, philosophers, sociologists, urbanists and architects who came to realize the sterility of urban development and the decline of the role of the inhabitant in the city. We see this search for new ways to rethink the city reflected in such varied and contrasting works and movements as Le Corbusier's designs for cities such as Brazilia, Jane Jacobs's 1961 study of New York City in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, and the Situationist movement with those such as Constant[13] arguing for building cities that are dynamic and respond to the actions of the inhabitant.

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[12] Augoyard, 3-4.

[13] I am referring here to the Dutch artist Constant Anton Nieuwenhuys (1920-2005) who founded the Situationist International (SI) movement in 1957. The SI

We are in the process of inventing new techniques; we are examining the possibilities existing cities offer; we are making models and plans for future cities. We are conscious of the need to avail ourselves of all new inventions, and we know that the future constructions we envisage will need to be extremely supple in order to respond to a dynamic conception of life, which means creating our own surroundings in direct relation to incessantly changing ways of behaviour.[14]

This was something quite new in 1959 when Constant published this manifesto in response to the Modernist movement and the creation of the "functional city": that is, to take into consideration the behavior of the inhabitant (something primarily immaterial) alongside the material construction of the city. Departing from envisaging the built environment as something "supple," as Constant writes above, we begin to conceive of it as a kind of flesh that can be easily manipulated. What is manipulating and shaping this environment are of course the natural forces such as erosion and earthquakes but in an urban environment these forces take backstage to other forces that arise from the actions of human beings who live in cities (this includes the architect as much as it does the inhabitant). These actions, projected into the world by bodies in motion, play with the suppleness of the environment, which it does in two major ways: first, through the utilization of science and technology, and, second, through the motion arising out of everyday activities. While the former is

was a group of artists and intellectuals who sought to explore alternative life experiences, e.g., their Unitary Urbanism project whose tenets are expressed in the quotes I have cited on the following pages. For more information on the Situationists and urbanism see, Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

[14] Constant, "Another city for another life," ed. and trans. by Ken Knabb, *Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006) 71.

planned, the latter is unplanned in how it is accomplished; that is to say, the former works along the lines of having a predetermined conception of how a space is supposed to look whereas in the case of the latter, the shaping of the space is determined by spontaneous activity[15].

Constant and the Situationists, in questioning the idea of functional architecture and planning, were challenging the level and kind of intervention that science and technology use to predetermine the shape a space is to take so as to bring into the designing process unstructured creative shaping activities that arise out of our experience of the city, which they thought should hold primary status in the formation of the urban environment. Yes, there needs to be some kind of structure but it should be one that is flexible rather than rigid, one that can resist obduracy and promote creativity and interaction between people. What would follow is a continuum of representations of what the city should be instead of one representation that would be equated with some "city form." To obtain this flexibility in the environment, we need to realize that science and technology hold a means of shaping the city but not the only means, and that as such there exist multiple models of how to design a city, even for the same city.

During the course of my research for this text, I came to realize that, while there was a high level of interest in rethinking urban design and planning, often such interest failed to extend to the issue of segregation which was treated more as a socio-political or economic issue than a structural one.[16] However, it has

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[15] Even if the second category of activity is performed out of habit or as part of a ritual there is, nevertheless, an element of spontaneity present that allows for it always to be otherwise, which is not the case in the first category.

[16] Some exceptions to this can be found among those contributing to the growing interest in Science and Technology Studies (STS) who examine the built

been shown time and time again that "barriers to spatial mobility are barriers to social mobility"[17]. So, I ask: why are architects and planners not playing more of an integral role in designing and building in ways that address the issue of segregation? One would assume that architects and planners, as central to acts of urban transformation, must possess the power to significantly contribute towards the finding and creation of solutions to desegregate neighborhoods and improve substandard housing conditions. Last year, I read an article in the *International Herald Tribune* titled "Architects aren't ready for an urbanized planet" that offered some insight into this question. In it, Gaétan Siew, the President of the International Union of Architects, says:

> The personalities of those entering the profession meant that many were unwilling to get involved in planning cities that work for the poor…A lot of architects who come into the business want to build monuments; they want to become star architects or rich planners. We have to reeducate them so they realize that they are agents of social change. We need to highlight that architecture is not just Frank Gehry and Renzo Piano…it's not just about beautiful houses. It is all about everyday people's lives.[18]

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environment from material as well as socio-political and economic perspectives and much of this is attending to the issue of segregation or contested spaces: for instance, border areas such as that in Ireland, Mexico, and Cyprus. For an STS approach, see: Ralf Brand (2007), Azucena Cruz (2008a, 2008b, 2005), Peter Hall (1997), Patsy Healey (2006), Anique Hommels (2008). For a non-STS approach, see: Jean-François Augoyard (1979), Eduardo Lozano (1990), Ali Madanipour (2003), Véronique de Rudder (1992, 2000), Emily Talen (2006), Loïc Wacquant (2006).

[17] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid. Segregation and the making of the underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994) 150.

[18] Amelia Gentleman, "Architects aren't ready for an urbanized planet," *IHT* online, August 20, 2007. <http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/08/20/asia/letter.php>. The article speaks primarily to the problem of urbanization and housing in developing countries that are plagued with enormous and constantly expanding slums in and around their cities.

When I read this, I suddenly remembered what a professor, with whom I had taken my first architecture seminar, had said to the class before commencing his lecture on the first day. Briefly, he said that, if we were here for money or fame, then we should leave right away, which, surprisingly, is what some students did, while the rest of us, a bit amazed by this statement, contemplated our fate and future role as architects. Admittedly, none of the architecture seminars I took over the course of the two years that I studied the discipline addressed segregation, the ethics of the field, or the idea of considering oneself as an agent of social change; instead, we were indoctrinated in the material, aesthetic and psychological aspects of the profession.

Siew, in the article mentioned above, speaks directly to my experience in offering two solutions to this bleak state in the profession: one involves reforming the education system for architects and urban planners, creating curricula that speaks to the problems afflicting the living conditions of the poor, and the other entails creating a kind of Hippocratic oath for architects and planners that would create an obligation for them to include those persons who are marginalized in their work. Other architects, such as Asghar Minai[19], have also argued for curriculum reform in architecture schools that would get the student to think about design projects from new and multiple (even trans-disciplinary) perspectives and to view the environment as something dynamic and interactive.

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[19] Minai's book, *Architecture as Environmental Communication* (1984), promotes this idea of pedagogical reform as well as a philosophical reframing of how to consider and engage the environment from a point of view that allows us to see the patterns of entities and relationships.

These calls for an overhaul of the discipline reflect a desire that is emerging to rethink the design and planning of the urban environment that expresses, on the one hand, an interest in reunifying and energizing the city and, on the other hand, a change in the philosophy of those involved in the redevelopment schemes. Both consider the artifactual nature of the modern city and the experiences had of these artifacts by the city's residents. The question to pose then is how do we achieve this? Jean Attali sees the situation as requiring a strategy that includes what he has found to be three kinds of knowledge of the urban environment: professional knowledge (e.g., that of urban planners), scholarly knowledge of the large urbanized territories (e.g., that of urbanists, geographers or sociologists), and the experientially formed knowledge of the inhabitant.[20]

In terms of the introduction of actual (as opposed to hypothetical) experience of the inhabitant into the formula, we have already begun to see urban projects that include this aspect in their planning by either working with residents directly (typically through mediated interactions) or by referring to case studies comprised of similar demographics and spaces. It is noteworthy to mention that most urban renewal projects fail to capture all the basic needs of residents and in cases where the renovation is of low-income housing, the factor of relocation and the serious effects it can have on residents is rarely fully understood or considered prior to commencing the project.

The two case studies that form the second half of this text provide a vivid illustration of the difference between the older and more recent approaches to

[20] Jean Attali, "Une réflexion philosophique sur la forme urbaine," *Matières de ville: projet urbain et enseignement,* sous la direction de Yannis Tsiomis (Paris: Éditions de la Villette, 2008) 221.

urban redevelopment, contrasting as well the approaches to urban renewal in two countries that are politically, culturally, historically and socially different (France and the United States). Part of what contributes to this reevaluation of the role of the resident results from no longer perceiving those living in the city as merely abstract numbers who follow pre-determined paths of movement or live in housing with fixed perimeters and specifications, but rather, as embodied persons who interact with these given structures, attempting to interact and challenge their spatial and social boundaries. In other words, it comes out of a realization that there are systems in place but at the same time these systems do not rule out or definitively prohibit autonomous action on the part of the resident. This position, I argue, challenges claims such as the following put forth by Massey and Denton: "the effect of segregation on black well-being is structural, not individual. Residential segregation lies beyond the ability of any individual to change; it constrains black life chances irrespective of personal traits, individual motivations, or private achievements"[21]. It has been through building for populations rather than individuals, I claim, that has created the urban crisis we now face and for any solution to be successful it must account for this.

Thus, with this discussion on the architectonics of urban segregation[22], I will be concerned with the built environment as ordered by a matrix of systems

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[21] Massey and Denton (1994), 2.

[22] In this text, I will be using the term segregation as it pertains to the separation of members of minority groups from the rest of society in an urban environment; in other words, the use of discriminatory housing practices or neighborhood planning to create pockets of homogeneous private and public spaces within a city that are comprised of members of minority groups on the one hand and the social majority on the other. These minority neighborhoods can arise voluntarily

linking the material and the immaterial aspects and the individual resident. The text that follows reflects this by developing more than simply a study of a city's buildings, infrastructures, artifacts, or its inhabitants, by focusing on the theoretical foundations that comprise the systems into which the material things are located. That is to say, in my analysis, I balance a material analysis of the city with an analysis of the non-material aspects by including a critical examination of the design principles and practices of architects and urban planners, the treatment of segregation by other disciplines and the conceptualization of the spatio-corporial relationship by philosophers. Each aspect contributes in some way to the production or support of the practice of segregation or the institutions that implement it. In revealing the roles these other influences play, I hope to offer a clearer picture of what tools can be used to stop the practice and reintegrate the urban and social environment.

Traditionally, instances of segregation (social and housing) have been addressed as a socio-political, juridical, economic or racial phenomenon. My investigation takes two directions. On the one hand, it creates a forum for discussion that includes the disciplines that study each of these facets, thus acknowledging the complexity of this phenomenon, which in order to be properly dealt with requires collaboration from all parties involved in the researching, planning, developing, legislating and inhabiting of this kind of space. On the other hand, it develops an argument that a philosophical analysis of segregation offers insight into the core of the system that develops and

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out of a sense that the group has to maintain their culture by living in proximity to others of the same group or they can arise involuntarily such that the separation is imposed externally on a group. It is to the latter scenario that I shall be addressing the issue of segregation.

sustains the phenomenon, which is something that other disciplines fail to do since they attend to the symptoms rather than the root cause[23]. That is to say, causes of segregation linked to socio-economic or racial/ethnic characterizations are not final causes in the chain of events leading up to the expression of the phenomenon: there is something in turn informing these discourses, something underlying them that is more primary than socially-constructed norms, institutions or identities: our bodies and lived space.[24]

As such, I selected the phenomenon of segregation for the topic of my philosophical analysis for three reasons: first, the practice of housing and social segregation in the urban environment is one of the most imperative contemporary issues to be addressed and remedied; second, it is a subject already well researched in fields other than philosophy, but, as it is fundamentally about bodies in space and the experiences that arise out of this relationship, it seems necessary to approach it philosophically if we are to grasp the essence of the phenomenon[25]; and third, that it provides an opportunity to expand the boundaries of philosophy by creating bridges through discourse with

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[23] Although these other disciplines promote the idea in their research that they are accessing and revealing the root causes.

[24] Merleau-Ponty would describe these socio-economic causes as being secondary discourses that are configured based on descriptions of our fundamental primary contact with the world and the experiences arising out of that. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1962) vii-ix.

[25] The instance of segregation is relevant to other philosophical discourses, as well, such as those concerning race and gender identity, rights, justice, freedom, and ethics among others. However, I would argue that while it can be addressed in these other ways, the most fundamental understanding that can be obtained of it remains to be had from this phenomenological, spatio-corporial perspective.

other disciplines and by applying philosophy to real situations that have immediate consequences and needs.

To fulfill each part of the analysis, although considering them as inseparable, I have reserved the first half of this text for a critical examination of the philosophical methodologies and concepts of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Michel Foucault as they pertain specifically to the embodiment of space and the role science and technology play in our experience of space. I am looking for a way to philosophically address the way one experiences the phenomenon of segregation as something both that is at once bodily and spatial, taking into consideration the methods and discourses used in the construction of boundaries and barriers (theoretical and concrete) which help in segregating a space.

Merleau-Ponty shows us how to be at home in our bodies/flesh and Heidegger teaches us how to be at home in the world, how to dwell, but such dwelling could not arise without understanding how we exist in the world and how that existence is experienced as something primarily spatial. In this way, Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger's philosophies are complementary in discussing the inhabitation of spaces and places. However, rather than appeal to Heidegger's work, which would have made the theoretical aspect of this project more ontological than ontic, I chose instead to juxtapose the work of Foucault to that of Merleau-Ponty. The philosophically contrasting view points on the body held by Merleau-Ponty and Foucault appear less in conflict with one another and more complementary when taken together to address the topic of segregation.

On the one hand, Merleau-Ponty's conception offers us a body that possesses intentionality and is visibly in the world alongside other things as an autonomous body-subject and not a subjected object. It is because of my body

that I can experience the world and retain a particular openness towards it. Yes, my body may be an object of study for science but this is not its primary character. As he said in the *Phenomenology of Perception*: "I am constituting but also constituted"[26]. Even in situations where we feel constrained we, nevertheless, feel this dual sense of our being in the world, perhaps not in the proportion that we would like but it still exists and this is evident in the fact that we continue to make choices and interact with the world. This dual aspect of the body-subject as constituting and constituted contributes to the powerful sense of the potential for change and freedom that marks Merleau-Ponty's writings.

On the other hand, we are given a conception of the body by Foucault as that which is not a subject in and of itself; rather it becomes a subject through external forces that are exerting itself upon it. The body, for Foucault, is a site or locus of symptoms, activities, and behaviors that are always open to the techniques of science and its gaze. It is this gaze that reduces us to the status of object and it is the techniques employed by those behind the gaze that form our subjecthood. I am not autonomous nor am I taken as being a single self; instead I am one among many bodies that are all being conditioned alongside me. Therefore, from this point of view, what is extremely pertinent for my project is the role that science and various institutions play in shaping our bodies, our identities, and our selves. Segregation is an intentional phenomenon that has a definite structure, method and target for its implementation.

Thus, we find that while Merleau-Ponty attends to the body/flesh in terms of everyday experience, Foucault's approach centers on the discourses and institutions that that participate in the shaping of these everyday experiences and

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[26] *Phenomenology Of Perception*, 453.

our bodies. However, both form a critique of the scientific method for overtaking the concepts of space and the body for their own purposes that utilize methods of quantification in ways that are anything but neutral. It is this common critique of science and the two levels of analysis presented by Merleau-Ponty and Foucault that attend to the theoretical and experiential account of segregation, presenting a multi-dimensional depiction of the phenomenon that I argue to be essential for exposing its structure. In Part One, I enter these two seemingly incongruent philosophers into dialogue by exhibiting and utilizing this tension that exists between their different conceptions of the subject in which subjectivity is produced and reproduced, presented and represented.

In Part Two, I move from the abstract to the concrete, looking at actual sites where segregatory practices are at play to then consider how the theoretical and the practical reinforce or betray each other. At each level of analysis, I present the material so that one can clearly see how the parts are distinct yet also inseparable. As such, I look not only at specific sites of segregation taken in isolation from each other (that is to say, seeing them as purely unique events) or from the city in which they are found, but also present them as part of a system of segregation and as part of a city. The latter, seeing how each site participates in a more general system of segregation, is essential, I claim, for understanding how the phenomenon works, since despite local differences there is a definite foundation that informs its practice and underlies each particular instance. When we can see this, it becomes increasingly difficult to then say that a population is segregated because of certain characteristics that they share or are perceived to share.

For example, in the United States, there is an overrepresentation by the media and scholars of the Black population living in concentrated, impoverished ghettos, and so we begin to perceive segregation and substandard housing conditions as a distinctly "Black problem" when in fact there were (and still are) other minority groups living in ghettos before the rise of the "Black ghetto" (e.g., Irish and Italian immigrants). Furthermore, if we look outside of the U.S. to other countries that have ghettos or slums, we find that it is not Blacks we find there but other minority groups (actually, most often it is not a minority group in terms of population but in terms of power). This is oversimplifying the situation to be sure, but I do so to simply point out the fact that there is nothing about a particular race, ethnicity, religion, gender and so forth that predisposes them to living in a ghetto or slum. Unfortunately, a large percentage of the social discourse is aimed at contradicting this in trying to show that there are portions of the population that are predisposed to poverty and living in ghettos—this only permits the practice to continue uncontested.

The two case studies were chosen in an attempt to find a balance between homogeneity and heterogeneity, meaning that I wanted them to have enough in common that a comparison could be made, but at the same time they needed to be different enough to allow for interesting generalizations that could provide evidence in support of my hypothesis that there is a shared substructure that each instance of segregation can be traced back to. I am not trying to conclude that every site is the same but rather that they share certain fundamental characteristics that are essential to their formation and continuation. As well, since I was performing a primarily phenomenological exploration of the instance

of segregation, I thought it necessary to not only speak of actual sites but those that I would physically engage.

Furthermore, each site was chosen because it was undergoing large-scale urban redevelopment projects that were part of larger national plans to redevelop substandard housing conditions in low-income housing estates, provide greater social assistance to residents of these housing estates and encourage economic investment in these areas. I spent the past five years following the progress of Cabrini-Green's redevelopment and the past three following that of Les Tarterêts. The first neighborhood that I began to study was Cabrini-Green on Chicago's Near North Side. As a Chicagoan, I was constantly painfully aware of the events taking place in this neighborhood (due to media coverage, a job I held at an architecture firm right next to it, classmates who had lived in it, and passing by it week after week on the train), and it was in large part due to my reactions to the treatment of those living in this housing project that I chose to invest my time researching the phenomenon of segregation.

Then, while I was at Stony Brook University, a series of coincidences led me to Les Tarterêts, a *banlieue* southeast of Paris. Just before leaving to begin my dissertation research in Paris in 2005, I met an exchange student in sociology from Paris who was from this neighborhood. Until that time, I had not heard of the place and was focusing more on the northern *banlieues* such as Aulnay-sous-Bois that typically most non-French researchers study. When I finally went to Paris to perform my dissertation research and was invited to visit his family's home in Les Tarterêts for lunch one day, I decided to switch my case-study site

because I realized that being able to observe and experience first-hand[27] this neighborhood was exactly what the phenomenological methodology I was employing called for, and it would allow me access to local views and concerns as opposed to only those that appear in scholarly writings or political memorandums.

In looking at each site, I used four approaches to gaining access to them: 1) I researched the history of each neighborhood looking at the formations and changes that have occurred over time in terms of construction and demographics; 2) I visited the neighborhoods at different stages of the development process to take photographs, note changes, and gather information about the effects these changes were having on the residents[28]; 3) I investigated the plans for each redevelopment project and assessed their methods and goals, looking for whether they were ethical, possible, beneficial for the residents and the surrounding area, and if they were being carried out as planned or if unreported changes had been made during the process; 4) I researched the general socio-political issues that surrounded the populations involved (e.g., in the case of Cabrini-Green one needs to consider the U.S. government's changes in welfare policy as well as racial discourse in the society and in the case of Les Tarterêts one needs to consider how immigrants are treated by the government and the society).

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[27] Of course, I could not have the same experiences as someone actually living in the neighborhood but as someone visiting as a friend and not only a researcher allowed me to view the place in a less clinical and more familiar way.

[28] This last part I performed more so in the case of Les Tarterêts than that of Cabrini-Green for reasons ranging from personal safety to an inability to form substantial contacts in that neighborhood.

In addition, I have woven into my observations and data collection a philosophical engagement of several geographical and socio-political terms that I believe help to illuminate the conceptual and physical obstacles particular to each site. These include:

- The Environment and the Formation of Identity and Behavior
- Identity as Self vs. Other Determined
- Borders and Boundaries
- Community and Neighborhood
- Occupying a Space vs. Dwelling in or Inhabiting a Place
- Housing as a Right or a Privilege
- Professional Ethics (e.g., architecture, urban planning, etc.)

The terms listed above and others that I encountered in texts on urbanism, segregation, housing legislation and urban planning, were also present in philosophical discussions such as Heidegger's on dwelling, Iris Young's on community, or Merleau-Ponty and Foucault's on the formation of the subject. What was missing from these philosophical discourses was any real connection to the everyday experience of these concepts. In the same way, many sociologists, urbanists and the like have attempted to engage these terms philosophically but fall short of any truly rigorous conceptual analysis. Such shortcomings are not to be taken as detrimental to any of the studies performed but rather should been seen as an opportunity to engage different discourses so as to offer a more complete depiction of what is at stake with each of these terms. This is the project that I have taken up in this text.

The overarching goal then is to be able to reconstruct the system, or systems, and demonstrate how each of the components relates to the others, disclosing the mechanisms that are at work in the expression of the phenomenon of segregation while displaying the form that arises out of its expression and

including in its framework the material and the immaterial aspects of the environment as it is experienced. I will not attempt to achieve such a large goal in this work, as I believe that it is not only too vast a project for one individual but also must be undertaken by a variety of actors, each of whom offers a unique and essential perspective on this complex phenomenon. However, I will be preparing the foundation for the actualization of such a project. The more immediate goals that this text seeks to achieve are to provide an argument for the role that science (or sciences) plays in the production and reproduction of segregation and how the implementation of their methods directly affect the everyday lives of individuals who find themselves living in segregated urban areas, which I claim to occur through their bodily interaction with their environment.

In this way, an architectonic approach to the phenomenon of segregation appropriately reflects the sense of the word itself: for, if we dissect the word "architectonics" we arrive at a meaning that is comprised of the Ancient Greek words *arche*, the first principle of the world or that which underlies all of reality or appearances, and *techne*, the rational method involved in producing an object or accomplishing a goal or objective. Using this approach to assess the phenomenon we gather insight into the systems, knowledge, sciences, methods, and objects that are directly involved and their interconnectivity. As we accomplish this, we must also bear in mind that the structures that we are uncovering are not based on any absolutes; that is to say, they are circumstantial as much as their surface representations are. The patterns and structures that we discover offer an opportunity for not only insight into the subterranean, even subconscious, meanings of the urban form but also a means to intervene and

instigate a change in the current circumstances. The system and its

manifestations are not exclusive of one another, and it requires changes in the

underlying system and the everyday use of the city to effect substantial overall

change.

> Cities likewise carry the evidence of past conceptualizations of the
> city while endlessly modifying them in daily use and occupation.
> Just as the form of a language *is* its mundane usages as well as its
> rules, and both adapt accordingly to circumstance, so cities
> correspond to ideas of citizenship and history, to power structures,
> and to predominant spatial practices.[29]

Attending to the city in all its levels provides the most fruitful way for working

towards the eradication of the practice of creating and maintaining segregated

neighborhoods and housing.

The New Urbanism movement that emerged during the 1990s has this

synthesizing method as its aim, which it tries to achieve through reflection of

multiple viewpoints and debates over such issues as whether planning should be

guided primarily by empirical or theoretical insights or the role of the expert and

the place of public participation. Those participating in the New Urbanism

movement seek out ways to challenge and critique the standard dichotomies that

informed much of the urban planning of the 20th century, which they achieve not

through creating an opposition with a new set of dichotomies but rather through

merging ideas that are typically opposed to one another and opening up the field

of urbanism to the idea of multiplicity and inclusiveness. Similar ideological

movements can be found in philosophy during this time by those exploring

issues such as citizenship or identity, for instance. In fact, it appears that the 20th

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[29] Malcolm Miles and Tim Hall, *Urban Futures: Critical commentaries on shaping the city* (London: Routledge, 2003) 1.

century, while having a return to space as one of its fundamental *zeitgeists*, also has this idea of multiplicity and inclusiveness running through the works produced during this time. That these two trends are occurring side-by-side should not be taken lightly and through the following analysis of segregation, I illustrate how they in fact co-inform, co-shape one another.

PART I

ARCHITECTURAL EMBODIMENTS

CHAPTER 1

URBANIZED BODIES

> *The self* is thus an amalgamation of nature, meaning and social relations which stands in a dialectic relationship to activities in *place* [my emphasis]. Place becomes an agency in the formation and development of 'the self'…[W]e cannot understand the life and activity of man without a conscious relation to and understanding of places, their physical structures, social activity and interpreted meaning.[30]

> Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answers it gives to a question of yours.[31]

The cities that we live in are perceptually different than the cities we conceive, plot on paper and construct. Merleau-Ponty affirms this, in "Cézanne's Doubt," when he speaks of how Cézanne realized that the "lived perspective, that which we actually perceive, is not a geometric or photographic one"[32]; that is to say, it is something that is sensed, bodily, requiring engagement, rather than something thought, mental or rational, remaining detached from the physicality of the world in which we live. Nevertheless, human beings continue to build

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[30] Arild Holt-Jensen, "Individual Relational Space in Deprived Urban Neighborhoods," Paper delivered at ENHR Conference, 25-29 June 2001, Pultusk, Poland, 4.

[31] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver (London: Vintage Books, 1997) 38.

[32] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Cezanne's Doubt," *Sense and Non-Sense*, trans. Patricia Allen Dreyfus (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1992) 14.

conceptual cities and structures that speak little or not at all to how we actually use and perceive them or our lived space[33]. Why do we continue to build in a way that alienates us from our actual perception of lived space? Why does the grid rule over the natural, spontaneous movements of the body? Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, what prevents us from being able to re-contextualize the body into a space that is more aligned with our lived perspective of the world?

Modern human beings live in a context that is predominantly architectural, whereby changes in the built environment produce changes in how we inhabit and in our bodies that are doing the inhabiting, i.e., we react to the stimulation produced by our experiences of the built environment. One could even go so far as to say that the architectural is an extension of our bodies. If that is the case, then, as Madeline Gins and Arakawa state in *Architectural Body*, "Architecture must be made to fit the body as a second, third, fourth, and, when necessary, ninth (and counting) skin"[34]. That is to say, we must build so as to become amalgamated with the architectural environment we live in rather than remain at odds with it, working *with* the nature of our embodied selves in conjunction with the materials we use to fabricate this environment.

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[33] Ed Casey, in *The Fate of Place*, makes the case that the lived space, i.e., the space of the lived body, which Husserl and Merleau-Ponty speak of, is equivalent to what he terms "lived place": "that particular place that the lived body experiences at any given moment. This very experience is animating: absolute or external space, deadened and flattened as homogeneous, is disrupted, made animate or lively (*liebhaftig*) just insofar as it provides the place of the lived body itself." [Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 220.]

[34] Arakawa and Madeline Gins. *Architectural Body* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002) xv.

Le Corbusier believed that the geometric order found in the universe, which he based his designs on, could harmonize the activities of human beings with their environment. One could say that he was correct in associating the geometric patterns and shapes found in the universe with human activity in as much as the human body creates an axis that divides the world into four quadrants that guide our perception of those things around us. However, this innate sense of direction does not necessarily translate into movement that is linearly or tangentially driven; nor does it mean that human beings feel "at home" in the world of disassociated boxes that Le Corbusier ended up creating. The geometry that we find in the universe, for example, in the structure of plant cells, is not based on isolated elements but rather systems and groupings of elements and sub-elements that form necessary communicative connections, which sometimes lead to mutations and evolutions (divergence and change), something missing in Le Corbusier's plans for his buildings and cities. The linearity that he imposed on the places he designed and built imposed on the inhabitants an order that was antithetical to the spontaneous, open and communicative actions that are inherent to the body, that arise out of its basic orientation in the world.

The Post-Modern response to the Modernist manifesto and style put forth by Le Corbusier and his peers has been an attempt to ameliorate the sense of homelessness that we feel in cellularly designed and constructed spaces by deconstructing and re-arranging them, in a rather cubist fashion, by returning ornamentation to the façades, or by turning them into something that looks organic and interactive (representing a contextualist approach to architecture); each of which, nevertheless, remains as distant from real human activity and

perception of lived space as its Modern ancestor. What keeps architecture (as a discipline and as built structures) at a distance, I would argue, is its tendency to fail to communicate with its own environment and its users, providing us with buildings that do not invite us, that turn their backs to us or to surrounding physical elements, that have 'holes' (windows, doors, etc.) punctuating their surfaces indicating a break in the density of the structure but not one that connects spaces (as in the case of thresholds where there is a passage between the inner and outer spaces). Furthermore, modern, and even contemporary, architectural structures display a lack of a comprehensive and explicit identity that would reveal the kind of activity that they support and how they communicate to their surroundings, i.e., how they fit into the larger context materially as well as socially.

This latter issue in turn depends on how we consider architecture, either as a series of spaces, places, or sites linked in space or as spaces, places, or sites that flow into each other such that their distinction is present but it is not the prevailing component of one's experience.[35] I would argue that we need to consider architecture's relation to its surrounding space as something flowing, yet allowing for differences to exist, rather than having space function as a connector between things, there would be a connection that arises out of our experience of the spaces, places or sites. In this way, experience would guide how we design and build, thus reinforcing an experience that compliments our bodily activities. If we agree that the built environment is like a second skin for our human bodies, how then does this current lack of identity and disjunctive character evident in our built environment reflect and/or affect those who

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[35] Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974) 19.

experience these structures? What does it say about our identities and the formation of our relation to the world and others?

In response, a tradition has formed in the field of phenomenology to analyze, critique, and prescribe how our lived space is planned and built. Among those participating in this body-centered architectural movement (be they self-described phenomenologists or not) are: Christian Norberg-Schulz, Jean-François Augoyard, Steven Holl, Kevin Lynch, Bernd Jager, David Seamon, Robert Mugerauer, Yi-Fu Tuan, and Alberto Perez-Gomez.[36] Each has taken the relation between self and environment/space as the basis for their work; focusing on how we can create spaces that allow human beings to not simply locate but find themselves (Being), to obtain a sense of place that roots them in the world (embodiedness), to foster our connectedness with the world and others (interconnectivity), and, through all of this, to have an enriched experience of the world that is fundamentally unmediated and unique.

In this chapter, then, I will be engaging three aspects of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology as it pertains to our everyday experiences of the built environment such that we may then gain a better understanding of how we shape and in turn are shaped by this environment: the primacy of perception[37],

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[36] While the majority of those working in the area of phenomenology of architecture refer primarily to Heidegger's work on dwelling and Being-in-the-world, there are, nevertheless, some who directly or indirectly reference Merleau-Ponty's concepts and theories.

[37] By primacy of perception, Merleau-Ponty means: "that the experience of perception is our presence at the moment when things, truths, values are constituted for us…that it teaches us, outside all dogmatism, the true conditions of objectivity itself; that it summons us to the tasks of knowledge and action". Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "The Primacy of Perception and its Philosophical Consequences," *The Primacy of Perception and Other Essays*, trans. James M. Edie (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964) 25.

reflexivity, and his version of the phenomenological method. This co-forming relationship between the lived-body and lived-space is to be understood not through the lens of behaviorism but instead through an understanding of the reflexive nature of the body's relationship to its lived space.

SPATIALIZED / SPATIALIZING BODIES

To be able to understand the lived body as intertwined with lived space exceeds the boundaries of a merely causal explanation, and so Merleau-Ponty, like Husserl before him, proposes a more fundamental relationship that relies instead upon an understanding of the world based on our existence and participation in it as embodied beings.[38] Beginning with *Structure of Behavior*, Merleau-Ponty attempts to break away from a dichotomized understanding of the individual and the body by disclosing its ontological and essential nature, revealing its flesh, allowing it to break the shackles of *Truth* placed on it by rationalist thinking and the sciences. Science, he argues, uses causal explanations that separate the parts from the processes[39], and such explanations fail to grasp the real meaning of the occurrence, a meaning that emerges out of my being-in-the-world:

> Truth does not 'inhabit' only 'the inner man', or more accurately, there is no inner man, man is in the world, and only in the world does he know himself. When I return to myself from an excursion

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[38] *Phenomenology Of Perception*, viii.

[39] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Structure of Behavior*, trans. Alden L. Fisher (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1983) 9.

into the realm of dogmatic common sense or of science, I find, not a source of intrinsic truth, but a subject destined to be in the world.[40]

Science presents us with truths that are constructed out of a synthesis of our perceptual experience of the world with the judgments that we ascribe to them. While these truths provide us with a certain perspective of the world, they do not present the world to us as it really is, i.e., how it exists for us at the bodily, perceptual level. As beings that are 'in-the-world', we have a unique perspective that arises not out of analytical reflection but from an active, sensorial, perceptual consciousness of that which is around us: "The world is not what I think, but what I live through"[41]. That is to say, I perceive not with my mind but with my body.

In grounding us in the world, phenomenology actually re-introduces a certainty, and quality, of experience that was covered over by the implementation of a scientific understanding of the world that de-grounded the self, making it into merely another object among all the other objects that exist. By making the body-self an object, science was able to create perceptual certainty since the perceptions would be coming not from an independent, embodied, subject but from an impartial spectator. In other words, science was able to use perceptions of the world to create absolute truths. Merleau-Ponty argues, however, that scientific knowledge 'speaks' of the things in the world as objects that appear to us but does not know them as they are directly experienced—in

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[40] *Phenomenology of Perception*, xi.

[41] *Phenomenology of Perception*, xvii.

removing the subject, science removed this ability to describe the world as it presents itself to us.[42]

In contrast, phenomenology, particularly that of Merleau-Ponty, in giving primacy to the body's relationship to space, sheds the sedimentation left by scientific, social and other discourses, revealing our basic connection to the lived world—one that is at once personal and shared:

> I am the absolute source, my existence does not stem from my antecedents, from my physical and social environment; instead it moves out towards them and sustains them, for I alone bring into being for myself (and therefore into being in the only sense that the word can have for me) the tradition which I elect to carry on, or the horizon whose distance from me would be abolished—since that distance is not one of its properties—if I were not there to scan it with my gaze.[43]

Scientific explanations of the world and human beings has created a situation whereby knowledge, on the one hand, becomes indifferent to the objects of its attention *per se* through its primary concern with function and form, and, on the other hand, becomes contextualized (i.e., temporal and historically conditioned) due to its reliance upon previous scientific findings and current states of knowledge that are both subject to revision. Thus, Merleau-Ponty points out that scientific (or even epistemic) certitude carries with it a certain level of uncertainty that cannot be done away with simply by trying to do away with the subjectivity of the subject. We obtain certainty about the world through our experiences and perceptions of it, through the fact of our being-in-the-world, not through how we

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[42] *Phenomenology of Perception*, viii, 55.

[43] *Phenomenology of Perception*, ix.

conceive it: "Our relationship to the world, as it is untiringly enunciated within us, is not a thing which can be any further clarified by analysis."[44]

At once, then, we find Merleau-Ponty moving from the idea of a body as object to a body that is a subject—a 'lived body' (le *corps vécu*) [45] or, in his final work, 'flesh' (*la chair*)—that is spatialized and spatializing and from the idea of a geometric space or world to a 'lived space' or 'lived world' (*le monde vécu*). Thus, space becomes vibrant and full of movement due to the activity of the bodies that exist in it. Merleau-Ponty challenged the totalitarian stance held by science over our experiences, bodies, and space; in general, our perception and our ability to make knowledge claims based on our perceptions: "All my knowledge of the world, even my scientific knowledge, is gained from my own particular point of view, or from some experience of the world without which the symbols of science would be meaningless"[46]. We are no longer novices of the world and in positioning the embodied subject as a knower of the world independent of reflective knowledge, we are put in a position whereby we must learn to experience the world again without restraint, to allow ourselves to feel its presence and that of our own.[47]

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[44] *Phenomenology of Perception*, xvii-xviii. The quoted material is from Merleau-Ponty's presentation on Husserl's distinction between 'intentionality of act' and 'operative intentionality'.

[45] This is the term that he uses in the *Phenomenology of Perception*, but once we move to *The Visible and the Invisible* the term "flesh" (*la chair*) becomes more widely used to describe the special relation the lived body has to the world.

[46] *Phenomenology of Perception*, vii.

[47] What is interesting is how Merleau-Ponty repeatedly says that we need a "new" way of conceiving the world, but, in fact, the way he proposes is anything but new. We have always possessed the means for conceiving the world

LOCATING THE LIVED BODY

The tension between the quest for scientific certainty, on the one hand, and the real experience of everyday life, on the other hand, becomes clear in Augoyard's work *Pas à Pas*. In this text, he deliberately reveals the difficulties he encountered trying to scientifically measure and formulate the everyday experiences and activity patterns of the residents of l'Arlequin housing estate in Grenoble. What he came to realize during his study was that such methods failed to capture the fluctuations and contradictions in the residents' accounts of how they experience and move through the housing project. That is to say, the actual activities of the residents as lived bodies presented him with an insight into the experience of the place that was more real than what he had tried to construct using pre-conceived notions of such everyday activities and movement patterns.

Augoyard's desire to use actual accounts given by residents of the housing estate in his study meant that he had to refrain from rationalizing and systematizing their accounts, editing out or dismissing those that did not fit into the overarching narrative that he wanted to achieve. In so doing, Augoyard allowed for the paradoxical nature of everyday life to come to the foreground and, in turn, provided us, the reader, with a marvelous and rare insight into the workings of the pre-reflective expression of human spatial experience. The overarching narrative that emerged out of his study was one that spoke to the

according to his schema but our ability to trust our own senses and experiences has been undermined by rationalist and idealist thinking.

natural and real experiences the residents had of their neighborhood as they walked through it.

In the process of collecting data, Augoyard reveals to us through an ongoing critical narrative, that quite often those things that scientists would expect us to notice in our environment are perhaps the least noticed. In reading Augoyard's account, we cannot help but notice the disparity between what scientists focus on in their exploration of an environment and what those who actually live in it focus on. That is to say, it is one thing to look in on a space and it is an entirely other thing to live in it: there is a significant difference between the perspectives, experiences, and conclusions drawn by scientists versus those of the dweller. This is exactly what Husserl and Merleau-Ponty were pointing out in making the claim that scientific discourse was based on an impersonal engagement and understanding of space that builds upon a more primary relationship to space that is possessed by the body.

Phenomenology puts into question this privileging of scientific knowledge over that of our experience of the world as embodied beings, calling for a return to the things themselves, a return to a way of describing the way we experience the world, instead of explaining or analyzing it:

> To return to things themselves is to return to that world which precedes knowledge, of which knowledge always speaks, and in relation to which every scientific schematization is an abstract and derivative sign-language, as is geography in relation to the country-side in which we have learnt beforehand what a forest, a prairie or a river is.[48]

At the core of Merleau-Ponty's philosophical inquiry is the double movement by which a living being transcends its materiality (its object status), leading to a

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[48] *Phenomenology of Perception*, ix.

meaningful existence and every meaning discovered, no matter how abstract, finds itself rooted in corporeal life. Although we do not learn *how* to live in the world from geographers, since we are already in the world, we do learn from geography and other sciences the structures that allow us to identify, speak of, and map the world (i.e., they show us what objectively is). Thus, there is a place for geography (and scientific discourse in general), but its place is not a privileged one.

Despite this dethroning of science, Merleau-Ponty, unlike Husserl, does not reject science outright; instead, recognizing that it serves a function in forming the view we have of the world, puts it in its place and, in turn, places us into a position whereby we can maintain a critical perspective of it. Ultimately, the world that I have perceptual experiences of is not the objective world of science but the lived world of the lived body despite the influences of scientific (or secondary knowledge) on my perceptions. When I walk through my neighborhood I do not perceive the buildings, the streets, the traffic as part of a system that is regulated and regulating but as the building that has the door that is painted a beautiful shade of blue, the street that is less busy or which has the shop whose window displays I enjoy looking at, or the traffic that I must navigate to cross the street and get to the grocery store. It is only when I stop and look at the artifacts that make up the built environment that I live in that I begin to realize that there is a system involved, that there is something guiding my experience.

My experience, though guided, is, nonetheless, my own; it is not that of any system setup in the environment around me, but of my sensorial interaction with it. In fact, no system could replicate my experience of walking through the

neighborhood or any other place, as it is not something that can be quantified or reduced to a set of data. As such, in the two case studies of segregated neighborhoods that form the second half of this dissertation, I take into account the experiential and descriptive, using personal and second-hand accounts, along with the theoretical and explanatory, referring to the research of sociologists, historians, and other academics who seek to form a rationale for how these neighborhoods came to be and currently exist. In so doing, I hope to show the way by which the experiential and the explanatory complement one another and are necessary for the formation of a whole view of the lived world.

Our ability to view the world as a whole arises out of our body's chiasmic relation with it: we see the world as being *of* it. It is the flesh, and its dehiscent character, that allows me to encounter things in the world from a perceptual or cognitive distance (e.g., to be touching my hand while feeling myself touched) while, nevertheless, overlapping and encroaching them. The flesh allows for me to perceive those things outside of myself as being not objects but other fleshy beings through this process of "differentiation without contradiction"[49]. The use of the term chiasm, essentially, provides a way to describe how this overlapping and encroachment can occur between two things taken as dichotomous while still allowing them to remain divergent.[50]

This unique perspective we have of the world as well informs how we understand the social world or the world of meaning. Though he calls for a return to the level of perception, Merleau-Ponty, nevertheless, recognizes our

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[49] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968) 135.

[50] *The Visible and the Invisible*, 123, 248-251.

being historically inscribed and that, because of this, we create and discover meanings for things in the world: "I am all that I see, I am an intersubjective field, not despite my body and historical situation, but, on the contrary, by being this body and this situation, and through them, all the rest"[51].

In *Phenomenology of Perception*, he builds on the idea of the historicity of the individual from Husserl, who claimed that there was a historicity of the life-world that develops from the inner historicity of each being living in it. Husserl describes this historicity as something that is neither a form of historicism nor relativism, being instead something that is understood through reflective thinking which is capable of revealing the essential structure that underlies the establishment of history.[52] Merleau-Ponty posits the idea of the historicity of beings in terms of their intersubjective relation with others. Intersubjectivity, according to Merleau-Ponty, is always present because we exist in a social world rather than an atomized one; a world of pre-given, collective meanings. These meanings, neither universal nor identical for all human beings, take into account both time and place, creating distinct languages, cultures, institutions, artifacts and practices that display our diverse, yet overlapping, existences.[53]

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[51] *Phenomenology of Perception*, 452.

[52] J. N. Mohanty, "The Development of Husserl's Thought," *Cambridge Companion to Husserl*, eds. Barry Smith and David Woodruff Smith (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 74.

[53] Sonia Kruks, "Communication and Conflict in Merleau-Ponty's Political Philosophy," *Merleau-Ponty: Critical Essays*, ed. Henry Pietersma (Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology and University Press of America, 1989) 188-189.

BUILDING FOR THE BODY

I would like to turn now to the built environment and how the phenomenological perspective outlined above allows us to critically view its development and construction in terms of praxis and experience. Our lived environment (milieu) is more than geographical location; it is the entire field of meanings and significances that surround us. Geographical location simply puts us in a spot, as we find on the maps that indicate "you are here." But this locating takes place from somewhere outside of my body and does not account for the perception I have of the place I am in. The lived environment, on the contrary, not only locates us but does so in a way that is meaningful to us and speaks to our experience of a place. Thus, the map that indicated "you are here" would also say "the air here smells like fresh baked bread" or "it is peaceful here." Furthermore, over time, we find that the places that we belong to reflect who we are and how we comport ourselves (e.g., if I were a university professor my environment would be different than if I were a tennis player), and, in turn, our belonging to them forms networks of significances for us.

In order for a place to possess significance for us, we must feel that we are an integral part of it. When this occurs, we can say that we are no longer merely taking up a position in space but that we are dwelling in a place. Through our direct experience and contact with phenomena, we form deeper meanings and attachments to it, be it a neighborhood, a house, a person, a chair, or a fountain, and, in so doing, weaving them into our lived world. In considering the lived body interactive with its environment, we find a fusing of influences occurring,

whereby the body possesses creative powers, expressing itself through the use of these powers to shape its lived environment, and, in turn, lived space possesses powers that shape the activities of the body. The effects of this spatio-bodily engagement are found on the flesh.

The lived body requires an environment that affords movement as well as the bodily capacity for orienting and moving itself to create a lived space that is meaningful; being disoriented or impaired will affect how we navigate and shape our lived space.[54] Although, I would argue that after adapting to these new states of being, one could conceivably still be able to create a meaningful lived space, since the meaning is specific to each individual and, therefore, even if the results appear to be 'abnormal' to others, they can still possess significance for the creator.

Nevertheless, with increasing numbers of people living in and moving to large cities, the time appears to be ripe for investigations into how we build and live in our urban spaces. The kind of investigation that I pursue in this dissertation, one that is phenomenologically rooted, emerges out of an in-between place, that is, in between social science studies on the one side and architectural studies on the other. Bill Hillier, in a paper he delivered at the Space Syntax Symposium in 2005, points out that most studies of cities focus either on the socio-cultural behavior (social sciences) of urban dwellers or on the materiality of the city (architects) but not both or just enough to provide a

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[54] M. C. Dillon, *Merleau-Ponty's Ontology*, Second Edition (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1997) 143.

general idea of the other aspect, thus leaving a gap in the way a city is presented.[55]

Hence, on the one hand, we have studies that present a city as if it were only about its activities and residents, with the material structures merely forming a background like that on a stage, and, on the other hand, we have studies that present a city as if it were only the buildings, streets and other material artifacts, with human presence seemingly an afterthought. But, when we move through a city we realize that this either/or depiction does not suffice to speak to our actual perceptions, nor to our expectations of what it is like to experience a city.

Phenomenology, in claiming that the lived body has a chiasmic relation to the lived world, offers a place that lies in between these two sides from where we can view both and, in so doing, present a depiction of the city that integrates both aspects. Hillier uses the metaphor of a bridge for this privileged position, which he says can be taken up either by phenomenology or by what he refers to as 'social physics'. Unlike the phenomenologist's approach that "seek[s] to show how the physical city is reflected in human experience and behaviour," the 'social physics', or natural science, approach "see[s] the physical city as emergent from aggregated human behaviours"[56]. Thus, even on this bridge, we still have two opposing approaches for urban discourse; united only by the fact that they bring together the physical and the human in their discourses.

[55] *Bill Hillier,* "Between Social Physics and Phenomenology: explorations towards an urban synthesis?" *Proceedings of the 5th Space Syntax Symposium,* June 2005, Vol. 1 of 2, ed. Akkelies van Nes (Amsterdam: Techne Press, 2005) 3-24.

[56] Bill Hillier (2005), 4. Hillier appears to favor the social physics position over that of phenomenology, claiming that the latter moves too far away from the physical toward the humanist.

Applying a phenomenological approach to our study of the urban environment will allow us to see how our interactions with urban spaces and other beings we encounter play a role in the formation of a unified space. The measuring of urban space for the purpose of collecting data and formulating broad, universal theories is not of concern here as much as describing the human experience, allowing the city and its inhabitants to reveal their interactive bond. We can see, from our qualitative perspective, behaviors, actions and understandings unfold in a space that is supported by and reflected in them. In addition, we can observe how the way inhabitants move through and live in their environment reshapes that which is believed to be final and concrete, e.g., building, streets, etc. This reshaping originates in the bodily experience and movement, as well as in our conception of how we experience and live in relation to these artifacts. For example, during the summer in France, the markets become quite crowded and people spill off into the surrounding streets, spontaneously transforming what is usually reserved for automobile use to pedestrian use, blurring or even erasing the boundary between street and sidewalk in the process.

Another example, one that applies to the overarching topic of this dissertation (segregation), would be how the elevated train tracks that run along the eastern edge of Cabrini-Green in Chicago can be experienced as a place of movement through the area, connecting it to those north and south of it, as well as, a boundary that one approaches with caution, since it separates the wealthy and relatively safe Gold Coast area from the impoverished and crime-ridden Cabrini-Green area. The difference in experience can depend on a range of

factors stemming from how an individual perceives and experiences the train track area.

Through the construction and subsequent experience of places and buildings, users, planners and architects embed them with a climatic character "that envelops the ways one inhabits, the force of which, sometimes being very restrictive, always helps to qualify the actions of everyday life"[57]. We cannot fully describe this character that is present to us through a state of sensorial immediacy, but it is, nonetheless, present in our everyday experiences of a place (be it my home, building or neighborhood; each of which possesses a different character) and is perceived through a play of differences that can "suddenly [surge] forth and [render] a site clearly distinct from the spatial whole"[58]. Thus, the climatic character of our inhabited world possesses the ability to "transform the apparent immobility of the architecture"[59].

Piet Mondrian captures the dynamic character of the city in his New York paintings (New York City, 1941-42; Broadway Boogie Woogie, 1942-1943; and Victory Broadway Boogie Woogie, 1942-1944), revealing, through the use of color and rhythm, the crisscrossing of sensations that arise in a city, the sensations that attract and repel our movements in a city and form its real shape (i.e., its shape as experienced). When viewing them, we get a strong sense of his experience of New York City even though all we see are colors, lines and squares. But such a level of intensity, as displayed in each of these paintings, is not required for capturing, experiencing or expressing the dynamic character of a city. Like a

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[57] Augoyard, 117.

[58] Augoyard, 117.

[59] Augoyard, 120.

human being, cities can be stressful, calm, noisy, or quiet. Even the everyday mundaneness of the routines that we play out in the city contribute to its overall dynamic character.

For example, though I routinely walk to a particular park, following the same path, despite there being several parks near my house, as well as other routes to this particular park, there remains something about how I experience this park that leads me to return to it time and time again. When I walk to another park, or take another route to this one, I begin to feel disrupted, and, even though it is still my familiar neighborhood, I feel like I am in a completely different one. There is a certain connectivity, a certain attraction, that I feel to this particular park and the streets I walk down to get there that does not exist in other parks or routes; of course, this may change some day.

Essentially, I have, through my daily walks, created my own neighborhood, my personalized milieu. The actual neighborhood that exists is complete but my perception of it is full of holes that represent the areas that I do not travel frequently or if ever. Nevertheless, I perceive my neighborhood as being complete, it makes sense to me but my neighbor might perceive an entirely different neighborhood. The completeness that I feel arises from the existence of a Gestalt structure that is a part of the world due to my perception of it but not as it is in itself. A Gestalt structure affects me, stimulates my senses, through my creating and projecting of a meaningful world (milieu) around myself. I perceive objects and movements but I also

> perceive things (in context) [that] bear temporal and affective significance…Our most basic perceptions then are not pure, atom-like *qualia*, but meaning-laden perspectives (or Gestalten) that open

up a host of possible behavioral and affective responses on my part.[60]

The concept of Gestalt, therefore, helps to explain how I can be in my neighborhood but, nevertheless, only focus on certain parts or aspects of it that I find significant for my everyday activities while still perceiving it as something complete and how what I consider significant may be insignificant even to another being who lives just next door to me. For example, having just eaten my lunch, I leave for my usual walk to the park; as I leave my apartment I run into my neighbor who is going to walk his dog in the park. The park, being itself the same, possesses different significances for us and for the dog, which, for its own reasons, chooses to walk a different path than the one I take.

Urban planning and design attempts to make "places" for me through making cities that exist as complex entities perceptually organized and comprehensible; that is to say, to create and shape spaces that come ready-made with identities and meanings, thereby shaping or directing my experiences of them. Shaped space (figural space), created through the use of enclosures, is thought of as being preferable to un-designed space (residual) that is simply the space that is left over from the placement of objects. Modern design and planning has left us with a mass of this latter kind of space, the residual, leaving gaps in the urban environment that only exaggerate the kind of poor spatial communication we might find there.

However, one cannot place all the blame on Modernism no matter how much one might want to. Architecture and urban planning, like other

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[60]Lawrence Hass, *Merleau-Ponty's Philosophy* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2008) 32.

professional fields or sciences, are influenced by larger prevailing trends that are sometimes confined to an era, while at other times persist through several eras, or are simply considered to be part of 'human nature'. In looking at the evolution of architecture and urban planning, a pattern emerges that reveals a link between its development and that of science, starting around the 17th century. In particular, it was the development in the sciences of a separation between, on the one hand, everyday life and experience and, on the other hand, mathematical or materialistic theories that structured and measured everything in the universe and its movements, that fundamentally changed the way human beings related to their world.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, architectural practice and theory increasingly became a matter of technique that was obsessed with efficiency, manipulation, and control. Through the influence of humanism and the embracing of Ancient Greco-Roman culture and science (e.g., Euclidean geometry) at the time, it was believed that human beings were to establish and maintain order in society in the same way that God had done in the universe. Science and art were often fused in the Renaissance, as evident in the work of artists such as Leonardo da Vinci who made observational drawings of anatomy and nature. The Renaissance style that da Vinci exemplified placed emphasis on symmetry, proportion and geometry, also inherent in Vitruvius's *De architectura*. This text heavily influenced Renaissance architecture and architectural theory (e.g., Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* – 1450) with its emphasis on building according to the triad: *utilitas* (utility), *venustas* (beauty) and *firmitas*

(stability of form).[61] Its influence can be found in works across Europe and the United States, such as: Palladio's Palazzo Chiericati (1550) in Vicenza, Italy; Inigo Jones's Queen's House (1616-1635) in Greenwich, England; Le Vau's Mercier Wing for the Louvre (1624) in Paris; and, Thomas Jefferson's Monticello (1769) in Virginia.[62]

These architects, each in their own way, implemented the Vitruvian method based on number and proportion and, in turn, raised architectural knowledge from the level of a craft to that of a science. The implementation of his principles and method remained through the Renaissance, then sprouting into a kind of architectural positivism or naturalism in the 19th century. Hence, by the time the Modernist movement arrived on the scene, the spirit of function and form had already been firmly planted in the discipline and in the built environment. It seems almost strange to link the high-rise projects we find decaying in our cities today to something like a work by Palladio, but in fact there is pattern, a style, that connects one to the other: utility, function and beauty. Of course, it would be hard pressed to find beauty in a high-rise project but the design that these buildings were based on (and cheap copies of) was that of the sleek, modern high-rise whose beauty came from its minimalism, proportion and function.

Alongside the mathematization and systemizing of the built environment occurred the abstraction of bodies into spatio-temporal objects that simply

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[61] *De architectura* was written around 15BC by the Roman architect Vitruvius as a guide for building projects (landscape, machinery, etc.) and dedicated to Caesar Augustus. Hanno-Walter Kruft and Ronald Taylor, *A History of Architectural Theory* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994) 24.

[62] R. Furneaux Jordan, *A Concise History of Western Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1969) 229-230, 238-239, 274-275.

occupied abstracted and idealized spaces. Bodies, like space, were governed by physical laws and these laws were of primary interest, not the beings or spaces themselves. Human beings increasingly found themselves living in the ideas of architects rather than in real structures that spoke to their everyday experiences. Architecture, which was derived, according to Kent Bloomer and Charles Moore, from a body-centered sense of space and place (the womb, the cave, the hut, the house or church), whereby the body was the measure of the lived world, became overtaken by a mechanical, functional and systematized practice:[63]

Beauty	Function
Human/divine themes	Mechanical organization
Style influenced by aristocracy and church	Style influenced by engineers, militarists and industrialists

The division between these two ways of conceiving architectural design and method is exhibited in the emergence in Europe of engineering as a separate institution from architecture during the Industrial Revolution. In France, for instance, there was the creation of two schools for architecture: l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which treated architecture as an art that was to translate human experience into built form (although it did not give attention to everyday use), and the Royal Academy of Architecture, which had a more scientific approach to the practice

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[63] Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977) 15-17 [Including information in chart]

that involved precise quantification and the "predication of identity on the function itself".[64]

PLANNING FOR THE BODY

So far, the focus has been on objects in the urban environment, but now I will turn to how urban design reflects and fosters the everyday use and activities of the bodies that inhabit a city. That is to say, the kind of architecture (big 'A') that I have spoken of thus far is that of the grand projects, the monuments, the monumental, and not the architecture (small 'a') of everyday people's houses and their activities. Paul Rabinow, in *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, addressing this difference, speaks of how the difference between '*A*rchitecture' and '*a*rchitecture' reflects a fundamental hierarchical and historical division in society between high culture, social technicians who are articulating norms, and everyday life.[65]

The blending of the two forms of architecture seems to have occurred around the time just after the Second World War when the functional and minimalist architecture of the Bauhaus and Le Corbusier became translated, through the mass-production of concrete blocks, into mass-housing. The resulting high-rise sandwich blocks that dot the skyline of many a city, with a lack of centralized spaces that could serve as interaction points, do little to integrate the resident into the area outside their unit or to their neighbors;

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[64] Bloomer and Moore, 18-21.

[65] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern. Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989) 13.

essentially "[atomizing] the human community into a mere aggregate of individuals or small groups"[66].

Furthermore, despite bearing similar features externally, these concrete block towers became easily distinguished by their location and their resident demographics, i.e., a high-rise tower designed by Mies van der Rohe and located in a wealthy neighborhood that borders on North Lake Shore Drive in Chicago is easily perceived as being different from a high-rise tower built in the same Modernist style but located along the Dan Ryan Expressway in an impoverished, all-Black neighborhood. What plays a role in determining our perception of each building is *context*. In fact, if we took the exact same building from the wealthy neighborhood and transplanted it to the poor one, the perception we have of the building would likely change. Therefore, context, or the socio-physical setting that we experience a structure in, should not be discounted when analyzing, designing, or building urban landscapes. But there is not one context; rather, there exist multiple contexts that create meaning depending on how the components of the environment are perceived and situated, for instance. So while individual buildings, blocks, and neighborhoods each possess their own symbolic meanings, they as well have a meaning that develops in relation to their situation in relation to all the other elements of the city as well as the inhabitants.

Urban planners or designers, therefore, have as their task the integration of built structures with human activities and the contextual relationship between them and to the surrounding environment. This task is performed guided by

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[66] Rudolf Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977) 17.

local socio-economic and political factors and conditions, as well as input from a multitude of sources (real-estate developers, politicians, community organizers, etc.). However, much of this work is done in abstraction from the actual space they are developing, leaving out actual considerations of inhabitant use and needs. Those studying urban planning have attributed this abstract conceptualization to the fact that those doing the planning are no longer necessarily from the area where the project is to be implemented: "Developers, construction companies, architects and town planners can be large-scale organizations based anywhere in the world, without the possibility of emotional or symbolic attachment to the place"[67].

Urban planning that is removed from the location of implementation must then rely upon theory and case studies to guide the development of their projects. Urban theories are dominated by two paradigms, taken from philosophical reflection, of the body: [1] that there is a 'self-sufficient self' who is a transcendental entity that possesses a mental or spiritual nature and is capable of being perfected or controlled, a conception of the body held by Descartes, and, [2] that there is a 'self/other self' that develops itself through its intertwining with social, cultural and linguistic practices, a conception attributed to Locke and Hume.[68] The former potentially leads to a highly systematized, atomized, organized kind of city design while the latter could create cities that are more

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[67] Ali Madanipour, "Design in the city: Actors and contexts," *Constructing Place: Mind and Matter*, ed. Sarah Menin (London: Routledge, 2003) 124.

[68] Simon Richards, "Communities of Dread," *Constructing Place: Mind and Matter*, ed. Sarah Menin (London: Routledge, 2003) 112.

integrated (functionally, demographically, visually), seeing the city as a process rather than as a finished product to be achieved all at once.[69]

These paradigms, along with material, topographical, and financial factors, inform the designs of urban planners that structure the environment, determining how it should look, function, and who should inhabit it. The latter may be intentional or not but, is nonetheless, crucial for consideration. For instance, if a neighborhood is accessible only by car, then it becomes prohibitive to those who do not drive and who depend upon public transportation for mobility. Furthermore, since owning a car is an expense that not everyone can afford, this neighborhood has essentially been designed with a financial requirement built in.

With urban planning turned into a science that is filled with experts and with its oft-remote relationship to the development site, the inhabitant has been turned from a creator-dweller (akin to Merleau-Ponty's lived-body) to merely an occupant of a pre-created space. There are two key differences that are occurring here: on the one hand, there is the active participation in the shaping of one's environment versus being shaped by it and, on the other hand, feeling a part of one's lived space and creating meaning in it as an embodied agent living among other embodied agents versus taking up space physically but with no real connection to the surrounding environment or other beings beyond the functional.

Most often, building and landscape designs refer neither to the experiences of the local inhabitants nor to already established systems of living[70],

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[69] This idea is the driving force of Jane Jacobs's critique of urban planning in *The Life and Death of Cities*.

instead, for example, they apply general strategies that often fail to represent the true modes of living occurring in that space. Prior to the formalization of urban planning and architecture into professions guided by set principles and guidelines (i.e., its privatization and professionalization), human beings had been forming cities and communities for hundreds of years in ways that were dictated by their evolving way of being, of experiencing and structuring space, and of fulfilling basic needs without the direction of a formal "planner." Even in ancient cities, such as Peking, Athens and Rome, we find only a modicum of planning—usually kept to the areas containing important civic or religious buildings which were set in place with definite limits—while the areas in which the masses lived were a jumble of streets and passageways that took shape as a result of a play of tensions between the buildings constantly inserting themselves into the space.[71]

For some, the isolation that accompanies being a mere occupant is not a problem; but when this experience gets coupled with other kinds of isolation, e.g., through racial and class discrimination and segregation, problems begin to arise—as they have in the many of the high-rise, public or social housing buildings across North America and Europe. The further removed we become from what can be called "place" and subsequently, the more we become mere occupants of space, we begin to have a qualitatively different perception of our

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[70] Some systems of living in a community or neighborhood actually add to the decline of a neighborhood while others form part of its essential structure and, therefore, plans for renovation or reform should investigate which systems are working and which are not for the community and its inhabitants. To do so would mean that some kind of discussion occur between planners and the public.

[71] Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, New York: Penguin Books, 1974.

environment. The landscape that gives rise to the creation of a place for our lived bodies is constituted in our memories and affections through repeated encounters and associations from landscape or space, but the landscape that remains unspecified or overly organized systematizes our experiences so that they end up forming a homogeneous experience that lacks any real meaning for us and to which our gaze is not attracted. The imagination plays a large role in the creation of place and in our ability to dwell. It allows us to perceive the possible, that which lies beyond the limits of our built environment. With imagination, we reassume the position of the creator of our lived-world.

> In understanding everyday activity on the basis of its *imaginary ground*, the world begins in another way. It is seized as a structuration and not as structure, as functioning of configured forms and not as simultaneous positing of preconceived functional forms. The inhabited world, with or against other worlds, is convoked and reactivated in the realm of the conflictual and not in these falsely homogeneous "fillings-in" wherein each ends up representing himself in solitude and the expletive, as if one were mere "filler"[72].

In addition to allowing for inhabitant expression to shape the environment, the imagination allows those who study it to see it not as a static, pre-given object but rather that in which there is continuous movement and expressive force. When we begin to view the world in this dynamic sense, we start to see the connections that exist between things in the world and, most importantly, to see them as interacting through the forces that each possesses rather than simply isolated figures that are acted upon by a set or sets of independent forces.

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[72] Augoyard, 177.

The connections that we sense in the world are based on an interaction between identity and difference. For example, I perceive my building as being older than the one across the street, and from that I get a sense of the architectural evolution and history of the neighborhood. The interplay between identity and difference contributes to the articulation of the body and space. In turn, this articulation is helpful in navigating our way, bodily and psychically, through our lived-space but it can become a means of asserting power over other bodies and spaces. How Foucault's work on the body and space and the power that flows through them helps us to understand the way these terms become mechanisms of control will be addressed in the next chapter.

APPLYING THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHOD TO CITYSCAPES

To conclude this chapter, I would like to briefly discuss how the phenomenological method is useful for understanding the urban environments that we inhabit and how I have used it in order to better understand what occurs in the phenomenon of segregation. First, it is the call that Husserl and Merleau-Ponty made to return to the level of primary perception and to focus on the bodily experience we have of the lived-world that made phenomenology useful for my project of investigating the architectonics of segregation. As I stated earlier, the various scientific disciplines have been busy forming theories of why segregation occurs and how it is perpetuated, but, I argue, they only touch upon the framework without delving further towards the supporting foundational layer.

In other words, their attention is focused on external, historical, social or economic causal factors (epistemological or ontic explanations) that stem from some deeper source that is ontological in nature. It is true that phenomenology presents yet another theory of the relationship between body and space, but the crucial difference is how it conceives of this relationship, which it bases on the essential idea that meaning arises out of embodied subjects. It does not present truths that evolve into norms but provides space, so to speak, for the lived body to exist and evolve in its lived space according to its own style of organizing that space. The necessity for a consideration of the phenomenological approach makes itself evident in our experience of the lived world itself. When I walk down the streets of Paris or Chicago or New York, I engage them with my body, perceiving the smells, plays of light and shadow, and sounds; I experience them poetically, one could say. My experience may be influenced by my milieu or by scientific discourse, but, first and foremost, I sense these streets with my entire body.

Segregation is typically considered a historico-cultural phenomenon but it is as well a bodily and spatial phenomenon. The historico-cultural aspect of the phenomenon would not exist if the bodily, spatial phenomenon did not create a field for it to emerge out of. Viewing segregation in terms of praxis and experience allows us to view it in the present as something active, rather than theoretically as that which has occurred or which is unchanging. Furthermore, by taking a phenomenological approach to segregation, I was able to critically examine and move away from discourses that are caught up in determining the causes and effects of the phenomenon and which create truths that contribute to the perpetuation of the phenomenon by locking identities into place. I have made

use of these discourses, but at the same time I have relied heavily on experiential descriptions of the two case sites that I chose as exemplars for the phenomenon, thus bridging the abstract and the real and analyzing the solutions already implemented or proposed and opening the path for other possible solutions.

To lead us to new solutions, I argue that, just as the two neighborhoods that I am examining were conceived of and constructed according to general presuppositions about how the body interacts (or should interact) with its environment, we need to return to this level of analysis when planning the renovation of these and other spaces. To disregard the planning schemes of the past is to ignore the fact that they are still relevant in that their ideologies and methods still inform the way we plan today. By returning to the basic level of the relationship between body and space, we can then build upon our critique of it, thus creating new experiences of space that are not merely recycling old assumptions about this relationship but instead implementing new conceptions of it in the physical landscape.

This is one reason why I decided to perform a comparative study of two sites of segregation. Looking at the contrasts and similarities of each neighborhood provided a means for discovering how a particular kind of space is experienced both on the material and everyday level and on the ideological/discursive and philosophical level, since sometimes, when looking at only one manifestation of a phenomenon, we are unable to see all aspects of it, which might be more apparent when we can view multiple instances of the phenomenon. Sometimes things can only be *seen* in contrast to other things.

Currently, urban planners are increasingly faced with the task of de-segregating cities. This marks a shift in the way we consider the problem of

segregation, since up until the 1990s, it was thought that the problem could be solved through legislation, increased policing of the areas, and greater involvement with community services. These approaches were ultimately not successful, the reasons for which I engage in the second part of this dissertation. One reason, that I will explain here, is that these approaches failed to recognize the effect that a living space has on someone. It is not enough to create equal housing rights when the way that a city has been planned provides anything but equal opportunity (the example of transportation), nor is it enough to police an area when the violence stems from the sense of isolation that those segregated feel and experience.

We all already possess the tools that are needed to de-segregate cities and create housing that speaks to the freedom (not that given by legislation but that which we have as lived bodies) that each individual possesses: our sensorial experiences of the world. If experience is taken into consideration when developing new spaces or cities, a re-conception of how to organize these spaces will emerge. Experience will help us discover the connections that exist in the world and how new additions to our environment work with these connections in either fruitful or prohibitive ways. Discourse is simply not enough to create places that sustain our lived body and its everyday activities.

That is to say, I do not feel it is enough to only say that bodies and spaces are manipulated by certain discourses if, on the one hand, we fail to understand in the first place how the body and space are themselves perceived (independent of material factors such as economics, race, biology and so forth) and, on the other hand, if we fail to understand the experiential aspect of the body in its space (or place)—i.e., if we become too mired in the abstract to realize the

concrete reality of bodies in space. Making the distinction between space and place will be an important component in this analysis as it sheds light not only on how we perceive and experience space but also ourselves, as bodies living in space.

CHAPTER 2

INSTITUTIONALIZING SPACES OF POVERTY

> A whole history remains to be written of *spaces*—which would at the same time be the history of *powers*—from great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.[73]

> The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein.[74]

Michel Foucault is famous for his analyses of institutions and the power/knowledge structures that give birth to and support them. However, it is only more recently that scholars are devoting attention to the spatial aspect of his work; that is to say, to the institutions and social norms that fill the volumes of his work occur as understood in a context that is not only historical but one that is essentially spatial.[75] Like his professor Merleau-Ponty, Foucault does not delineate the physical and mental conceptions of space as being distinct from one another, instead viewing both as emerging from the fundamental level of lived

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[73] Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power," *Foucault Live (Interviews, 1961-1984),* trans. Mark Seem, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996) 149.

[74] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces (1967) / Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec, online source <http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html>.

[75] See, for instance, Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present* (London: Continuum, 2001).

(bodily) experience. So, though his work concerns our knowledge of spaces, it at the same time makes clear that this knowledge is ultimately derived from experience and not from preconceived Truths.

In returning knowledge to the level of experience, his approach opens the way for a critique of the systems of knowledge that present themselves to us as bearers of some fundamental Truth. In turn, he is also able to show the effects of the systems on our lived experience of the world and that there is as such a co-shaping, or co-evolution, occurring between bodies that exist in space and the institutions that seek to control them. Thus, he considers architecture, e.g., the construction of an asylum or prison, as entailing, on the one hand, spatial experiences and, on the other hand, discourses, techniques/practices and institutions derived from knowledge obtained through reflection on these experiences, which then produce and reproduce an experience.

Foucault's interest in the power of the environment (space) over the individual (bodily and psychologically) departs from Merleau-Ponty's conception of the relationship between the body and its environment in one fundamental way: while the former considers the individual as conditioned by its environment (e.g., through restriction of movement or confinement), the latter considers the individual as that which shapes and is shaped by the environment. That is to say, Foucault, taking the body as an object—a socialized, historical object[76]—is interested in the relation between our everyday practices and the sets

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[76] Foucault's thinking was influenced by Fernand Braudel and the Annales School's approach to history; one that addresses the social aspects of history through piecing together the rationale of an age. Although, in *The Order of Things* (1966) and *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) he challenges this conception of history by introducing into the debate on historical methodology the idea of "historical relativity," which highlighted the fact that the study of history did not

of power relations that guide them, and Merleau-Ponty, seeing the body as a autonomous body-subject, is interested in exploring our experiences of our everyday practices as spatial beings.

We can obtain an understanding of Foucault's projection of the self as a bodily site subject to and determined by methods of external conditioning, including confinement and exclusion, through his approach to the topic of racism. In *Society Must Be Defended*, Foucault lays out the evolution of the term racism starting in the 17th and 18th centuries where he pinpoints its emergence as a social discourse of race struggle that is to be understood as something historical and political but not related to any kind of philosophical or juridical discourse on sovereignty. From there he moves to the 19th century when the term takes on a more "biological" meaning, leading to the creation of the "scientific racism" that creates distinct biological groups primarily based on a merging of phenotypes and a colonial perspective of the world. From describing the use of racism as a way to protect sovereignty through the creation of factions based on race to the location of race in the body, Foucault prepares the field for considerations of race as that which becomes the means for a theoretical and spatial distinction of human beings.

In fact, his lectures that form *Society Must Be Defended* introduce an interesting shift in how we think about racism, presenting it from the perspective of exclusion rather than domination. Such exclusion arises out of a nationalist discourse that "was not concerned solely with the visual markets of difference,

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rely on facts but rather human impressions making the role of the historian more like that of an interpreter. As such, one could see the study of history and the production of historical manuscripts as constructions that are designed to act as vehicles of power: history was not only the study of forms of control but itself a form of control.

but with the relationship between visible characteristics and invisible properties, outer form and inner essence…these in turn defined hidden fault lines—both fixed and fluid"[77]. That is to say, what occurs then is a distinction made between individuals based on normatively derived categories that are applied to, yet independent of, the individual. The lectures that Foucault gave at the College de France in 1976, which comprise the text *Society Must Be Defended*, are interesting to reflect upon as they mark a transition point in his thinking that moves from the theme of domination found in *Discipline and Punish* in 1975 to a new path that he forges through these lectures that includes this idea of exclusion, which then is further developed in volume one of *The History of Sexuality: The will to knowledge* (1976).

In *Society Must Be Defended*, though, we find a kind of exclusionary racism built on the idea of a subject who simply wishes to exterminate the other. Extermination of the other in the sense he is using it may take the extreme form of the death of the other, e.g., through acts of genocide, or it may take the form of segregation, whereby the other is placed out of view but, nonetheless, under surveillance and systems of control, e.g., prisons, asylums and even ghettos. Either way, such exclusion takes its form in a primarily physical way, what he refers to as 'bio-politics'. It is this focus on exclusion that has proven most pertinent to my discussion on segregation, and to extend beyond the immediate project a bit, to understanding in general contemporary discourses and practices concerning nations, territories, and bodies. For instance, we find 21st century national discourse becoming dominated by a return to the colonial distinctions

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[77] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (London: Duke University Press, 1995) 8.

based on race and citizenship but in a new post-colonial form that is frequently taking place on the national soil of the former colonizer (e.g., Western European countries that are experiencing an influx of immigrants, legal and otherwise, from former colonies who are becoming members of these former colonizing nations). The relationship that is forming out this phenomenon between nations and their former colonial subjects is complex, and I have engaged it briefly in the case study in Chapter 5 on Les Tarterêts.

In this chapter, as well as in Part 2, I examine how the concept of exclusion has been put to use in the control of bodies in space through the defining and redefining of borders and boundaries whose existence promote segregation within the urban environment. To adapt a Foucauldian way of thinking about racism requires a change in the discourse of how we investigate the mechanisms of racism and racist practices. The reader will find in the analysis later in this chapter, a reflection on this change in discourse as I engage the subject of public housing in the United States and, specifically, the Cabrini-Green public housing project: to make the connection between racism, space, and bodies and the mechanisms and systems that produce and control them through the concept of exclusion.

FOUCAULT ON RACISM

Throughout Foucault's *oeuvre* we can trace the relationship between the body, space, power and knowledge, one that becomes increasingly explicit in his later works. For instance, the concept of surveillance and control over bodies in

clearly defined spaces that was introduced in *Discipline and Punish* and *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, comes to fruition in his discussion of bio-politics in *Society Must Be Defended*; in each, he discerns a connection between space and power that exposes the norms created by society, norms which in turn shape our ideas about categories such as race. To continue using this example of race, for Foucault, what is of main concern is not so much racial identities per se but how these identities are part of discourses that inform systems of exclusion, e.g., the practice of racial segregation in housing. In this way, we see how race, which is determined by blood lines, is connected to the political, which develops mechanisms to normalize and discipline the population based on discourses of race: "after a first seizure of power over the body in an individualizing mode, we have a second seizure of power that is not individualizing but, if you like, massifying, that is directed not at man-as-body but at man-as-species"[78]. The result is what Foucault refers to as "bio-politics," or the regulation of the body (bodies) by the State.[79]

Foucault's conception of racism has always been biologically informed: in the *History of Sexuality* it is the purity of aristocratic blood and the disciplining of bodily functions that are central to racial discourse, and in his 1976 lectures at the Collège de France, it is the regularization and systemization of the body that is at the heart of the discourse. The reduction of race to biology is indeed something reoccurring in racial discourse, but what is the result of this tying together of race and genome, race and flesh, race and body? I would argue that these kinds of

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[78] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, trans. David Macey, eds. Mauro Bertani, Alessandro Fontana, and François Ewald (New York: Picador, 2003), 243.

[79] *Society Must Be Defended*, 239-259.

discourse do nothing more than naturalize such associations, thereby making it even more difficult to move towards eradicating racism and racist discourse.

The work of Louis Agassiz in the 1800's is a prime example of the way in which science has attempted throughout history to found race as a "natural phenomena" reducible to empirical evidence, in particular phenotypes. Races were seen as having their "natural place" or position within space and society, and it was thought that if one removed them from their "natural places" they would then resort to degenerate behavior (described as occurring somewhat like a disease) that would affect the White population. Even though some would still argue today that race is a natural phenomenon, Foucault adamantly refutes this perception of race, asserting that there is nothing natural or normal about race—it is a social construction, a means for implementing mechanisms of power on a population.[80] However, does Foucault's analysis of race and racist discourses provide us with the means for challenging such presuppositions?

While in this chapter I will be referring to Foucault's discussion of race and racism as many others have done, I think it is important to note that Foucault's interest in these concepts lies not in the concepts themselves as much as in the structures of power that work through these concepts. As Ann Stoler aptly points out in *Race and the Education of Desire*, while some have discussed Foucault's *History of Sexuality Vol. I* in terms of its analysis of racism, this analysis

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[80] Foucault dedicates several of the lectures that form the text *Society Must Be Defended* to the evolution of the term "race" into "racism" and, finally, into "bio-power," moving from a discourse of difference, to one of struggle, to normalization and discipline, and, finally, to a discourse of the regularization of a living being. Bio-politics, or the ensemble of bio-powers, is the ability to control people (a population) by maintaining them in life, not only by employing the right to kill them, but by actually controlling life itself. [Judith Revel, *Le vocabulaire de Foucault* (Paris: Ellipses Édition Marketing, S.A., 2002) 13-15.]

was merely the byproduct of a larger theme he was attacking, i.e., a Marxist-Freudian interpretation of power.[81] This is quite significant since it means that for Foucault, race and racism were simply another discursive form of the power/knowledge relationship rather than a central social discourse in and of itself. However, as Stoler as well indicates, Foucault was not alone in his lack of attention to the concept of race as something in and of itself important for socio-political or philosophical theory:

> while Albert Memmi, Frantz Fannon and Jean-Paul Sartre were among those who explicitly addressed colonial racism, they did not prompt a general theoretical engagement with racism nor a confrontation with the racial underpinnings of French society itself. The concept of class and the sorts of social transformations to which capitalism gave rise remained foundational in critical social and political theory; race and racial theory was not.[82]

This lack on the part of French scholarship of a theoretical or social engagement with racism[83] makes sense considering that, unlike in the United States where it is a frequent object of study, race and racial identity is not given

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[81] Stoler, 22.

[82] Stoler, 22-23.

[83] It is important to clarify these terms "racism" and "race" since they are used differently in the United States and Europe. For our purposes, I use the United Nations' definition provided in the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (ICERD) that is adopted by most nations. In this document, the term "racial discrimination" is used instead of "racism" and is taken to mean: "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life". [United Nations, "International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)," http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm) Part I, Article 1>.

any public role in French society.[84] This does not mean that racial discourse and racism are not present—much has been said in the past couple of decades about a rise in xenophobia in Western European countries—it simply means that they are not given any kind of legitimate field in legislative, social or academic discourse that would allow for an emergence of anti-racism discourse, for instance. Instead, the problem of racism has, on the one hand, been turned into something historical and, therefore, placed 'in the past' and, on the other hand, been covered up by discussions of nationalism, assimilation, unemployment and illegal immigration. As a result, racist discourse is allowed to retain its character of normality and to persist in France as something elusive that is at once invisible and visible.[85]

Why is there such a silence in France on the topic of race? The answer to this is linked to the ideals of the French Republic, *Républicanisme*, which is based on the idea that each citizen is engaged in a direct relationship with the state and therefore, there is no need for group identity politics based on local, religious or racial identification. As such, any kind of affirmative action laws, such as those enacted in the U.S., are viewed as being in direct opposition to French laws that forbid any data on ethnicity to be collected for official purposes, which is believed to promote "color-blindness" and equality. Hence, there could be no civil rights movement in France as there was in the U.S. As far as the French government is concerned, racial discrimination has nothing to do with civil

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[84] In Part 2, I address in greater detail the differences between the U.S. and French perceptions of race and racial discourse in the legal and social realms.

[85] For examples of French scholarship that directly engage the concept of racism in the French context see: G. Noiriel (1988), S. Body-Gendrot and M. Martiniello (2000), V. de Rudder, et. al. (2000), E. Maurin (2004), D. Fassin and É. Fassin (2006), and M. Oberti (2006).

rights. However, once we begin to investigate the laws concerning former colony members and their legal standing in France, the situation becomes much more complicated with layers of different kinds of rights granted to ex-colonials based on ethnic profiles.

However, this "color-blindness" promoted by the state has become the material for jokes made by those who are being discriminated against based on their religious, ethnic, gender or other identities and who realize that the French ideal of *egalité* is definitely limited in practice—they use the phrase often heard in the media and from government officials, "we are all French," in a way that evokes less a sense of belonging than one of sad irony. This invoking of irony reveals an awareness held by those who are discriminated against of both the racial discourse that is present in French society and the way by which legal mechanisms that have allowed it to thrive. For instance, since the state is legally blind to racial, religious and gender categories, it can prove to be rather difficult to tackle issues such as employment or housing discrimination that exists in France today.

Another interesting outcome has been a growth in the formation of ethnic communities that maintain the cultural, ethnic and religious traditions of their homeland rather than adopt those typical of the French majority. Thus, there exists at some level a desire to be recognized as having a distinct tradition from France, and yet at another level there exists the desire to not be discriminated against for such distinctions. The question that is being posed here in France is how can the government and society accommodate both. Complicating this matter is the external generalization of group categories: e.g., Muslims, Blacks, Asians, Jews, etc. When a closer look is taken as these more general and vague

groupings, one realizes that there is not one group, one Muslim community for instance, but several, who sometimes even differentiate amongst themselves, e.g., Muslims from one country or sect may hold biases against or choose not to interact with those of another.

When we dissect the processes occurring in the creation of a generalized group category we begin to reveal the mechanisms at work that support the norms that shape our perceptions of others and their identities. There is no doubt a system in place and, in the example I have given above, we see how it at once fabricates a common identity creating a "people" and denies the same identity that it has created. Understanding racial discourse in these terms falls more closely in line with what Foucault spelled out in *SMD*, when he said:

> [R]ather than orienting our research into power toward the juridical edifice of sovereignty, State apparatuses, and the ideologies that accompany them, I think we should orient our analysis of power toward material operations, forms of subjugation, and the connections among and the uses made of the local systems of subjugation on the one hand, and apparatuses of knowledge on the other.[86]

If we look at the creation and exclusion of subjects, as I did above and will do later in examining U.S. public housing history, we enter the realm of understanding power from the perspective of the systems of subjugation as they work in tandem with apparatuses of knowledge. In this example, there are two sites of power, the physical environment (the manufacturing of institutions) and the physique of the individual (bio-power), which, as I will argue, are difficult to differentiate between in the discourses that surround the mechanisms that support urban segregation.

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[86] *Society Must Be Defended*, 34.

We must bear in mind while following Foucault's methodology to see where it leads us in furthering our understanding of racism and segregation that his methodology is as well a participant in these systems and that it also produces apparatuses of knowledge—something that Foucault was aware of. While this participation, even on my part, is unavoidable, it is, nevertheless, essential that we remain critical not only of the object of analysis but also the analytic approach used, as well.

SITES OF POWER

In an essay called "Two Lectures," Foucault directs our attention to the study of power from the perspective of its effects rather than the intentions or identity of the possessor of power: "What is needed is a study of power in its external visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there…where it installs itself and produces its real effects"[87]. The effects of power exhibit themselves first and foremost spatially (in spaces, sites, places, regions, or even bodies) and, therefore, any discussion of power cannot be had without also taking into account the space in which such power is implemented. Power and space are so inextricably linked through the bodies to which techniques of power are applied in specific sites that even the body itself is considered a site, thus accounting for its spatial character.

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[87] Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 97.

The city, filled with constructed spaces which structure the movements of its residents, therefore, serves as an appealing example for investigating this relationship. At a time when cities are becoming more desirable to live in, they are attracting those from rural or suburban areas seeking a more vibrant living environment as well as migrants and immigrants in search of employment; thus, it is important to take notice of how spaces are becoming restructured and how people are arranging themselves (or being arranged) in spaces already overcrowded and overbuilt. Furthermore, we must ask how the structuring of the urban environment effects the freedom of the inhabitants, which brings us back once again to examining the technologies, mechanisms, and fields of power relations.

Foucault, in an interview conducted by Paul Rabinow in 1982, argued that architecture, despite not being able to solve social problems directly through simply changing the physical character of a space, can, when "the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practice of people in the exercise of their freedom,"[88] produce a space with positive effects. However, what in one instance was capable of providing a liberating kind of space, can, in another instance, do quite the opposite. The results arising from this difference seems to depend on the ends to which the architecture is meant to serve. Foucault wants to point out the limitations of architecture in terms of its capacity for producing social change is the arbitrariness that arises when we dissociate the practice of

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[88] Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge and Power," *Foucault Live – Interviews, 1961-1984*, trans. Christian Hubert, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996) 340.

freedom, social relations and how they get spatially distributed.[89] Thus, in a case such as Cabrini-Green, we benefit most from looking at the material, social and power structures taken as that which forms a matrix of systems and influences rather than considering each aspect in isolation, since each element of the system requires the others in order to be fully understood.

In a city such as Chicago, there are clear boundaries and borders drawn based on ethnic and racial categories, some of which double as administrative and political boundaries, boundaries that were in part created by earlier implementations of discursive power that aimed to keep segments of the population contained in specific parts of the city (e.g., the predominantly Black populations on the far south and west sides of the city). It will be necessary for any de-segregation program to analyze at least the administrative and political borders and perhaps even redraw them to break free from old patterns of tax distribution, political representation, and public services development that were at best unequal in their development in neighborhoods across the city.

Redevelopment projects currently taking place in the city are either supporting further segregation in the city or are facing strong opposition from these old patterns and those who support them as they work to rejuvenate neighborhoods and provide housing for a marginalized population. While several government officials, city officials, real-estate investors, and members of the public are trying to uphold the status quo that has shaped Chicago into the

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[89] I would like to refer the reader to Paul Rabinow's, *French Modern: Norms and forms of the social environment* (1989), for an interesting study of the development of modern society in the context of social spaces and cities.

most segregated city in the United States[90], I believe that if the underlying power structures and mechanisms that support the norms that in turn support the status quo are disclose and the violation of human rights and dignity that is occurring is revealed, then changes in how we organize and undergo urban development can begin to take place. While this may be too hopeful a wish, nevertheless, without any critical attention given to the mechanisms of segregation, the practice will simply continue unchallenged.

Modern urban society has implemented a system of racialized discourse as a means for organizing space according to practices of social exclusion and segregation. Along with this racism comes classism—the two discourses are distinct but not easily separable. Racism, as well as classism, seeks to classify an individual or group according to or in contrast to social norms and values. It places the racialized other in a distinct category that allows them to be a focal point for confinement and dislocation. Racism is an ideology, a body of knowledge which:

> makes claims about the way the social world is and crucially, about the way it ought to be. This knowledge is mobilized in the definition of criteria of group membership and principles of exclusion. It specifies the rights and duties that attach to membership, and the forms of treatment that are appropriate to extend to non-members. These are bodies of political knowledge oriented toward the systematic constitution of the world in particular ways and the advancement of sectional interests.[91]

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[90] See, Azam Ahmed and Darnell Little, "Chicago, America's most segregated big city," Part 1 of 3, *Chicago Tribune Online* (26 December 2008) <www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/chi-segregation-26-dec26,0,97 6255.story> and the corresponding graphic "Chicago is the most racially segregated city in America," Chicago Tribune Online (26 December 2008) <www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/chi081226segregation2_gfx,0,7759926.gr aphic>.

[91] Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, (London: SAGE Publications, 1997) 84.

Racial segregation of human bodies requires that space be broken up into "their" space versus "our" space, and this has directly contributed to the urban, as well as non-urban, housing problems in the United States (although we find instances of urban segregation in every major metropolis worldwide). In order to control the racialized other and their activities it is essential that the space that they inhabit is closely monitored and regulated (similar to a prison system, a mental hospital ward, and so on).

My intention with this application of Foucault's concepts and methodologies to the phenomenon of segregation is to investigate and reveal the ways in which urban space is segregated and how such segregation is related to techniques of power and social discourse—that is, to show how Foucault's theories and methods can by applied to the instance of segregation in the urban environment. I do this in two ways: first, by providing an exegesis of Foucault's work related to the body and space and, second, by turning a critical eye toward the practice of segregation and racism exhibited in public housing policies and in the implementation of these policies at the site of Cabrini-Green in Chicago. Furthermore, in this analysis, I build on the idea of both public housing and segregation as institutions that are created to set up order in the city through control over space and bodies.

One can only hope that an awareness may grow in response to the disclosure and discussion of the mechanisms and forces behind the way we organize space in our cities so that segregation along racial lines is no longer a method employed by those involved in the planning process; however, what I

want to discover over the course of this analysis (and the larger one of which it is a part) is whether Foucault's approach is viable for opening up solutions to dismantling the structures supporting racial segregation through the revealing of possible methods of attack against it.[92] Criticisms directed towards Foucault's approach to racism, which he primarily locates in techniques of power exercised by the state, are that he does not consider it as part of the contemporary epistème. That is to say, Foucault's interest in race and racism is with the *how*, not the *why*; nor is he concerned with how race forms a specific discourse that creates subjectivities which are self-reflexive. Rather than searching for underlying meanings of racial discourses or searching for the source of meanings of race and racism in a transcendental subject, he is analyzing the discursive and practical conditions for the existence of truth and meaning: "We should not, therefore, be asking subjects how, why, and by what right they can agree to being subjugated, but showing how actual relations of subjugation manufacture subjects"[93].

A Foucauldian approach to obtaining a critical understanding of the situation that is affecting Cabrini-Green and its residents would be to ask such questions as: who lives in these dilapidated high-rise buildings, that is to say, is there something specific about this population that is used to justify their living conditions; what do these high-rise structures represent to those who live in or near them, what kinds of discourse are created by the presence of these buildings; and, what kinds of knowledges are being used to justify the methods

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[92] "Clarifications on the Question of Power," *Foucault Live: Collected Interviews 1961-1984*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer, translated from Italian by James Cascaito (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996) 261.

[93] *Society Must Be Defended*, 45.

and design of the renewal project that is currently underway? Answers to these questions will be addressed later in this chapter.

Foucault, in *Society Must Be Defended* and in *The History of Sexuality Vol. I*, discusses the shift that he finds occurring in the 18th century, whereby mechanisms of power centered in the legal and political realm were replaced by mechanisms of power that go beyond the state and its methods.[94] He argues that rather than attending solely to issues of sovereignty claims, we should delve deeper into the source behind such claims and the power structures found therein:

> I think that we have to adopt a threefold point of view of the techniques, the heterogeneity of techniques, and the subjugation-effects that make technologies of domination the real fabric of both power relations and the great apparatuses of power. The manufacture of subjects rather than the genesis of the sovereign: that is our general theme.[95]

Instead of an investigation of the laws created to rule the subject and ensure the sovereign's dominant position, the need for unifying subjects, and the subjects themselves, Foucault proposes a critical consideration of the effects which ground the sovereign's ability to dominate in the first place.[96] The analysis I perform of Cabrini-Green takes into consideration these two layers by, on the one hand, understanding that decent and affordable housing is a right and investigating how this right has not been delivered to the residents due to power structures and racial discourses, and, on the other hand, by examining the

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[94] See, Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume One: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978) 88-91.

[95] *Society Must Be Defended*, 46.

[96] *Society Must Be Defended*, 43-46.

practice of segregation and racial discrimination in housing practices in terms of a struggle over territory.

THE INSTITUTION

When Foucault speaks of space, he tends to speak of space*s*, since there is not simply *one* space but always many spaces (as well as, sites, regions, and territories for instance), just as there is not *one* site or locus of power. In a lecture from 1976, he says, "Power must...be analyzed as something that circulates...It is never localized here or there, it is never in the hands of some..."[97]. In the *History of Sexuality*, we are told that power is neither intentional nor fully realized but instead "a multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced"[98]. Power, as that which *circulates*, locates bodies in space as bodies that exist in specific *sites* and as a function of these sites (e.g., the asylum, prison and public housing project).[99] The location of the body in its space makes it open to the gaze; it is now an object of inquiry and knowledge. Power works with knowledge in the creation of subjects and control over bodies.

Power is exercised in space, but to what extent are the two dependent on one another? Foucault finds that space is not like matter waiting to be shaped—e.g., the way a suburban sub-division is created out of a field—but

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[97] *Society Must Be Defended*, 29.

[98] *History of Sexuality*, 101-102.

[99] See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books,1977) 138-148.

rather comes to be *with* a thing. Everything creates its own different space. Furthermore, the shapes that spaces take are dependent on the shape of the matter that they surround. In other words, each space is unique to the individual that it is formed around. Matter exists in space but all the while we are shaping it. Space is not created for an individual at birth simply never to be reconfigured; it is always undergoing change since it is dependent on the existence of the individual. Spaces are the results of a thing inserting/asserting itself—here it becomes clearer how power relates to space.

If we are always creating our individual spaces, by what means are we doing so? Foucault would respond that it must be through our employment of power: "…spatial modalities in architecture, social organization, police surveillance, etc., are expressions of specific distributions of power"[100]. Power works through space to establish a 'truth' of space: "Once knowledge can be analyzed in terms of region, domain, implantation, displacement, transposition, one is able to capture the process by which knowledge functions as a form of power and disseminates the effects of power"[101].

In "Eye of Power," Foucault elaborates on how space and power are related to one another: space relates to economical and political ends such that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power"[102]. There appears to be a conflict, however, between the organization of power and that of space. Space contains

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[100] Casey (1998), 298.

[101] Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, trans. Colin Gordon, et. al., ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) 69.

[102] Michel Foucault, "The Eye of Power," *Foucault Live – Interviews, 1961-1984*, trans. Mark Seem, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996) 252.

both fixed and active parts as a result of the implementation of power in the first instance and the struggle between powers in the latter; but in itself, it can be taken as something open. Power is something fluid, which is not located in any particular person, state, or institution, but, nevertheless, it fixes things in their place, i.e., it structures and controls. When analyzing power relations, Foucault says that we cannot simply fall back on the idea of power being merely a struggle without then asking "who is struggling, for what reasons, how the struggle is developing, in what locations, with what instruments and according to what kind of rationality"[103].

This dichotomy of fixed and active aspects makes it impossible to infinitely contain or confine something in space through the deployment of the mechanisms of power. Change must occur and this is the conflict that ensues between the normalizing power structures and the objects to which the mechanisms of normalization are applied that are as well trying to assert power. It is like a dam that tries to hold back a river; over time, the wall will erode due to the activity that is struggling against this rigid structure. Social revolutions are one result of this confinement; even though there may be a period of submission, eventually a threshold will be crossed and the active part will seek to expand itself again.

Despite this negative portrayal that has thus far been given of power, power is not something inherently negative. That is to say, mechanisms of power are not necessarily tools for oppression of one particular individual (or group of individuals); they are something that exists in society and are available to anyone

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[103] "The Eye of Power," 240.

who chooses to use them. The problem is that often, due to the mechanisms of power, some individuals or groups are not able to employ them to counteract: "I do not think that we, therefore, have to conclude that power is the best-distributed thing, the most widely distributed thing, in the world, even though this is, up to a point, the case. Power is not distributed throughout the body in democratic or anarchic fashion"[104]. In addition, a power mechanism that is deemed oppressive when used in one way may be productive and helpful under different circumstances.[105] For example, the style of the Panopticon[106] can be seen as intrusive when applied to the design of a prison but helpful when applied to the design of a medical hospital where the efficiency it brings can save lives.

Foucault attests that "there is no 'place' in archaeology for geography, but it should be possible to conduct *an* archaeology *of* geographical knowledge"[107]. In "Questions on Geography," Foucault uses concepts such as *territory*, *field*, *displacement*, as "geographical metaphors," which he claims were borrowed by geography from other fields, primarily juridical, political, military and economic.[108] In other words, geography, in all its spatial variations, is not a closed

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[104] *Society Must Be Defended*, 30.

[105] We could say that mechanisms and technologies of power are multi-stable.

[106] The Panopticon is based on a design that Jeremy Bentham made for a prison in 1785 that would allow an observer to survey all the prisoners without their being able to tell whether or not they are being watch. The basic structure is round with the doors of each cell facing a central tower in which the observer is positioned. Basically, Bentham created a situation whereby there was an omnipresent observer, like the eye of God, who was able to control a large population merely by its potential presence. Foucault discusses this design and its effects in his study of the penal system in *Discipline and Punish*.

[107] "Questions on Geography," 67.

[108] "Questions on Geography," 68.

term; it can be related to other aspects of society such as law, race, economics, and so on.

> Territory is a geographical notion but first and foremost it is a juridico-political one. Field is an economic-juridical notion. Displacement refers to what displaces itself be it an army or a population. Domain is a juridico-political notion. Soil is a historico-geological notion. Region is a fiscal, administrative, military notion. Horizon is a pictoral but also strategic notion.[109]

Furthermore, when we analyze knowledge, as Foucault's archaeology does, in terms of geographical notions, we are able to understand how such knowledge functions as a form of power, as well as how it circulates the effects of power spatially. In other words, we can finally begin to understand the connection that Foucault makes between knowledge and power when we include some idea of geography (space). Power is administrated in space, and in some sense it requires space for its existence. States use power to group individuals or isolate them in space either directly (e.g., mental institutions) or indirectly (e.g., class divided housing in urban cities).

In *Birth of the Clinic*[110], Foucault defines "site" as being either homogeneous (in regards to the observed medical syndrome) or segmented (the syndrome as it is located in the observed body of the patient). All of this is placed in the context of 18th century medicine as it was practiced in institutional spaces. In the first instance, site as homogeneous, we have the abstract "configuration" of knowledge and, in the second, site as segmented, we have the "localization" of that same knowledge. Such descriptions are suggestive of space and place

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[109] "Questions on Geography," 68.

[110] Michel Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic: An archaeology of medical perception*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

(respectively).[111] According to Foucault, it is the latter, place, that contemporary medical practice is preoccupied with—and I would say that this can arguably be drawn out to include other sectors of society where the atomization of knowledge has become the norm. For instance, in terms of race, we have the configuration of knowledges about race, that is, what creates differences between individuals and this then is localized in the population, in their bodies, even in the spaces they inhabit. Both of these aspects then work together to reinforce and perpetuate such racial discourses and their expressions (e.g., housing segregation, incarceration rates among certain race groups, etc.).

Foucault also discusses this localization of discourses in particular sites in terms of architecture and planning. Now, biological discourses are found to work in conjunction with socio-economic and political ones that are practiced outside of the asylum, prison and hospital, bringing a new level of institutionalization into existence: the institutionalization of the home and the town. The arrangement of space at the end of the 18th century began to be used for political and economic ends, and a specific kind of architecture arose during this period to fulfill these goals.

Space, during this time, becomes more functional and hence specified: "We see this illustrated with the building of the *cités ouvrières*, between the 1830s and 1870s. The working class family is to be fixed; by assigning it a living space with a room that serves as kitchen and dining-room, a room for the parents

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[111] Foucault's work tends to discuss "space" rather than "place," and so in this particular essay I will be speaking in terms of space. The difference between the two terms is significant as space is understood as that which is abstract and general while place is specific and tied to the experience of a lived-body. For further discussion of this topic see Edward S. Casey (1998), 183.

which is the place of procreation, and a room for the children, one prescribes a form of morality for the family"[112]. Space was much discussed by philosophers until around the time of the 19th century when the focus shifted to time. Foucault, in his archaeological and genealogical work, unites the two despite the appearance of a preference toward time due to his focus on the historical. Even though he is focusing on histories, space still lingers in the background of much of his thinking, grounding it in the real world (e.g., his work on the development of the institution deeply relies on the concept of space).

When we get to *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault extends his analysis of site, now including the historical and political, to every aspect of institutional settings. The homogeneous is now seen as characteristic of the entire structure of prisons, hospitals, factories, asylums, etc. Each of these architectural artifacts are built with a monotonous sameness in the use of long hallways with cells/rooms punctuating them and systematically segmented wards, which help to maintain order among the many inhabitants (so that in a hospital one can separate those giving birth from those who are terminally ill or contagious). As a consequence of such meticulous planning of space, a "space of domination" is created in which surveillance becomes necessary to the running of the place and in which space and place are both fixed (in order to maintain the sense of control over the individuals in that space or place). Each individual is constantly located either by means of direct placement (as in a cubicle, jail cell, hospital room/ward) or by surveillance equipment (such as nurses, video cameras, supervisors, and the like).

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[112] "The Eye of Power," 149.

In "Eye of Power," Foucault credits Jeremy Bentham and his work on the Panopticon with the attribution of power to space: specifically, how power can be effectively implemented over a large group of people as if it were over only one individual. Such a technological advancement in surveillance marked a new method of controlling a population, a new way of thinking about centralizing knowledge and as well a new kind of environment where privacy no longer truly exists. Bentham's Panopticon was the solution to the problem of creating mass surveillance as well as preventing revolts against tyrannical rulers by spreading the power of surveillance to everyone. In other words, there is not *a* judge or *a* watchman but many and for this reason Bentham's method of centralization proves to be more economical (monetarily and in terms of utility) by having power flow through society as a method of maintaining and exerting power over the same society, or even a particular group within that society.[113]

There occurs, in this kind of centralized and economical surveillance, several layers working together: first, there is the individual who watches the group which is organized to be in plain sight, for instance, a security personnel officer at a department store who sits in a room monitoring activity on a closed-circuit TV system that receives signals from cameras placed throughout the store; second, there is the instance which has individuals or groups watching each other, a kind of system that supports things like neighborhood watch programs; and lastly, we have the individuals watching themselves, a self-policing that arises out of the last layer. Essentially, the goal is to no longer need someone present; to simply have every individual monitor their own behavior according

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[113] "The Eye of Power," 234.

to the norms and laws presented by society. Power, in this sense, even when spoken of in relation to state institutions, is meant as something more than merely the state and its laws and apparatuses. Power is the apparatus *of* the state and its laws, i.e., how power is enforced, maintained, or structured within the state.

CREATING A PEOPLE

In the mid-1990s, Chicago, like many American cities, began to experience a kind of renaissance, whereby those who had taken up a suburban lifestyle were now moving to the urban centers. With much of Chicago's existing housing near the downtown area – where the majority of businesses are located – being too expensive, some of those forming this urban migration became frontiers-people by going into neighborhoods that were, on the one hand, near work and offered a plethora of inexpensive housing but, on the other hand, offered few resources to feed their middle-class lifestyles and were typically unsafe and rundown. I am speaking of neighborhoods such as Wicker Park, Bucktown, Humbolt Park, Irving Park, the South Loop area, and Cabrini Green. My case study in this essay is of the Cabrini Green housing project on the city's Near North Side.

Of those areas I have listed as marked for urban renewal and gentrification, Cabrini Green provides the most dramatic example of the detrimental effects of urban redevelopment, which has left a deep scar on the city. The urban renewal project that targeted Cabrini Green also included the Robert Taylor Homes and about a dozen other concentrated sites of public

housing in Chicago. The redevelopment of Chicago's public housing complexes in accordance with the Hope VI plan has gained more notoriety than that of the city's other neighborhoods because of the extensive relocation, displacement and violation of the rights of its residents.[114]

While the changes occurring in Cabrini-Green and in neighborhoods such as Wicker Park can all be described as a process of gentrification, there is an essential difference that is at work in this process: Cabrini-Green's redevelopment was directly supported and designed by government legislation in collaboration with a few appointed real estate developers while Wicker Park's was generated primarily by private investment that received few government incentives.[115] Adding to the portrait of severity that is painted of the demolition of Chicago's public housing complexes, is a deeply embedded racial discourse that caused many to claim that the redevelopment was not simply about fixing public housing but rather about the exercising of power over the Black and poor residing in these neighborhoods, who, incidentally, comprise almost a hundred percent of residents living in the public housing structures affected by these plans.

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[114] The urban redevelopment plan was designed by Mayor Richard J. Daley, Jr. and H.U.D. (The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development) as part of the U.S. government's Hope VI plan to redevelop dilapidated public housing and had a predetermined time-frame of ten years (which, incidentally, was disrupted by the protests of residents who were being displaced, several of whom still refuse to leave).

[115] The new units being built in and around Cabrini-Green are a mix of private and public development; however, the private housing and retail spaces being built receive public funds and government incentives. In the case of Wicker Park, there have been some government incentives given to those who entered into the latter stages of development, but overall the changes have occurred due to individuals who decided to take a chance to invest in inexpensive real estate with the hopes that if enough did so the area would become transformed.

The terms "renovation" or "redevelopment" include the notion of creating something new and destroying something already existing and the range of outcomes from the implementation of these procedures in a particular neighborhood depends primarily on the material and the experiential changes. On the one hand, there is the structural aspect of the neighborhood that undergoes transformation: things like the local grocery store, the church, the school, the parks (or other outdoor, public places where residents gather to interact and share their stories) and especially the homes of the residents. On the other hand, there are the experiential changes that occur in the neighborhood: demographic, architectural, and economic changes all contribute to a change in the "feel" or "style" of the neighborhood.

In the case of Cabrini Green, the high-rise buildings that made up much of the neighborhood were torn down to make way for multi-income housing in the form of three-story walkups and two-story townhouses. In the process, thousands of residents were relocated to other public housing sites or areas with affordable housing, providing developers with a rather clean slate on which to build the new housing units. The new units have been allocated to three categories: public housing, affordable units and market rate units. There are eleven private mixed-income projects being developed in and around the Cabrini-Green area which have a total of 1,244 units of which 254 (on average about 20-30% of each project site) are set aside as public housing units through negotiations between the CHA and the developers.[116] The 990 units not being set

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[116] I have researched several sites and books that address the redevelopment of the Cabrini-Green area and have found discrepancies among these figures, e.g., the website for the CHA lists a higher proportion of public units than that of the developers.

aside for public housing recipients are being leased or sold as affordable housing or market rate units. Those occupying the majority of the units will be White middle-class residents moving from other parts of the city or the suburbs.[117] Those allowed to move into the public housing units will be predominantly Black and are put through a rigorous screening process before they are able to receive one of the new units.[118]

Coupled with the screening process comes a new kind of surveillance of this segment of the population that was not achievable at the old Cabrini-Green housing project. The kind of centralized and concentrated planning that made it easy to prevent disruptions within Cabrini Green from spilling too far beyond its borders is becoming disassembled in the renovation process but in its stead is

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[117] This ratio of 30:70 was not decided randomly; it was developed according to Malcom Gladwell's idea of a "tipping point": the point at which the momentum creating a change cannot be stopped. In the case of these newly developed residences, it defines the point at which those who form the majority in a neighborhood or housing development feel uncomfortable in their surroundings (for a variety of reasons) and decide to move—e.g., "White flight," which is the phenomenon of Whites moving out of a neighborhood due to an increase in minority (often Black) residency. [Malcom Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How little things can make a big difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2000) 12]

[118] The following is an excerpt taken from the CHA website:
"What rules will residents have to follow to live in new mixed-income communities?
As CHA residents move into new mixed-income communities, they will experience some changes in housing rules. Eligibility requirements called "site specific criteria" will be established at each site. These criteria are simply standards, rules, or tests which property managers will use to assess any resident (public housing, affordable, or market rate) interested in moving into the new development. These criteria often include a review of the applicant's credit history and a criminal background check, drug testing, housekeeping or home visits, and an evaluation of a resident's employment and economic self-sufficiency record. These criteria build upon the CHA's existing admission and occupancy policies; they do not replace them. Site-specific criteria may also vary from one new community to another. Many property management offices will choose to adopt a site-specific criteria such as the one mentioned above to ensure a thriving mixed-income community." CHA website (December 2008) <http://www.thecha.org/relocation/faqs_main_reloc.html#faq4>.

being placed a perhaps equally if not better means of controlling the population. This is occurring through the placement of a select few residents of Cabrini Green in housing, the 20-30% I spoke of, with individuals who are considered "role models" and watch guards, the other 70%. The idea is that over time, the Cabrini residents, who have been generalized as being socially deviant, will mold to the social norms represented by the other residents, thereby making them less threatening.

I will not engage here all of the aspects that are problematic with this kind of logic but instead focus on how the mechanisms for surveillance are at work. Before the demolition of Cabrini Green, there was rampant crime which little was done about since the local police force decided that it was too dangerous to enter the area which had too many places for criminals to hide. That is to say, despite being centralized in planning and closed off to the surrounding area by virtue of its traffic patterns, Cabrini Green could not be easily monitored. For instance, the open landscaping provided no cover to those approaching the looming towers and the fencing placed over the open stairways provided ample cover to snipers who could see below quite well but were not easily seen from the street level. Now, with the current development of two or three story row houses all facing the street with an alley running along the backside of them, coupled with a mix of residential demographics, this area is much easier and safer to patrol since the police need only drive down the blocks and the neighbors now play an active role in the surveillance of their community.

After only a couple of years into the redevelopment project, the crime rate for this area has dramatically fallen. However, crime rates in other parts of the city and some of the suburbs have risen; often these are areas into which large

numbers of former housing project residents, such as the thousands from Cabrini Green, have been relocated.[119] One wonders why they had to move. Why were only a slim number of residents included among those who will enjoy this vibrantly renewed area? How much does this concept of the "tipping point" figure into the planning? Even today, we find in Chicago, as in many U.S. cities, decisions about the spaces where individuals are housed come down to discriminations based on race as well as urban design and development principles that separate the classes. What I want to claim here, though, is that in the case of public housing the classifications of race and class have become inseparable and as a result mutually reinforce borders that perpetuate the instance of segregation in the urban environment. With housing in the United States not considered as a right, even though it is one of our most basic needs as human beings, the door has remained open to use housing and urban planning as a tool for the expression of power.

As something viewed more as a privilege than as a right, housing has become a luxury that leaves millions to live in substandard, dangerous, and overcrowded buildings and neighborhoods. The first attempt made by the U.S. government to remedy this problem was with the 1937 Housing Act, which sought to improve the living conditions of the White working class (not those living in poverty) affected by the Depression. The ideal of creating affordable, livable housing for the working class has since evolved into the public housing crises we find in the large-scale housing projects notorious for their dilapidated

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[119] It also has to do with an over-concentration of parolees and ex-convicts moving into a select few of Chicago's neighborhoods; they are typically attracted to the lower-income housing opportunities (that they choose to live in or are placed in by the parole boards) or in order to take advantage of already established crime scenes.

structures, single mothers on welfare, and crime filled streets. Briefly put, the shift in public housing in the US occurred after the Second World War when the U.S. Department of Veteran Affairs (VA) and Federal Housing Authority (FHA) enabled the White middle-class, through the use of low-interest loans, to move out of public housing and into their own properties, the majority of which were located in the suburbs. This offer of home ownership and relocation out of urban slums was not extended to working-class Blacks, leaving them behind in increasingly all-Black neighborhoods that formed in the cities due to a combination of racist housing and loan policies and the migration of Black from the South.[120]

This left many Northern cities pockmarked with areas that had a high concentration of poor or working-class Blacks living in, at first, substandard housing and then, in the newly developed high-rise housing projects that helped to solidify the borders of these all-Black communities that persist today.

> Inner city ghettoes were centralized and highly rationalized; the larger proportion of the racialized poor had to settle for slum conditions marginalized at the city limits. The first effect turned out to be nothing short of 'warehousing' the racially marginalized; the second, no less than 'Negro removal.'[121]

High-rise housing projects began popping up during the 60s and 70s in working-class and low-income neighborhoods, crowding out the low-rise apartment buildings and townhouses inhabited by mostly White and immigrant working-class residents. The residents of the high-rise buildings were significantly Black, which, due to racial prejudices, led to a steady stream of non-Black residents in

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[120] Massey and Denton, 52-53.

[121] David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) 191.

these areas moving elsewhere. This is exactly what happened in the case of Cabrini-Green when in 1958, fifteen Cabrini-Extension and then in 1962, eight Green Homes high-rise buildings were added to the original row houses that were built in 1943.

Cabrini Green began as a success story in part due it the strict enforcement of housing laws that kept it clean and orderly. However, by the time the high-rises were built, the neighborhood had become 80% Black and the residents increasingly unemployed and poor. Crime began to escalate and the few non-Black residents started to move out and along with them many of the better-off Black families. This is the point at which many residents say Cabrini Green began to deteriorate, socially and physically. No longer a weigh-station for those among the lower economic layers of society, it had become a container for the welfare dependent.

The history of public housing projects such as Cabrini-Green stands as an example of how individuals in the United States do not possess equal housing rights due to two major factors: first, that housing is not considered a right and, second, that factors such as a person's racial profile and economic status combine with power structures that then support institutions such as housing segregation. Both factors work in tandem and I would claim that the former is actually an outcome of the latter. In this scenario we see the creation of distinct spaces for a group of individuals based on socially constructed profiles, spaces that confine and contain despite having no walls to hold them in.[122] Public housing, in some

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[122] In other texts, I have written about how there exist two kinds of barriers in the instance of segregation and public housing projects: the physical and the ideological. Briefly, the physical barriers are typically manufactured (e.g., streets, railroads) or natural (e.g., rivers, hills) and the ideological barriers, which I claim

ways, is the ideal institution: it is presented as a source of public welfare, it requires little maintenance since the inhabitants are held responsible for that, it is relatively contained without the use of high-tech surveillance and security technologies, and it creates generations of dependents. To sum it up in the words of Eleanor Holmes Norton, former chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "The ghetto is not simply a place. It has become a way of life"[123].

The Foucauldian analysis of segregation performed over the past chapter has allowed for us to how space is discursively produced and ordered and how racisms become institutionally normalized in and through these spatial configurations. Social spaces, and the ways in which they are divided or segregated, are made to seem natural by defining them in terms of race (i.e., by giving them a kind of rationality). In other words, social knowledge is informed by these differences that are created within social space.

> Power in the polis, and this is especially true of racialized power, reflects and refines the spatial relations of its inhabitants. Urban power, in turn, is a microcosm of the strengths and weaknesses of state. After all, social relations are not expressed in a spatial vacuum. Differences within urban structure—whether economic, political, cultural, or geographic—are in many ways magnified by and multiply the social hierarchies of power in and between cities, between town and country.[124]

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the individual carries as part of her body as well, are socially and personally manufactured.

[123] Chicago Tribune (Staff of the), *The American Millstone: An Examination of the Nation's Permanent Underclass* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc., 1986) 212.

[124] Goldberg, 185.

Social space is not something that is merely given, nor is it simply an effect of policy making and boundary mapping; rather, it is that which informs the way we view the other, the ways in which we interact with others in our society.

Placing a fence between two people, or peoples, is enormously significant to the way those on either side of the fence treat and perceive each other. This is especially the case when we are unfamiliar with this "other" and, with the presence of barriers, this unfamiliarity only grows, thereby breeding further misconceptions. The symbolism underlying such actions cannot be ignored, since it is these spatial symbols that inform the way we interact with others.

> Spatial control is not simply a reaction to natural divisions and social pathologies in the urban population but is constitutive of them…certain types of activity are criminalized—hence conceived as pathological or deviant—due to their geographic concentration in the city.[125]

Those who live outside Chicago's housing projects create "urban myths" about the everyday lives of those inside the projects that tend to be exaggerated or specious: e.g., that *everyone* who lives in Cabrini-Green must be degenerate since the majority of media reports about the neighborhood concern gang activity, drug dealing, gun-related violence, negligent single-mothers on welfare and so on and so forth. Such myths serve two main purposes for those living outside the housing project: first, they bridge a gap in their physical, social and psychological space which is divided up by the presence of Cabrini-Green and its inhabitants and, second, they allow for the perpetuation of the institution of segregation by presenting the need for barriers based on security concerns.

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[125] Goldberg, 197.

The play between inner and outer that occurs in the spatialization of racism that we see in the phenomenon of segregation is constantly shifting along with the values and discourses that inform the creation of the dividing line. What is definite however is that boundaries not only establish hegemony over the inner space that it is being confined but as well the outer space that it is at once confining the inner space and repelling away from it. The inner realm is not independent from the outer and vice versa no matter how much either wants to maintain its sense of control. Space is not static and fixed but rather fluid and changing with social discourses and the actions of individual bodies.

Furthermore, as space forms the setting for our everyday activities (including the formation of communities and cities), it is also, as Foucault notes, "fundamental in any exercise of power"[126]. For Foucault, the exercise of power is not so much a *what* as it is a *how*; that is to say, it concerns the operations, techniques, and tools that are used in creating mechanisms and strategies through which power operates. These strategies and mechanisms are used to shape space and the bodies that circulate within it. Power is certainly present in modern institutions such as prisons, factories, asylums and, I would add, public housing projects.[127]

Foucault, through his examples of the Panopticon and the mental asylum, suggested that the physical nature and arrangement of these places of confinement, of imprisonment, affect the physical stature of an individual as well as state of mind. He points out the connection between the behaviorists and empiricists in the 18th and 19th centuries who firmly believed in the power of the

[126] "Space, Knowledge, Power," 345.

[127] *Discipline and Punish*, 227-8.

environment over the behavior of the individual, the institutional settings and mechanisms that were created to induce or correct behavior, and the effects that their experiments had on other areas of society, e.g., the family home. It does not require any stretch of the imagination to posit public housing, ghettos, or any other kind of habitat space for that matter, as also participating in the same logic that lies behind the functioning of a prison or asylum.

PART II

SOCIO-SPATIAL DIVISIONS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER 3

SEGREGATION: THE PARADOX THAT DIVIDES AND UNITES OUR CITIES

> Cities are good or bad because of us and not because of the matter with which we made them.[128]

Our engagement with the cities we live in produces experiences that are often taken for granted. In fact, we may spend a lifetime living in a city unaware of the way by which its form has shaped our experiences, our choices, our dreams. This is certainly the case in a city that is well planned; a city that affords[129] its inhabitants the greatest urban experience possible. What the city affords is an opening, a place of possibility, of choice, of movement and it does so as something which itself is moving, unfinished, evolving but always with a constant underlying structure which allows for its inhabitants to, nevertheless,

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[128] Christopher Tunnard, *The City of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953) 45-46.

[129] I am using the word "afford" in the sense provided by J. J. Gibson, who defines the term "affordance" in terms of the environment: "The affordances of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill. The verb *to afford* is found in the dictionary, but the noun *affordance* is not. I have made it up. I mean by it something that refers both to the environment and the animal in a way that no existing term does. It implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment." [James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986) 127] It is due to this final statement in the quote that I choose to use the term "affordance" in my project, the aim of which is to bring attention to this relationship between us and our environment that is more than simply that of container and contained.

remain grounded and oriented.[130] Henri Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space* and his writings on cities, defines this urban experience, or urbanity, as arising out of the mixing of several elements that include (but not exclusively): frequent contact with others, heterogeneity (e.g., cultural or ethnic), artistic artifacts (e.g., monuments), unpredictability, public performance (public activity is really essential overall), and perceiving space using all senses.[131] When visiting cities where this is not the case, we may not be able to firmly put our finger on it, but there is a sense that something is amiss or missing—that there is a discord in the "rhythm" or the "feel" of the city.

Spatially distinct areas exist in all large cities as a result of the organization of space according to use. When a city becomes too ordered, we begin to sense discord in the urban environment. That is to say, the homogenization and strict, systematic ordering of cities work against the natural rhythms of city development and life. The ordering of space allows for mechanisms of power to assert themselves through these spaces by controlling the flow of information, services, goods and people that are located within them, resulting in struggles that often occur at places of transition (passages) and encounter, places at which private and public use meet.[132] Thus, what we find in the urban environment is a dynamic energy that arises out of this struggle between rationally formed systems of order and everyday use.

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[130] Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture: Presence, Language, Place* (Milan: Skira, 2000) 10-11.

[131] See, Henri Lefebvre: *The Production of Space* (1991), *Writings on Cities* (1996), and *The Urban Revolution* (2003).

[132] Lefebvre (1991), 385-393.

What concerns me for this immediate project is how this struggle affects the act of dwelling: cities zone and plan areas for neighborhood formations and kinds of housing according to various factors (economic, topographic, historical, racial, class) and the factor that is of particular interest for this analysis is the class and race of the inhabitants. Urban zoning practices can protect a neighborhood from being encroached upon by industry or large, busy thoroughfares, but it can also lead to the deterioration of a neighborhood by concentrating public housing in areas with high levels of poverty and a large minority presence (i.e., creating pockets segregated based on racial or class demographics).

As a phenomenon with considerable power to change the look and feel of the urban environment, racial and class segregation is a leading contributor to the creation of pockets of seclusion in extremely degraded parts of our cities that we commonly refer to as ghettos. The segregation of denizens within a city can often be traced back to housing practices and laws that are biased against those belonging to particular racial, ethnic, religious, class or gender groups.[133] So while segregation can be understood as a method of simply discriminating between things and organizing space accordingly, for instance, between residential and business uses, there is also the potential for segregation to be used as a method of discrimination against people who are placed at the margins of society due to how they are characterized or perceived by society. What is thereby needed is a distinction to be made between segregation and "separation" since it is entirely possible to segregate a city into various use areas without

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[133] For instance see, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1993).

losing the fluidity of the urban environment, i.e., without blocking areas off from each other, cutting off flows of communication between the parts, to still be able to create a unified city among the parts.

If we look closely at the way cities are configured, then we find that the physical partitioning of the urban environment is not so rare. For example, in Chicago, highways, parks, waterways and train tracks are used to separate neighborhoods from one another and, while there are still ways to get around these barriers, it is not always easy, especially when there are added barriers coming from social discourses about religion, race, economic status and so forth that act as reinforcers of the physical barriers. Another example can be the way public transportation lines are drawn up. In areas of racial and economic segregation there tend to be fewer transportation lines (e.g., buses, subways, or taxi cabs) that pass through or near these neighborhoods, making movement from one's neighborhood to the rest of the city more difficult.

Dividing up the landscape occurs simply when we stand and create the coordinates of left and right or up and down based on the position of our body. Spatial organization departs from this primary act leading to the creation of paths and destinations "which establish manifold relations of 'interior-exterior;' thus the 'thresholds,' which separate and connect zones"[134]. The creation of an interior and an exterior belongs to the idea of boundary. A boundary can be as simple as the edge of a sidewalk or fence along a yard, anything that designates the beginning of one thing and the end of another. The boundaries that I am concerned with in the following chapters are architecturally, as well as epistemologically, formed. They exist as topographical subdivisions in the urban

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[134] Norberg-Schulz (2000), 189.

environment and as discourses that divide individuals. These are boundaries that represent schisms rather than connections and are set in place to control movement rather than simply organize it. They are boundaries that not only separate but segregate, a difference that one not only sees but also feels.

I use the term "feel" because we sense the space we find ourselves in with our entire bodies, not just visually, and this felt bodily experience quite often gets translated into or accompanied by an emotion (e.g., when we enter a business district only to find ourselves surrounded on all sides by looming skyscrapers, we may experience a feeling of anxiety or of being overwhelmed). In the instance of segregation, we see not only spatial definition between the area being segregated and the rest of the city but we also experience boundaries with our bodies in the sense that there is a bodily restriction that accompanies the spatial restriction—via lines that keep the "other" segregated on their "side." Boundaries that segregate parts of the population from one another need not be completely closed in all aspects of everyday life nor for all individuals who live in relation to the boundary. Richard Alba's distinction between "blurred" and "bright" boundaries offers a means of finding the connections that occur through these boundaries and in so doing, perhaps a means of restoring boundaries that segregate to merely boundaries that separate.[135]

The distinctions made between inner and outer as well as public and private space contribute to this restricted feeling, which may, in extreme cases, lead to a kind of silencing of which I find there are two in relation to spatial

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[135] Richard Alba, "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v. 28 n. 1 (January 2005) 20-49.

restriction. Spatial and bodily restriction, as exhibited in segregation, is the first kind of silencing that I want to address. The second kind of silence refers to the discourse that informs and is concerned with this first act of silencing. An understanding of the way by which these three elements—space, body and discourse—are in play with one another in an urban environment is needed to analyze the practices of urban and community planners and comprehend their lasting effects on the urban landscape; specifically, to disclose the methods employed by planners that have played a formative role in the establishment of ghettoes and other kinds of segregated areas in cities (e.g., *banlieues*, *favelas*, etc.)[136], which have left a lasting stain on the urban landscape and the minds of its inhabitants.

As such, the sense of segregation that I am referring to in this analysis involves the concepts of choice, motility (freedom of movement in one's lived space)[137], and alienation. In terms of choice, it is important to consider whether those living in an area that is taken to be segregated are there voluntarily, in that they chose to live in this location and/or this type of housing, or involuntarily, with the decision to live where they do based not on a personal consideration of needs and desires but instead on external circumstances and forces (economic, social, cultural) that have acted upon their own personal circumstances in a way

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[136] The fact that in most languages there exists a word to describe areas segregated from the rest of the city due to its "minority" composition is interesting in and of itself. It seems to attest to the fact that there is a more general social discourse or way of perceiving things that is informing the way cities are designed, regardless of local history, culture, architectural styles, and so forth.

[137] We could extend this to the sense given by Merleau-Ponty to the term bodily motility, i.e., movements that are immediate and purposive.

that negates their ability to choose.[138] The first kind of segregation, which I will call 'voluntary segregation,' has been seen in instances of the formation of communities by immigrant Chinese, Vietnamese, or other Asian groups.[139]

The second kind of segregation referred to here is one that expressly limits freedom, choice, and opportunity[140] for a segment of the population (silencing them in a kind of suspension), thus leaving them in a rather precarious situation

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[138] While I do not intend to make an argument based solely on will or choice, I do find that it is necessary to discuss this dimension of the problem of segregation since there are instances in which those with the means to live in more desirable areas are, nevertheless, relegated to neighborhoods not of their choosing because of various non-economic factors at play (e.g., ethno-racial prejudice). In addition, we find that a moderate amount of public housing or subsidized housing also exists in more "fashionable" parts of cities in which those who are discriminated against also live. Furthermore, due to the increased cost of living in cities, many individuals (who are typically not discriminated against in their society) are forced to seek housing in "less desirable" areas in or outside the city, areas that are typically perceived as reserved for ethno-racial minorities and persons of the lower-class.

[139] I am not entirely sure I agree with the sociological findings that make this claim since in reality those of such origin tend to cluster into "self-segregated" communities due to practical needs, which the outlying communities are unable or unwilling to provide for them. However, looking at the formation of Asian communities in countries other than the United States, it seems that they follow a similar pattern, whereby they set up a tightly-knit community that is fairly self-sustaining and typically linguistically, financially (in terms of employment, businesses, etc.), and socially cut off from the rest of the society, whereby they not only spend and socialize in their own community but also purchase most of the goods sold in the shops from their home country or other Asian countries, rather than products produced in the region into which they have immigrated. As well, the money that they do spend in the neighborhood tends to get funneled back into their "home" countries. This has begun to create problems in various "host" societies where there is a growing sentiment that Asians are not contributing to the local community but rather extracting from and interfering with their economies, e.g., New York City's Korean grocers.

[140] The concept of a "limitation of opportunities" is essential to understanding the phenomenon of segregation. Other limitations to emerge from this primary one include: limitations of the will, identity formation, social participation, and of goal setting. What they all point to is a limitation of horizon, of future-orientedness; in short, to stagnation, to being stuck in place.

that presents experiences quite different than those of the surrounding population. The lack of autonomy that those who are placed into segregated neighborhoods experience affects their perception (of themselves and others), the perception others have of them, the formation of their identity (both self and externally given), their motility (socially, economically, spatially, bodily, and so forth), and their experiences in general. The fact that they are not autonomous harkens back to the sediment of social paradigms and discourses that underlie the practice of segregation itself, informing it while providing it with shape (form). It is in these paradigms and discourses that the conflict between self and other emerges along with dichotomies such as interior/exterior. A rupture in the social fabric precedes each phenomenon of segregation, one that pervades deep into the social discourse and into the physical landscape itself and into the bodies of the inhabitants.

While we can speak of the phenomenon of segregation in a general sense, the actual occurrence of it on a particular site calls for a further distinction to be made since each site bears the traces of its own particular history. In the United States there are ghettos[141]; India has its enormous slums that hang onto the edges of Bombay and New Delhi; in Brazil, the expansive network of hovels that surround cities are called *favelas*; while in France, they have a special name reserved for them, *banlieue*. These terms have often been incorrectly used interchangeably. Thus, I will provide a brief summary of their major differences in meaning.

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[141] There are also slums but the terms became conjoined, and eventually the term ghetto was used as the name for a place that is not only severely dilapidated but also socially segregated.

For an area to be called a *ghetto*, there must be a portion of the population that is homogeneously dominant over the rest (ethnically, religiously, etc.), but this local majority must be an overall minority in the context of the larger area. Furthermore, this group must have experienced public housing discrimination. Often those living in ghettos are of a lower economic status, but this is not a criteria for an area to be considered as such. Instead, it is the term *slum* that is used to describe an area that is segregated based solely on economic criteria and not on racial, ethnic, or religious criteria as in the case of a ghetto. In French, a *banlieue* is a suburb. However, the meaning has now shifted such that, depending on who is speaking or what town is being referred to, a *banlieue* can refer to a suburb in general or, taking on a negative connotation, to the notoriously "dangerous" suburbs (e.g., Les Tarterêts and Aulnay-sous-Bois) in which dense concentrations of ethnic minorities are housed. A *favela*, like a South African shanty town or Latin American *barrio*, is formed by unauthorized settlements ("squatting") of severely impoverished people who live in very basic, improvised dwellings made of scrap materials and often lacking basic services such as running water, electricity, sanitation and telephone service.[142]

Quite often, these areas are filled with people performing basic services in the city around which they grow, individuals engaged in illegal activities, or those coming from the countryside in hopes of making money in the "big city" but never having found anything. What is common to all of these places is the fact that they are areas that are disconnected in several ways (the main one being

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[142] R. J. Johnston, Derek Gordon, Geraldine Pratt, Michael Watts (Eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, (London: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2000): Derek Gregory, "Ghetto," 312-313; R. J. Johnston, "Slum," 745; R. J. Johnston, "*favela*," "shanty town" and "barrio," 783-784. Thierry Paquot, et. al., "Banlieue," *Dictionnaire La ville et l'urbai*n (Paris: Economica, 2006) 27-29.

spatially) from the larger area, they are inhabited by individuals whose lives are spent fighting against biases and most often poverty, and they perpetuate the isolation of those living in them from the rest of society. Another important thing to note is that the criteria that define each of these terms, or at least the symptoms found within each kind of area, are often overlapping.

Though each of these places bears its own signification depending on its specific locale, what underlies all of these terms is essentially the idea that there is an area within a larger field that is considered distinct from it (economically, socially, culturally, etc.). In turn, this physical distinction and the accompanying social distinction may or may not contribute towards the disempowerment of those who reside within their boundaries. Often it does entail the disempowerment of the individual by the system (political or social), but sometimes within these places there are other systems in place that actually help residents based on community or cultural ties that become established: for example, the Jewish or Asian communities that form social or economic networks, providing help to those in their community when outside systems fail.

The name of a place (be it, for example, the name of a housing project, ghetto or simply the term ghetto) highlights the physical distinction between it and the surrounding area and the social distinction between its residents and the rest of society to whom they are being compared. Arising out of this distinction is a stigmatization that is applied to the site itself and the inhabitant. Therefore, even when one leaves the site, the association is still made between the inhabitant and that site as if they were inseparable. The stigmatization is formed based primarily on public opinion but also on experience. In other words, when I speak of ghettos to someone in the U.S., they immediately get some idea of what

I am talking about even if they have never seen one. Typically, their first response is a visceral one, rising out of some remembrance of what they have heard about such places and their inhabitants, more often than not, negative in tone.

Thus, for many, their knowledge about places such as Cabrini Green and Les Tarterêts comes second-hand: media reports, hearsay, social discourse and academic studies all work to create memories of places from which we create an image of something without ever seeing it first-hand. That the real and imagined distance existing between these neighborhoods (as well as their inhabitants) and the rest of the city does not completely cut off flows of information (even if it is not entirely reliable) shows that there is no distance great enough nor barriers great enough to entirely block out our knowledge and perception of the existence of other spaces, places, persons.

Any analysis that attempts to understand the phenomenon of segregation will have to take these nuances into consideration, for what we tend to see in academic writings is a segregation of segregation, i.e., seeing the phenomenon as a series of parts. While making it seemingly easier to tackle, the reduction of segregation to specific sites or groups of individuals only hinders the analytic process by harboring on specifics when it is the underlying structure that upholds the phenomenon that requires dismantling. Furthermore, the reductions that occur are not inherent to the structures or people being analyzed; rather, they arise out of other analyses and attempts to construct a coherent narrative of the existence of segregation.

Thus, we must remain critical of the categories that are analyzed, such as ghetto or slums, Black or Asian, Jewish or Muslim, since these categories may

either exaggerate or understate the actual identity of a place or group of individuals. For example, to speak of a neighborhood such as West Rogers Park in Chicago as being primarily Jewish on the one hand, overstates the demographic representation of those who consider themselves Jewish since their presence was actually a minority but an extremely visible one and, on the other hand, reduces several distinct Jewish groups into one common identity that does not exist at the neighborhood level.

As well, I found during my research that the studies performed on the instance of segregation in the U.S. tend to focus on only certain cities for their case studies (New York and Los Angeles wind up being the two main ones with Chicago sometimes thrown in as a third), leaving others (most often smaller towns and cities) out of the picture—as well as international cities. The data that is revealed during these studies are assumed to be applicable then to other instances of segregation, despite there being historical, physical, social, and other differences that would make such an application inappropriate. Furthermore, by focusing on the larger urban metropolises, these studies create a myth that segregation is more endemic to these kinds of cities than to others when we find that this is not the case; for instance, St. Louis, Cleveland, Milwaukee and other mid-size Midwestern cities contain segregated housing areas, as well.

Lastly, there is a kind of reductionism that occurs at the level of analysis whereby a scholastic divide occurs among the various academic fields such that what we find are analyses in urban planning that focus on the urban landscape as a material object (buildings, streets, open green spaces, and so forth); political scientists, sociologists, economists and others hone in on the economic influences on the distribution of land and development opportunities (loans, tax incentives

for certain land uses, employment opportunities, etc.) as well as political maneuvers (zoning, distribution of social resources, etc.); and lastly, there are some, like the historians and criminologists, who look at the lives of the inhabitants of these areas (telling their stories, providing a historical and sociological context for their marginal status in society, offering analysis of census tracts, depicting events that occur in these neighborhoods such as riots and community projects).

Each of these facets offers something to the picture that we try to form of segregation and have proven to be essential for disclosing and understanding the phenomenon, but what I want to argue here is that, taken separately, they pose a weak opposition to the momentum caused by segregation which maintains itself despite the solutions offered by such studies. In order to present a venerable opponent to segregation, one needs to take into consideration the phenomenon of social exclusion from each of these aspects (the economic, political, and cultural) in addition to which I would like to add the experiential aspect. This latter aspect would introduce a philosophical perspective that is missing in those provided by the social sciences, a perspective that privileges the embodied being who inhabits the spaces being considered. The philosophical area that seems best suited to address this particular kind of experience is phenomenology.

Establishing a phenomenological base for analysis, I believe, would help offset the problems that arise when one relies only on the other aspects for disclosure. For instance, each of the fields of research mentioned above have directly or indirectly informed the discourse that led to the new strategy of creating mixed-income areas, whereby those who were once grouped together in housing projects or ghettos are now "integrated" with others of different race

and class backgrounds. In using the term "integrated" here, I am referring to the stated goals of urban renewal projects that have used the idea of creating a mixed-income neighborhood as a means for "integrating" those who have historically been marginalized by society and who have been displaced by inequalities in housing development and access. This does not mean that these projects will be or have been successful in reaching this goal.

Part of the problem with attaining the goal of integration and creating a mixed-income neighborhood is inherent in the difficulty of defining what integration is; that is, what it would look like. There is no set measure for what constitutes an integrated neighborhood; nor does any single meaning exist for the term. Ingrid Gould Ellen addresses this difficulty in discussing the lack of specificity in popular and academic literature for the term "racial integration." She attributes this to the fact that "most researchers exploring racial patterns of settlement have focused not on evaluating integration, but on measuring segregation"[143]. That is to say, research on racial desegregation can either focus on the process or the results, and the parameters for integration will depend on which one is chosen:

> In the case of integration, one primarily concerned with process would likely describe as integrated a city in which all households choose their neighborhoods freely and without regard to their own race or the race of their neighbors. If, in contrast, the focus is on outcomes, one will take racial integration to be more about resulting racial distributions, without regard to how they came about.[144]

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[143] Ingrid Gould Ellen, *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The prospects for stable racial integration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) 14.

[144] Ingrid Gould Ellen, 15.

This method, creating mixed-income residencies, has been highly attractive to real-estate developers, public housing authorities, city planners, and those advocating for the desegregation of cities, but it too has been shown to be failing in the struggle against segregation, as I will explain in the two case studies that follow. Once, I too, agreed that such a method would be *the* solution, but I have since come to see that a solution cannot be found by merely rearranging space and the persons living in it to obtain a desired result without also taking into consideration the way in which people experience and use their living spaces. In this way, I agree with Gould that in instances of desegregation, one must make a clear decision concerning the measurement of success, since this in turn effects the process of desegregation itself. However, I do not believe that one must choose process over result-focused methods and evaluations.

I would argue that the failure of mixed-income communities lies in the fact that the planning involved in creating them still does not recognize the person, as a whole, who is to inhabit these neighborhoods—it tends to focus on assumed living space needs (size, layout, etc.), aesthetic desires, and personal necessities (safety, local schools, shops, etc.). Instead, the groups that are being integrated are taken in part and reduced to a few key commonalities (perceived by planners, who get their cues quite often from social discourse, more often than self-designated) so that each part can be matched to a set of needs. Then, by putting the list of needs of each set along with other criteria determined necessary for the demographics of the neighborhood (which could be based on social norms, traditional methods of planning, environmental issues, and so forth) and mixing them together, we get a resulting neighborhood that speaks to several stereotypes but rarely the individuals living in them. For example, in Les

Tarterêts a bicycle path circuit has been made around its periphery but few residents own bicycles.

In relying on abstract criteria for determining residents' needs, those involved in the planning and development of mixed-income neighborhoods are merely creating data sets that will in the end help with their evaluation of whether an area is integrated or not. However, I believe that this is what is leading to an inability to then determine what constitutes a "sufficiently integrated" neighborhood. That is to say, the data cannot determine when it is sufficiently integrated; only those living in the place can, and this requires a focus on process. That is to say, the data should not determine whether an area is integrated or not as it will ultimately not reveal what really exists at the street level. Integration is not simply about numbers; it is also about the sense of place that is possessed by those living in a neighborhood or city.

Mixed communities, as a planning design, such as the one that is replacing the site where Cabrini Green sat (and parts still remain), were viewed as a positive move for those living in substandard public housing and who were offered the chance to live in the new housing developments: they were able to improve their housing situation and stay in their neighborhood, thereby maintaining some sense of continuity and community. However, others living in public housing situations who are not offered the ability to move into these new communities are being dislocated and at the same time are at risk of being placed in areas where they are not necessarily welcome (they might be "at home" in the new development area itself, but leaving this space and venturing into the surrounding neighborhood may put them at risk of discrimination and violence). Either way, several studies have found that integration methods that are

imposed externally do little to truly achieve an integrated neighborhood, and, quite often only exacerbate the living situations of both the majority and the minority residents. In the next chapter, I will discuss this further in terms of the difficulties resulting from the relocation of public housing residents in Chicago.

To create viable solutions for rejuvenating rundown peripheral neighborhoods with large housing estates, Peter Hall suggests that the focus should be on both 'inward-looking' solutions and 'outward-looking' solutions, which would link the deprived neighborhoods or areas economically, socially and physically to the rest of the city.[145] According to Hall, inward-looking approaches stress "housing improvements, tenant participation and community stabilisation, local economic initiatives, and estate-based area-targeting and institutional structures" while outward-looking approaches "seek to overcome physical and social isolation directly, improve access to employment, and place more emphasis on strategic, city-wide or 'linked' partnerships".[146]

In other words, proposed solutions must look not only at the needs of individual neighborhoods (be they the rundown neighborhoods that are to be renovated or new mixed communities just being formed) but also at how these neighborhoods can become functioning members of the rest of the city (or the social fabric). The tendency is to look at neighborhoods in isolation even though in reality they are rarely isolated from the surrounding area (even those

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[145] Peter Hall, "Regeneration policies for peripheral housing estates: Inward- and outward-looking approaches," *Urban Studies,* v.34 n.5-6, (1997) 873-890. I recommend that the reader take a look at his "Table 1" (886), which outlines different inward- and outward looking regeneration policies to get a sense of the scope of each approach.

[146] Hall, 873-874.

neighborhoods which I am referring to as segregated). Though, the two approaches should be implemented together, Hall points out, their application involves overcoming a few difficulties that could potentially arise over conflicts of interest and strategy: e.g., there is the possibility for tensions to surface between the social goals of the inward-looking approach and the economic goals of the outward-looking approach whereby local needs are not fully represented by city-wide or regional economic plans.[147] Since individuals react and interact with not only their immediate environment but those that form a kind of outer circle of their lived space as well, it is nevertheless important that attempts are made to apply both inward- and outward-looking approaches to the creation of regeneration policies because "a city is the sum of all its parts, and more besides"[148].

When it comes to attempting to design neighborhoods for those who live in poverty or are marginalized due to their minority status in the society, Holt-Jensen suggests that: "to find better solutions in housing policies and administration we need to get a deeper understanding of the relations between 'the self' and 'place'; we need geographical place analyses based on an understanding of individual relational space as seen through the eyes of those with meagre personal resources"[149]. Here, the term 'place' is used as opposed to space since it refers to a kind of space that is deeply connected to our experience

[147] Hall, 887-888.

[148] Hall, 888.

[149] Holt-Jensen (2001), 3.

of the world, to events, to a particular kind of spatial relation that is more intimate than space and more personal than site.

CHAPTER 4

CABRINI-GREEN: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE GILDED WALL

> The most compelling and angry fact about the underclass in America's cities is that the focus is almost entirely on the black family: unemployed black men and their unemployed sons, illegitimate children and their teenage mothers, young boys drifting into or recruited for crime. Racial separation has transformed and hardened urban life. Only now, with the problems of the cities in an acute stage, is society beginning to face the truths and results of racism, government failure, welfare dependency and crime.[150]

> One thing 'bout the ghetto you don't have to hurry, it'll be there tomorrow so brother don't you worry.[151]

How far have American cities come since the first days of tenement housing built as functional units to temporarily house the massive number of immigrants entering the country in the mid to late 1800's? While sanitation and organization, and even housing safety, have come a long way, the state of public housing, nevertheless, remains well below standards deemed acceptable by those living in the public housing structures and also by those living outside those communities (the government, religious organizations, neighbors, and so on). What is it about public housing that allows us to turn a blind eye to its substandard nature while with the other eye see enough to criticize it for being a blemish on the urban landscape, a waste of public money, and a source of what

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[150] Chicago Tribune (Staff of), 211.

[151] Rick James, "Ghetto Life," *Street Songs*, 1981.

has gone wrong in our cities? This question is immensely complex, embroiled in issues surrounding race, gender, economics, politics, culture, societal norms, ethics, etc. From the start, public housing has been a paradox desperately in need of a solution, and, while the solutions offered and tested have made in most instances at least a superficial difference, at the heart of it we still find that we remain unable to definitively prescribe a remedy that will afford humane housing for every member of society regardless of economic or social status.

As such, this analysis of public housing in the United States will commence by looking at whom such structures are housing (race, class, gender are primary classifications to take into consideration for this particular study) and, furthermore, where these structures are built (on the periphery of cities, crammed into the center or into enclaves segregated from the rest of the population—i.e., those who do not need to rely on government aid or low rent housing). These two aspects of my analysis concerning the "who" and the "where" of public housing, form a substantial part of the matrix that supports the practice of segregation that in turn leads to uncovering other aspects of the matrix that prove to be more elusive or subtle.

By beginning my investigation in this chapter with a focus on the resident and their place of residence, I am forming a correspondence between a bodily and everyday experience of space to the kind of philosophical analysis performed in the first half of this book that was centered on the fundamental relationship between the body and lived space. This is done to formulate an argument for the inclusion of a consideration by those involved in the urban redevelopment process of both the material and the philosophical dimensions of creating housing (a place to dwell); that is to say, to include not only a discussion

of the material specifications and choices and site locations but also the kinds of activities and lifestyles that will be expressed in these new spaces.

We find a similar method taken up by Heidegger in *Being and Time* (1927) and in "Building, Dwelling, Thinking" (1951), in which he explores the relationship between human beings and space and the relationship between space and place. Out of his analysis of these two relationships, Heidegger composes a triad linking human beings, space and place that is centered on the idea of dwelling: "The human's relation to places, and through places to space, inheres in his dwelling"[152]. Contrary to Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger's account of the relationship between the human being and its environment, its space and place, focuses on the concept of 'Being' rather than the lived body of the subject.

In presenting Being (*Dasein*) as that which is "being-in-the-world," Heidegger is attempting to avoid what he argues is simply a relation of containment that results when one considers, as Aristotle did, the body or some physical thing as being-in some space. The latter does not allow for the kind of existential being-in that is needed for *Dasein* to express its predisposition towards inhabiting and dwelling. That is to say, dwelling and inhabiting require a kind of being-in that is more than simply an occupying of space. The creation of place entails a *being-with*, rather than a *being-in*, the world, to *be alongside* the world instead of merely locating oneself in it.[153] By having *Dasein* in an existential relationship with space and place, Heidegger is connecting the *who* with the

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[152] Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings*, ed. David Farrell Krell (London: Routledge, 1993) 359.

[153] Edward S. Casey (1998), 243-245.

where, something which appears later in the thinking of Merleau-Ponty (despite his emphasis on the body and flesh) and, to some extent, that of Foucault.

Thus, in analyzing the built environment, a few of the more essential questions to pose are: does the structure isolate or unify the area and its inhabitants, will the housing and its surrounding environs be able to afford its inhabitants the basic necessities required for everyday life, and what is the structure being used for? The answers and the approach we take to answering these questions depend on several factors, but one basic distinction that should be accounted for is that between public and mass housing on the one hand and private housing on the other hand. The ways by which public and mass housing are developed and designed differ from private housing in terms of the scope of, social implications and reactions to, bureaucratic formalities entailed in, the funding available for, and the symbolic nature of the project.[154]

Much to their credit, I would like to say that urban planners often do take the questions I have posed above into account when embarking on a new project. However, I believe there is a difference between how they think about such questions and how those having to live with the results consider them. In the case of public housing, the planners are thinking in terms of short-term housing solutions meant to be stopping over points for those in need of temporary public assistance. However, the reality that we have come to realize is that public assistance in the U.S. is quite often not a temporary thing but instead something

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[154] Here, I have only provided a highlight of those aspects that are involved in each kind of housing situation, choosing those that I find to be of greatest significance in marking the distinction while maintaining a sense of what is essential to the development and planning of each kind of housing (public, mass and private).

used to subsist on over the course of one's lifetime and even over generations of related dependants. William Julius Wilson, Director of the Joblessness and Urban Poverty Research Program at Harvard University, used to refer to those who remain dependent on welfare as part of the "permanent underclass"[155]. For this group of individuals, temporary housing does not *sustain* them; instead, it merely *contains* them. In other words, although planners do consider how to house the urban poor, it must be made clear that there is no *one* way to do so. Instead, what we find, and what is already realized in the private housing sector, is that there is a range of housing types that can be built because there are many ways to dwell.

This is not to say that those in the private housing sector always dwell in a way that is reflective of their style and character, but that there is more opportunity for them to find or create a place for themselves that represents who they are, as opposed to those who are dependent on welfare and public housing who must choose from a more limited spectrum of housing options, if there is a choice at all. How then can we create greater freedom in housing options for those of meager economic means and for those who have been historically segregated within society? To answer this question, I propose that we start by

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[155] This concept was once used by William Julius Wilson to describe those individuals in society who were not only poor and unemployed but also in a situation that prevented them, for many reasons, from moving out of the state of poverty and unemployment. Wilson no longer uses this term, since its appropriation by former U.S. President Ronald Reagan for his Republican, neo-liberalist anti-welfare agenda during the 1980s. Instead, the terms "distressed poor" or "people living in extremely precarious situations" is used to describe those who fall below the poverty line and are unable to become gainfully employed. This is in distinction to the term "working poor," which is used to describe those persons who are employed but, nevertheless, remain locked in a state of poverty that they are unable to work their way out of. For Wilson's term "underclass" see, William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged. The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

looking at the history of how the poor and marginalized have been housed and located in cities: this includes looking at the mechanisms that informed the shape of their housing, the effects on the urban environment, and the effects on the residents.

This chapter, which is complimentary to the one on Les Tarterêts, begins with an overview of the evolution of public housing in the United States over the past one hundred or so years (focusing primarily on the policies, structural advancements, urban planning trends, and changes in the inhabitants of these houses) and moves on to critically engage the current public housing plan in place (Hope VI) with the hope that some light may be shed on why the United States has been unable to answer the question of how to adequately and humanely house its urban poor. In turn, this will be anchored by an exploration of Cabrini-Green: a housing project on Chicago's Near North Side, whose demolition began in 1995 and which is being replaced by a wide-scale rehabilitation project for mixed-income housing and area development on the site and its surrounds.

Cabrini-Green provides an excellent example of how we have finally come to recognize that housing is more than simply shelter but also involves the building of a community, yet fail to understand what the term "community" means. The destruction of Cabrini-Green is simply more than that of its buildings: it is also that of its people and the community that they struggled to form. The new "community" being constructed on its remains and the adjacent area does not complement the community structure that had existed nor does it provide fertile ground for the former inhabitants of Cabrini-Green to form a new

one. The concept of "community" is essential to understanding public housing life although it rarely receives attention in rehabilitation projects such as this one.

Community and neighborhood are two terms that are frequently interchanged; yet they are not interchangeable. The major difference between them is that a neighborhood is a physical entity that has a perceptually definable form and components (edges/political organization/hierarchies/etc) while a community speaks of social ties (linkage), spiritual[156] systems and mnemonic boundaries. The neighborhood, as something geographically localizable, seeks definition for physical purposes and functions upon equality of presence and benefit sharing (it tries to create uniformity in unity) while the community responds to the unevenness of humanity within the bonds of affection (linear or reiterative) that are transcendent and multi-locational (migrant populations are a good example). For instance, we find that Africans living in a *banlieue* of Paris will have a mailing address that defines their location in France and allows them to be found by immigration authorities but at the same time they will live in such a way that they remain associated with the village life (or community) that they left in Africa—this affiliation may even grow stronger while they live in the new country.

The concept of neighborhood is, nevertheless, related to that of community as a neighborhood can have several communities. However, a community does not necessarily make a neighborhood. Attempts are always

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[156] The term "spiritual" is meant here in the sense of that which is immaterial, yet not something above and beyond the material world; rather, it connects us to the material world through our essential nature. This is something almost akin to what Heidegger had in mind when we wrote *Die Armut* [*La pauvreté*] (1945) about the concepts of the spiritual and poverty as found in the work of Hölderlin.

made to transform the neighborhood into something that more closely resembles a community, but it ultimately fails since that which forms a community is much more spontaneous, abstract and irregular than the legislative, concrete form that is needed to encase it.[157] Though, there can still form shared identities among members of a neighborhood that are based on their location of residence; whether or not such ties are strong enough to be called a community are debatable. For instance, there are those who choose to live in gated communities that provide a sense of membership to those living inside, but it is typically a membership based on socio-economic status.

Unplanned communities such as those are less likely to be able to produce any kind of neighborhood-wide affiliation that can be shared amongst residents. Even in cases where it does, e.g., in segregated communities, the ties that bind residents and exclude those considered outside of the neighborhood/community are not lasting. Therefore, although attempts have been made to form neighborhoods based on a community model, they fail to achieve the level of socialization that communities have and which maintains their existence though

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[157] However, while neighborhoods are considered structured and communities more spontaneous, there is, nevertheless, a structure that exists to support every community, and it is this that distinguishes it from society. The distinction between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*) is traditionally understood by sociologists as that of, on the one hand, a mechanical society and, on the other hand, an organic society. For an interesting discussion of this difference in the context of new forms of urban communities see, Joseph Bensman and Arthur J. Vidich, "Race, Ethnicity, and New Forms of Urban Community," *Metropolitain Communities: New forms of urban sub-communties*, eds. J. Bensman and A. Vidich, (NY: Franklin Watts, 1975) 196-208.

it should be pointed out that both communities and neighborhoods require maintenance and a sense of commitment from its members.[158]

Community, for those who lived in the confines of Cabrini-Green, is what organized their daily lives, enabled them to cope and survive, despite the severely challenging circumstances, and offered a means of identification when the rest of society shut them out. Ideally, community is at once personally, bodily, emotionally, financially, socially, spiritually, and spatially supportive and enhancing. In reality, though, community offers three core possibilities for its formation and sustainability: one that forms voluntarily to nurture the needs of its members and form a common identity that is seen as empowering to those within the community; another that provides, through overt methods of exclusion, insulation against external influences and things that those who participate in the community would like to separate their lives from; and lastly, a community that is formed out of necessity for survival because it has been cut off from the rest of society (this would be a negative community in the sense that its initial structure is primarily externally determined).

Each community type provided above is built upon the primary idea of the exclusion of others who do not participate in the criteria of the community. However, the degree of exclusion varies greatly amongst them: the first kind has the possibility of remaining open to the inclusions of others as long as they contribute to the maintenance of the community; the second, has stricter criteria for membership in a way that would automatically prevent those without the

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[158] Neighborhoods also function as an extension of the home, as pointed out by Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, whereby activities of the home spill out into the streets and the events of the neighborhood are brought into the feeling one has about their private home.

basic membership criteria (e.g., gender, race, religious belief, etc.) from belonging; and in the case of the third, we find that it is open since the exclusion is occurring more strongly from without than from within the community but only to the extent that those who are pushed into the community actually participate in its functioning. The latter form of community is commonly found in areas of housing segregation, particularly in the case of public housing since its residents have not made an active choice of where to live or whom to live with but once there, they must band together with their neighbors in order to survive.

The discussion thus far presents a few questions that will carry us through the rest of the chapter: how do we perceive the relationship of the individual to their lived space (this would include the dwelling, community, and the entire urban space); how can we create vital communities that are not only safe, integrated (in several respects), nurturing, resourceful and lasting but more importantly, affordable for anyone who wishes to live there; and what role does the physical and bureaucratic structure of public housing play in the form a neighborhood takes and its relationship to the rest of the city?

CLEANING UP THE SLUMS OF AMERICA'S CITIES
A TIMELINE OF POLICIES AND URBAN PLANNING FROM THE 19TH CENTURY TO TODAY

The industrialization of America in the nineteenth century and the economic, technological, and demographic changes that accompanied it are what many have identified as the source of the affordable housing crisis in the U.S. During this time, those who were at or below the poverty line were forced to live

in unsafe and unsanitary cramped spaces such as alleys, rear courtyards, and clapboard shacks[159] (the precursor to the tenement house). Basically, these impoverished people were forced to live in the spaces that remained after the middle and upper class developments carved out their territories and neighborhoods. There was a sharp increase in housing development occurring at this time for the middle and upper class as independent home ownership increasingly became synonymous with "republican virtues." Real estate was a booming market and those who could afford it grabbed up as much as they could during this time, leaving little livable space behind for those workers who enabled this economic surge to happen in the first place. The worker was at the mercy of real estate speculators who profited from buying old single homes and then subdividing them into tenements. Multiple families would cram themselves into two- or three-story buildings in apartments measuring twelve by eighteen feet, often sharing cooking spaces and almost always without properly working indoor plumbing, electricity, or heat (if any at all).[160]

The fight against these urban slums by evangelical Christians and "sanitarians" began in the 1830's, with the focus being on public health. Epidemics were growing in the unsanitary conditions of the slums, and it was thought that in order to curb the spread of disease among the population, the way the slums were constructed had to change. This mission led to the opening up of the slums for public examination, whereby the conditions and persons

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[159] For instance, those erected by the poor Irish immigrants living in New York City's Central Park.

[160] Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971) 6.

living in the slums were judged in accordance with social and institutional norms.[161] Thus, the fight for more sanitary conditions for the working poor also resulted in the identification of those who lived in the slums with the conditions of the slums, such that they were a reflection of one another and most often it was thought that the inhabitants were the source of the problem, rather than the housing conditions that they had been forced to live in.

Two results arose from this attempt to make the inhabitant responsible for their substandard living conditions: first, there was a moral judgment placed upon the inhabitant that arose not from personal character but from personal circumstances and association with a particular place, and, second, there was a displacement of responsibility for changing the slums and creating better housing for the poor from the government or society to the slum dweller who possessed the fewest resources available to tackle the problem.

This began the stereotype of the slum dweller that continues to underlie social perceptions of those living in poverty: unsavory, criminal, filthy, immoral, lazy, and perhaps most significantly, minority. It was mainly minorities that were becoming associated with slum life, and they in turn were becoming associated with the stereotypes of those living in the slums, regardless of whether or not they lived in one. The connection between poverty and minority status was reinforced by the ideas being formed around the Social Darwinism movement that gained attention in Europe around 1879 with the works of Herbert Spencer that concerned the idea of social evolution and continued in the United States by the publication of Richard Hofstadter's text *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (1944).

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[161] Jacob Riis, 9-10.

Social Darwinism pitted one individual against another in a competitive struggle for achieving the status quo and those who fell short of this achievement were considered biologically inferior.[162] In cases of offering assistance to slum dwellers, a distinction was made by early philanthropists between the poor who were undeserving (the stereotypical slum dweller described above) and the ones who were not responsible for their poverty (widows and orphans). Nevertheless, these early reformers and the observations that they made about the urban slums were integral in creating a much-needed connection of "epidemics, crime, alcoholism, vice, hooliganism, and political revolution to squalid housing"[163]. Thus, the slum, and later the ghetto, was considered part of an "urban pathology" that bred anti-social and immoral behavior.[164]

If housing was of such great importance to Americans, then why wasn't the government getting involved in ways to improve the living conditions for these impoverished people? The answer is the government's sanctification of private property, something that these people did not have. Along the line of private property came the idea that private investors were to be the ones creating housing for the poor, and as a result, much of this housing ended up not being properly regulated or maintained. In the later 1800s, corporations such as the Pullman Palace Car Company (George Pullman) began building model

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[162] Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992) 164.

[163] John F Bauman, "Introduction: The Eternal War on the Slums," *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, eds. John F. Bauman, et. al. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000) 7.

[164] Elijah Anderson, *Streetwise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 167.

tenements for their employees in sleeper communities that were located near or on factory premises. These companies hired prominent architects and landscape architects such as Frederick Law Olmsted to design these "utopia" towns, which included not only the houses themselves (leased at affordable prices) but also community services, utilities and shopping centers.

Many of these industrial communities failed to improve the overall standards in housing in this country and were seen as only superficial attempts at such improvement.[165] Despite offering green space and modern and clean housing, these towns failed to connect with the regions they were developed in and they contributed to the urban exodus that left behind the poorest to live in housing located in urban centers that remained substandard and segregated from the new developments. Thus, while Olmstead had perhaps the right idea of forming a community that was "all inclusive" so to speak, the fact that such communities themselves were severed off from other nearby communities and cities caused long-term problems.

With greedy venture capitalists and a laissez-faire government steering the housing trends of the country, American housing reformers from the late 1800s to early 1900s (e.g., George Ford, Lawrence Veiller, et. al.) frequently turned to Europe as a model for how to house the country's poor working-class. In so doing, a change was made in the way the housing issue was addressed from the point of view of political economics to social politics. It was this switch that led to state intervention in urban planning and housing. "European ideas infused the thinking of U.S. housing reformers and especially shaped the garden-

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[165] Bauman, 8.

city and public housing agendas of the 1920s and 1930s"[166]—and so the government's experiment with public housing began.

United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program, initiated between 1933-1938, provided a series of economic stimulus programs that aimed at giving aid to the unemployed, reforming business and financial practices, and recovering the economy that fell during The Great Depression. The creation of social welfare programs in America was seen as radical in a country that prided itself on the independence of the individual from the state, but such programs were already the mainstay in Western European countries where there was a tradition of providing a safety net for citizens (who demanded these government programs) in the areas of education, health, housing and welfare. Since the 1980s, however, the U.S. has returned to its individualistic ways, cutting back on welfare and public housing and education programs, even in a time when they are most needed.[167]

The first half of the 1900s saw increased federal government involvement in housing, whereby several laws and acts were passed, as well as committees formed to discuss and investigate housing issues. By the mid-1900s there was no longer any question that the federal government should intervene in the private housing market, but new questions arose, such as, which groups of Americans would get housing aid, how much aid would they receive, and what form would such aid take.[168] The introduction of pro-suburban policies in the 1950s (e.g., the

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[166] Bauman, 10.
[167] J.S. Fuerst, *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building community in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003) xv-xvi.

[168] Bauman, 20.

introduction of a federal income tax and federal involvement in highway development) radically changed the way the country's cities were designed and inhabited.

However, these efforts only benefited the middle and upper-income sectors of society (mainly White) who were now able to purchase private housing, either in the city or more likely in the suburbs, leaving behind those of lower income to still only hope for homeownership or simply decent rental housing. U.S. Census figures reveal that by 1960 the percentage of the total population living in the suburbs (30.9%) had doubled from that of 1940 (15.3%)[169] while the percentage of those living in city centers remained more or less stable at around 28% to 30%.[170] During the same time period, and continuing today, the percentage of the population living in city centers that are listed as Black have increased while those that are White have decreased.[171]

Since a significant number of those left to live in cities were of either low-income or unemployed, public housing authorities had to find solutions to the problem of where to put them when they did not possess the means to rent from the private market housing stock. The solution was to create housing projects that were intended to temporarily house this portion of the population until they could find housing in the private market. Many of the sites where the housing projects were located were in traditionally minority areas or near industrial areas

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[169] In 2000, the United States census record showed that the percentage of those living in the suburbs was as high as 50%.

[170] Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century: Census 2000 Special Reports* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November 2002) 32.

[171] Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, 99.

since such land was typically affordable and available. Accompanying the creation of public housing projects were systems of social services meant to help residents improve their economic status (e.g., job training, counseling, daycare for children, etc.). Attempts were even made to design these projects in a way that reflected the new "green trend" that took place in the neighborhood planning designs of the 1950s and 60s by adding parks, landscaping and playground areas around the buildings.

Then, in 1953 and 1954, Congress cut the U.S. Housing Authority's (USHA)[172] budget, compounding the effects of the 1949 housing bill that was passed, which provided funding for a nationwide urban redevelopment program that would clear out slum land, making it available and affordable (through subsidies) for not only public housing authorities to rebuild on but also private developers. What resulted was the displacement of slum-dwellers, most of whom were minorities and, therefore, prevented from relocating to housing in new areas where "redlining"[173] practices and private covenants were in place.[174] These federal budget cuts also led to problems of mismanagement by the local housing authorities, below standard construction, cutting of social services and economic investments in the neighborhoods, and the general neglect of those in

[172] The United States Housing Authority was established in 1917 by the Department of Labor to address the issue of affordable public housing.

[173] "Redlining is the practice of arbitrarily denying or limiting financial services to specific neighborhoods, generally because its residents are people of color or are poor." Refer to, D. Bradford Hunt, "Redlining," *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago Historical Society, 2005) <http://www.encyclopedia.chicago history.org/pages/1050.html>.

[174] Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighboroods: A study of prejudice in housing* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1955) 244-245.

need of affordable housing—and another key aspect being that of racial discrimination, which I will take up later. With a lack of funds, or simply a lack of desire (the idea of providing low-income housing for America's working class was heavily associated with a socialist agenda, which was extremely unfavorable during the first half of the 1900s) to apply such funds to low-income housing, the government erected thousands of "functional" buildings in cities across the country.

The insertion of low-income worker housing into the urban centers, coupled with the continuation of a Northern migration of Black from the South in search of employment in factories that began at the beginning of the 1900s, fed the suburbanization trend of the 1950s. At the beginning of the 1900s, Whites living in northern cities grew increasingly alarmed by the large number of Black moving there and reacted quite strongly, even violently, against them. By 1910, racial segregation was implanted in the larger northern cities such as Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, and the levels of segregation continued to steadily increase throughout the first half of the 1900s.[175] For example, "As of 1930 the typical black Chicagoan lived in a neighborhood that was over two-thirds black"[176]. At first, these Black neighborhoods were located on the edges of cities; but, during the moving spree of the 1950s and 60s when the highway systems were expanded and working or middle-class Whites moved to the suburbs, those living in slums located on the edges of cities were pushed into the inner city where concentrated blocks of publicly-funded housing had just been created.

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[175] Massey and Denton, 30-32.

[176] Massey and Denton, 31.

The expansion of the metropolitan area and city borders was something peculiar to American cities that European cities such as Paris did not, and could not, undergo because of the way their cities are physically structured (the edges of the cities are clearly defined and often by walls or natural barriers such as rivers) and the way cities and towns are conceptualized (they tend to remain static as historical artifacts and are seen as more desirable to live in than in surrounding suburban towns) and handled bureaucratically (towns are more likely to remain autonomous but still connected to larger urban centers). The flows of people coming into and out of the city coincided with flows of money and jobs, whereby the poor and unemployed moved inward and those with capital and businesses branched outward.[177]

It should be noted that trends in architecture have also been reflected, even if on a very low level of design conception, in the way low-income housing has looked for the past century. In particular, it was the introduction of the high-rise that created a drastic shift in the way low-income persons live. For instance, the kind of design that has been commonly used for public housing, in the U.S. and worldwide, has reflected the temporary nature of its intention as a short-term housing solution for the poor.[178] They are functional and minimal in their style and amenities, reflecting their influence by Le Corbusier's designs of "*grands ensembles*" in European and Brazilian cities, as well as the modern era's

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[177] There are exceptions to this trend, such as Manhattan, but many of the cities in the Midwest and South-East experienced this shift in urban/suburban demographics.

[178] In fact, if one takes a look at public housing projects around the world there is little that reveals their location in terms of local styles of construction and design, tending more to be uniform in their verticality, minimalist façades and the preferred use of concrete over other building materials.

fascination with construction using prefabricated concrete. Several towering

projects ("sterile silos") were built in cities such as New York and Chicago, which

allowed for greater housing utility. However, major objections arose against this

method of housing the poor: [1] it is simply not enough to create spaces for

occupying: we must take into consideration the aesthetics and psychological

effects of the buildings; [2] high-rise buildings can seem "unnatural" or

"undesirable" to live in, especially by those who have children; [3] the creation of

towering projects will only highlight the areas in which the poor live and become

scars on the city's landscape reminding people living outside and within the area

that there is a divide.[179]

In addition to the problems surrounding the financing and design of

government-funded public housing, there arose the problem of such housing

creating, or facilitating further, racial segregation. Low-income housing had

evolved from being used for people of various racial[180] and ethnic backgrounds

to being associated primarily with Blacks, and more recently single Black

mothers on welfare. Economically, this has been reflected in public housing no

longer being viewed as a way station (a place of transition for those newly

arrived in the country or temporarily "down on their luck") but rather a welfare

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[179] Roger Biles, "Public Housing and the Postwar Urban Renaissance, 1949-1973," *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, eds. John F. Bauman, et. al. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000) 147.

[180] I use the term "race" here only because this is how policies and laws concerning public housing have been categorizing individuals of society; primarily for discrimination purposes. This term will provide some difficulty, as we will see, when a comparison is made with the social housing situation in France where the term "race" is not used but perhaps "ethnicity" or "culture." This specific difference occurring in the two case studies will be discussed further as it plays a key role to the discourse on social housing.

center (where most of the inhabitants are dependent for multiple generations on this country's welfare system).

The government-subsidized public assistance programs, especially those that provide housing, that many argue have led to the current state of existence in poor neighborhoods, were constructed in such a way that it is virtually impossible to get out of the vicious cycle of dependency. Rather than encourage employment or educational training among the unemployed, public assistance in the U.S. has encouraged dependency on a welfare system that gives priority to single mothers with children, making it more desirable: [1] to have children young as a means of gaining independence instead of using education or employment as a way out of the family household; [2] to have children out of wedlock, since the benefits coming from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) favor single-mother households; and [3] to create underground economies that rely on the sale of stolen goods, drugs, prostitution, gambling, etc.[181]

In addition to creating financial dependency, the housing authorities[182], such as the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), placed its disenfranchised in spaces that were not conducive to the development of one's self psychologically, intellectually, or materially. William Julius Wilson uses the term "concentration effects" to describe how "a person's patterns and norms of behavior tend to be shaped by those with which he or she has had the most frequent or sustained

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[181] Chicago Tribune (Staff of), 100-111.

[182] These are organizations that are funded by the United States government but locally organized. They follow national housing mandates, yet administer the day-to-day maintenance and organization of public housing from locally run offices.

contact and interaction."[183] The concentration effect works both on shaping the behavior of the individual and their isolation: "The damaging social consequences that follow from increased poverty are spatially concentrated as well, creating uniquely disadvantaged environments that become progressively isolated—geographically, socially and economically—from the rest of society"[184]. As a result, we have grandparents, parents, and children who have been born into the public housing projects of America's cities forming a cyclical pattern that promotes further abuse and stereotypes of these individuals.

The government department for Housing and Urban Development (HUD) proposed the Hope VI program to President Clinton's administration as a remedy to this situation. "According to the Hope VI blueprint, the federal government would provide financial assistance for the elimination of 100,000 apartments by the year 2000, construction on the same sites of smaller housing developments for mixed-income occupancy, and relocation of the uprooted tenants to privately owned buildings".[185]

The major problem facing this plan is where to house all of the displaced tenants since the number of new units being built is only a fraction of those needed to replace all of the housing units being demolished. Once again, the housing authorities are faced with the crisis of where to place thousands of low-

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[183] William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged. The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987) 61.

[184] Massey and Denton, 2.

[185] Roger Biles, "Epilogue," *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, eds. John F. Bauman, et. al. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000) 265.

income and unemployed persons and families. Few neighborhoods outside of those that are already overcrowded with low-income minorities are willing to accept them, and little is being done on the part of the government to challenge this refusal that boils down to racial discrimination. Thus, despite the intention behind the Hope VI program to "help people break dependence on public housing through employment, access to middle-class neighborhoods and even home ownership, the new research suggests it will leave the most desperate residents crashing through an unraveling safety net"[186]. What happens to a "surplus population," to use Marx's term, once they have nowhere to live?

Essentially, those who are displaced from the high-rise projects will have five options (there are probably more, but these are the most general ones): [1] to be relocated to one of the few units set aside for those of lower income in the new housing developments; [2] to obtain a Section 8 voucher[187] from the housing authority to rent a unit set aside in the private sector for lower income people; [3] to find another unit, legally or illegally, in another public housing building (with the hopes that it too will not be demolished in the near future); [4] to leave the city and join family living elsewhere, which might be accompanied by the

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[186] Jodi Wilgoren, "Hundreds Face Street as Chicago Housing Project Nears Demolition," *NYTimes Online* (August 7, 2003) <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/07/national/07CHIC.html>.

[187] Section 8 is the commonly used term for the Housing Choice Voucher Program brought about by the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. Briefly, it is a type of Federal assistance provided by HUD that sponsors subsidized housing for low-income families and individuals (as well as disabled individuals), allowing them to choose to live in privately-owned rental housing by having them pay 30% of their income towards rent with the remainder paid by government subsidies. The Section 8 program is no longer accepting new applications, and there is a waiting list of at least two years for those already seeking units through this program.

separation of the family and certainly the loss of community; or [5] to live in overnight shelters, on the streets, or even in their vehicles (which is sadly what many have probably wound up doing).

In order to even qualify for the first option, one must be typically employed (although the housing authorities are setting aside some units for those who are not employed but with stipulations), have no criminal record or record of substance abuse/use, and be willing to live according to strict rules placed upon them by the housing authority. So, in order to live in the mixed-income communities that are destroying the old neighborhoods, one must be willing to assimilate into the new community and accept whatever consequences that holds for one's sense of autonomy and identity.

The requirements for the second option are almost the same as for the first with the exception that there are more units available for those who are unemployed. There are three major problems with this option: [1] there are few private housing sources available (recent expirations of Section 8[188] contracts have taken a lot of this kind of housing off the market as real-estate values increased during the 1990s and from 2000-2008 and landlords realized that they could gain quite a bit by renting units only at market rate or selling their buildings); [2] many landlords who accept Section 8 vouchers do not want to lease to these former project residents (many of these landlords agree to accept these vouchers for tax purposes but often refuse them or make it difficult for the

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[188] Across the U.S., almost two-thirds of the units that were available under Section 8 contracts have subsidies that expired in 2004. For further information see, <http://www.hud.gov/progdesc/voucher.cfm>.

vouchers to be used on their premises); and [3] as of November 2003, the waiting list for Section 8 vouchers was closed.[189]

The third option is left for those who do not qualify to take advantage of either of the first two options. For years, the CHA has failed to keep track of who was living in its units, but now with the tearing down of the projects, they are able to review the files of its residents and filter out those who have criminal or substance abuse records. Those with a record of illegal activity are barred from receiving services from the CHA. Despite this, however, they do find a way to obtain illegal housing in pubic housing projects by moving in with someone who is legally renting a unit, renting a unit illegally through gangs or building administrators who run an underground housing market, or by breaking into vacant units. Some of those who are barred from using the public housing system, and who cannot manage to obtain a unit illegally, end up having to "choose" the fifth option, homelessness. Sadly, this option is the one that numerous tenets will face and, once outside the public assistance system, they find that there are even fewer resources to help them back on their feet.

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[189] See, the website for the Chicago Housing Authority, CHA.org.

CABRINI-GREEN (CHICAGO, IL): THE CASE STUDY

> As we got into this fight I began to see what they were proposing for my people. They were proposing for my people to be evicted and become homeless…That is why I am in this fight; because I have been at the homeless shelters and I have seen people waiting to get in.[190]

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), established in 1937, oversaw all of the construction of and planning for public housing in Chicago until 1996, when the federal department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) took control due to allegations of mismanagement and poor performance by the CHA. One of the first measures taken by HUD after the takeover was to institute a change of policy that would facilitate the demolition of "failed" high-rise buildings (such as the Robert Taylor Homes and Cabrini-Green)[191] and then re-develop the sites according to the Hope VI plan described in the last section. From 1996-1997, Chicago underwent a massive demolition spree of the worst high-rise buildings in the city and started planning to redevelop those areas with a mix of public housing and housing for middle-income households. The first

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[190] Carol Steele, Cabrini-Green Homes Resident and member of the Chicago Coalition to Protect Public Housing, as quoted by Deidre Brewster in: "CHA Plan for Cabrini-Green Still not Complete." Report issued by Deidre Brewster's office at The Coalition to Protect Public Housing. 23 June, 2005.

[191] Another classic example of a failed public housing project in the U.S. is Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis. Designed by Minoru Yamasaki (architect of the World Trade Center Towers) built in 1954 and torn down between 1972 and 1974, this housing project became emblematic of the problems of large-scale, high-rise public housing and the modern style of architecture in general. [Willem Van Vliet (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Housing* (London: Sage Publications, 1998) 440.]

projects to be hit by this wave of urban renewal were some of the most populated, such as the Robert Taylor Homes, which at their peak had 4,300 housing units in 28 16-story high-rises that covered a two-mile stretch along State Street on Chicago's South Side and the Dan Ryan Expressway.[192][193] Shortly after HUD took over the CHA and had set in motion its renewal program, it turned the project back over to the CHA, which then continued the work of redeveloping the city's projects.

The CHA consists of nine persons, all of whom are appointed by the Mayor of Chicago (including three who must be public housing residents). Founded in 1937, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the CHA's role in city planning became to be more crucial. During this time, a large percentage of the city's Black and Latino families living on welfare were displaced to the South and West Sides (often referred to as the "Black Belt") because they were excluded from much of the available housing which was rapidly increasing in value, making ownership beyond the reach of anyone who made 30% or less of the median income for the country; moreover, it was also tightly regulated by pro-segregation (i.e., racial) codes of loan approval[194] and house sales by real estate

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[192] "Change," CHA website <http://thecha.org/housingdev/cabrini_green _homes.html>.

[193] For a detailed study of the Robert Taylor Homes, see Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *American Project. The rise and fall of a modern ghetto* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[194] Otherwise referred to as 'redlining'. Refer to footnote 173 in this chapter for a definition of the term.

firms and developers (codes which were directly/indirectly supported by government housing and racial integration policies).[195]

The CHA stepped in to create affordable public housing for these individuals. However, this housing took the form of concentrations of low and high-rises located in already predominantly impoverished Black or Latino neighborhoods. These housing complexes tended to house only one race, thus segregating minorities from minorities, creating homogenous neighborhoods. Dorothy Gautreaux, a civil rights and public housing tenant activist, banded together with the American Civil Liberties Union in 1966 to file a suit in federal court that challenged the CHA's practices of racial discrimination in the development of their housing projects. Their claim was that the practice of racially concentrating public housing residents and buildings "violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prohibiting racial discrimination in federally funded activities and the U.S. Constitution's equal protection guarantee"[196]. The CHA was found guilty of the charges in 1969 and ordered to work with the complaining party to find a means of desegregating public housing.[197] Forty years later, the CHA has still proven unable, or unwilling, to achieve this.

I would like to turn to an examination of a public housing project that is emblematic of the problems endemic to public housing projects in general.

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[195] Ranney, David C. and Patricia A. Wright, "Race, Class, and the Abuse of State Power: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago (Draft 3: 2-6-00)," <http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/upp/faculty/ranny/Race%Relations%Abstracts%20Paper%0draft%205.htm>.

[196] Leonard S. Rubinowitz and James E. Rosenbaum, *Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From public housing to white suburbia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 21-23.

[197] Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum, 24.

Cabrini-Green, located[198] on Chicago's Near North Side (its borders are Evergreen, Sedgwick, Chicago, and Larabee Avenues),[199] is the last bastion of large-scale public housing on Chicago's North Side. Its demolition has been symbolic in terms of the removal of urban blight from the more prosperous North Side, further reinforcing the division between it and the South and West Sides, which are notorious for their extreme poverty and nearly homogeneous Black population.[200]

The first construction of public housing on this site were the Frances Cabrini row houses, their planning by the CHA began during the Great Depression, and they were built in 1942. These buildings replaced the "temporary" and extremely dilapidated, flimsy, frame construction shelters that were built to house those who lost their homes during the Chicago Fire of 1871.

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[198] I refer to it in the present tense, since there are parts of it that are still standing and because it is still alive in the memory of the city and the people that lived there. Despite efforts to erase it from the cityscape and public memory by building over and renaming it, I believe the scars its has left will remain for generations to come.

[199] The location of Cabrini-Green is one of the few in Chicago that is literally "roped in"; it is surrounded to the east and north by the elevated train tracks, to the west by a branch of the Chicago River, and to the south by the multi-laned Chicago Avenue. Its location has always been isolated, as I will discuss in the following pages where I address its demographic transformation. To add to the strong boundaries that surround it, there are a series of dead-end streets that weaken its ties to the surrounding area by not providing thoroughfares for pedestrian and vehicle traffic.

[200] Chicago has been named the most segregated large city in the U.S. for almost a decade. See, Azam Ahmed and Darnell Little, "Chicago, American's most segregated big city," Part 1 of 3, *Chicago Tribune Online* (December 26, 2008) <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/2008/dec/26/local/chi-segregation-26-dec26> and Joe Ruklick, "Chicago remains most segregated city," *Chicago Defender* (April 8, 2002) 1.

In this photo is a view from the northern border of the Cabrini-Green neighborhood. From back to front: the tall building in the background is the Sears Tower, located in the Loop, in front of it you can see one of the few remaining "Reds," and in the front is a new condo development and a garden that was started in conjunction with the new environmentally sustainable homeless shelter that is to the right (not in the photo).[201]

Even before the Cabrini Homes Project was built, the area was known for being crime-ridden, bleak and a site of extreme poverty. It had been referred to over the years as "Little Hell" and was stereotyped as a "run-down Italian neighborhood"[202]. Crime reports of the time show that this neighborhood was deeply affected by the gangster (mafia) activity running rampant in Chicago

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[201] All of the images contained in this dissertation were taken by and are the property of the author.

[202] Ed Marciniak, *Reclaiming the Inner City* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, 1986) 23.

during the first half of the 20th century. One of the corners on the border of Cabrini-Green bore the nickname "Death Corner," since gangsters had shot numerous people there. This proves interesting when we listen to reports on the presence of crime in Cabrini-Green from the latter half of the 20th century that pointed the finger at Black residents for being the source of the area's deterioration. When we look at the history of the Lower North Side it becomes apparent that the claims of Black introducing crime to the area are false, that the area had always struggled against the criminal elements existing in it.

In keeping true to the Chicago tradition of evolving ethnic enclaves, Cabrini began shifting from being a predominantly Italian neighborhood to a Black one. In the 1950's, the demographics of Cabrini underwent a great shift from being mostly White and having households with employed fathers to mostly Black with households headed by mothers on welfare. By 1962, with the addition of the William Green Homes, Cabrini-Green became one of the largest sites in the CHA inventory with a by then mostly Black population. In the following years, two other wings were added to the area (Cabrini Extension North and Cabrini Extension South).[203] Over the years, Cabrini-Green, like the area it was born into, became synonymous with crime, drugs, and gang activity—all of which are problems now readily associated with public housing in general.[204]

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[203] CHA.org

[204] Marciniak, 25-26.

Cabrini-Green "Reds" (2005)

Cabrini-Green "Whites" (2005)

Cabrini-Green became a high-density combination of high-rise buildings and row houses. At its peak, it was home to approximately 15,000 residents and 3,500 public housing units. The recent count is around 4,700 residents after most of the housing project has been torn down or vacated to be demolished. The mass, forced exodus from Cabrini-Green occurred suddenly, leaving many of its residents with little warning time to find new places to live. What prompted the removal of Cabrini-Green's towers was the passing in 1998 of The Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act by President Clinton's administration. This Act, part of the Hope VI plan, required a viability study to be done on half of the existing 40,000 public housing units in Chicago, comparing the costs of maintaining the existing public housing units to the cost of replacing them with a Section 8 voucher for an apartment in the private market.[205]

The immediate result was further deterioration of the buildings due to lack of maintenance of the existing units so that developers and the city (who were working together) could provide evidence that such real estate should be demolished. What is interesting to note is where the properties are located. In the case of Cabrini-Green, it is in a part of the city, the Gold Coast and River North neighborhoods, that became gentrified as middle and upper income individuals and families decided to return to the inner city and as companies and art galleries bought up the cheap real estate found on the periphery of Cabrini-Green. Slowly, Cabrini-Green began to look like something of an island amidst newly built condominiums, boutiques, restaurants, and art galleries. It did not take much for the final push to occur which would then fill in that hole.

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[205] Ranney & Wright

The people who are being displaced have been offered places in the newly constructed, or soon to be constructed housing taking the place of Cabrini-Green—but far from everyone. In 1996, when plans for tearing down Cabrini-Green were just forming between the CHA and developers, the residents of Cabrini-Green filed a lawsuit against the CHA for their initial plans to tear down the project without any clear plan for what was to happen to the residents. What resulted in 2000, was a Consent Decree made between the residents and the CHA that stipulated the construction of "1324 family units to be demolished in return for a total of over 700 new public housing units and 296 affordable units that could also house former public housing residents."[206]

But there were no definite plans laid out for the remaining 228 units that would need to be replaced, nor the residents who would need to be re-located and re-housed. Furthermore, no funding was allocated for any construction beyond the 996 units mentioned. Nevertheless, the CHA said that it would continue tearing down the buildings, including the ones that contained residents that had not already been assigned replacement housing. In the end, at least a thousand families were left without any concrete future housing plan. One thing that the CHA proposed was moving these residents out to other locations and then relocating them back to the Cabrini-Green area once more housing had been built.[207] Seven years later, nothing has happened to guarantee that this will indeed take place.

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[206] "CHA Plan for Cabrini-Green Still not Complete," Report issued by Deidre Brewster's office at The Coalition to Protect Public Housing (June 23, 2005) <http://www.limits.com/cpph/CPPH%20News%20Page.htm>.

[207] "CHA Plan for Cabrini-Green Still not Complete."

Cabrini Row Townhomes (2007)

Cabrini Row Townhomes with one of the "Reds" in the background (2007)

Instead, the CHA has been putting pressure on Cabrini-Green residents to take Section 8 vouchers, vouchers which quite often leave their holders with few housing options. Many of those using Section 8 as a means to rent new housing find themselves in high crime, high poverty, segregated neighborhoods much like the one they were just forced out of.[208] The main difference is that they are no longer insiders already established in a community but instead outsiders who must learn the street codes and available resources of the new community. And, while Cabrini-Green was in fact a horribly dangerous and poor place to live, it was still close to potential sources of employment and education that are often lacking in the new communities to which they are moving, such as those on Chicago's West Side, which are even more remote and isolated from the rest of the city and its resources.

Those who do not take or cannot benefit from Section 8 vouchers wind up homeless and either in one of Chicago's increasingly over-crowded shelters or on the street. There is stiff competition among those who fall on the lower side of the economic scale in Chicago for affordable housing and they are battling against overt as well as more subtle discrimination by the housing authority, real-estate developers, landlords, banks, and those living in the neighborhoods where they are being relocated. The ironic thing about the lack of housing for the long list of persons seeking affordable rental units is that Chicago is one of the few large American cities that has an overall housing surplus. Rents have risen in certain parts of the city, but, overall, there is a surplus of vacant, rentable properties.

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[208] "CHA Plan for Cabrini-Green Still not Complete."

To illustrate my point, I will refer to my own experience as a renter with a meager income in Chicago. During the 1990s I rented several apartments that were considered affordable for someone making roughly $10,000 a year. These were clean and relatively safe apartments on the North Side, and each was found and rented after one day of looking at apartments that I had seen advertised in the local free newspaper. This recollection is not intended to downplay the struggle that many have in finding affordable and safe housing in Chicago but rather to show that the door appears to be open to some and closed to others. What certainly opened the door for me was that I had a co-signer with adequate income to guarantee my lease. This is an aspect of the rental process that prevents many of the poor living in public housing from leaving the public housing system even if they possess enough money to pay the rent. In this way, the public assistance system has failed in its mission to move those in public housing into an independent life as a private market renter or buyer and instead created a dependency situation that slowly deteriorates an individual's ability to be self-sustaining.

The failure of the CHA to provide appropriate and timely relocation units and services for the thousands that were being displaced during the demolition of the Cabrini-Green housing project led several residents of Cabrini-Green and local activists to accuse the CHA of not simply failing to house families and deconstructing a community but of committing a human rights violation. Deidre Brewster, a displaced former Cabrini-Green resident, says: "Under international

law, it is a human rights violation to force families out of their communities. As the CHA displaces far more families than it builds new homes for, it is forcibly evicting families and violating their human rights."[209]

This is a sign for one of the developments that will be built next to the Cabrini-Green site. There are two things to note in this photo: first, the price, which is actually moderate for being so close to the Loop, and, second, the name being used for the neighborhood is "Old Town," which is actually a neighborhood that is to the north of Cabrini-Green. (2007)

The new housing that has taken over the Cabrini-Green area and those that will eventually be built on its site allot a mere 30% of the new housing units to public housing residents, either those who were displaced or the thousands who were already on overloaded waiting lists to find housing. The remaining

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[209] "CHA Plan for Cabrini-Green Still not Complete."

162

70% will be sold at market price to upper and middle-income individuals/families who are predominantly White.

> There is no clear explanation for the 70/30 split except for a CHA consultant who pointed to what he called 'the poor predominant African-American' character of the area and stated that it, 'cannot, at least during the near term, enjoy the full compliment of market-rate housing demand that the Near North Primary Market Area as a whole has to apportion'.[210]

There are two things that the CHA consultant is alluding to here: the first is the notion of a "tipping point," and the second is that the existing housing, as it stands, in which the poor Black are living, is unable to benefit from the prosperity already present in the housing market of the surrounding area. As for the concept of a "tipping point," when housing occupied by Black individuals or families is torn down to make way for wealthy Whites and a handful of Black elites along with a certain percentage of the displaced Black allowed to move into the new community, there is a percentage attached to each of these groups that developers use to decide limits for the representation of each group in the new housing.

The percentage is determined by the amount that will allow for integration but yet keep the middle and upper-class residents from moving away. In other words, the perceived comfort level of the White and/or well off buyers determines the number of poor Black who are allowed to stay in the area; this is the "tipping point." This leaves us with the question: how can an area remain "mixed" without falling too far to the side of impoverishment while still including members from the lower-class and severely impoverished?

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[210] Ranney & Wright

Furthermore, should racial integration be the focal point of urban redevelopment projects or would it be more beneficial to focus on economic integration? I pose this last question thinking that by focusing on economic integration the chances of improving a neighborhood may be stronger than if one simply used race as a criteria for housing quotas. Furthermore, I find that in discourses on racial integration there is a subtle note of the parentalism that existed in the early slum renewal days, which, as we have seen, led to the current state of affairs (e.g., the debilitation of the poor, the creation of a ghetto identity, and a cycle of dependency on welfare).

What is interesting about the discourse over the creation of "mixed communities" is the motivation to create them and the plans for realizing them. Why are city planners suddenly looking to integrate races and classes when it has typically been the norm to create distinct communities for these groups? It is thought that the displacement of these people is actually beneficial to them since it will allow them to live with "good role models" who can help them break their cycle of poverty and crime. This is based on the assumption that poor Black are in need of good role models and that the wealthier White residents can provide such an example. Such thoughts remind one of the parentalism that was invoked during the slum rehabilitations that took place in the early 1900s, as well as the racist assumption of Blacks possessing a character morally inferior to that of Whites, which provided the foundation for slavery, segregation, and the mass incarceration of Blacks. In Chapter 2, I explained Foucault's conception of bio-politics and racism, which proves useful for understanding the systems of power that are at play in this moral assumption and revealing its mechanisms.

In addition, the urban renewal projects that seek to relocate residents into new mixed-income neighborhoods make the assumption that those being displaced would prefer to leave their former neighborhood. This is not necessarily the case. Given the choice, many would prefer to stay, despite the obvious safety and physical deterioration of the neighborhood. For instance, in his interviews with Robert Taylor Homes residents, Sudhir Venkatesh described how one woman left the housing project and moved into a rental apartment in the private-market where she found the conditions worse than where she left and rented from a landlord who refused to make improvements (in her case, the removal of a rat infestation). Furthermore, she ended up lacking any kind of daily assistance that she had formerly had while living in the Taylor Homes with her mother and neighbors to help care for her two children while she worked and where local shop owners would offer her credit when she ran out of money for food and household supplies. In other words, despite the fact that she wanted a better life away from the Taylor Homes, she found that there was less of a support network for her outside of the housing project.[211]

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[211] Sudhir Venkatesh and Islil Celimi, "Tearing Down the Community," *National Housing Institute Shelterforce Online*, Issue 138, (November/December 2004) <http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/138/chicago.html>.

CONSTRUCTING NEIGHBORHOODS / CONSTRUCTING COMMUNITIES

> We have a history of isolating and concentrating the poor outside the social mainstream…Mixed-income housing provides an opportunity to embrace them and bring them back into the social mainstream…[mixed-income housing is [the responsible policy of the future].[212]

The problem of how to house the poor and racially marginalized is more than simply a material or economic issue; it is also a philosophical and social one. Even if there were enough housing for everyone that needed it, and, in addition to that, this housing was in areas that are mixed-income and multi-racial, there would still be an underlying problem concerning the social perception of individuals belonging to particular groups. It is not enough to provide an attempt at integration and equality on the superficial level by redesigning the look, the material composition, of our cities; we must also look at what normative structures and discourses underlie the need to create the artificially integrated city. What is it that we are constructing when we build low-income housing or when we then raze it to build multi-income housing? In these two instances, we are building not only the structures/communities themselves but

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[212] Christine Oliver, Chicago Dwellings Association (CDA) President and Chief Executive Officer, as quoted by Karen Ceraso, in: "Is Mixed-Income Housing the Key?" *National Housing Institute* (March/April 1995) <http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/80/mixhous.html>.

we are also building identities. In other words, we are reshaping people and how they are perceived by reshaping their environment.

For better or worse, the new housing communities will most likely change the way low-income people are perceived by those from the middle and upper-income classes. I also sense that a distinction will be made between those who are eligible to live in these new communities and those who are not and must continue to live in the projects or in subsidized housing located in other demographically homogenous and impoverished public housing areas. Richard Wheelock of Chicago's Legal Assistance Foundation has expressed the same fear: that the strict eligibility standards based primarily on former behavior (drug or criminal activity, overdue or late utility and rent payments, poor housekeeping skills, etc.) will create "two classes of public housing families…You're going to have first-class public housing in the mixed-income developments…and you're going to have all the so-called problem families in the rehabbed developments"[213].

It is foreseeable that moral judgments made about the two classes of residents will arise: the former will be seen as having potential social worth, while the latter will be targeted as lazy, violent and immoral, stereotypes that already exist for those living in public housing but will become reinforced by the new split. What is interesting about the potential for a creation of two kinds of housing welfare recipients is the role that context plays in their identification by society. Before the new mixed-income communities were created and before

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[213] Jodi Wilgoren, "Hundreds face street as Chicago housing project nears demolition," *New York Times* Online (August 7, 2003) <http://www.nytimes. com/2003/08/07/national/07CHIC.html>.

thousands of public housing recipients began to move in, those living in public housing were all considered morally and socially inferior.

Though, another outcome, which is actually occurring, is that the judgments passed on those living in public housing will carry over once they move into the new communities. They could be targeted as potential sources of problems, as a locus for crime and degeneracy to spring from, as something to keep an eye on and maintain a certain distance from. In studies performed on those being relocated, there is a high percentage of those being relocated who are ostracized by their new neighborhood, since they are perceived as a threat to the way of life already established in these places. The biases occur not only in middle or working-class White neighborhoods, but also in middle and working-class Black neighborhoods. Therefore, we cannot pretend that the conflicts are arising based on racism alone.

In the case of the new mixed-income developments in the Cabrni-Green area, the results have been less than ideal with little or no interaction between neighbors of different socio-economic backgrounds. Due to the feeling of unwelcomeness that they encounter, a significant number of those being relocated as the public housing projects are torn down find themselves once again relocating back to the area where they had originally lived. There they say they find the community support and resources they need, and it is more affordable for them in terms of rent and food.[214]

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[214] Jeff Kelly Lowenstein, "The Unwelcome Wagon," *Chicago Defender* Online (February 6, 2008) <http://www.chicagoreporter.com/index.php/c/Inside_Stories/d/The_Unwelcome_Wagon>.

Either way, the individual identities and behavior patterns of those living in public housing are not taken into account since the externally applied stereotypes ultimately override them. Thus, even if a family is working and can be considered to fall into the "good neighbor" category, they must still struggle to obtain acceptance by their new neighbors, as well as find a way to feel comfortable around individuals of different classes and social backgrounds than what they have been used to back in the projects. The persistence of stereotypes for those who have left the housing projects hampers moving past the social stumbling blocks and learning curves that present themselves to them in the new neighborhood. It essentially locks them into a pattern that they cannot break from easily without much needed community support; i.e., people to defend them and their rights as well as people to help them adjust to their new living space. The public housing authorities have fallen short in their promise to provide moving assistance and social services to those being relocated and so a certain level of responsibility falls onto the new neighborhood to make up for this.[215]

What I am aiming at is identifying public housing as not only a material construction but also a social construct. The idea of a social construct can be traced back to Emile Durkheim's work on "collective behavior" and what he called "social facts"[216], but it was in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's

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[215] See, Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh *et. al.*, *Chicago Public Housing Transformation: A research report* (Working Paper), Center for Urban Research and Policy (Columbia University, February 2004).

[216] See, Emile Dirkheim, *Rules of Sociological Method*, trans. W.D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1982) 50-59.

Social Construction of Reality[217] that the term was first used. Essentially, the term "social construct" signifies the information, or knowledge, scientific or that of everyday life, that is derived from and maintained by social interactions. Over time, individuals form mental representations or typifications of each other's actions through their interactions with each other.

These typifications become habitualized into roles that get played out by individuals in relation to each other; roles that eventually becoming institutionalized. These institutionalized roles and meanings then get fed back into society through offering a depiction of what reality "is." These secondary forms of knowledge of the world are given precedence to an individual's primary, pre-reflective experiences.[218] Merleau-Ponty, while not directly critiquing the concept of "social constructs," does critique the prioritizing of knowledge that is formulated and normalized by the sciences over the sensorial experiences we have of the world as a means for coming to know the world.

Taking both of these senses of construction into account, I am interested in getting beneath what public housing signifies for its inhabitants and those who live outside of its walls but who, nevertheless, experience its effects. The first step, the foundation of which was laid in the previous chapters, is to look beyond the analyses that root the problems of public housing and segregation in policies and social norms to a phenomenological analysis of the relationship between the body and its lived space. It is at this level that we will begin to realize the rationale informing this kind of planning and construction. In what way do we

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[217] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin, 1971).

[218] Berger and Luckmann, 28-45.

perceive of ourselves as individuals who dwell in our environment? Furthermore, is this perception universal, in that it would apply to all persons, or is it something that we tend to reserve for a select group of individuals? The case studies of Cabrini-Green and of Les Tarterêts that I have provided are meant to address these questions through an exploration of segregation as a phenomenon that is social as well as spatio-corporeal.

Here, I seek an understanding of public housing as an object of philosophical inquiry, one that considers the concept of dwelling, the relationship between the body and the lived world, and how difference is created through the erection of borders and boundaries that exist physically and ideologically. It is this more critical approach to public housing that is needed if anything is to be done about improving the quality of life for those who are racially and economically marginalized and forced to live in these places. Here, racial identity and economic status are understood as social constructs that contribute to the formation of the matrix that structures the phenomenon of segregation. Regrettably, their minority status that is founded on a series of social constructs is more stable than their housing situation.

Public housing is anything but stable, and this has become a horrible reality for the thousands of people who depend on it, for those who have had their homes and communities torn apart by the Hope VI program and the U.S. public housing system in general. One thing that has remained stable among all of the shifts in the racial identification of the inhabitants, the locations of the buildings, the housing standards, and so forth, is that, in the end, there are groups of people that are in desperate need of housing and depend on the government to provide it for them. American society, through the creation of and

implementation of policies aligned with social constructs such as race and class, has grouped and re-grouped these individuals into neighborhoods based on social norms and economic situations that statistically may make sense when trying to create homogeneous spatial patterns but in practice are quite arbitrary and inhumane.

These are people whose everyday lives are largely controlled by external forces that fail to consider them as autonomous human beings who need to be allowed to participate in the construction of their spaces and activities and who would benefit most from do so according to their own self-perception and social affiliations. That is to say, to recognize that they posses identities that perhaps make them part of communities other than the ones they are forced to be a member of in segregated neighborhoods.

By offering a certain number of low-income people the chance to own or rent a property in a mixed-income community—something that is considered a positive and desirable option—it is assumed that this will make the underlying issues of racism, racial segregation, classism, poverty, and poor urban planning as a whole disappear or appear to be on the mend. But this is not necessarily the case; the new trend to build mixed-income communities (and I stress the term *trend* since as we have seen, public housing is always evolving for better or worse) still prevents those who depend upon government-funded housing to completely take control of their lives and have the same freedoms as others in society.

The foundations of this inequality need to be critically explored such that a real transformation can occur, whereby the way in which we live is not determined by our socially-constructed identities but by who we choose to be

and how or where we choose to live. I realize that society is a long way from obtaining such a utopic scenario, and we should not be seeking utopias but rather what is achievable in reality. Although I admit I am skeptical as to whether real and substantial change is possible, what I have outlined for goals should, nevertheless, be presented as a benchmark to assess our progress in desegregating cities, providing sustainable housing for individuals regardless of class or racial status, and for privileging housing as a right instead of as a luxury. As we need to recognize and foster the potential in every individual, so we also need to recognize and foster our potential as a society. There are times when we can be, and should be, self-sufficient, and there are times when we truly need our neighbors, governments, and communities to contribute towards our success.

CHAPTER 5

LES TARTERÊTS: A PLURI-ETHNIC ENCLAVE STRUGGLING TO BE RECOGNIZED AS FRENCH

A worldwide migration is taking place, leading millions to urban areas in search of freedom and opportunity. Once inside the borders of their new country, these migrants often find that the freedom and opportunity they came for are not as great or as expected, encountering instead new kinds of restraints and controls that shape their everyday lives. From the perspective of a foreigner, it is difficult to see the boundaries[219] that exist within a country as the focus is on borders[220] and how to penetrate them. Thus, being within a country's borders should not necessarily be equated with actually being considered a full member of that society. That is to say, social norms; political laws; racial, religious or ethnic traditions; language; and geographic configurations all play a role in the

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[219] Boundaries are symbolic representations of the point at which one thing ends and another begins or beyond which it becomes something else. Thierry Paquot mentions that we must also think of this limit point not as a stopping of something but as its opening or transformation into something else. This additional insight into the meaning of the term boundary is something that deserves our attention. (Paquot, et.al. (2006), 165-166)

[220] Borders, like boundaries, also separate but are geo-political and jurisdictional entities that are not fundamentally symbolic; however, they do become symbolic when they become incorporated into public memory. Boundaries signify a border, indicate where a border can be laid down, but we must not confuse the two as their qualities are essentially different. Of interest is the fact that the French use the same word for boundary as they do for border, *frontière*. [Paquot, et.al. (2006), 165-166.]

creation of internal boundaries and borders that the immigrant must not only learn how to navigate but as well master in order to obtain a fully recognized status in the country.

Current socio-economic discourse is flooded with analyses centered on the movement of goods and people across borders. For instance, there is the debate concerning the wall being build along the United States/Mexican border (a re-emphasizing, re-asserting of a division already laid down decades ago), the divide in Ireland between the Catholic and Protestant areas of the country, where careful planning has to be used to prevent any hostilities from occurring, as well as the borders of the European Union that designate which European countries (and their citizens) will benefit from inclusion into this growing economic and political force.

These borders are not merely physical but ideological, as well, and so it becomes essential when speaking of the creation, reinforcement, redrawing or destruction of borders to realize that they are representative of a larger social belief, as well as political practices that actualize them, demanding their existence or non-existence. In turn, political practices inform and reinforce boundaries that are legitimized and created through socio-economic discourses of exclusion and inclusion. This interplay between the political and the socio-economic dimensions, in cases such as France's banlieues, should be a focus of study for those seeking to understand the larger issues surrounding immigration and discrimination. All too often, as Marco Martiniello points out, debates on the integration of immigrant populations weigh heavily on the side of socio-economic factors that lead to exclusion and little on the forms of political

exclusion that occur.[221] To forget the power that political borders and institutions have is to fail to recognize the means by which they can silence immigrant groups.

As such, I would argue that it is difficult to claim that boundaries, and certainly not borders, are in themselves neutral since our experience of them incorporates a certain ambiguity that is inherently found due to their fundamentally multi-stable character, leaving them open to a variety of interpretations[222] and implementations. For instance, there are national borders that are open to some and closed to others.[223] Borders are fixed and relatively stable[224], but, as I have mentioned, they are open to multiple interpretations depending on circumstance and the individual: for those to whom they are open, passage can be made with relative ease, making them seem "invisible" or neutral; for those to whom they are closed, they become a barricade, an obstacle (physical, psychological, etc.) to be tackled, and a forceful expression of exclusion; and for those who uphold or create them, they provide a sense of shelter, security, or an expression of inclusion. Furthermore, it is possible for the

[221] Marco Martiniello, "The Residential Concentration and Political Participation of Immigrants in European Cities," *Minorities in European Cities. The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social Exclusion at the Neighborhood Level*, eds. Sophie Body-Gendrot and Marco Martiniello (Hampshire, UK: Macmillan Press, 2000) 119-128.

[222] In that the message they send depends on the individual's relationship to the border/boundary itself or to what is on the other side of it.

[223] As in the instance of France (which we will see in this chapter), it is apparent that borders do not share the same meaning for all of those who engage them.

[224] A border changes due to political situations (e.g., the dissolution of the former Soviet Union) or the recognition of a country's autonomy (e.g., Tibet and Palestine), but such changes do not occur with the same frequency as with regards to boundaries (e.g., the boundary between land and sea changes with the tides).

same person to experience the same border as inclusionary and exclusionary due to changes in the location or signification of the border or the circumstances of the individual. However, as I mentioned above, we may find that even for those who are able to enter the country, once inside, more boundaries or borders exist—e.g., I can travel to France on a travel visa, which allows me to enter the country but does not allow me to benefit from any social services nor to take up employment there, and I must leave after a pre-determined period of time or risk legal consequences (deportation).

INTERNAL AND INTERNALIZED BOUNDARIES

Recently, the attention of academics, politicians and the general public has shifted from access across borders to access within borders (or internal borders and boundaries). In each of the case studies that I present in this dissertation, I am focusing primarily on access within borders, which entails investigating the emplacement, experience and meaning of a state's internal borders and boundaries. In terms of boundaries, these range from the boundaries of individual bodies to community and social boundaries. The borders that frame the research are those of cities. I am interested in how these internal boundaries are used to maintain social "norms," creating hierarchies of knowledge that affect the ethno-cultural and religious identity and expression of individuals considered as minorities within society. To begin to disclose these norms and the social mechanisms and institutions that they breed, we must look at the shapes that internal boundaries take and learn how to recognize them.

There are three things that I want to posit first about the presence of internal borders and boundaries (including periphery zones since the effects of many cities are felt beyond their legislative area) in an urban environment: first, they are a reflection of the city's social climate; second, their existence affects *all* members of the society; and third, that in order to rethink the way these lines are drawn and for what purposes, we need to not only repair cosmetic (material) problems but also attend to the deeper ideological structure informing their design—i.e., the knowledge base that supports social norms and their expression (physical and non-physical).

In the last chapter, I addressed these questions from the perspective of neighborhood and community formation, but here I would like to focus more on the actual limits themselves. France provides a perfect background for this kind of study through its passion for protecting its borders and boundaries that indicate the limits of the state, regions, ex-colonial countries, overseas territories, city peripheries, *arrondisements* (neighborhoods), agricultural production regions and linguistic regions; for instance—the country is made up of an astounding 36,000 communes (municipalities/towns), 4,000 cantons (states), 100 *departements* (county or province) and 22 regions.[225] This passion is evident in current plans put forth by President Nicolas Sarkozy to reduce the number of departments and regions in France, which is being met with strong opposition from local representatives.[226]

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[225] The terms in parentheses are meant to offer an idea of what the equivalent term would be in the United States.

[226] Comité pour la réforme des collectivités locales, "Les 20 propositions du Comité" (25 February 2009) <http://reformedescollectiviteslocales.fr/actualites/index.php?id=75>.

Involved in this division and sub-division of France is not only bureaucratic control but identity control. There are strong and clear identities that are formed (either by the individual or society) based on where one is from; but this is not necessarily taken as something negative. What holds the country together, despite all of these regionalities, is its common language, which is strongly promoted and protected, and its Republican ideals, which are pro-democratic and non-nationalistic[227]. This is different than the patriotism and nationalism that form the primary uniting factors for American identity. Caught up in the naming game are the immigrants who enter France and become stamped not only with the identity of foreigner but also that of the place where they end up living, adding an extra line that they must try to erase if they want to assimilate into French society. The regional differences between, for instance, those from the South or the North and those from the capital (Paris) are completely different than those drawn between foreigner and French, the latter taking on a more serious tone that is actually prohibitive.

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[227] The fact that France is not a heavily nationalistic country is evident in the reaction given to Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National Party that centers itself on a pro-nationalist anti-immigrant platform.

Les Tarterêts (2006). This view is from the RER train as I was coming into the station. All of the towers you see make up Les Tarterêts. The center of Corbeil Essonnes is behind me on the other side of the railway tracks.

To illustrate the extent of the effects of this difference between French and foreigner[228], I will refer to the *cité* Les Tarterêts located in Corbeil-Essonnes, a town just south of Paris. Corbeil-Essonnes is a commune that lies about 30

[228] The term foreigner refers to those born outside of France, as well as their children who, despite being French citizens by birth, are, nonetheless, still frequently identified as being foreign by society and the media. Even the government identifies their foreign origins in referring to them as either "Second Generation" or "French of Foreign Origin." Gérard Noiriel, in *The French Melting Pot*, analyses how the term "foreigner" has become an instrument of power, citing the alteration of its juridical sense to one that is cultural or ethnic, thus creating a situation whereby the individual can no longer shed their identity as foreigner or immigrant. [*The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity*, Trans. Geoffroy de Laforcade (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996) 21-22.]

kilometers (18 miles) south of Paris and was created on August 10, 1951 by the merger of the commune of Corbeil with the commune of Essonnes. It is part of the department of Evry, which is demographically a young and ethnically-mixed section in the Ile-de-France region.[229] It is located 28.3 kilometers (17.6 miles) from the center of Paris. Its proximity is close enough that it is considered a *banlieue* of Paris, although it belongs to those that fall in a region referred to as the *la grande couronne*[230]. Being so close to Paris means that its financial, social and cultural ties to the capital considerably affect its local social and economic milieu.

For instance, between 2000-2006, 481 businesses left the area, and, of these, 12% went to Paris to reestablish themselves. This severely impacted the working-class population of Corbeil-Essonnes, which depended on local jobs and found themselves then either having to make long daily commutes or remain unemployed. Today there are few companies or factories located in Corbeil-Essonnes; most of the employment opportunities are found outside the town, predominantly in Paris, making it less self-sufficient economically than it was during the first half of the 1900s and leading to problems stemming from high

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[229] "Fiche de la commune de Corbeil-Essonnes," Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE) website (December 2008) <http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/nomenclatures/cog/fichecommunale.asp?codedep=91&codecom=174>.

[230] There are two "*couronnes*" (crowns or circles) for Paris. *La petite couronne* (small circle) is comprised of three *départements* (counties)—les Hauts-de-Seine, la Seine-Saint-Denis et le Val-de-Marne—in which *banlieues* (suburbs) such as Nanterre, St. Denis and other famous *ceinture rouge* ("Red Belt") working class suburbs in the northeast, and St. Cloud are located. Then there is *la grande couronne* that is comprised of four *departments*—la Seine-et-Marne, les Yvelines, l'Essonne et le Val-d'Oise—in which *banlieues* such as, Fontainebleau, Versailles, Corbeil-Essonnes and Montmorency.

levels of local unemployment (particularly among the low-skilled immigrant worker population).[231]

When the "*grands ensembles*" were first build during the 1950s in Corbeil-Essonnes (Les Tarterêts, Les Pyramides, La Nacelle and Montconseil), they were meant to create much needed housing during a time when massive numbers of French and migrant workers were moving from the countryside to the city, which, in this region, meant Paris. The increasing need for new housing units that presented itself to Western European countries after World War II was answered in the form of technical and utilitarian planning schemes that built tall buildings in whatever free and inexpensive spaces could be found at the time. France had not only a surge in population to create housing for but as well an urgent need to replace the significant level of substandard housing that existed.

A high percentage of this new housing was funded publicly and set aside as low-income and worker housing.[232] Those who took up residence in the new housing estate towers were, however, largely upwardly mobile middle-class households seeking more sanitary and larger accommodations than those found in Paris. Mixed among these households were immigrants, relocated inner city poor and low-wage workers.[233] Many of these towns contained factories that

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[231] "Les transferts d'établissements entre la CA Seine-Essonne et l'Ile-de-France pour la période 2000-2006," Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE) website (2007) <http://www.insee.fr/FR/insee_regions/ idf/zoom/epci/epci_essonne/epci_seine_carte3.htm>.

[232] Maurice Blanc and Jean-Marc Stébé, "From dreams to disillusion," *High-Rise Housing in Europe: Current trends and future prospects*, eds. R. Turkington, et.al. (Delft, NL: Delft University Press, 2004) 99-101.

[233] The French do not have a history of residential segregation like that of the United States. Those of different classes tend to live in the same neighborhoods,

could hire low-skill or no-skill laborers and provide basic resources for those living in Paris (e.g., flour, paper, etc.). The post-War period then can be considered as giving birth to the "*grand ensemble*": the thousands of units built in expansive, high-rise housing estates on the outskirts of France's major cities (Paris, Lyon, Grenoble, Marseilles).

These *grands ensembles* served pressing housing needs by using new technologies that made it easier to build inexpensive, large-scale, functional concrete blocks. In the early years of their development, they were considered as symbols of pride for those towns that had them built in their suburbs, a sign of "the urban avant-garde."[234] However, those designing these new neighborhoods or building compounds were architects and urban planners who were responding to the pressing material needs for housing individuals, and this pushed aside any consideration for the social, economic, or psychological needs that those taking up residence in the new housing developments would have. The lack of social awareness that these buildings displayed was evident in things such as the thinness of the walls, the fact that they were built for families but had public spaces not easily supervised by parents, and there were few if any amenities that would offer residents access to reliable public transportation or shopping, for instance. As a result of the complaints against the *grandes ensembles*, their construction was stopped in 1973 and replaced with buildings that were either multi-storied or single-family houses. What occurred in France was part of

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within individual buildings split up into units that accord with a tenant's income, and they frequent the same cafes.

[234] Maurice Blanc and Jean-Marc Stébé, 104.

a larger European trend to rethink large-scale, high-rise social housing estates after structural and social problems began to emerge in them.[235]

Despite this shift away from using high-rise towers for low and middle-income housing, it was already too late. The buildings were there and were slowly being depleted of their middle-class and working-class residents. New problems arose that were not only structural but social, as the units were filled with increasingly poor, undereducated and unemployed tenants. Just before the economy fell in the 1970s, there was a surge in the flow of immigrants coming from France's former colonies in North Africa who began to fill these worker housing estates. During the economic decline of the 1970s, France instated a moratorium on any new immigration of workers. As a result, the North African workers, no longer able to come and go between France and their home country, quickly tried to rent any affordable housing they could find as a means for obtaining the necessary residency permits that would allow them to bring their families to join them in France.[236] Much of the housing they rented ended up being in the *grands ensembles* that were becoming less attractive to the middle-class French. The sudden and rather rapid shift in the demographics of the *grands ensembles* marked the start of spatial and social isolation that continues to plague the immigrant population and their French-born children today.

In the early 1980s, plans were made to rehabilitate the existing housing estates, as it had proved impossible to simply tear them down and replace them

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[235] Arild Holt-Jensen, "Neighbourhood initiatives and their transferability across Europe," Paper delivered at ENHR conference (Ljubljana, Slovenia 2-5 July 2006) 2.

[236] Mauric Blanc and Jean-Marc Stébé, 109.

with other smaller-scale housing since there was neither the space nor funding for new developments. This was quite evident in Paris, whose centralized planning and density creates a formidable barrier for redevelopment projects that seek to either relocate residents in order to desegregate neighborhoods or to renovate a neighborhood so that it will attract businesses and positive social activity.[237] This was the reason why the *grands ensembles* were built in Paris's outlying region and then connected by several commuter rail lines to the city center, thereby allowing, on the one hand, a close relationship to form socially, and, above all economically between it and the suburbs and, on the other hand, the border between the city and the suburbs to remain intact. The periphery of Paris continues to act as a definite barrier between those living in the city versus outside of it, which has been criticized as simply protecting the property of wealthier Parisians. Unlike cities in the U.S. where the middle- and upper-class moved out of city centers, France's metropolises, and especially Paris, have been preserved as historic centers with relatively expensive housing.

In focusing on the development and renovation of social housing existing outside of Paris, another set of barriers was created due to the increasingly social and economic isolation of the *grands ensembles*. While the majority of the earlier migrant and immigrant worker populations and the middle-class moved out of the housing estates, it has become evident that those who now find themselves isolated in these former workers neighborhoods do not possess the same option due to lack of financial resources, ethnic discrimination and other factors, which

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[237] The economic, built environment, and social development of a neighborhood is of main concern for social urban planners and each contributes to ameliorating the effects of social exclusion within cities.

the primarily French or Western European migrant workers did not face as severely (or which diminished over time).

This has been the case for those living in Les Tarterêts, who are increasingly unemployed and undereducated, thereby increasing their isolation and lack of possibility, which in turn feeds their resentment towards French society. While the French social security system helps its residents maintain a daily way of life, it does not create opportunity. Such opportunities require the good acquisition of the language, coupled with an education, increasingly post-graduate as the employment market is shifting from low-skill or no-skill jobs to more technical positions that require at least an undergraduate degree. However, without the proper educational foundation laid during a child's formative years, the opportunity for skilled positions quickly diminishes. In a place like Les Tarterêts, the schools, along with the families, often have as their goal simply to get children their basic high school degree, which is difficult enough.

LES TARTERÊTS: THE CASE STUDY

I have spent the past three years studying the neighborhood of Les Tarterêts, and the following is a summary of my findings about the changes occurring within it as the large-scale, government-initiated, redevelopment project transforms it. Les Tarterêts is an *HLM* (*habitation à loyer modique*)[238] located

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[238] It signifies a block of moderately priced housing units managed by companies that are either public or private and which receive partial public funding. Those renting the units receive sizable subsidies from the government to pay for the rent and often receive other welfare benefits such as those for health insurance, childcare and transportation. [Paquot et. al. (2006), 138.] As of 2005, France had

within the town of Corbeil-Essonnes, a suburb that is a forty-minute RER ride south of Paris (28 km./18 mi.). It is one of four such housing estates that are also designated as a *Zone Urbaine Sensible* (*ZUS*)[239] in the towns of Corbeil-Essonnes and Évry. Quite often, studies compare it to Les Pyramides in Évry, which shares many of the same problems as Les Tarterêts, but which is geographically distinct. Les Tarterêts is, for example, geographically cut off from the rest of Corbeil-Essonnes while Les Pyramides is linked to the rest of the town.[240] As well, it exemplifies, in its own little microcosm, the housing and social problems that plague France's immigrant and lower-class population living in similar neighborhoods across the country.

Corbeil-Essonnes as a whole, while mostly middle-class or wealthy, contains pockets of incredible poverty and urban decay, such as this *cité*.[241]

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more than 4 million of these units, which accounted for approximately 18% of all existing lodgings and in which around 12 million inhabitants were housed. The standard of living for and education level of the residents living in HLM housing projects are among the lowest while the crime rates and number of children under the age of 25 is typically higher in these blocks. ["Résidences principales selon le statut d'occupation," Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE) (February 2009) <http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATTEF05235>.]

[239] *Zones Urbaines Sensibles* are "infra-urban" areas that are defined by public authorities to be the priority target of city policies that are developed according to local considerations of the problems that the inhabitants of these areas have. It is the name for one of three levels of intervention laid out in the "Law of 14 November 1996." INSEE website (December 2008) http://www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/zone-urbaine-sensible.htm>.

[240] Ministère du logement et de la ville, *50 Grands projets de ville : Ile-de-France, Évry/Corbeil-Essonnes* (June 2002) <i.ville.gouv.fr/divbib/doc/gpvtarteret.pdf>.

[241] Originally, the meaning of the word was a "city" that has been fortified (e.g., Carcasonne). In time, it came to be used for small towns or for the seats of religious, military or political institutions, and today it is mainly used to designate the housing projects in the *banlieues*. In addition to subtle changes in its meaning, the word *cité* has also changed from designating centers of knowledge

Overall, Les Tarterêts remains isolated within the larger town, as there are few points of contact that can be effectively used to foster relationships between those living in the two areas. The places where the residents of Les Tarterêts and those from the rest of Corbeil-Essonnes do interact are mainly limited to the local high school, the outdoor produce market that is open twice a week, local festivals, the RER train station (a five minute or so drive from Les Tarterêts), and on the RER train that goes into Paris. However, even in these places there can be little contact.

A distinct perimeter is placed around each housing estate neighborhood and their residents, one that is rarely penetrated. Contributing to this isolation is the image, fed by exaggerated coverage by the media, of Les Tarterêts as a squalid place teeming with violence, illegalities, and "foreigners," who have not (and will not be) integrated into mainstream French society. Loïc Wacquant points out that there is a social stigmatization that is attached to those living in the housing estates, but in addition this stigmatization extends to other aspects of everyday life: "Territorial stigmatization affects interactions not only with employers but also with the police, the courts and street-level welfare bureaucracies, all of which are especially likely to modify their conduct and

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and politics to being symbolic of the lower-class and immigrant-filled public housing. In some ways, the core sense of the word has remained the same: that of a fortified, contained space designed for a kind of institutional use. Today, those living in a *cité* will often refer to their neighborhood as such without fully comprehending the negative connotation attributed to the word by the rest of society. However, those aware of the word's stigmatizing effects for those living in them have turned to using a Verlanization of the word *téci*. [Paquot et. al. (2006), 56-57]

procedures based on residence in a degraded cité"[242]. This image applies to not only Les Tarterêts but to all of the *banlieues* and immigrant neighborhoods and their residents. Furthermore, there exists discrimination between residents living in different *banlieues* that creates a hierarchical gradation of disrepute among the housing estates.

As in the case of Cabrini-Green, Les Tarterêts did not begin as a place filled with dilapidated housing, massive under-employment, violence, and ethnic or racial stigmatization. Both housing projects began as construction projects aimed to supply affordable housing to the influx of laborers coming to work at the factories in each of these cities during the 1940s-1960s, and much of it was intended as temporary, since it was estimated that in time these workers would be able to save enough to move elsewhere (either to other neighborhoods or the suburbs, as in the case of Chicago, or back to their native countries, as in the case of France). As for Les Tarterêts, its development began in 1961 during France's industrial boom of the 1950-60s, and which ended around 1970, as I mentioned earlier in the chapter.

During this ten-year period, marked by an influx of immigrant and migrant labor, coming from mainly Africa and other parts of Europe, to supplement the French workforce, France found itself in an exaggerated emergency housing situation that had already existed due to lack of maintenance and destruction during the War. In the particular case of Corbeil-Essonnes, home

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[242] Loïc J. D. Wacquant, "Urban Outcasts: Stigma and Division in the Black American Ghetto and the French Urban Periphery," *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 17 n. 3 (1993) 370-371.

to several new and expanding factories[243], the mayor at that time was faced with a demand for 1000 new housing units.[244] The result was Les Tarterêts, situated on a plot of land in the north part of Corbeil-Essonnes, wedged between a highway (Nationale 7) to the North, railroad tracks to the South and East, and a river (the Seine) just beyond the railroad tracks. The housing towers, most standing at over 10 stories tall, were primarily built and managed by a mix of private corporations and public services.

Since the towers were all built around the same time, there is a strange uniformity of style, one that provides a *fausse façade* for the underlying diversity amongst residents. In fact, in conversations with a friend who lives in one of the towers, he mentioned that each building has its own "flavor," its own story. As we walked around the neighborhood one morning, he pointed out each one with its associated tale based on things such as illegal activities taking place in it, the ethnicity of the majority of residents residing within, and so forth. What his tour revealed to me was that even in such a non-descript place there are still notable landmarks and distinctive features to be found—one simply has to notice them or to put forth an effort to seek them out.

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[243] The region was already the center for the flour-milling industry and had several paper mills during the 1900s, but other companies, such as IBM, which has since closed, began to move to the region after the joining of the communes [define] of Corbeil and Essonnes in 1951. "Histoire: Un Passé Considérable," Wesite for the Ville de Corbeil-Essonnes <http://www.corbeil-essonnes.com /spip.php?article394>.

[244] "Corbeil-Essonnes / Les Tarterêts," Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation urbaine (ANRU) website <http://www.anru.fr/Corbeil-Essonnes.html? var_recherche=corbeil-essonnes>.

Les Tarterêts (2006). View from the newly built football field, looking towards rue Paul Cézanne.

In 1971, when the original construction was completed, there were about 2300 apartment units in the buildings that make up Les Tarterêts, which covers an area measuring one square kilometer (.36 square miles), and the *cité* (as it is now referred to), as of 2004, has an estimated population of 10,000 habitants—it must be kept in mind that this figure is a rough estimate and may actually be rather low since it is known that there are households that are lodging unaccounted for illegal immigrants, but statistics on such persons remains

unavailable. Corbeil-Essonnes has a landmass area of 11.01 km^2 and a population estimate as of 2005 of 40,900.[245]

While statistics on the racial composition of a city are readily available in the United States, this is not the case in France where such information is simply not gathered under the direction of the Republican ideal of equality, which does not allow for racial, ethnic or religious distinctions to be made in government documents and surveys for those who are of French citizenship, thus affording the same rights to everyone who is French and, along these lines, also forbidding the implementation of any kind of affirmative action program for those who have the right to stay in France (be they French citizens or not). Interestingly enough however, is the fact that it does not prevent "profiling" from occurring. In the same stroke, we find that there is a legal forbidding of ethno-racial and religious distinctions and an implementation of the practice of profiling by police. However, the police deny using profiling tactics in their attempts at tackling illegal immigration and crime. So, it is not only society that is creating and enforcing distinctions between groups or individuals, but, as well, the very government that seeks to dispel such distinctions.

Nevertheless, once in the neighborhood it is apparent that one does not need statistics to immediately recognize that the majority of the population is of African descent, often from the Maghreb and West Africa (the locations of former colonies). The rest is comprised of various other nationalities (including French), ethnicities, and socio-economic classes. The resulting mixture is anything but homogeneous and in that respect (as well as others) does not resemble the housing projects we find in the States, which are predominantly composed of a

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[245] ANRU, "Corbeil-Essonnes / Les Tarterêts."

single racial group (although in some instances, there is a mixing of Blacks from the Caribbean Islands with Blacks from the South, a heterogeneity unperceived by those outside of the community). Nor does the mixture found in this community resemble the reductionist perception held by those outside of the community who describe the community using general categories such as Muslim, Arab or Black.[246] Admittedly, it is not easy to pay due attention to the smaller ethnic, religious and cultural groups that fall within these broader categories, but it is, nevertheless, important to recognize the fact that those living in these immigrant quarters do attach a certain level of significance to them, one that sometimes leads to intra-neighborhood conflicts.

For those living in Les Tarterêts, the average number of persons of non-French decent (based on a survey performed in 1999) is 26%, at least 10% more than that of Paris and 11% more than in Corbeil-Essonnes. Forty-six percent of its inhabitants are less than 25 years old, which is 13% higher than Paris's average and 7% higher than the average for Corbeil-Essonnes. Perhaps the most shocking statistic is the unemployment rate which stands at 24%, 14% higher than the national average and 9% higher than in Corbeil-Essonnes overall.[247] Confounding

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[246] Richard Alba and Roxane Silberman point out that those from the Maghreb—Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia—are often referred to as simply Muslims or Arabs by the French government, media and society; but, this, they say: "puts too much weight on religious identity. Though the great majority are raised as Muslims, some are Christian; and many are non-observant in France…Though stereotyped in popular consciousness as "Arabs," many are not speakers of Arabic, but of a Berber language" [Richard Alba and Roxane Silberman, "Decolonization Immigrants and the Social Origins of the Second Generation: The Case of North Africans in France," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Winter 2002) 1171 ftn. 2.]

[247] There is a lot to be said about this difference in the unemployment rate as several factor are at play, but despite the reasons behind the percentages it is still quite clear that there is a hyper-concentration of poverty in this area. Such a

the problem of unemployment is the existence of a high rate of persons without a diploma, which, as of 1999, stood at around 30%. This statistic, however, does not account for the sub-standard education many of the students receive in France that fails to prepare them for entrance into a university or careers in one of the viable trade sectors.[248]

These last two concerns, unemployment and under-education, are both being addressed in the larger urban renewal project (*Programme de Rénovation Urbaine du quartier*) for Les Tarterêts that was started in 2004 and will be completed in 2008. As in the case of Cabrini-Green, residents have been displaced during the physical renovation process, which proved difficult for those living illegally in the units (and in France). However, the manner in which the relocation of the residents took place was, in some ways, better organized than that of Cabrini-Green due to the French emphasis on housing as a right and the large role that public services play in the lives of French citizens.[249]

Also, each site has a different focus: on the one hand, we have that of Les Tarterêts being the improvement of the neighborhood through economic, social,

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concentration has a profound effect on the inhabitants (psychologically, environmentally, socially and economically). As a side note, the percentages for Corbeil-Essonnes include those of Les Tarterêts and Les Pyramides.

[248] Across the statistical board, Les Tarterêts had percentages that were at least 10% higher than those of Corbeil-Essonnes and Paris, and even higher rates than other Zones Urbaines Sensibles. All the statistics on this page come from the website for the Ministère du logement et de la ville, "ZFU Les Tarterêts, Les Pyramides," citing information from L'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques [INSEE RP] 1999/ Direction Générale des Impôts [DGI] 2004 (données fiscales)/ Ministère de l'Intérieur (2005) / Ministère de l'Education National (2004) / Caisse Nationale d'Assurance Maladie [CNAM] (2006) <http://sig.ville.gouv.fr/Territoire/1112NZF>.

[249] Gérard Noiriel, xxi.

educational and material developments and the integration of its residents into the rest of the area and French society, and, on the other hand, there is the goal of the Cabrini-Green redevelopment project which sought to completely demolish the buildings of Cabrini-Green (except the row houses) in order to improve the neighborhood (economically and in terms of safety) but to do so by installing a mixed-community in a series of town houses built on and around the old site. Yes, many of the residents of Les Tarterêts will see themselves relocated (if only temporarily), but the number of those who fall into this category is minimal compared to the nearly 70% of Cabrini-Green residents who will be permanently relocated (i.e., not given the chance to return to their old neighborhood).

Multi-family, mixed-income units being built in the northwest corner of Les Tarterêts (2007)

The part of the project that will be completed by the end of 2008 will result in the destruction of 370 units in sub-standard condition and the construction of 150 social housing units, 40 additional un-rented new units, and 996 units will be rehabilitated. Then, around 2009, there are plans to build three towers, each 15-stories high containing 180 units. It will be interesting to see what effects the renewal project has on the problems that plague the neighborhood, not least of all its seclusion from the rest of Corbeil-Essonnes.

While the geographical seclusion of Les Tarterêts is evident by looking at a map of Corbeil-Essonnes[250], the social exclusion is felt at the street level. Little outside traffic passes through the community but rather along the outer roads that link this place to the rest of the town. Even the services that exist in the community are on the outskirts and not mixed in with the housing blocks themselves, as is typical of French towns. This kind of isolation and separation of commercial and living space further exacerbates the disconnection that those living there feel from the world outside.

When I visited the outdoor market on a sunny Saturday morning, there were mainly residents from the *cité* shopping, and the goods being sold reflected their ethnic and cultural interests. One would expect that the market place would provide an excellent place for those of the *cité* to mix with others outside their community, but this did not seem to be the case. Those living in Corbeil-Essonnes have other markets they can go to, and so there is no incentive to go to

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[250] Which has been noted in the introductory pages of the *Convention Partenariale pour la mise en oeuvre du projet de renovation urbaine 2004-2008*. [Christine Boutin (Ministre du Logement), "Signature avenant et signature convention ANRU, Corbeil Essonne" (29 August 2007) <http://www.logement.gouv.fr/article.php3?id_article=6122.]

this one. In general, the services provided to those living in the *cité* are limited and are specialized for the local population. This provides little reason for those outside of the community to shop there.

The problem for residents of Les Tarterêts is the lack of services available and the distance that must be traveled to reach them. For the 10,000 inhabitants of Les Tarterêts, there is a bakery; a pharmacy; an open air market (the one mentioned above which was recently established) that operates twice a week; a small convenience store (whose prices are entirely too much for those who depend on it); a mosque[251]; a church; a tiny strip-mall of stores that offer African products/food, cell phones and internet access (see image below); a library; the mayor's office; a football field; and a Halal butcher shop—all of which are located on the outer fringes of the area.

At one time, there was a commercial center, but that was destroyed and burned down by youths during the 2005 riots. The same fate belonged to the recreation center and parking facilities, leaving gaping holes in the community both in terms of services and in terms of land. These areas and amenities are being rebuilt in accordance with the renovation project that is now almost finished. Still, even in the summer of 2008 at which time most of the projects should have been realized or significantly completed, there exists a serious lack of parking, positive recreational activities for the youth, and affordable shopping options in proximity to the center of the neighborhood.[252]

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[251] This is actually called an Islamic cultural center. The 200 million euros to build it came primarily from Serge Desault the mayor of Corbeil-Essonnes and one of the top 100 wealthiest people in the world according to Forbes Magazine.

[252] It should be mentioned that when asking residents if they knew what was to become of the vacant lots in their neighborhood, the response was always "I

Shopping center on the southern edge of Les Tarterêts (2006)

The configuration of Les Tarterêts[253] within its outer borders is such that there are only two streets that pass completely through while the rest are a series of one-way and dead-end streets that were planned specifically to control movement. Added to this already challenging maze of streets are road humps which were placed to keep cars from not being able to go faster than about 25km per hour. What is even more curious is how the strict control of movement bleeds over to the sidewalk/pedestrian area. The sidewalks are covered with

don't know." The information I gathered concerning the revitalization project came from the website of Corbeil-Essonnes which, interestingly enough, was the only information I could obtain about Les Tarterêts from the website.

[253] The following description is based on my observations made during visits in 2006-2007 during the early stages of the current redevelopment project, which had at that time was focusing more on the demolition of the most dilapidated buildings and had not begun the massive re-landscaping part of the project.

huge boulders making them impossible to park on (something that is typical in small French cities where parking is limited and streets are too narrow to park on) or to walk down with any sufficient ease.

In this photo is a field that used to be the site of the old shopping center that was burned down during the riots and the boulders that ran along the sidewalk blocking pedestrian traffic (2006)

As I was walking around, I became increasingly aware of my movement since, if I failed to pay attention for one moment, then I would either run into one of these boulders or else fall off the curb into the street. I also noticed that my friends and I either had to walk single-file down the sidewalk or else side by side with one of us walking in the street in order to accommodate the presence of these stones. Punctuating the corners of each street were metal barricades (they

looked like metal toadstools) or smaller rocks that skirted the entire radius. If the traffic patterns had not confirmed my earlier suspicions, these certainly did and were confirmed by my friend living in this neighborhood—the entire design is to prevent people from fleeing too quickly no matter what mode of transportation they are using (car, bicycle, foot).

I was left to wonder if the planning was a reaction to an earlier event or if it was based on some hypothesized preventative act. Either way, the planning signals that the movements of anyone using these streets is not only being controlled but also automatically assumed as potentially dangerous. To be fair, there is a problem in the community with car theft as well as other criminal activities that would confirm the need for such planning, but what I was wondering as I toured the neighborhood is whether it is necessary as a result for all of the residents to be subjected to a kind of war-zone existence.

IS INTEGRATION A PHYSICAL ACT?

Les Tarterêts was chosen for a comparison site to Cabrini-Green because it presents a perfect example of how internal boundaries are used to maintain social norms and create a hierarchy of "knowledge" through isolating and stigmatizing a community.[254] Those who originally moved to this neighborhood were part of the flood of immigrants coming to France in the 60s and 70s and

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[254] In addition, I chose this site because a friend who lives in one of the towers in Les Tarterêts helped introduce me to the neighborhood as well as to understand and see the diversity present within it by filling in what I could not discern from the position of an outsider.

typically worked at local factories. Since then, most of the factories have closed and few local jobs remain. Those that do exist (approximately 10,000 in the immediate region), are in the health care, education and electronic industries. However, as I mentioned already, there exists a high level of under-education among the residents of Les Tarterêts and the other *cités* in Corbeil-Essonnes and this would prevent many from obtaining any positions that require technical skills, certifications or university degrees. Of course, while there is a need for low-skill positions, the solution to the problem is to improve the educational training for and high-school retention rates of the youth.

In addition to the educational and employment problems facing those living in Les Tarterêts, there are two major social forces contributing to their isolation: the first one is traceable to the fact that these immigrant workers were never 'invited' for long-term residence, and the fact that they have now established themselves permanently, having brought their families to join them, has created tension in the area, as well as in France in general. The second force at play involves the socio-cultural (and at times linguistic and religious) differences that exist (or are at least perceived as existing) between the native French and the immigrant population. The interplay between these two factors was exploited by Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party that gained momentum during the 1980s as a result of, on the one hand, "its advocacy of a xenophobic platform that blames immigrants for all of the problems facing French society," and, on the other hand, "the fact that many of its spokespersons

were able to bring public opinion around to a new way of thinking about immigration"[255].

The fact that they were not entirely welcome from the start and that the ways by which they go about organizing their daily lives differ (at times) greatly from those who are native French has contributed to the isolation of the members of this community: an isolation that extends the boundaries of Corbeil-Essonnes to France as a whole; in other words, it is an isolation that is "trans-spatial" in the sense that the identities of the residents are so intertwined with their neighborhood and the politics surrounding it that even when they travel outside of it, they, nevertheless, remain trapped in it through their association with it. Over time, the differences between those living inside and outside of the neighborhood have become exaggerated and the immigrant groups themselves have been targeted by various reductionistic caricatures coming from French society and the media, leaving all sorts of misunderstanding and misinformation in the wake.

One glaring example concerns the stereotyping of Muslim women from these communities who choose to wear the veil as being "backwards," "subservient," or "extremist." The Muslim veil or scarf has become a highly politicized symbol that has been appropriated by those on either side of the debate over whether Muslim women and girls should be allowed to wear them in schools, universities and government offices. Another is that, although only an extremely small percentage of the immigrant population living in the *banlieues* participate in any kind of violent activity, the characteristic of a having a violent nature has been imputed to all those who come from these neighborhoods

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[255] Gérard Noiriel, xi-xii.

(especially the men). This stereotype has, in the end, fed the violent behavior that can be found in the immigrant neighborhoods. Sophie Body-Gendrot has identified two kinds of motivation for violence in these neighborhoods: the first is based on a protest against their treatment by society and the government, and the second is based on the idea of intimidation that often takes the form of rioting and petty delinquency. The latter is anti-inclusion in its nature and is a way for youths who find themselves isolated and disempowered to unify and find a sense of empowerment.[256]

Sophie Body-Gendrot and Catherine de Wenden speak to this cross-defining that occurs of *banlieue*, violence and immigrant in *Sortir des banlieues*:

> The confusion is extreme [referring to attempts at defining *banlieue*]: when we speak of the *banlieue*, we speak in fact of its population; when we refer to the inhabitants, we speak of the place where they inhabit. Politics of immigration and politics of the city "overlap": the French choice is to give priority to the territories to resolve the problem of the inhabitants of multiple origins.[257]

The reduction of immigrant population to place, place to immigrant population, or even multiple immigrant populations to one immigrant population, fails to recognize, on the one hand, the diversity within the *banlieues* of France and, on the other hand, the diversity within France's immigrant

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[256] Sophie Body-Gendrot, "Urban Violence and Community Mobilizations," *Minorities in European Cities. The Dynamics of Social Integration and Social Exclusion at the Neighborhood Level*, eds. Sophie Body-Gendrot and Marco Martiniello (Hampshire, UK: Macmillan Press, 2000) 75-87.

[257] "La confusion est extreme: quand on parle de la banlieue, on parle en fait de sa population; quand on se réfère aux habitants, on parle des lieux où ils habitent. Politique de l'immigration et politique de la ville se télescopent: le choix français est de traiter en priorité des territoires pour résoudre le problème des habitants aux origins diverses." [My translation and note] Sophie Body-Gendrot and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, *Sortir des banlieues: Pour en finir avec la tyrannie des territoiries* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2007) 6-7.

communities: there are not only ethnic and cultural differences amongst the population but also differences within the more specific ethno-cultural groups along the lines of ideology, religion, and education, for example. One sees these differences quite clearly when visiting the banlieues and other neighborhoods heavily populated by immigrants: for instance, one can typically find within these neighborhoods mosques, Christian churches, and even Jewish temples, thereby attesting to a wide variety of beliefs, cultures and practices.[258]

What I have come to notice in my studies is that it is the perceived distance between the native French and immigrants that has led to a real distance exhibited in the organization and planning of lived space. The resulting physical distance, in turn, reinforces the imagined distance based on these prejudices and stereotypes[259], thereby further reinforcing the division between the French and immigrant populations. The momentum of this self-reinforcing circle has been gaining speed in recent years due to an increase in the number of immigrants arriving in France (and Europe in general) and to growing economic problems in France.

Acts of exclusion or seclusion run both ways, however, as immigrant populations, as well, construct biases against and barriers between themselves and French society. As the divisions become reinforced, the attainment of the ideal of "integration" asserted by the French government becomes less and less

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[258] As with churches and temples, one also finds differences among mosques—something that rarely, if at all, is noted in reports on Muslim communities in Europe.

[259] The battle, as always with stereotypes, is that between the real and the imagined. Part of what is required for healing segregated societies is to work on the discordance between the two.

likely. When contact between members of a society is at a minimum, the chances of any kind of sharing (linguistic, cultural, social, etc.) are slim. What occurs instead is the creation of a fragmented society in which there are redundant services and activities since each "community" sets up its own and there is little if any sharing of them between "communities."[260]

What we find, then, is that the boundaries that surround Les Tarterêts (and other segregated communities) and its habitants are both physical and ideological. There exist physical boundaries created by the highway, the river and the railroad tracks that help separate it from the rest of Corbeil-Essonnes that form as well most of the jurisdictional borderlines. The ideological boundaries are more difficult to pinpoint, but one glaring one is the discrimination that is experienced by those living in the housing towers which isolates them socially and economically from the rest of the town, and, if we reframe the scope, the rest of France (and from Europe).

These boundaries are tied both to the community and the members of the community—their home address is something that is extremely physical. When my friend living in Les Tarterêts went in search of employment, he found that his resumes that used his home address received no calls while those with his sister's address in Paris garnered a few calls for interviews. This is not

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[260] I would go even further and say that in addition to creating separate services and activities within society, there is also the creation of distinct multiple public memories. This latter result is also a means for reinforcing the separation between the groups since their histories and their memories, become a source of controversy and are often found to be irreconcilable. Since neither side can see the point of view of the other, a kind of ethics based on empathy would be difficult to establish. What effects then would this have on the society as a whole is something I would be interested in exploring further.

coincidence; there are hundreds of such stories told by those living in immigrant communities, specifically the *cités* like Les Tarterêts.

I have placed significant emphasis on the physical layout of the community, specifically its borders, since the planning of Les Tarterêts was executed in a very intentional way—its site was designed specifically for its insertion into the surrounding area. At the time of its development, there was a need for building affordable worker housing, and, therefore, it was thought that it should be located within walking distance to their places of work. In addition, since the housing development was intended to house workers, the income earned from rents paid by tenants would be relatively low and so the price for building the units should also be low. The least expensive land prices were found in the pockets of land in between the industrial sites at the edges of the town. So, in this particular instance, urban planning played the role of translator: translating the desires and needs of Corbeil-Essonnes, France, the local and national economy, and other external players into what we now know as Les Tarterêts, their solution to the rubric of development conditions that were presented.

What began as simply a separation of workers and their places of employment from the rest of the population has turned into the separation between groups of immigrants who no longer bear any connection to these now-closed factories and French society. The borders are the same, albeit reinforced by racist discourse; though the boundaries have changed, they are no longer as permeable as they were for the first groups of residents. The actualization of our desire to create a separation between "us" and "them" reinforces this spatial separation and forms a vicious cycle that traces and retraces boundaries and

borders, marking them, creating an increasingly greater rift and leaving less of a chance that any sort of healing between the different sides may occur.

The current anti-immigrant discourse reduces into well-worn stereotypes of not only the ideologies and practices of the immigrant population but also the native French population; a kind of discourse that in fact has a long history in France. It is true that there are some fundamental differences between the French and the immigrant population, but these socio-cultural and linguistic differences are by no means fixed nor all-inclusive (i.e., they do not apply to each and every member of either group). So I would like to question the necessity of maintaining the idea of such differences as opposed to maintaining the ideal of assimilation (such as that in France) that considers everyone the same.

Iris Young expresses reservation about the latter approach in *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, arguing that assimilationist approaches do not erase "real group differences…that make it unfair to compare the unequals," but, she continues to say that such an approach is preferable overall to the establishment of "separate and unequal spheres for different groups justified on the basis of group difference"[261]. Certainly, the differences we experience in the social consciousness, social discourse, social fabric and in the lived environment possess a realness that affects the way we define our identities, but these differences do not speak to a definite reality that expresses some Truth, and,

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[261] Iris Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990) 168-169.

therefore, I posit them as being primarily "social constructs" to use Luckmann's terminology[262].

In posing social differences as social constructs, I do not intend to completely dismiss the idea that we have clearly-defined identities. Instead, I agree with Young's call for the assertion of positive identities, whereby I create my own identity independent of norms. This approach allows for a change in the meaning of difference from something externally imposed and representative of otherness and opposition to something that signifies "specificity, variation and heterogeneity [such that] difference names relations of similarity and dissimilarity that can be reduced to neither coextensive identity nor nonoverlapping otherness"[263]. The question then stands: how can urban planning and housing design contribute to the promotion of this new, positive understanding of the term "difference"? In other words, is it possible to construct cities based on the actual individual needs of the inhabitants or must we continue to base plans on their perceived and presumed needs and lifestyles? I would argue that the solution falls somewhere between the two, taking the shape of designing and building spaces that are multifunctional and malleable enough to allow for individual adaptation.

That which is perhaps essential in this situation, and others like it, is to allow for the differences that exist between members of society but to realize them for what they are: to recognize these differences as something that does not require the building of fences, ghettos, or borders but, instead, as something that

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[262] See page 165+ of the previous chapter for more information on how I use the term social construct in this text.

[263] Young, 171.

completes the social framework, that adds to the lived environment, that is necessary in a way that contributes rather than destroys—i.e., reframe it by affording it a positive rather than a negative signification; to understand that the concepts of "distinction" (differentiation) and "separation" are not one and the same. That is, in the case of *banlieues* and other immigrant neighborhoods in France, we need to allow space for a genuine kind of unifying integration to take place, while allowing for the individual differences to exist and develop according to their own evolutional patterns rather than adhering solely to the kind of integration proposed or demanded by the French government (as well as other governments), whereby externally imposed values and norms are the final goal, which all others are to transform themselves to fit.

In the latter instance, there is still a kind of evolution occurring, but it is not one that follows the trajectory of the value of the individual but instead follows the call of the norm that acts as a social goal. Of course, the question remains how do we go about reframing the term "difference" into something positive, and, furthermore, how can we make room for cultural, religious, ethnic and other differences in a society while still adhering to the ideals of the state? England is currently attempting to do this by allowing for parts of shariah law to be used by their Muslim community. It is not clear whether France would be willing to adopt this approach since their constitution draws a clear line between church and state.

In the case of the lived environment, this question of creating space for differences to be expressed is one that should be of concern to urban planners who have leaned more towards the side of creating homogeneous rather than heterogeneous spaces. Furthermore, the shape that urban planning has given

cities arises out of a kind of material hermeneutics[264], giving dimension to the prevailing social discourses that get translated into spatial systems and institutions such as segregated ghettos (Cabrini-Green) and housing projects (Les Tarterêts).

In making the (sometimes silent or hushed) social discourse visible, urban planning projects, consciously or not, contribute to the invisibility and silencing of those living in pockets of segregated housing. Therefore, just as they have contributed to the problem, urban planners can contribute to the solutions by turning their hermeneutic lenses towards the problems that maintain segments of the population in isolated and substandard housing and create spaces that will allow these residents the chance to regain their voice and visibility. So then the question to pose is: how can urban planning develop projects as a mediator of discourses?

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[264] See, Don Ihde, *Instrumental Realism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).

CONCLUSION

> Let our species cease being stunned into silence and passivity, into defeatism, by a formal architecture that seems to accomplish but that leads nowhere.[265]

> One source of the difficulties that the Western world faces today is the growing schism between people and their objects, and further, between people and their built environment.[266]

> Social equilibrium is a question of building.[267]

My central concern in the preceding chapters was the tension between, on the one hand, urban development that considers the environment and inhabitants as atomized objects that can be changed at will without such changes disrupting the urban fabric or the everyday lives that are acted out in the urban setting, and, on the other hand, the pressing need to change how we consider and plan urban spaces in a way that will allow for their inherent multiplicity and diversity to guide their formation and, in turn, to de-segregate them so that individuals, ideas, and finances can follow their self-created paths. This is not an easy task, and that is reflected in the fact that such changes depend not only upon a re-perception of how we envision the body in its environment but also on how we consider and what we make of the discourses that inform the systems

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[265]Madeline Gins and Arakawa, 39.

[266] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 154.

[267] Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985) 290.

that shape bodies and their environment. That is to say, changes in urban planning and design require perceptual and conceptual changes if lasting solutions to problems such as segregation are to be found.

Current trends in urban renovation that focus on the formation of mixed-income neighborhoods only address the economic and material issues but do not adequately address the human or social issues that demand not only improved housing but also housing that reflects the individual and social needs of the inhabitants. All too often, those of lower economic means are not perceived as having individual or social needs, with a focus solely on their economic plight. In this way, they become depicted not as individual human beings, as embodied agents, but as one-dimensional beings whose faces become blended into the general image of poverty. Just as we must consider all facets of a space to be designed and developed, we must also consider all the facets of the individuals we are designing for. Only then, I argue, will openings occur at the boundaries that separate those who are segregated from the rest of society.

Veronique de Rudder makes a similar argument for why the problem of integration of immigrants in France cannot be solved solely from the perspective of housing policy and development. She recognizes that taking such a narrow point of view for a much wider problem fails to provide us with an understanding of what encourages or discourages residential integration for immigrants. De Rudder identifies a dual process of segregation in France: first, there is the social segregation that is based on a linking of individuals to place of residence and socio-professional status (the latter proves quite important in France for means of integration), and second, there is the ethnic-segregation that places each immigration wave in an unequal position with respect to French

nationals of the same socio-professional category and thus determines their place in the hierarchy. Both are at play but the second is stronger as it is combined with the first.[268]

As I pointed out in the case of the relocation of former Cabrini-Green residents, even when placed in new neighborhoods they were often considered outsiders because their identity as former public housing inhabitants, as well as the boundary that this identity carries with it, stuck, thereby preventing those from places like Cabrini-Green to move towards the future. Something should have been done to help the relocated residents adjust to living in their new neighborhoods in which everyday life can be drastically different than where they came from. That is to say, there is a social adjustment that needs to be made, new networks that need to be formed, help with social services that is required, and, in some cases, mental health counseling, since it is likely that a significant number of residents suffer from some sort of distress after living in a closed-off and violent environment for long periods of time.

I cannot pretend to know all of the needs that residents such as those living in Cabrini-Green or Les Tarterêts have or will have upon relocation, but after engaging these neighborhoods for several years, I stand by my argument that there are needs that extend beyond the financial or the material. Even though it was clear from the start that I would never fully understand the daily lives and troubles of those living in Cabrini-Green or Les Tarterêts, I was still determined to take away as much insight as they would offer me, while always

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[268] Véronique de Rudder, "Immigrant Housing and Integration in French Cities," *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience*, (eds.) Donald L. Horwitz and Gérard Noireil (New York: New York University Press, 1992) 250-253.

trying to bracket my judgments and preconceptions that I knew could lead to premature conclusions, making my analysis appear over-reductionistic. My engagement of these two neighborhoods was, at its best moments, a return to the moment of experience that Husserl and Merleau-Ponty were calling for, the moment in which we find ourselves open to the world around us: allowing the residents to speak, allowing the places themselves to speak.

It was not until after my first few encounters with Cabrini-Green and Les Tarterêts that I began to explore the systems that support the segregatory and racist practices occurring in each neighborhood and city. I then took the juxtaposition of Merleau-Ponty and Foucault's work on the body and space, which occurs in Part One of the dissertation, to form a method of analysis that would then shape the two case studies that I present in Part Two. The reason for bringing them together in this text was because, when I first considered how to perform an analysis of segregation from a philosophical perspective, I returned time and time again to the concept of body. The body, for me, seemed the keystone that would hold the project together and the more I considered how I perceived the body the more I came to realize that it contained elements from both Merleau-Ponty and Foucault.

Therefore, the main task in the first part of the dissertation was to present their ideas as straightforwardly and independently of one another as possible. I did this with the belief that it would be through the two case studies that the argument could be made for how they interrelate and complement each other. By showing Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological method alongside Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods and his conceptions of body and space and their respective positions concerning the relationship between body and

space, that is to say, by showing them in an applied context, I have been able to demonstrate how they are able to complement one another in rounding out an analysis of practical issues that concern bodies in space.

Merleau-Ponty's conception of the chiasm, which brings together the lived body and lived space through perceptual acts, brought to the forefront the idea that (bodily / sensorial) experience is key to understanding the world in which we are emplaced. Then, Foucault's emphasis on uncovering the systems of power that structure our lived space and experiences of it, added a social dimension that was present in Merleau-Ponty's work but not fully developed in terms of seeing how normative discourses and power function in everyday settings. Although I did not include the work of Henri Lefebvre, I believe that his analysis of space and his insights regarding urbanism would provide a significant, complementary addition to the Merleau-Pontean and Foucauldian analyses performed in this dissertation.

Throughout this text, one finds a theoretical consideration of the relationship between body and space that I have argued allows us to grasp a sense of continuity between the two sites investigated in this text (and we can add other sites to them as well). However, while I argue that such an approach is needed to gain an overview of the phenomenon of segregation, allowing us to grasp its central features, it is as well necessary that this investigation remain rooted in the real instance of it, i.e., in the sites themselves. In maintaining a balance between theory and practice, keeping each one in dialogue with the other, the phenomenon of segregation can thus be more clearly deciphered and plans can be made to create environments that are inclusive and open (i.e., that allow for bodily movement through lived space).

In *French Modern*, Paul Rabinow's explanation of early 1900 urbanism provides insight into how theory became the driving factor in the formation of cities. I would argue, however, that this process began as early as the 17th century but that Rabinow is right to point to the 20th century as the beginning of a new kind of urbanism, the methods of which were enhanced by the technological and global developments of that century (e.g., surveillance tools, pre-fabricated concrete, structural engineering advances).

Nevertheless, Rabinow explains that urbanism, by synthesizing historical and natural elements, made the city into an object, an artifact, and a "regulator of modern society"[269]. Urban planning was strategic but no longer for military reasons as much as for the control of the population at hand; all under the guise of contributing to the welfare of the population: e.g., crowded slums were torn down and replaced with planned streets and buildings whose layouts were regulated and similar to each other, allowing for better management of public uprisings, police surveillance, taxation, etc. That is to say, through regulating the arteries and structures of a city, there could also be a regulating of bodily activity and capital.

In viewing this underlying relationship between body and space as a central component informing urban planning and design, specifically the creation of segregated spaces, those involved in the process can enhance their understanding of the environment and its creative power to shape the lives of the bodies that inhabit it. The ideal result would be that we are able to critique design trends in a way that is trans-spatial, allowing us to see how they are

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[269] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern. Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989) 12.

implemented in specific sites but also how individual practices are repeated, thereby informing us that larger theoretical trends are at work.

This comparative approach would work by taking into account local practices, histories, economies and socio-cultural needs while creating a means to identify the source of problems through comparing it to other sites that have either avoided or overcome the problem in question or have the same problem but perhaps in viewing it externally (as opposed to internally from the perspective of within the site) there is the chance of recognizing symptoms and structures leading to the creation of solutions. The method I am proposing is not intended to universalize or homogenize spaces and in fact is in direct opposition to such an outcome, since the foundation for all action would be based on the local with the non-local acting as a reference or guide. In considering these two levels in our critique of the design of the urban environment, it then becomes possible to create better cities and housing based on this broader notion of what is entailed in our experience of inhabiting these spaces.

The planned demolition and renovation of the Bombay slum of Dharavi[270] provides an example of how planners and developers should account for local patterns while referring to the results of other examples in which impoverished and lower-class persons have been relocated into high-rise structures. The plan to demolish Dharavi and relocate most of the residents into free, small apartments (approx. 20m2) in high-rise buildings that will be interspersed with middle-class housing has generated much concern by its residents over how the

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[270] For more on Dharavi and on the rehabilitation project see, David Levinson (ed.), "Mumbai (Bombay)," *Encyclopedia of Homelessness*, vol. 1 of 2 (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 2004) 397-399 and Kalpana Sharma, *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories From Asia's Largest Slum* (London: Penguin Books, 2000).

plan will dismantle their current way of living that supports them financially and socially. Yes, the new housing would offer more sanitary conditions but it would also remove the businesses that residents run out of their homes and are dependent on for their income.

There is an awareness among residents that the high-rise structures will only make their horizontal slum into a vertical one and one that will ultimately lead to greater poverty as their economic system is torn apart. In most slums, ghettos, etc., one finds an economic system in place that is often highly organized but separate from the local economy (i.e., does not contribute to tax revenue, is locally run and monitored) and which ranges from the production of artesian items (e.g., pottery and clothing) to services (e.g., childcare, construction, recycling) to illegal substances (e.g., drugs, guns, prostitution). Those living in these neighborhoods depend on their local economy, legal or otherwise, and changes that disrupt it can be fatal, since the structures that support the economy are symbiotic with the environment that fostered its development.

This is only one example of how redevelopment projects that take place in deprived areas can potentially fail the very individuals planners seek to help by providing a better environment for them. Hence, one question that should remain at the forefront of discussions surrounding urban redevelopment schemes is how to take into account local networks (economic and social) while redesigning and reconfiguring the way a neighborhood looks. There are many levels of experience (e.g., the material experience of buildings or the social experience of community formation) in any given neighborhood and each informs the appearance and functioning of the others.

Thus, one could say that two threads that guide the thinking behind this dissertation are multiplicity and diversity. It is, I would argue, by perceiving and accounting for the multiplicity and diversity and the connections that form between the multiple and diverse elements in urban areas that we can see the whole. The built environment, as I have argued, is more than the buildings, is more than the inhabitants, is more than the location; it is all of that and the activities that tie them together.

As I believe it is necessary to see the built environment from the perspective of its inherent tendency towards multiplicity and diversity in conjunction with overarching themes and trends, I believe it is necessary to perform a multi-disciplinary study of the phenomenon of segregation. In other words, the kind of critique of the built environment that I am presenting here offers an opportunity to transcend local discourses, which tend to interfere with the creation of solutions (i.e., the amelioration of the problem of segregation), thus allowing for a way to situate the problem outside of the discourses of power that sustain instances of segregated housing. In so doing, it allows for the phenomenon to be reframed as being essentially a humanitarian problem in which everyone plays a role. In terms of the multi-disciplinary requirement of the project, I would argue that by engaging researchers from a wide range of fields, a clearer picture can be made of how the phenomenon arises and is sustained as something that is a product of multiple discourses, which are at base all directed towards the human being (as body) and its environment.

What should be given priority to lead urban development and redevelopment is not the politics, the power and the other discourses that carve away at the urban fabric and inhabitants but experience and the question of how

to design livable dwelling spaces. Livable in the sense of that which promotes movement, helps individuals in their everyday activities, and affords a sense of belonging, but a belonging that is not built on a discourse of exclusivity. Christian Norberg-Schulz, in *Genius Loci*, proposes three fundamental structures that can be used to guide the urban planner or designer in conceiving how places should be planned and built, each of which contributes to the quality of our perception of place: first, there is the character of the natural environment; second, there is the built environment that also acts as a social instrument; and, third, there are the people and their cultural identities.[271] To these three structures I would also add that planners and designers should take into account that livable spaces need not be antithetical to affordable living space. That is to say, money does not necessarily improve the design as we can witness in numerous expensive or well-attended-to neighborhoods and buildings that they also have the potential to alienate the individual (e.g., by being built on too grand a scale) from their environment.

The need for livable housing is one reason why I argue for a focus on experientially driven design approaches as opposed to a socio-political or ego-centric architectural ones; that is to say, by putting aside our preconceptions about how we build for individuals based on their socio-economic and racial status in society, we can start to focus on how to build for human beings and for the creation of an environment that is vibrant, diverse and communicative. For instance, I would argue that in focusing on developing housing that represents

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[271] Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci. Towards a phenomenology of architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980).

equal opportunity, we are in fact feeding the system that supports segregation rather than forging a new way that lies outside that system.

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