Here There Be Dragons: Broadcasting Identity and Security in the Parisian Region

By

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ABSTRACT

Here There Be Dragons (HTBD) is a podcast and new media thesis project on the ways in which fear, anxiety, and insecurity change resident perceptions of public space in cities and their use of these spaces. This season of HTBD centers the experiences of thirty-two natives, transplants, and immigrants to the Parisian region (Paris, France and its surrounding suburbs). This season features eight twenty to thirty minute episodes, which collage together overlapping concerns of the residents. Each episode has a theme ranging from terrorism and public policy to gentrification, social codes, and urban design. Each episode also includes interviews with several researchers to highlight social, cultural, and political nuances that are emphasized by residents' experiences. The project also features a website (htbdpodcast.com) with supportive materials for listeners, such as a glossary of terms, readings, and a newsletter. The written thesis chronicles the methods and processes used to realize the podcast and concludes with reflections on the value of podcasting for urban design and planning.

Thesis Advisor: Anne Spirn, Professor
Reader: Renée Green, Professor

"Make air, not art."
  -   Adélie Pojzman-Pontay, Here There Be Dragons co-producer

"The more accurate the map, the more it resembles the territory. The most accurate map possible would be the territory, and thus would be perfectly accurate and perfectly useless."
  -   *American Gods*, Neil Gaiman

Acknowledgements

Contents

Preface

The title of the project, *Here There Be Dragons*, comes from a medieval mapping convention, where cartographers would draw sea monsters and demons over unexplored land or dangerous territories accompanied by the phrase *hic sunt dracones*, here be dragons. It is a method of defining the borders of a world or territory by uncertainty and fear. Through my own experiences with exploring cities, I came to believe that this system of world defining is fairly common. I wanted to investigate the idea that residents of cities negotiate their identities through public space and define the boundaries of their cities by what is feared or uncertain.

My approach to *Here There Be Dragons* is a mix of social science and journalism. Although the project is a podcast, it is also influenced by a number of filmmakers, artists, and writers, who bring together diverse disciplines through media. In 2014 photographer and filmmaker, Bouchra Khalili, exhibited a work called *The Mapping Journey* in the New Museum's exhibition of Arab artists, *Here and Elsewhere*. In the work, there are four hanging screens with projections on both sides of a map focused on the Mediterranean Sea. A hand appears and traces a line from Algeria or Tunisia or Syria to Italy or France or Britain while a voice narrates a journey of boat wrecks, deportations, and border crossings. The whole image floats, a person detached from a homeland, a hand detached from a body, a screen detached from a wall.

Khalili is the latest in a long genealogy of filmmakers interested in the lives of refugees, illegal immigrants, and nomads. She has produced many works that use interview as a primary medium. But a constraint that I find interesting in *Mapping Journey* is that it flies in the face of the traditional "hearts and minds" models of conflict reporting. Usually when we, the viewers, see famous images of conflict, a naked girl dosed in Napalm or a child's mutilated face in a casket, we're not actually consuming their story but their bodies. In Khalili's model, the map becomes a screen – almost a shield – which protects the speakers' bodies, the only body we are allowed is the drawing hand and the sound of a voice narrating a journey. I was very moved by this restraint, by the privacy that asked the viewer not to give in to delusions of trading places with the narrator, but to give in to a deep listening to a first-hand account.

When I first began to develop the project, I knew that I wanted to examine a conflict, the conflict of public space. I wanted to explore the intertwined nature of identity and security, how they inform and mold each other. I knew that I wanted first-hand accounts, but influenced by the seemingly unending images of black death played out over hundreds of camera phones, I wanted to employ Khalili's model of restraint going further

by removing even the hand. The medium of audio offers an opportunity for intimacy and anonymity at the same time.

Season one of *Here There Be Dragons* was a proving ground for strategies to deploy in season two and in my thesis project, in general. In my first season, I sought out intersectional diversity – age, race, gender, and socioeconomic status and beyond. My thesis project aims to take a temperature of the city through residents' experiences with identity and security. One of the best ways to create a full narrative is to populate it with as many perspectives as possible. This approach also allowed me to be surprised and to shift gears in my research as topics like housing policies or transportation became subjects that were important to the people that I spoke to.

In the first season, I felt that my very small sample of seven New York natives was diverse racially and geographically, but I wanted to push that intention even further in the next season. In season two, not only was the sample size larger, with thirty-two residents of the Parisian region, providing me with roughly 24 hours of tape, but it was also much more diverse in terms of race, religion, age, gender, and orientation. This demographic expansion also showed me constructive ways to expand my research and what kinds of institutional opinions I could reach out to for the podcast. Researchers and professors like Fabrice D'Almeida, Maurice Blanc, Sylvie Tissot, and Mehammed Amadeus Mack added big-picture policy elements to the residents' experiences. It was useful to seek out expert opinion only after I had completed, processed, coded, and translated the interviews because that allowed for the residents' contributions to be at the center of the narrative as opposed to placing the experts at the center and using residents to illustrate their ideas.

Introduction

I. Summary of project objectives

For over a year I've been thinking about this relationship, about security as a function of identity. I'm interested in how this relationship affects people's daily lives and the ways that they access and imagine public space. In the first season of my podcast, *Here There Be Dragons*, I asked seven New York natives about their experiences navigating their identities through their cities and how they envisioned their own safety. In these conversations we talked about violence, but also about gentrification, social housing and immigration. Each of these themes always fed back into feeling safe or vulnerable. In season two, I wanted to push the topic further. I spoke to thirty-two natives, transplants, and immigrants in the Paris metropolitan region. Parisians and New Yorkers had very similar concerns but shifted for their specific cultural and political contexts. It only takes a glance through policing policies, past and present, in Paris and far beyond, to see how intimately identity – be it race, gender, religion, or nationality – and security are tied together.

Much like New York, major minority groups in Paris have had a particular relationship with the police for centuries. In 1920s Paris, a police unit was formed for the purpose of cutting down on low level offenses like homelessness, public drunkenness, petty theft, and immigration violations. This unit was called the North African Brigade.[1] In 1961, former police chief (and later convicted Nazi collaborator) Maurice Papon used the newly minted state-of-emergency law to impose a curfew on Algerians in Paris. When FLN activists defied this curfew, police officers murdered them by the dozens.[2] In 2004, the French National Assembly passed a law banning religious garments and symbols in schools and stated-owned public space. In 2010, the French National Assembly passed a law banning all face coverings in state-owned public space. Both of these laws disproportionately affected observant Muslim women.[3]

In 1749, François-Jacques Guillotte, a Parisian police officer and encyclopedia enthusiast, submitted *Mémoire sur la reformation de la police de France* (Treatise on the Reformation of France's Police) to King Louis XV.[4] In this lengthy police reform proposal, he dreamed of a world wherein a person could be found and controlled in the same way that one could find a house. Essentially a menace could be found in the city as easily as you find your way on a map. This would be achieved by every person in all

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[1] Clifford D. Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[2] Cathy Lisa Schneider, *Police Power and Race Riots* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2014).

[3] Fernando Mayanthi, *The Republic Unsettled: Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism* (Durham (NC): Duke University Press, 2014).

[4] Cesare Birignani, "The Police and the City: Paris, 1660-1750" (Columbia University, 2013),http://oatd.org/oatd/record?record=handle%5C%3A10022%5C%2FAC%5C%3AP%5C%3A20567.

Paris being required to carry some kind of identification. Although government identification cards don't exactly work this way, in some ways identity does.

In terms of security, identity markers function like an address, but instead of revealing where you are in space, they reveal where you are on the spectrum of those who should be protected and those who should be policed. Your identity markers signal to the people around you what kind of protections you should be afforded and what kind of control you should be subjected to, not just at the hands of the state, but also by your fellow citizens.

After the 2016 elections in the United States, the triumph of the Republican party, led conservatives and liberals alike to disparage the use of identity politics. Identity politics is coalition building and advocating for political inclusion on behalf of a community. The entire political spectrum was concurrently up in arms, either defending or denouncing the January 2017 ban on Muslim immigrants, which targeted seven African and Middle Eastern countries. Identity politics were a key element both to enacting and resisting this ban. Security politics, the series of policies and cultural norms that shape our military and policing practices, never fear the threat of elimination. However, without identity politics, there can be no security politics.

Methods & Processes

Creating a research podcast instead of a research paper and releasing it during my final semester allowed me to practice a kind of institutional transparency. It broadens my thesis committee to a wider audience simply by creating a public forum around the work. Anyone can question my positions, and I think that is important. It is important to make research accessible and available more so now than ever. My thesis submission includes essays on the process of making this project as well as all the scripts from each episode and mapping from each participant. I hope this work will be useful to those who pass through this institution and to those who never will.

I. On podcasting and new media

In podcasting about identity and security through a social and spatial framework, I sought to ground my project in two values that have come to be very important to my work during these past two years. A serious commitment to transparency and interdisciplinary research are the roots of this work. Having studied and worked in architecture and design before coming to MIT, I have observed how architecture, as a discipline, is a patchwork of many practices. From the quantitative side of building science to the qualitative side of social science and philosophy, architecture, for better or for worse, draws on the expertise of many disciplines to create a knowledge unique to itself. Urban studies and planning practices are positioned in the same way. I believe that the more varied the knowledge bases that planners draw from, the stronger our research on the built and social world will be. In every aspect of this project, I have leaned on the knowledge of many practices from journalism to law, from design to film. I believe this intention deepened my understanding of the Paris metropolitan region and brought nuance to the project as a whole.

Alongside the podcast, I also developed a web platform to provide nuance and supporting material for each episode. There is a glossary of terms, where each untranslated French term that I use regularly in the show, like *banlieue* or *Titi Parisien*, is defined and contextualized. The website also has a reading room section that functions as a works cited for each episode and provides links to all material available online. To complement the reading room, I also created a newsletter that features important reference materials and describes their use in the series. There is a news section that links to articles, podcasts, and panels related to the podcast, an address to contact myself and my co-producer, as well as both of our bios. Lastly, all of the maps from seasons one and two are available online.

I'd like to make one last note on the medium of podcasting and media as a research tools. I have been a long-time consumer of radio and moving-image work. What both of these forms do that I've always found to be very powerful is give an audience a time-based common knowledge. Everyone has put the same amount of time consuming the work to achieve the same amount of information. There is a level playing field there. Everyone – from someone within an institution like MIT to someone listening on a lunch break – has the same references from this medium. The podcasts and films that have really struck me have in many ways replaced the functions of information media like television news because they have the freedom to enter into questions of social significance in a more nuanced way. They form a more helpful basis of conversation when trying to discuss social issues. In the thesis that I wrote for my undergraduate degree, I was just as passionate about the subject matter, but, in the end, it sits on a shelf with no one to read it or question it.

Podcasting is a flexible medium that can be both academically rigorous and engaging. Within the academy there is ambivalence and even hostility towards being engaging, largely due to anxiety over whether research can be engaging without losing rigor. This anxiety is well founded; often television news, newspapers, and magazines will take academic work and report only the most entertaining aspects while foregoing the nuance and substance of the work. In this regard, it was very rewarding to have both an academic advisor and a podcast co-producer, whose background is in journalism. The notes that I got from both of these sources helped me walk a balanced line in the podcast. As well founded as the academic fear of entertainment is, engagement is a fundamental part of communication. Without communicating the engaging narrative elements of research, the importance of academic work can be lost on a broader audience. The control and distribution of independent podcasting provides an excellent platform to engage that broader audience in the nuances of academic research.

II. On the sample of interviewees

Over the summer of 2016, as I began looking for Parisian region residents to interview, the field was wide open in terms of whom I would approach. Since I was looking for the most possible variance, I could start anywhere. I reached out to researchers like Marie-Hélène Bacqué and Sandra Parvu in Paris as well as Jessica Debats, who was a Ph.D student in MIT's Department of Urban Studies and Planning. I also spoke to friends like my co-producer Adélie Pojzman-Pontay and Léopold Lambert, the editor of the architecture and urbanism magazine, *The Funambulist.*

As my early sample began to take shape, I was able to narrow down the perspectives that were missing. Towards the middle of my field research, I realized that I needed more

conservative participants, more participants with Asian heritage, and more LGBTQ participants, whom I found through attending events in the city like protests, museums, hair shows, and concerts. The sample came together through help from social scientists, acquaintances, interviewee recommendations, and pure chance. This means that this research is highly subjective. I was not able to interview every profile of person I thought would be valuable to the conversation. For example, one perspective that is lacking in an observant Muslim woman who wears a veil. There is much speculation about the motivations of veiled women and it would have added another layer of nuance to include the perspective of a veiled woman. Unfortunately, due to scheduling, I was not able to get an interview from this perspective and I believe it is a noticeable omission.

There is an infinite number of ways to approach this same project, and likely the results would be just as varied. The point of this project is not to be held up as an uncontested truth. It is more a slice-of-life illustration of how policy and politics permutate in daily experiences within the city. Out of the final sample of thirty-two interviewees, twenty were native to the Parisian region, five were transplants from other parts of France, and seven were foreign-born (although two of those seven have one French parent). In addition, half of the interviewees were people of color, nineteen were women, and three self-identified as LGBTQ.[5]

III. On the interview structure

The interviews themselves started from a set of pre-written and "approved" questions[6]. However, by my fifth interview, I could already see patterns and began highlighting themes that emerged again and again in these conversations. I chose to conduct the interviews in French because removing the language barrier made the interviews more comfortable for my interviewees, as well as expanding the kinds of people I would be able to approach.

The interviews were a kind of negotiation, trying to gain the trust of my interviewee so that they would feel comfortable sharing their experiences. This was not easy and not always as successful as I would have hoped. One of the main roadblocks I had in terms of language was the words "security" and "insecurity". In English, these words can have fluid meanings that are both structural in terms of governance and personal in terms of vulnerability. In French, for some time, words like "securité" and "insecurité" as well as "sensible" and "en difficulté", have been euphemisms for troubled neighborhoods. They can be blanket terms that refer to unemployment, underperforming schools, petty crime and many more issues that affect "blighted" neighborhoods. When I used the word

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[5] For a full description of each interviewee as well as a full break down of the interviewees by age, refer to Appendix A.
[6] I submitted my list of questions to MIT's internal review board, COUHES, before beginning my field research.

"insecurité," I quickly learned in my first interviews that this word confused and repelled people, because it suggested that they had personal experiences with these kinds of problems. Even if they did have experience with them, the word has such a harsh administrative quality that I had to find a series of synonyms to ask people about their personal sense of safety in public space.

I usually looped back to the question of safety several times in the conversation, using different language every time, words like discomfort, vulnerability, belonging, and welcome. Each of these words would offer an opportunity to talk about a different type of experience, all of which added up to a fuller picture of that person's perceptions of their own safety and the strategies they employ to make themselves feel more protected.

After the interview, I would ask them to do a mapping exercise. I gave them two neutral maps of the Parisian region that labeled the arrondissements and the surrounding banlieue municipalities. If they were native to the Parisian Region, I asked them to draw on one map where they felt safe and where they felt vulnerable as children. If the interviewee was a transplant to the Parisian region or an immigrant, I would ask them to start from the moment they moved to the city. Then I would ask them to draw another map, this time for their feelings currently.

I used the maps to spatialize the experiences that we talked about in the interview. The maps also serve as a visual means of comparing these feelings in space and also to see how they change over time. I would also leave the tape recorder running while people worked on the maps, and it also pushed them to talk about their feelings in an overtly spatial way. Although the reasons behind the feelings of vulnerability and safety differ widely from resident to resident, I believe that the maps are a valuable tool to spatialize what shape the same city takes for different residents. The podcast colors in the shades of nuance behind each person's maps but the maps begin to visualize each person's particular understanding of Paris.

When I georeferenced the maps and overlaid them, some patterns begin to emerge.[7] In the maps from childhood or of new arrivals, the lines can be very broad and amorphous in both the outlines of safety and of danger. It is as if these lines were not defined by personal experiences but by rumors, from family or colleagues. For example, many interviewees circled the center of the city, where the transit and commercial hub Les Halles-Châtelet is. Many residents told me that they had been warned about how confusing and dangerous the area was and they decided to avoid it. In the maps that show residents' current ideas about the city, the lines become much more defined, more certain. The lines that show residents' regular trajectories in the city reveal the obvious, that as an

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[7] For an image of the maps overlaid, refer to Appendix A.

adult and when you get to know the city your trajectories become much more diverse. Interestingly, Les Halles-Châtelet remains a node of discomfort, even though the trajectory lines show that residents are making more trips to the center city. This could be because Les Halles-Châtelet is indeed a very confusing transit hub.

IV. On translation

O la, globalement, voilà, effectivement, c'est-à-dire, grosso modo, alors, jure, quoi, genre, après, enfin, en gros, bah, du coup, quand même, bref, fin. In conversational French, each of these words translates to some variation of um, well, yeah, I mean, you know, like, right, anyway, all-in-all. They're fillers. They are the throwaway words people use between thoughts, between points. They're also the words that I spent the most time thinking over when I translated, since each one of them also carries a weight of class, age, race, and region. I'm not always certain of how to bring their meaning into the translation of people's linguistic ticks. For example, for a number of years, high schools in the banlieue of Paris have been debating whether to throw students out of class for disrespect when they "tchip."[8] Tchip is the French onomatopoeia for sucking your teeth. This is a common linguistic gesture in many Afro-Caribbean immigrant communities, especially for women. In the end, this debate is a discussion on whether to police young black girls for a common filler. This is how fraught these throw away words can be.
When I translate, I step into the twin roles of editor and mediator. What of this person and what of my experience speaking to this person will I be able to convey to a listener. Is there a key set of phrases or linguistic gestures that will bring understanding or even empathy toward a person they have never met? A person whose only representation is their voices and drawings.

In the beginning of the project I thought of myself as being a conduit for conversations between people from all over the Parisian region who would not typically cross paths, but it became more complicated. A part of that complication is translation. The first translation being myself speaking in French to native French speakers on their fears and urban identities. This topic is not always easy for people to talk about even between native speakers. The interview process, for me, is essentially finding the language for my interlocutor to grab onto so I can pull them closer to me. That closeness will hopefully make them feel that I'm trustworthy and are not there to judge them. But translation, as an act of editorializing, *is* a series of judgments. It's difficult to sit with the impulse to be impartial (which of course I can't be) and function as the editor knitting a chorus of voices together including my own. The following is an excerpt from one of my interlocutors. Through this example, I would like to further interrogate relationship between the original speaker, the translator, and the listener.

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[8] "VIDEO. Halte au « tchip » en classe !," *leparisien.fr*, June 2, 2015, http://www.leparisien.fr/espace-premium/actu/halte-au-tchip-en-classe-02-06-2015-4824111.php.

Nan, je crois que, ou peut-être à l'inverse en fait. Y a peut-être un côté et bah on va encore plus leurs prouver qu'on s'en fiche quoi t'sais. *Make them wrong*. Bah c'était dur et c'était désagréable parce que tant que c'est ailleurs on s'en fiche, et quand c'est chez toi, dans ta chair, et que t'as des amis, moi j'ai des amis qui ont été personnellement touchés par ces attentats. Bah t'accuses le coup, tu... Mais je partage aussi ce côté fataliste, y a un moment donné, enfin ce qui se passe est complètement *fucked up* et en attendant *get use to it* y a des pays où c'est le cas tout le temps h24 et on dit jamais rien enfin, c'est peut-être horrible ce que je dis mais les gars, on a eu deux attentats, *so what ?* Y a des gens qui se font bomber absolument toute leur vie et qui vivent quand même et qui produisent de la culture et qui produisent de la politique, donc nan en fait, continuez à... continuez à aller dans tous ces quartiers, continuez à... oui continuez à vivre parce que de toute façon qu'est-ce que tu vas faire franchement tu sais ? Rester chez toi avoir peur. Nan... Nan, ça... Ouais si ça a changé ma manière de vivre c'est encore plus quoi tu vois genre, va à la rencontre des gens, échange et... plus dans ce sens. Mais pas un repli. Enfin au contraire, un refus absolu de tout repli. Genre ce dont on a besoin, plus qu'avant c'est de compréhension intelligente tu vois, et du coup de confrontations, d'échanges et... Et justement arrêter un peu avec ce cloisonnement un tel doit être avec un tel et... Pardon. Voilà. Je crois. Ouais.

Nah, I think that, or maybe the opposite actually. There might be uh a part but- no we'll prove them even more wrong y'know. "Make 'em wrong." Well it was hard and it was unpleasant because when it's somewhere else, who cares, and when it hits home, on your body, and that you have friends- I have friends who have been personally affected by the attacks. Uh you really feel the effects you- ... But I also have this fatalistic side, at any given moment, well what happened was completely "fucked up" but meanwhile "get use to it" there are countries where this is all the time 24/7 and we never said anything right. What I'm saying might be horrible but guys, we had two attacks, so what? There are people who are bombed all their lives and who're living anyway and creating culture and creating politics, so no actually let's keep ... keep going to all these neighborhoods, continue ... yes continue to live anyway because frankly what else are you going do you know? Stay at home afraid. No ... No- that ... Yeah if it changed my way of living it's to live even more you know like, go meet people, exchange ... just more in that sense. But not to withdraw. On the

contrary, an absolute refusal to withdraw. Like that's what we need, more than ever it's intelligent understanding you know, and it's confrontations, exchanges and ... And just stop a bit with this separation with "this must absolutely be this" ... Sorry. So yeah. I think. Yeah.

From the translation can you tell that my interlocutor is a woman? That she is wearing a dress that hits mid-calf and ties around her neck like a scarf. Can you get a sense of the café we're in? Can you tell the way she is sitting, on a straight-backed chair with her knees in a wide V, her elbows on her knees, her back hunched so she can speak directly into a microphone on the low table in front of her? That when I ask her questions from an under stuffed couch so worn that it is swallowing me, I have to struggle to keep myself from sliding in between the cushions and onto the floor? Can you tell that when I ask her questions that she turns her head to one side and raises one eyebrow as if she isn't going to answer at all? That the café turned down the music it was playing so that the sound quality of the interview would be decent? Can you tell that her skin is very even and very dark? That she was born in Benin. Does any of this matter? Would the words read differently or sound differently, if any of this were true?

In the act of editorializing how do you keep the most important parts of that person's voice and the experience of talking to them? If I remove the interlocutor all together everything but the text, can I recreate that experience? What would you guess about them, these people, if it was just the text, no body, no personality, would it be more convincing to you, would you make them look more like you in your mind's eye and would that make you more convinced of what they say?

I find myself in a precarious position where I feel I will be accused from all sides of obscuring a narrative for my own agenda. This is a fair criticism and I'm open to hearing it but I would also like for listeners to engage with the material and not just the process of transmitting it. I've found that it's often the case, when the goal is to expose a nuanced narrative an avoidance tactic is to attack the method of the excavation rather than what is found. And from the vantage point of the post-colonial critique, I fully understand this impulse, the means of excavation can be brutal and cruel, while the ends are held up to be innocent. I would hope that my translations, my acts of editorializing and so my means of excavation are ethical. While it's crucial for me to be vigilant with the power I have to represent people, there is a moment to set handwringing aside and be open to the criticism.

In the end there are two questions. How to engage the original voice with its emotion and candor with the translated voice? How do you make sure that your audience knows that someone is being spoken for and still maintain the presence of the person being spoken

for? The filmmaker, Trinh T Minh-Ha's work has helped me think through some of these questions. Since I'm trying to displace the body of the interlocutor as a point of reference for the listener, Minh-Ha's film, *Shoot for the Contents*, was helpful to me. *Shoot for the Contents* helped me think about translation in terms of a conversation by staging the speaker, the translator, and the listener in cocoons of light. She turns the face of the speaker away from the viewer, while only slivers of the listener's and translator's faces are visible. Each participant is a piece of a jigsaw puzzle which when pieced together gives us the original speakers ideas. But only partially. In Minh-Ha's essay *Documentary Is/Not a Name* she criticizes the honesty of the documentary form. In seeking to represent "what is there" documentary and cinéma-vérité both fail to reveal objective truth. There is always a distortion through the lens of both the camera and the filmmaker's frameworks.

Since my subject matter – fear, identity, and urban life – is subjective experience, I have little hope to, or interest in, representing objective truth. What I do hope for is achieving a sense of fairness towards what was said to me. But even this, if I recognize my own power of the editorializing and use of these voices, is perhaps beyond reach. So at best I will be able to produce *a* fairness just as truth pushed by a power regime can only produce *a* meaning according to Minh-Ha's critique. Fairness from my perspective, from my own framework, is all I can ultimately achieve. I'm not interested in front-loading my work with disclaimers. I welcome criticism of the project since dialogue is its ultimate purpose. However, I don't believe that openness to criticism means that I am free of a responsibility to approach my methods with researched criticality.

With this in mind and as a means of preserving the voice in translation, I purposefully sought out voice-over actors who were not professionally trained. I wanted them to sound as amateur as anyone in a normal conversation. I also sought to match vocal styles. As an example, one woman from the banlieue Epinay-sur-Seine has almost a coastal mid-Atlantic accent so I found a student with that accent to do the English voice-over. These castings served as a means of replacing those crucial filler words I discussed earlier. These amateur voices manage to maintain some of the texture of the original French speaking voices.

To achieve these natural speaking voices, most of my vocal coaching was spent trying to get people to sound like themselves. Even though there was a microphone in their face, I asked my voice-over actors to forget it in the same way that eventually their French counterparts had forgotten the microphones in their faces and just talked. This took a lot of takes. And just as with the original interviews, the voice-over sessions took a negotiation of trust, even with people I knew quite well. Something about a microphone is forbidding and it takes work to overcome that.

However, even with the consideration taken in casting voices, there were still some words in French that I chose not to translate because there were no exact English equivalents. These words were also words that were crucial to the narrative of the podcast. These words include "mixité," which can be roughly translated as diversity, but as discussed previously, "mixité" focuses on variance of socio-economic class as opposed to race, religion, or ethnicity. Another term that goes untranslated is "banlieue," which would translate to suburb in terms of its spatial proximity to a major city but in terms of history, it means something entirely different. For an Anglophone American audience, the word "suburb" conjures visions of mid-century affluence imbued in automobiles, single-family detached houses, and deed restrictions. In the Parisian context, although banlieue townships can be quite diverse, the imaginary of the banlieue revolves around immigrant enclaves, public housing projects, former factory towns, and communist political organizing. In order to define the banlieues more precisely, I decided to talk about them using their French term. As mentioned previously all the untranslated terms that I use in the podcast are in the glossary of terms on the website, with descriptions of their significance.

Another way that I engaged with translation was through experimentation with several types of audio translation structures. The first being translation that becomes a call and response with the original speaker. This is the structure that Minh-Ha uses in *Shoot for the Contents*. It's a strong choice because it makes the translation a dialogue and reveals the discursive relationship between the speaker and the translation. But for longer stretches of text, especially since there is no visual component, it did not work as well. A second option is playing the full original tape and then the full translation afterwards. This is a weaker choice because you lose the relationship between the speaker and the translator. They sound more separate but this might be effective for a short phrase.

The most common translation used in public radio is the most convenient but also tends to diminish the original speaker. This method fades the audio of the original speaker into the background while the translator speaker over them. This is effective in that the listener is forced to remember that what they are listening to is a translation, but the original speaker does lose some primacy. However, this is the method I ended up using the most. Another method in public radio is summarizing what the original speaker is saying and playing a brief clip of the original audio. This also falls into the trap where the original speaker is being talked over and spoken for. Although not all of these methods are prefect, for the clarity of a narrative arc I needed to find creative means of engaging them.

While Minh-Ha's work has helped me be more critical of translation and voice, I still have to reconcile with the constraints audio as a medium. As carefully as I consider these possible structures I still have to move forward with a crafted narrative that an Anglophone audience can understand. In doing this work I am pulling apart and reordering these voices. The strength of voice is that it forces the listener into an intimacy with the speaker. I wanted to curate and protect that intimacy as best as I could.

Findings

The second season of *Here There Be Dragons* explores the impact of policy and social codes on residents of the Parisian region.[9] Through their personal experiences, listeners will come to a more intimate understanding of how residents construct their lives in the face of these ideologies. The first four episodes explore the ways in which public policy and cultural attitudes come to bear on the dispersal of residents in space, while the final four episodes engage the systems of social codification of both residents and public space that locate them in social hierarchies and systems of dispersal. The last four episodes also move towards conversations about space that are grounded in design, architecture, and urban histories.

By using podcasting as a means of distributing my research beyond the walls of an elite institution, I hope to open the project to questions and comments to a public that goes beyond my thesis committee. Security and identity affect all of us and understanding their impact takes all of our input.

The first episode of the season begins with the elephant in the room, the series of terror attacks that happened in Paris in January and November of 2015. Through resident experiences, the show explores the ways in which public space has become fraught, from the profiling experienced by some residents to political manipulations felt by others. The show speculates on how the banlieues and social housing projects are perceived as being dangerous sites of religious radicalization. However, these same sites were built to house immigrant groups, and the show concludes on whether these enclaves are a problem to be solved or not.

Soon after the terror attacks on November 13th 2015 in Paris, it was discovered that a number of the assailants had lived in the northern Parisian banlieue, Saint Denis, an immigrant enclave with a storied history with the police. This discovery lead Manuel Valls, former prime minister and failed presidential candidate, to claim that Saint-Denis and places like it where there are high concentrations of poverty and social exclusion,

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[9] For full episode scripts refer to Appendix B.

were examples of how Paris (and so France) had created "apartheid." He then went on to explain that the only way to break this trend was to promote social "mixité".[10]

The concept of "mixité" has been part of French urban policy since the mid 90s.[11] "Mixité" differs from the concepts of diversity and multiculturalism in the US and the UK because it focuses on mixed-income communities rather than racially diverse ones. However, since immigrants, especially from France's former colonies, joined the French working class nearly a century ago, "mixité" also includes a camouflaged element of race, ethnicity, and religion.

From my interviews, I noticed that the state's concept of "mixité" and residents' expectations of it were very different. Residents explained that to them, "mixité" must include racial, religious, ethnic, and orientation-based differences. However, researchers Sylvie Tissot and Maurice Blanc insisted that although the pivot towards "mixité" as a legal imperative happened in the early 90s, there has yet to be a solid legal definition of the term. Tissot hypothesizes that the "mixité" measures were not meant to alleviate poverty but to eliminate visible concentrations of it in public space.

Two women of color that I spoke to, one from the French island department, Réunion Island, and the other from the eastern Parisian banlieue Fontenay-sous-Bois, told me that "mixité" was a source of safety for them. They felt that diverse neighborhoods increased social inclusion across community lines. However, the goal of the state does not appear to be blending communities but dispersing undesirable ones in space.

In 2000, the Solidarity and Urban Renewal Act was passed as a means of using government intervention to engineer "mixité" within French municipalities. The act demands that municipalities work towards making 20% of their housing stock affordable.[12] If the municipalities did not work towards this goal, they would be fined at increasing rates. However, some wealthy municipalities made it plainly clear that they would prefer and could afford to pay the fine rather than invest in affordable housing. In order to combat this attitude within Paris, city hall encouraged social housing firms like Paris Habitat to make an effort to disperse social housing within wealthier arrondissements like the 16th.

However, relocating low-income families to high-income neighborhoods presents its own set of complications. Once low-income families move to wealthier neighborhoods, they

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[10] "10 Ans Après Les émeutes de 2005, L'évolution Du Regard Des Français Sur Les Banlieues," *Atlantico.fr*, accessed October 10, 2015, http://www.atlantico.fr/rdv/politico-scanner/10-ans-apres-emeutes-2005-evolution-regard-francais-banlieues-jerome-sainte-marie-antoine-jardin-1998746.html.
[11] Maurice Blanc, "The Impact of Social Mix Policies in France," *Housing Studies* 25, no. 2 (March 2010): 257–72, doi:10.1080/02673030903562923.
[12] Ibid.

face not only the suspicion of their neighbors, but also local shops and amenities that they are unable to afford. Meanwhile, in municipalities like Saint-Denis, landlords of affordable housing units bypass applications from low-income tenants in favor of middle class ones in the name of creating mixed-income communities.[13] "Mixité," although well intentioned, can create pitfalls for low-income residents, not the smallest among them being community. Some Marxist detractors have argued that "mixité" destroys working class communities, making it harder for them to organize, while those who can afford it recede further and further into ghettos of wealth.[14]

However, when it comes to accusations of disregard for integration, the rich are rarely at the receiving end. The concept of "mixité" is also tinted with expectations of integration. But the standard of full integration in France is often represented as full assimilation. This differs from Anglophone ideas of multiculturalism in that it discourages all cultural practices that deviate from national cultural norms.[15] In terms of immigration this means abandoning all foreign customs in favor of traditional French ones. In terms of "mixité," this means integration into the behavior of wealthier neighbors, which is often impossible. Those who fail to integrate to these standards are accused of creating disruptive communities, an act called communitarianism.

Episode three explores the concept of communitarianism in the French context. It is the concept of French citizens separating or isolating into communities. The episode starts with the 1789 debate on the question of accepting Jewish people as full citizens. The document states that the Jews "will receive everything as individuals but nothing as a group" or else they would create "a nation within a nation."[16] This idea contends that there can be no community between the national community and the individual. The episode explores the different communities that residents belong to and how they choose to reject or accept the community-based identities in a nation that deems community-based organizing as dangerous to national identity.

Like "mixité", the concept of communitarianism is also spatial. City Hall programs, like Vital'Quartier, which seek to disperse mono-commercial hubs, are again aimed at the question of distribution in space.[17] For one interviewee, who moved to France as a young child from Benin, City Hall's focus on Chateau Rouge was particularly disturbing. She explained that for decades Chateau Rouge has been seen as an African neighborhood, not

[13] Maurice Blanc, "Social Integration and Exclusion in France: Some Introductory Remarks from a Social Transaction Perspective," *Housing Studies* 13, no. 6 (November 1998): 781–92, doi:10.1080/02673039883065.

[14] Maurice Blanc, "Housing Segregation and the Poor: New Trends in French Social Rented Housing," *Housing Studies* 8, no. 3 (July 1, 1993): 207–14, doi:10.1080/02673039308720762.

[15] Marie des Neiges Léonard, "Census and Racial Categorization in France: Invisible Categories and Color-Blind Politics," *Humanity & Society* 38, no. 1 (February 2014): 67.

[16] James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[17] "Diversité Commerciale," accessed November 2, 2016, http://www.paris.fr/professionnels/plan-donnees-et-documents-d-urbanisme/diversite-commerciale-3553.

because black Parisians live there but because of the shops and salons that sell African products and create a space for people of African descent to circulate. The city's desire to disperse the shops of Chateau Rouge would also dispossess black Parisians of seeing themselves and their cultures validated in public space.

If you can only become integrated by assimilating the history, traditions, and appearances of the majority is it even possible for non-white, non-Catholic citizens to fully integrate in France? This condition is what makes racialized and non-Catholic religious groups more vulnerable to accusations of communitarianism than wealthier white French groups.

What would it look like for wealthier classes to integrate into working class communities instead? And by this act liberating themselves from "wealthy ghettos." Wouldn't that be gentrification? Episode four addresses gentrification by introducing the words "bobo" and "bourg", the French equivalent to hipsters. The "bobo" stands at the edge of a multitude of urban anxieties prompting residents to question who creates the identity of a neighborhood and what happens when that identity is lost. Is gentrification the only way to achieve true "mixité"? The episode also unpacks the idea of a "bobo" and all the types of people the word encompasses, from upwardly mobile parents to financially stagnant students. In this episode, Professor Tissot challenges listeners to think about who is given power in a neighborhood and who does City Hall choose to invest in?

In Paris, a popular line among those who are pro-gentrification is that it actively promotes "mixité". However, in many ways, gentrification is the inverse of "mixité". The goal of "mixité" is to permanently house low-income families in wealthier areas, however because of the expense of local amenities, these families are still dependent on working-class neighborhoods for resources.[18] The gentrification of a neighborhood also means the gentrification of commerce, bringing the types of bars, grocery stores, and other shops that higher income groups prefer. The presence of this commerce increasingly attracts wealthier groups, which increases the rents in the neighborhood. This means that, while the "mixité" of low-income people in wealthy neighborhoods is supposed to be permanent, the "mixité" of gentrification is temporary.[19]

Increased development and government investment in gentrifying neighborhoods also shows that city hall is actively invested in supporting gentrifiers, while in wealthy neighborhoods there is no such support for low-income residents beyond housing and access to schools. If this persists, Paris will become a rich city dotted with disconnected low-income islands and, without resources, even those will disappear. For another of my interviewees who had lived in the Bastille neighborhood, just as the new Opera Bastille

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[18] Sylvie Tissot and Franck Poupeau, "La spatialisation des problèmes sociaux," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* no 159, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 4–9.

[19] Sylvie Tissot, "Les métamorphoses de la domination sociale," *Savoir/Agir*, no. 19 (January): 61–68.

was being built, gentrification also brings up the question of dispersal and neighborhood identity. He said after selling his apartment in Bastille and moving to the eastern banlieue Montreuil, that young people in his neighborhood all considered Paris in general to be a rich bourgeois city. Even though Paris was just a metro stop away, they believed there was no place for them there.

If what Valls insisted is true, and extremism is product of a life lived in exclusion and poverty, what will policies of pro-"mixité", anti-community, and pro-gentrification resolve? In most Western cultures, like France and the United States, who you are and the history of how you came to be French or American has a direct impact on how you are policed and how you are displaced. In cities like Paris, which are not just cities but symbols of the nation, the enactment of security as a function of identity takes on a symbolic status as well. The impact of public policy as it relates to "mixité", communitarianism, and gentrification is a performance that demonstrates to the nation the hierarchy of value placed on different citizens.

Episode five, appropriately titled *Codes* (the only episode title that requires no translation), is a turning point in the series where the show pivots from being primarily focused on historical and contemporary public policy to exploring identities that residents' signal in public space. This part of the series becomes much more personal to residents starting with this more intimate episode. The show highlights the ways in which people curate their dress, appearance, and behavior in public space in an attempt to signal how they hope to be treated in public space. Residents share experiences about being perceived as gay, Jewish, Muslim, or working class in public space and how these perceptions affect their sense of safety. In this episode, Professor Mehammed Amadeus Mack explains how these perceptions are also tied to the concept of "sexual nationalism," which is the phenomena of measuring the integration of a minority group by their ideas about gender and sexuality instead of their linguistic or civic aptitude.

Everyday city residents consider the delicate balance of curating self-presentation to be able to move through public space without incident. One of the residents explained that she feels comfortable with confrontation but sometimes needs to get through her commute without delays and so chooses an outfit that she can wear without commentary from others (men in particular) in public space. But she goes on to explain that the codes of public space are even more complex than just a pressure to dress in certain way. For her there are codes even in the act of harassment depending on where you are. She says that people often focus on the overtly sexual kinds of street harassment that is stereotypically associated with working class men and men of color.[20] She points out that she is also harassed in wealthier neighborhoods, but by men who pretend to have her best

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[20] Mehammed Amadeus Mack, *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture*, 2017.

interest in mind (i.e. telling her to cover up so as not to catch cold). These experiences reveal how gendered codes intersect with class codes in public space. All of these social pressures come together to regulate self-presentation and behavior in public space. Residents carefully craft their self-presentation to ensure self-preservation in public space. This form of individual codification leads back to ideas around the protection-policing spectrum.

The next two episodes continue the conversation of codes but in a more plannerly and architectural way. Episode six also touches on identity, but instead of the identities of bodies, it focuses on the identities of neighborhoods. The episode examines three formidable borders in the Parisian region: the East/West divide, the river Seine, and the highway ring road, the périphérique. Each of these borders is inscribed with histories of social and political struggles. The neighborhoods that these borders enclose also impose identities on the residents who live there.

These divisions are just a handful among many, but they were the most pressing to the residents that I spoke to. The first two borders represent historical rifts in the city that have to do with socio-economic status and political divides but the border between the banlieues and what is called Paris "intramuros" – Paris inside the walls – appears to be the deepest cut in the region. The ring road around Paris was a part of the post-war building boom. It was meant to allow the cars rushing off the Renault and Citroën factory lines easier access to the city. One resident, whose father was a factory worker at Citroën, told me that she watched the périphérique being built right at the edge of her neighborhood. When it was completed, her neighborhood was no longer considered part of Paris. One day she was a Parisian and the next she was a banlieusarde (banlieue resident). The completion of road erased the banlieues former relationship to Paris and solidified the stigma of living on the other side of the "périph."

Moving further into a planning discussion, many of the borders discussed in episode six delineate a fragmented collage of utopic visions dreamed up by emperors and bureaucrats, urbanists and environmentalists, builders and citizens. Episode seven explores a selection of those utopias and how their visions of the city's future still affect residents' ideas of where they are included or excluded from Paris. This episode analyzes several sites, including the financial district, La Défense, and the commercial transit mega-hub, Les Halles-Châtelet. These sites lead the discussion on the expansion of Paris and the plan for Grand Paris. This current future vision imagines a Paris that fully includes its banlieues. The seventh episode also questions who gets to imagine urban futures and who they're meant to serve.

La Défense was a district, which, like the périphérique, was built up in the post war boom. It was meant to be a business district to stand with London, New York, and Tokyo, as major global financial centers. However, as two residents noted, one who grew up near La Défense and another who worked there, it's a neighborhood that clears out after working hours. It's a ghost town at night and during the summer. This makes La Défense attractive for clandestine activities and also makes it feel very cold.

Les Halles-Châtelet was the central municipal food market, from the 12th century to 1961, when, for congestion issues, the market was moved to the southern banlieue Rungis.[21] After that, city hall and local residents alike have struggled to figure out what to do with the most central place in the city. Les Halles is also one of the busiest transit hubs in Europe, moving nearly a million commuters a day. But the frequent design proposals for the area are often contentious, leaving residents wondering whose future the city is building for.

The last episode attempts to unify the previous seven by revolving around the last question I asked each resident: where, for you, is the center of the city? It is likely the most personal episode of them all. It asks residents what parts of the city they feel the most ownership over and have the strongest feeling of belonging in. For many residents, these places changed over time as their own place in the city shifted through life's transitions. But this sense of ownership is often strongly tied to their identities, as residents and citizens. The places they speak of in many ways highlight personal resistance to the narratives that define them in public space.

This last episode reveals how the policies discussed in the first half of the series and the social codes in the second are taken on or rejected. The places that residents chose emphasize the codes that they develop for themselves as they claim or reject ownership of different city centers. The last episode is also the place where I answer listeners' questions about the series such as "How can we talk about our feelings of insecurity in public space without resorting to promoting policies that create often racist security practices in these spaces?" It closes the feedback loop of engagement mentioned previously. The podcast medium is ideal not only for providing a platform for experiences you might not hear at a planning meeting but it also allows room for commentary from listeners whose experiences may resonate with other residents and provide further nuance.

[21] Meredith TenHoor, "Architecture and Biopolitics at Les Halles," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 25, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 73–92, doi:10.3167/fpcs.2007.250206.

Conclusion

I. Safety and Security

Through the process of interviewing, transcribing, editing, and ordering the podcast episodes, I came to realize that even though I set out to talk about security as a function of identity, security is really a function of both policy and individual comfort. From this point on I will split the term security into two concepts: security and safety. Through the work of interviewing and processing the podcast, I have come to understand security as an extension of policy. Just as I mentioned previously when I said the word security in French – securité – my interview subjects would recoil at the administrative connotations of the word. While I was interviewing, I would dismiss this discomfort as an error of translation but I now see how security has its own dimensions, although not necessarily constrained to the neighborhood blight policies that many of my French interviewees had in mind.

For the purposes of the podcast, security came to encompass all the ways in which residents found themselves in the cross hairs of policy. Security concerns became the primary focus of the first four episodes of season two, beginning, of course, with the episode on terrorism. For residents, the question of terrorism quickly became a discussion on housing and policing practices. This conversation then turned towards government initiated "mixité" programs in episode two, which paired with policy against certain community enclaves in episode three. This arch came to a conclusion with the gentrification episode, which combines the each of these issues – housing, police, mixité, and communitarianism – into a larger discussion of who is valued in Paris and who is disposable. Each of these episodes built upon the next to show how policies past and present come together to influence residents' ideas of security and essentially where they stand with regards to government initiatives. Was city hall trying to court them or turn them away? Would they be able to remain in their neighborhoods or would they be displaced farther and farther from the city center?

The idea of value sets up the second term: safety. In contrast to security, safety has more emphasis on an individual sense of comfort and belonging. In this regard, it is important to take the citizen hierarchies that appeared in the first half the season into account. If you're low income, a person of color, or a religious minority, your institutions, values, and contributions to local culture are disparaged. This plays into the spectrum of who is policed and who is protected, both by state actors (the police, the gendarmes, etc.) and other residents. The second half of the season is very much grounded in this individual dynamic of safety. Episode five, on social codes, is the best of example of residents explaining their relationship to safety and talking very explicitly about their identities.

For women, for example the city is an obstacle course of safety concerns. The women that I interviewed spoke to experiences of being both protected in a very paternalistic way, with parents intervening in the way that they dress and their use of public transportation, and in a policing way, with men leering at their clothes and other women strategizing to move in groups at night.

The idea of safety in terms of personal comfort also features in residents' personal preferences. There are some residents who made it clear that they disliked the wealthier parts of Paris, not because they didn't feel they belonged there – as many people who felt this way were middle to upper class – but because they were bored by largely residential neighborhoods. Other residents, who either grew up in low-income neighborhoods or were low-income themselves, felt an active sense of hostility in wealthier neighborhoods and would avoid them for that reason. Even for residents experiencing the same feeling towards a certain neighborhood, the social codes motivating those feelings can be very different.

By separating the terms security and safety, I can be more explicit about what residents are responding to, whether it's policy or socialization. This is not to say that these two experiences aren't connected, instead they inform the complicated network of influences that drive resident uses of public space.

II. Implications for planning

The question of security and safety, when approached from the vantage of identity, gives a framework that lends itself to spatializing people's use of and comfort in public space. I believe this should be an important question for planners. As planners, we have to think of security and safety in terms of space and in terms of the body. The hyper-policed high-security spaces that are ingrained in the design of American suburbs and urban public space fall short of responding to the types of concerns that residents spoke about during my field research. In the end, this type of safeguarding leads to greater insecurity for the most vulnerable groups. There are fears and anxieties that come with living in dense urban spaces, which cannot be addressed by policing. This approach ignores the most important part of this project: depending on people's identity markers, they are historically more vulnerable to certain types of policing. We cannot address the problem by exacerbating it. However, there are already project and practitioners attempting to circumvent policing as a solution to issue of safety and security. Below I describe two contemporary examples of such practices.

Pascale Lapauld and Chris Blanche's Paris-based "think-and-do" tank, Genre et Ville (Gender and the City), seeks to research space through the lens of gender.[22] Chris Blanche is a feminist socio-ethnographer and LGBT organizer along with her co-founder Pascale Lapauld who is also an urban designer. Together they pose key questions about gender and city design in their work, chief among them being, "Are cities perpetuating traditional gender roles ?"

Through research, they design simple interventions that normalize the presence of women and non-gender-conforming people in public space. For example, they stage all women soccer matches in public parks at different times of day. This is one method of attempting to decrease the violence faced by a wide range of gender identities in public space. Their work and interventions engage with the idea of safety, in that they attempt to influence individual senses of comfort and personal preferences. Their work also intersects with a hope that residents expressed multiple times in interviews; that exposure would mitigate antagonism towards the unknown. I believe this idea to be somewhat optimistic in practice. It requires the bodies of a first wave to potentially be at risk in order to achieve greater safety for future bodies. This risk might also trigger more typical police-based security responses, which can be counterproductive to a normalizing strategy. That being said, Genre et Ville's work is a good example of projects that attempt to bypass aggressive security action as a means of making people feel safer.

Another action that doesn't require the immediate vulnerability of bodies is accessible research and information. Interboro Partners brands themselves as "a New York City-based architecture, urban design, and planning office that specializes in the design of public spaces. Interboro's participatory, place-specific approach builds on what's there and deploys simple, resourceful design solutions to create open, accessible environments that work for everyone."[23] Their project, *Arsenal of Exclusion and Inclusion,* which started as a blog, seeks to expose design postures that reveal who is desired and who is rejected from public space. It is a great example of well researched readily available information.

The *Arsenal of Exclusion and Inclusion* is essentially a tool. It's an encyclopedia put together by Interboro and designed in an accessible way, to give residents information about urban design decisions that may be happening in their neighborhood. This is an approach that engages the question of security. It seeks to inform residents about the policies and design choices that regularly effect their experiences in public space. Something as simple as underlining the uses of one-way street signs and anti-homeless park benches makes people more aware of space and inspires further action, such as

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[22] "Http://www.genre-et-Ville.org/," accessed January 21, 2017, http://www.genre-et-ville.org/.
[23] "Interboro Partners," accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.interboropartners.com/.

artists attempting to cover anti-homeless ledge spikes with soft materials. The education and instruction method is particularly important to me because it lies at the heart of the content and form of this project. Both Interboro and Genre and Ville work to demystify public space. By providing information in the form of research and public intervention, these projects provide residents with information that can allow them greater control over the spaces they live in, whether these spaces were designed for that kind of participation or not.

Both Genre et Ville and Interboro Partners contribute innovative ideas to influence residents' feelings of safety and security in public space. However, the interviewing style and the podcast medium could add a needed dimension to both of these projects. Podcasting can act as both a record of responses and reflections from people working on these tools and participating in these interventions. It can also be a communication tool with other firms and think tanks who are attempting similar projects or whose research may add further insight. In addition, a podcast provides a platform for both people local to the project and listeners outside of the intervention to add their input. Like a planning meeting, podcasts can create a medium for people to participate in policy and design decisions. But unlike a planning meeting, podcasts make it much easier for people with busy schedules or who would be too shy or too cowed to participate in a public forum, to be heard. A website platform for a planning podcast, could then serve as both an archive for past discussions and a resource for supporting materials around the projects being discussed.

But outside of the academic and procedural importance to planning, what talking to city residents has shown me is that the participatory process can be thought of differently. During my course of study, I thought of the discussion of resident participation in the practice of planning and the general anxiety that exists around this discussion as a confrontation of knowledges. Whose knowledge is more important to planning: the residents who live in a somewhat myopic locality, but are nevertheless directly affected and ostensibly the center of the practice of planning, or the expert, who from a bird's-eye perch blends technology and research to create the rudder that navigates a city's future.

During my interviews a phrase came up that isn't used in English but really should be – "pratiquer la ville." Practice the city. In the end it's the residents who see the planners ideas and intentions as intruding on or improving their lives. It is their practice of the city that ultimately decides the fate of plans. It is their practice of the city that reveals planning blind spots and biases. No matter how many innovation districts, global cities, driverless cars, or iconographic skyscrapers planners dream up, their success or failure depends on an attentiveness to resident experiences and how history, politics, and culture

weave them together. My hope is that this thesis and this format are an exercise in deep listening and connecting the dots back to space.

III. Reflections

Towards the middle of my field research, my co-producer, Adélie Pojzman-Pontay, a Parisian region resident and a journalist at Buzzfeed France, invited me to a Beyoncé concert for her birthday. There was a lot of excitement around the concert because Beyoncé's album *Lemonade* had just come out, but there was also an enormous amount of anxiety. On the day of the concert, there was a buzz throughout the whole city because it would take place at the Grande Stade de France and many of the concert goers would be young people. Both the concert venue and the concert's demographic had been targets for terror attacks in the past. Adélie's chief of staff had nervously joked that she didn't know if the news room could carry on if half its staff (who were all going to the concert) was lost. Not like Charlie Hebdo's staff did.

With this in mind, the mood of the concert was frenetic and tense. People were both enjoying themselves and checking nervously over their shoulders, eyes darting to exits and hands inadvertently seeking out the friends they had arrived with. Towards the middle of the set, after many impressive displays of vocals, visuals, and pyrotechnics, the show came to stand still. Beyoncé, who had been strutting down cat walks and whirling through costume changes, stood in the middle of the stage and thanked everyone for coming despite the attacks and the tension. The whole stadium went black for a second, a very nervous second, before the lights came up, painting the entire stadium in the French tricolor, the blue white and red. She then started belting *Survivor*, the 2001 banger that she had sang in her popular girl group Destiny's Child. When I looked around me, people were sobbing and dancing and laughing, but also really weeping. The rest of the night felt like any normal stadium concert.

It takes a true performer to read a crowd, to release an obvious tension that is weighing down the evening. Sometimes all it takes to dispel some of that anxiety is to recognize it. The tension of self-protection in the city is something that almost everyone has experienced at one point or another, but often it goes unnamed. I hope to have named it in this project.

When I first began this project, I had in mind that the greatest threats to safety and what I would hear the most from my interviewees would be their interactions with the police, their various immigration statuses, and their readings of the design of public space. What I came to learn during my fieldwork but also during the process of crafting a narrative from these recordings was that the fears that people harbored of and within their cities

were as much of a collage as the project itself. A process like gentrification becomes a lens through which diverse anxieties about displacement, authenticity, diversity, guilt and shame in public become refracted.

As separate episodes came together in their own story arcs, I found myself wishing I could hear from more people, someone with disabilities, someone experiencing homelessness, someone with generational wealth, someone who chooses to wear the hijab, niqab, chador, or burqa. I think that more voices would have brought greater nuance.

In his novel *American Gods,* Neil Gaiman has the mythic storyteller Anansi the spider man relay a message about story telling through a metaphor of map making. He says, "The more accurate the map, the more it resembles the territory. The most accurate map possible would be the territory, and thus would be perfectly accurate and perfectly useless." The interviewees for the project become an abstraction of the experiences of Parisian region residents. There are infinite ways of producing this same work, but the only perfect way, interviewing every resident, relaying each one of their words would fail to do what I intended to do – give an understanding of Parisian identities living in fear and safety.

A few days before I left Paris, after I had finished one of my last interviews, I was dragging my suitcase of recording equipment through the Place de la Republique to catch a train. The square was almost empty. It was a hot day in August, the month when many Parisians flee the city on vacation. In the middle of the square is a famous statue of the Marianne, the French Lady Liberty and the embodiment of the republic. Since the terror attacks had happened in January of 2015, the plinth and the statue were covered in graffiti and memorials. They honored those who had died in the Charlie Hebdo shootings, the November 13th shootings, and the van attack in Nice. On this particular day in August, City
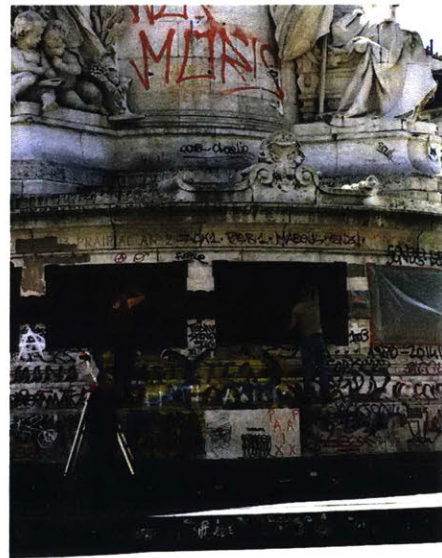
Hall, decided to scrub all the graffiti away and achieve the memorials. It's a historic statue after all and with so many people on vacation it was unlikely that there would be a fuss. But still, that spray paint and those tiny votive candles were trying to put a name to something; grief, anger, fear, resilience. I hoped that this act of trying to return to normal, wouldn't be an act of silence. I hoped that what was named in that square would not be

forgotten. I dropped my suitcase and took a picture of a record disappearing. I'll leave it here.

Annotated Bibliography:
Originally the Here There Be Dragons Newsletter

Foucault, Michel, Michel Senellart, François Ewald, and Alessandro Fontana. *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan : République Française, 2007.

This book is important not just because of the themes of these lectures but also how they were delivered. The Collège de France is a space were lecturers give public lectures where anyone can listen to them and that's also what I wanted from a podcast. I'm hoping to make this research something anyone can connect with.

James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

You may have heard an excerpt in Episode 3 - Communautarisme. Maybe you wondered what does a book on Brazil have to do with Paris? Good question. A lot of what I talk about on HTBD is how are people getting along in multi-ethnic multi-religious public space. In Insurgent Citizenship, Holston uses post revolution France as an archetype of a legal system grappling with the question of diversity not just of identities but of values.

Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies : Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, c1995., 1995.

This book is a classic and one of the first books that really opened my eyes to the deep history of how interconnected modernity, industry, and identity in France is. This is a history not just of the forming of people and of politics but also of space.

Noiriel, Gérard. *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

A lot like Ross's book, Noiriel is a great place for discovering a deeper history to the politics surrounding contemporary immigration issues in France. Definitely a great companion to Episodes 3 and 5 on communitarianism and social codes.

Khalili, Bouchra. *The Mapping Journey*, projection installation: 2008-11.

This is a piece that I saw in the New Museum in New York in 2014 but has since moved to MOMA. In the piece there are four hanging screens with projections on both sides of a map focused on the Mediterranean. A hand appears and traces a line from south to north while a voice narrates a journey of deportations and border crossings. The whole image floats, a person detached from a homeland, a hand detached from a body, a screen detached from a wall. It's very beautiful and offers an alternative to conflict images.

Instead of consuming a visual of someone's body, you're really seeing an image of their story. Khalili's work is the inspiration for the HTBD maps.

Zachmann, Patrick. *Ma proche banlieue*. Paris: Barral, 2009.

This book of photography is a long form piece that I almost wish I could do in this podcast. Zachmann interviewed and photographed kids in the banlieues of Paris from all sorts of immigrant backgrounds. He then follows up with them a decade later and retakes many of the photographs. It's a really stunning view of how the banlieues changed over time. But I didn't really like how paternalizing Zachamann could be towards his subjects.

Vãsquez, Juan Gabriel, and tr. Anne McLean. The Sound of Things Falling. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Ok I can hear you asking, what oh what can a novel about post Pablo Escobar Bogotá Columbia have to do with Paris, France? Again, great question. This novel really stuck with me while I was working on this podcast because it's the story of people who have lived through a period of intense public violence, trying to trust their city again. It made me think a lot about how violence or rumors of violence can effect public space and the way we use public space. A stretch? Perhaps. It's a lovely novel though.

Aymé, Marcel. Le Passe-muraille. Paris: Gallimard, 1978. (Excerpt, *Les Sabines*)

This one is a beautiful story of a young Parisian housewife named Sabine, who has the power of multiplying herself as much as she wants. At first she just uses it to do housework but then she starts to venture out and have adventures with her many selves. She ends up at one point in la Zone. If you listened to Episode 4 - Boboland! you'll know la Zone is this area outside of Paris that used to be full of shantytowns. The scene where she's in la Zone is a very intense description of this pre-housing projects banlieue space.

Pandya, Aatmaja . *Phantom*. http://aatmajapandya.com/Phantom: 01 Apr. 2016. Web. 23 Apr. 2017

This is an autobiographical comic on gentrification in Queens, New York. What's different about this piece is that it talks about the cultural loss of gentrification. It's a very intimate piece and it drove me to think about gentrification in a more social way. It's short and very moving.

Maeril. *Dix Histoires Ordinaires.* http://maeril.tumblr.com/post/158234366426/hd-1ère-histoire-2ème-histoire-3ème-histoire: Web. 23 Apr. 2017

This series by illustrator Maeril tells the stories of French minority citizens and the microaggressions that they dealt with as children and as adults. Because it shows ordinary experiences it's able to detail different ways that France's history, its relationships with former colonies, its treatment of religious minorities, and so on manifest in everyday life.

La Haine. Dir. Mathieu Kassovitz. Perf. Vincent Cassel, Hubert Koundé, and Saïd
      Taghmaoui. Canal+, 1995

Obvious? Yes. But bears mentioning because it was probably the first time I saw a film depicting the banlieues of Paris with the types of diversity that are so specific to France and its history. I will say that this is just one way of looking at the banlieues at a certain point in time but it is and was a very important first look for me.

Flâner. Dir. Cecile Emeke. Perf. Gaëlle and Christelle. Youtube, 18 Jan. 2015.

This series of short docu-films is from the same director who made Strolling, a very gorgeous docu-series in London. Emeke focuses on the black diaspora in the West, mainly focused on European cities. Flâner is four walking scenes in Paris with young black people explaining their experiences in the city. These films had a huge impact on the way that I structured my interview questions.

Shoot for the Contents. Dir. Trinh T. Minh Ha. Moon Gift Film, 1991

Shoot for the Contents is an essay film that I watched in a class with Renée Green (another very interesting writer and filmmaker). It's a film that explores storytelling, poetry, and philosophy in China. China? Yes. Again what's the connection to Paris? Good question. This film was really helpful to me because of the way it plays with translation and the relationship between the listener, the translator, and the speaker. It gave me an idea of how and when to let the original speaker take the lead to set a scene instead of a voice-over.

Rustenholz, Alain. *De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris: d'Ivry à Clichy et de Saint-*
      Ouen à Charenton, 2015.

Rustenholz histories of the Parisian periphery goes banlieue by banlieue, chronicling the social and political lives of these towns. While many of the interviewees characterized their views of the banlieues whether they grew up in them or not, this book provided an encyclopedic reference for the historic importance and development of these towns, which added a fuller picture to the banlieues I reference in the show.

Mack, Mehammed Amadeus. *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of*
      National Culture, 2017.

Mack (who I interviewed for episode 5 of the podcast) wrote of book of singular importance. It explores the ways in which the civic aptitude of immigrant and Muslim residents in France is now being measured by group acceptance of progressive views as opposed to linguistic and professional assimilation. This metric is often branded by conservative commentators who themselves attempt to limit progressive movements. Through the term sexual nationalism he expounds the ways in which women's movements and LGBT movements are coopted into anti-immigrant sentiment by conservative politics.

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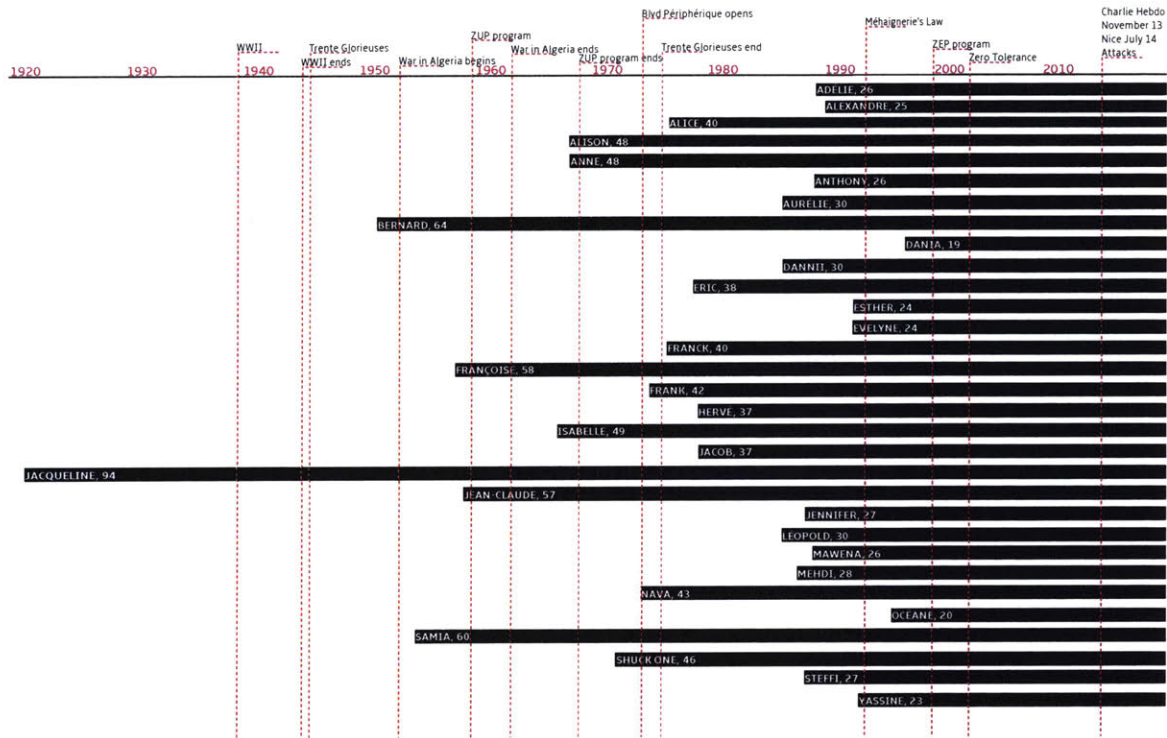
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APPENDICES

Timeline labels (top to bottom, along top axis):

WWII · Trente Glorieuses · WWII ends · War in Algeria begins · ZUP program · War in Algeria ends · ZUP program ends · Trente Glorieuses end · Blvd Périphérique opens · Méhaignerie's Law · ZEP program · Zero Tolerance · Charlie Hebdo November 13 Nice July 14 Attacks

Timeline years: 1920 · 1930 · 1940 · 1950 · 1960 · 1970 · 1980 · 1990 · 2000 · 2010

Interviewee bars:

ADELIE, 26
ALEXANDRE, 25
ALICE, 40
ALISON, 48
ANNE, 48
ANTHONY, 26
AURELIE, 30
BERNARD, 64
DANIA, 19
DANNII, 30
ERIC, 38
ESTHER, 24
EVELYNE, 24
FRANCK, 40
FRANÇOISE, 58
FRANK, 42
HERVE, 37
ISABELLE, 49
JACOB, 37
JACQUELINE, 94
JEAN-CLAUDE, 57
JENNIFER, 27
LEOPOLD, 30
MAWENA, 26
MEHDI, 28
NAVA, 43
OCEANE, 20
SAMIA, 60
SHUCK ONE, 46
STEFFI, 27
YASSINE, 23

Adélie (26, native to the Parisian region, producer for the podcast). Adélie is a journalist who grew up in the southern banlieue Fontenay-aux-Roses, which is a mixed income banlieue. She is the child of a middle-class woman from the southern banlieue Clamart and a formerly working class man from an eastern banlieue. Her great grandparents on her father's side were Jewish refugees from Poland and her grandfather was born in Belleville. Her understanding of Paris is influenced by growing up in the banlieue and having socially mobile parents in a country where social mobility is a relatively new phenomenon. Our interview was over Skype and she did not draw maps.

Alexandre (25, immigrant). Alexandre is a comedian. His father is French and from a far southern banlieue. His mother is from the Philippines. He moved to Paris from where his parents were living in Indonesia to go to business school, but prior to that he grew up with his mother's family in San Francisco. He lives in a wealthy western banlieue, Boulogne-Billancourt. His use of the city consists of back and forth trips from the west to the center city. Interestingly, even though he has to travel to les Halles-Châtelet for his comedy shows, it still remains a problematic place to him.

Many of the maps of childhood impressions and new arrivals remind me of the famous map by urban sociologist Paul-Henri Chambart de Lauwe, where he mapped a young

Parisian woman's movements between her home, school, and music lessons for a year. Her movements took the form of an enormous triangle repeated again and again each day. In Alexandre's maps you can see the same impulse, regular trajectories repeated again and again. The city for him is a circuit consisting of his school, his work, his comedy shows, and his family. The change between the two maps reveals that the locations of his obligations and affinities have increased over time.

Alice (40, native to the Parisian region) Alice is a marketing researcher. She was born in the 15th arrondisment and later moved with her family to Courbevoie, a northwestern banlieue. She also grew up middle class, but became addicted to heroin in her late teens. During this time, she became very familiar with both the more touristic and the more difficult neighborhoods in the city. She settled in the 19th arrondissement in a fast gentrifying neighborhood. Alice's maps reveal the small bubble of her childhood, concentrated very densely in the Northwest where she lived and went to school. As an adult, she circles the entire city of Paris, because she knows it very well but she no longer goes to the banlieue frequently.


Alison (48, immigrant) Alison is an editor and journalist. She was born in Somerset, England. She moved to Paris in her late thirties, although she had visited the city many times previously. Her knowledge of the city came mostly from her touristic visits, but

when she moved to live in Paris, she moved to Maison Alford, a southeastern banlieue. She quickly moved from there to the 19th due to transit problems then settled in the 10th. Alison's maps tell the story of her rocky first year in Paris, when she moved to Maison Alfort, a banlieue she considered to be unsettling. Her job as a critic brings her all over the city but when she relocated to Paris proper, the amount of red in her map decreased. Alison's maps have some of the most energetic and wild line work. This makes a lot of sense since as a critic, she had to travel all over the eastern part of the city, where many of the theaters are. In her second map, the line takes a more typical trajectory now that she works as an editor. She travels back and forth from various offices but also explores around her neighborhood in the 10th arrondissment.

Anne (48, transplant) Anne is an architect, community organizer, and professor at the architecture school in the 19th arrondissement. She moved to Paris from the banlieues of Lyon as a student. At first, as a student, she lived in the center city, but moved to northern Montreuil. She set up a firm there with her partner. As a high schooler in Lyon, in the early 80s, she organized with the well-known March for Equality and Against Racism. Almost as the inverse of Alison's map, when Anne first moved to Paris as a student, she was in Paris proper. When she moved to Montreuil to her activity explodes, encompassing many of the eastern banlieues and eastern Paris proper. Anne's maps are very distinct from each other and represent two very different periods of her life. The first one represents her life as a student. Her trajectories are very focused on areas where she has friends, family, and school. Later in her life, as a planning practitioner she travels all over the eastern metro region and really considers the entire area to be her territory.
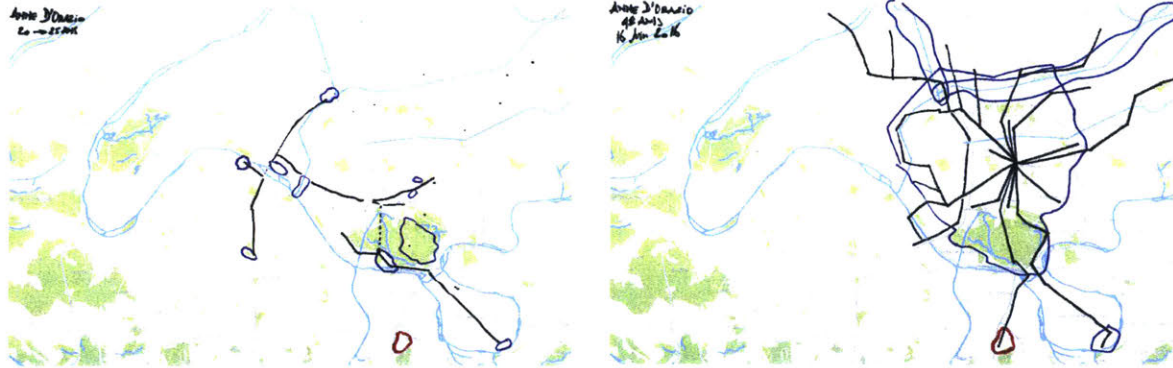
Anthony (26, native to the Parisian region) Anthony is a stock manager for Amazon, He is from and still lives in Vitry-sur-Seine, a southern banlieue. He feels a strong desire to leave the banlieue and live in Paris "intramuros." His knowledge of the city comes in a large part from growing up in the banlieue. As a teenage, he frequented places that are accessible by train like Les Halles and the banks of the Seine. Like most native interviewees as a young person Anthony was confined to his banlieue and places he could reach on the subway line he lived near. In Anthony's first map, he has the familiar nodes of activity, however the red spaces near his hometown reveal his understanding of Vitry, in terms of where he would feel comfortable going or not. The second map mostly dispenses with the nodes of childhood and takes in most of north and east Paris as Anthony's familiar territory. Vitry remains nodal because although Anthony still lives there, he spends most of his time in Paris proper.

Aurélie (30, transplant) Aurélie is a lawyer. She is from one of France's island departments, Réunion Island, which is off the coast of Madagascar. She studied in Paris for her law degree, returned to Reunion, and later returned to Paris for a job. During law school she lived with an uncle in Malakoff, a southern banlieue. Even though it's very close to Paris, transit was difficult for her. She then moved to the Goutte d'Or in the 18th arrondissment then finally settled in the Ménilmontant neighborhood. Her own knowledge of the city is highly based in safety. She doesn't go to neighborhoods where she feels unsafe or has experienced harassment. Aurélie's first map reveals a very typical

view of Paris, a strong discomfort with the north and a comfort with the more touristy left bank. But after moving around the city and living in the places that she feared, she developed a more nuanced view, though there are still areas of the north that she finds scary. Aurélie two maps really represent a shift in familiarity. In the first map you see the trends of a new arrival, lots of red in the more diverse north and blue in the more touristy South (i.e. the left bank). However, as Aurélie moved around in the city, her feelings became more fine grained. There are areas that are still red in the north but there is also some blue and her comfort zones also spread from the left bank to the east where she now lives.

Bernard, (64, native to the Parisian region) Bernard is a child psychoanalyst. I'm not sure whether to call Bernard a native or not since his parents are from the region, but they moved frequently. He grew up all over the world. When he settled back in Paris, he was a teenager. He lived in the Bastille/Faubourg de Saint-Antoine area before the Opéra Bastille was built, which propelled the rapid gentrification of the neighborhood. He then settled in Montreuil where he lives now. He never really answered questions of safety and danger but did experience anger and discomfort with wealthy neighborhoods. Many of the red areas on his map are because of discomfort with public displays of wealth. Bernard's childhood map has the very typical nodes, places he went to school or accompanied his parents. His adult map shows the development of a comfortable territory in the east and a resentment towards to the west.

Dania (19, native to the Parisian region) Dania is a student. She is the youngest person I spoke to. She is from the 15th arrondissement, which is on the border with the very wealthy 7th arrondissement (where the Eiffel tower is). When she came back to Paris from school she had noticed a new police station had opened on her route home. She was very uncomfortable with the way that soldiers, who were posted in front of the station, would check her out. Her knowledge of the city is largely focused on where she grew up, since she also went to school a block from her house. The red in her maps is largely in places that she does not hang out because of rumors that she has heard from friends and family. Since Dania is still very young, her maps are relatively similar. The difference between the two is the expansion of the comfort zone and the reduction of the insecure or vulnerable places. Dania's map is less nodal then other childhood natives because her home and school were very close to each other.

Dannii (31, native to the Parisian region) Dannii is an insurance agent. She is from Epinay-sur-Seine, a northern banlieue. Epiney-sur-Seine is broadly considered a difficult neighborhood and was involved in the 2005 revolts. Her knowledge of the city is based on the freedom that she experienced growing up presenting as male. Unlike her sisters, her parents allowed her a lot of leeway. She traveled all over the Parisian region from a very young age. But she is very conscious of the way she dresses in the banlieue versus in Paris proper. She attributed coming out of her banlieue unscathed with her talent for managing dress codes as well as her parents' decision to send her and her sisters to private school. Dannii has a pretty unusual map since it takes in so much territory so young. As a young person presenting as male and also the oldest in her family, Dannii was given a lot of freedom and often pushed parental boundaries. When she came out as trans as an adult there were certain places like les Halles-Châtelet became more uncomfortable. In her adult map you can see that her zones of discomfort expand.

Eric (38, native to the Parisian region) Eric is a musician. He grew up in a cité (housing project) in Pantin, an eastern banlieue, and now lives in the more gentrified area of Pantin. His knowledge of the city comes from his young adulthood performing and attending shows in Paris. He chose not to live in Paris, reasoning that is was more affordable for him to keep a music studio in Pantin. As a young man, he often hung out in groups of other young men, which for him meant that he was likely not in danger in public space. Eric's childhood map shows his relationship to a center city as a teen. All of his nodes are in the center where he was performing and his map shows his back and forth trajectory with his hometown, Pantin. Now as an adult living in Pantin this relationship is largely the same, the northeastern area is largely a territory of comfort for him. Though he points our the west as a place he avoids.

Esther (24, native to the Parisian region) Esther is a student. She also works in interfaith organizing. Esther grew up in the 7th arrondissement. She feels very sensitive to the way she dresses in public space. For her, this comes both from public pressure and her own family, encouraging her to dress more conservatively. As a Jewish woman, she also feels uncomfortable in places where anti-Semitic acts have happened in the city and tries to avoid them. Due to dissuasion by her parents, she also avoids and feels uncomfortable on public transportation. In particular she avoids the 2 line on the subway, because it passes through neighborhoods where she has had bad experiences. Esther grew up in a very touristy area but her parents often warned her about the North of Paris, so she rarely went

there. As an adult she had some bad experiences being harassed in the north of Paris and so she still avoids it. Esther's maps are very similar to Dania's in that neither of them develop territories like other adults instead they expand and contract nodes. Esther's nodes of comfort expand to the north and south while her zone of discomfort contracts.

Evelyne (24, native to the Parisian region) Evelyne is an administrative assistant at an architecture firm in the Marais. She grew up in Créteil, a southern banlieue. Her parents are both refugees from Cambodia. Even though she works in the Marais (which is in the center city) and all her siblings have moved to Paris, she does not want to move. Evelyne has a very pointillist approach to the city. She has home and destinations. She has spent the most time in Créteil where she also went to university. Evelyne also has very nodal maps. Her map of childhood is just two nodes of comfort that she traveled between, her home and her aunt's home. In her adult maps, you can see the proliferation of nodes that witnesses her further exploration of the city and the expansion of her obligations in Paris proper.

Franck (40, transplant) Franck is an architect. Franck is from a small town in the Bretagne region called Vitry. He moved to Paris for work. Bretagne is a very homogenous white catholic region. Franck is also catholic. Living in larger cities exposed him to many types of diversity that he did not experience as a young person. Moving to Paris also exposed him to social codes around class. He spoke about being harassed in the

street for looking upper class. He said this was a shock to him since his mother is a housecleaner and his father is a highway worker. He is very careful about what he wears in public. He is also most comfortable in gentrified neighborhoods. Franck first moved to Paris to work at la Défense, during this time he was living in Chinatown. Franck's map is also quite nodal, typical of a new arrival. After changing jobs from La Défense to the left bank, his nodes of comfort and discomfort proliferate in Paris proper.
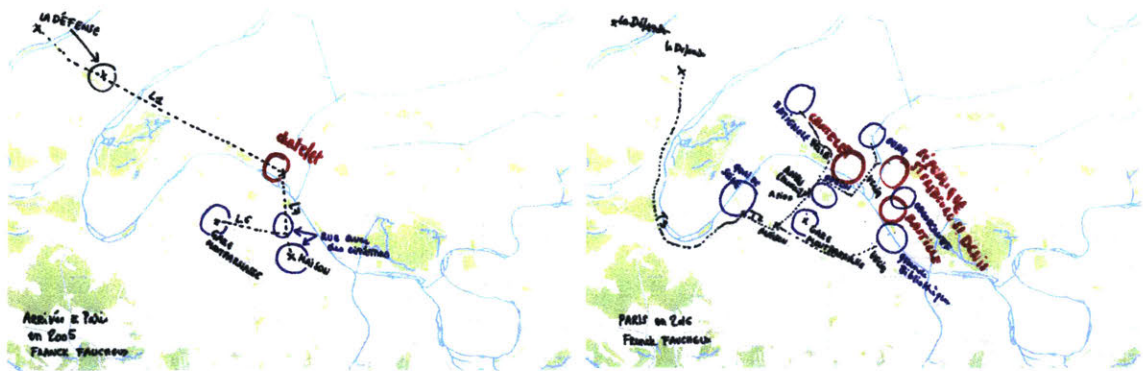
Françoise (58, native to the Parisian region) Françoise is an architect and architecture critic. She grew up in the southern banlieue Châtillon. As a student she moved to the 14h arrondissement and remained there. As an architect she is completely comfortable in the city and its surrounding banlieues. However, she mentioned that, as she gets older, she feels more vulnerable in public space. She noted Les Halles-Châtelet as a node of particular anxiety because it is often crowded and difficult to navigate. Françoise is a very much an explorer of Paris even though her maps don't really show this. She had a typical contained life in the banlieue as a child. But as an architecture professor and a devotee of Paris she often goes between places on foot, which makes her feel comfortable and familiar with most neighborhoods. Even though both Françoise's maps are both nodal, her trajectory in the second map begins to reveal a territory. She has the typical concentrated childhood map with one main trajectory but as an adult her nodes expand and her trajectory encircles eastern Paris.

Frank (42, immigrant) Frank is an urban development manager in Versailles. He grew up in East Germany. He first came to Paris as an exchange student and moved to Paris when he married his wife, who is French. As a student he lived in the 7th arrondissement but moved with his family to Fontainebleau. Although he was well aware that many of the areas deemed dangerous in the Parisian region have exaggerated reputations, he said that he would feel uncomfortable being stuck in them. But as he moved further out of the city the rumors of the North of Paris being dangerous solidified in his mind even though he has very little cause to go there and has even less personal experience with this part of the city. Frank maps are a bit strange and difficult to interpret with nodes imbedded in what appear to be territories. I think that red in the first map shows his distaste for the wealthier parts of Pairs but his life as a student was largely confined to them. In the second map aren't able to see where Frank now lives in the wealthy far banlieue of Fontainebleau but we do see his trajectory to get to work in Versailles and his discomfort with the northeastern banlieues.

Hervé (37, native to the Parisian region) Hervé is an administrator and webmaster. He grew up Aubervilliers, a southern banlieue. His parents are also from Aubervilliers and still live there. He moved to Paris proper for work and for his partner. He feels very comfortable in the banlieue and feels disdain for people who buy into stereotypes about his neighborhood and others like it. However, he admits that he was uncomfortable when his partner Silvia would come meet him after dark. He says this was a part of the decision to move. With some prodding from Silvia he also admitted that he had been kidnapped, robbed, and left in a roadside forest, while visiting his friend in Saint-Denis. He says that although he tries to avoid the place where he was kidnapped, the event did not change his opinion of the banlieue. Hervé's maps are both very nodal. His childhood map is pretty typical and very confined to the northeast. In his second map his nodes spread to different parts of the north in both Paris proper and the banlieue.

Isabelle (49, native to the Parisian region) Isabelle is a health professional. She grew up in the northern banlieue, Sarcelles, where her mother still lives. She now lives in the eastern banlieue, Noisy-le-Sec. Sarcelles, where she grew up, has a complicated reputation when it was first built as a new town. The term "sarcellite" was slang for an out of work drunk in the 50s and 60s. Isabelle said that as a child she felt very comfortable that but in retrospect she feels that things that were normal to her then are worrying to her now. She did not elaborate but admitted that she dislikes that her mother still lives in the cité in Sarcelles where she grew up. She also said that she doesn't explore her banlieue but comes straight home from work. She does know her neighbors very well. In fact, when I went to interview her, she was throwing a block party. For her, the banlieue is for living and Paris proper is for leisure. Isabelle's maps are also nodal but note that on the first map her hometown of Sarcelles is farther north than the map extends. As an adult she works in Paris and lives in the banlieue and her maps shows the nodes of those obligations and affinities.

Jacob (37, immigrant) Jacob is city planner and tour guide. When he first moved to Paris from the United States, he lived in the 14th arrondissement but moved to the 17th with his husband. He is an alum from MIT's department of urban studies and planning. He has worked in urban development and taught courses in architecture. Because his husband's family is from a very traditionally catholic bourgeois background he has learned to be comfortable in very homogenous upper class environments. He is very optimistic about

the possible diversification of his neighborhood because of ambitious development plans being made in the more diverse adjacent banlieue, Clichy. As a tour guide he is often in the center city but feels the more affinity for where he lives in the Northwest of the city. Jacob drew one map and it shows that he has very broad trajectories in the west of the city as well as a comfort with the northwest.

Jacqueline (94, native to the Parisian region) Jacqueline is retired but used to work for the department for education. She is the oldest person I interviewed. She grew up in the 17th arrondissement, lived with her family in the 9th for a while and then settled permanently in the 15th. She also has a house in the southern banlieue, Bois-le-Roi. A lot of our interview was about historic events in Paris. She talked about being a teenager during the Nazi occupation of Paris. Since she had curly brown hair she was frequently stopped by the police, because they thought she might be Jewish. She raised her kids during the bombings that happened in the city in 60s, during the war for the liberation of Algeria and the May '68 riots. She talked about the network of moms who informed one another constantly about the location of their children. Like Françoise she also talked about being vulnerable in public space as an older person. She mentioned places she couldn't go any more like parks and theaters because she wasn't sure how to get around as easily as she did before. It would have been interesting to have Jacqueline do three maps since these two maps show her teens and her older age. The nodes of Jacqueline's childhood map reflect both the typical native childhood map and the restrictions of the Occupation. Interestingly her nodes are more confined now as an elderly adult since she feels vulnerable being far from home especially late at night.
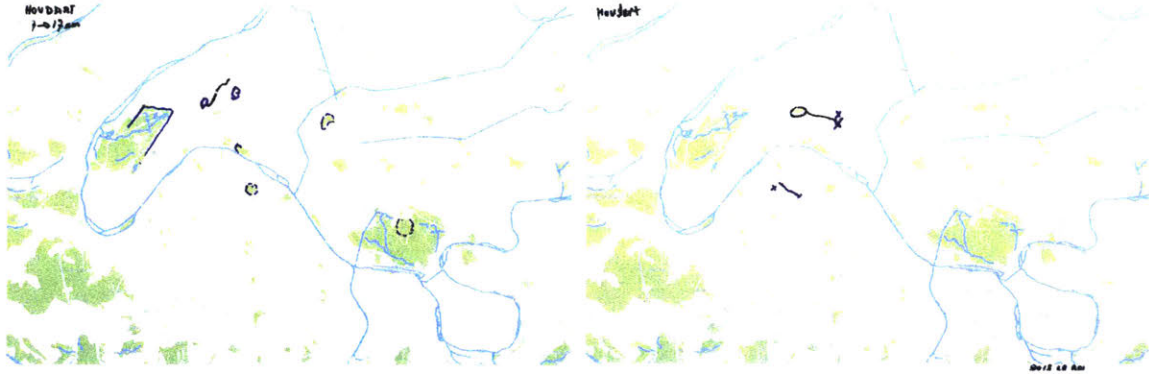
Jean-Claude (57, native to the Parisian Region) Jean-Claude is a professor in urban studies. He was born in Neuilly-sur-Seine and lived in the 16th and 7th arrondissements growing up. Together this region is known as the golden triangle, named for the aristocrats who lived there historically. He now lives in Champs-sur-Marne a far eastern banlieue. Because of his expertise in the field of public housing, Jean-Claude added a lot of historical nuance to the policies that built the Grands Ensembles. But he also told a story that didn't make it into the podcast. He talked about his discomfort bringing students into the "difficult" neighborhoods that they study and his awareness that the people who live there understand that people in urban planning have pathologized these neighborhoods. As an adult and a planning researcher Jean-Claude moved away from the wealthy neighborhoods of his childhood and spends most of his time in the banlieue. Jean-Claude has a typical confined childhood map. In his second map you can see that he moved from his childhood home to the banlieue and has large nodes of comfort in the east of the city.

Jennifer (27, native to the Parisian region) Jennifer is a journalist. She grew up in Fontenay-sous-Bois, an eastern banlieue. She made some very interesting points about mixité, where she opened up the question of diversity to age. She spoke about how valuable it is to have spaces where people of all ages mix to make an older generation more aware of progressive ideas. She also mentions feeling uncomfortable wearing shorts or skirts in places around Paris at night and she talks about her father in particular

warning her that people change at night. She also brought up les Halles-Châtelet, not as a scary place but as a place where people from very different walks of life have an opportunity to cross paths. As a child she had friends in many different neighborhoods and as a journalist her work takes her all over the city. Jennifer has clearly explored the city from a young age. Even though she has a very small trajectory in both her maps you can see both that she has feelings about wide range of neighborhoods and that those feelings changed over time.
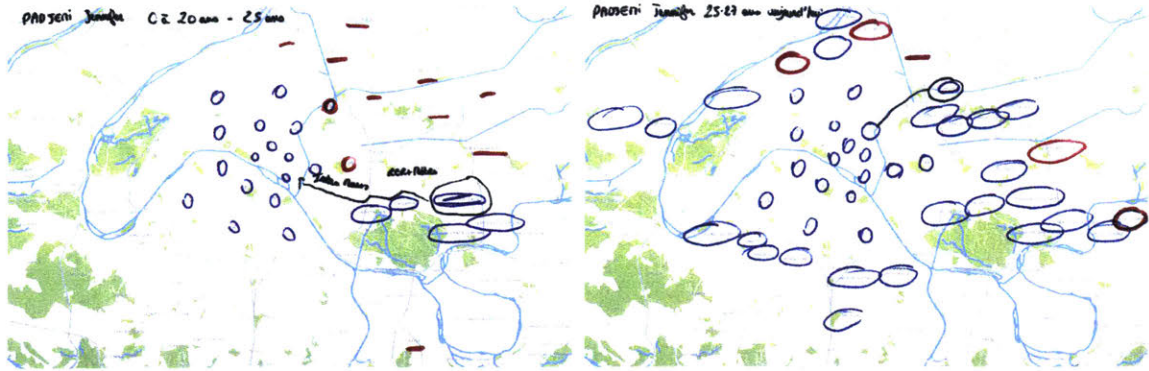
Léopold (30, transplant) Léopold is a journalist and editor of the architecture magazine *The Funambulist*. He grew up in Bretagne, the same region as Franck. He demonstrated a real curiosity about the city, having come from a small town. He has worked on a number of projects documenting architecture in the banlieue and Paris, namely the police stations. He used to take the subway but now rides his bike around the city. He talks about the feeling of disorientation as being a point of vulnerability. He says that taking the subway leaves a huge disconnect in terms of navigation but riding a bike gives you a through line and a clearer idea about the city. The interesting thing about Léopold's maps are that they both have the same small trajectory, his office and his apartment travel. However, you can also really see how he is exploring from first being a transplant and moving into being a more settled Parisian. His fears and discomforts contract but that also become fine grained, for example the small red dot on his trajectory in his second map is the Gare de Montparnasse. He mentioned many of the discomforts others feel in Les Halles Châtelet, which is interesting because the Gare de Montparnasse and Les Halles Châtelet are reflections of each other. Both are transit hubs/shopping mall developments. But because the Gare de Montparnasse is on Léopold's way home, it has a special distinction for him.

Mawena (26, immigrant) Mawena is the founder of the media platform, Black(s) to the Future. She was born in Benin but moved to Orléans at very young age and then later to the United States. She then moved to Paris for school, living first in the 1st arrondissement then moving to the 11th. She talked about all the important historic enclaves in Paris from aristocratic to worker's enclaves and then expressed her disbelief that city hall would aggressively go after Chateau Rouge as harmful communitarian enclave. She explained its importance as an African hub. She also stressed the importance in understanding the difference between people who "animate" a space and people who live there. She says it's often true that these two groups are different. Mawena's discomfort with the western arts of the city stem mostly from their lack of diversity and the feeling of hostility she feels as a black woman there. Again, Mawena's maps show a typical trend for a new arrival with one key difference. You can see that the territory that she feels comfortable in spreads from one map to the other but the zone of discomfort stays almost exactly the same.

Mehdi (28, native to the Parisian region) Mehdi is a professor and a local councilman in the northern banlieue, La Courneuve. He also grew up and still lives in La Courneuve. I met him in La Courneuve and interviewed him in a basement classroom in one of the cités. He is a very involved local politician. A lot of what we talked about in the interview was centered around challenges he was facing organizing in La Courneuve. An interesting thing he said was that Paris has such a central focus that it's hard to argue for

funding to create local atmosphere in the banlieues. Mehdi spends most of his time in La Courneuve but he also organizes and collaborates with other Northeastern banlieues. Mehdi has the map trends of a native who lives off of transit. His maps are very nodal and those nodes are tightly connected to transit lines, especially as an adult.

Nava (43, immigrant) Nava is an architect. She grew up in Jerusalem and moved to Paris for school. Her father is French. She talks about being very guarded around her accent and her background. She has two young children. She talks about the challenge of teaching them Hebrew but also maintaining to the outside world that they are a secular family. She gets very uncomfortable when she hears he children speaking Hebrew outside of the house. She worries that it will open them to anti-Semitic attacks. Nava's first map has typical patterns for a student. She lived in the Southern banlieue Ivry but has nodes in the north and by her school school. Her second map is interesting because instead of developing territories, she has corridors. These corridors follow two very important developments in Paris, one being along the canal where she lives in Pantin and the other being bike paths. Since Nava is a bike rider, she avoids places that are unsafe for cyclists, like the western edge of the périphérique.

Océane (20, native to the Parisian region) She is a student. Océan grew up in Gennevilliers, a northern banlieue. Gennevilliers is considered a "difficult" banlieue but Océan talked about how as a young black girl who was seen to belong, no one ever bothered her. By the same token, she did not hangout in her neighborhood. Instead she

would go to the St. Lazare neighborhood, which has a very busy transit connection. Like Jennifer, Océan prefers very diverse neighborhoods. Most of Océane's life in the city is concentrated around the nodes that she loves the most or has the most to do in. As a child she spent most of her time clustered in the northern banlieues where she grew up. But as a student her nodes develop and spread to Gennevilliers, St. Lazare, and Bercy in the South of the city.

Saïda (43, native to the Parisian region) Saïda is a social housing manager at Paris Habitat. Saïda is a strange interview because we crossed wires in communicating what the interview would be. So, this interview is half way between a resident testimony like most of the others and an expert accounting of the social housing plan in Paris. She told me about the push back of residents in wealthy neighborhoods who don't want social housing near them but she also mentioned the hesitancy of some residents who qualify for social housing to move to wealthy neighborhoods. Saïda did not draw maps.

Samia (60, native to the Parisian region) Samia is a journalist and an archivist. She works on Algerian oral histories. She grew up in Levallois, a northern banlieue and now lives in the 20th arrondissement. She is one of seven children and her parents were Algerian immigrants. Her father was an autoworker at the Citroën factory. She told me that her parents thought that she and her siblings would go back to Algeria after being educated in Paris and were worried that they would lose their Algerian heritage. Samia decided to stay in Paris but is both a strong advocate of her heritage and of the more disenfranchised banlieues. Samia purposefully spends most of her time in the banlieue. She feels it is her responsibility to know about new programming in public space and support the efforts of those bringing more community amenities to the banlieue. In Samia's map you see the typical childhood clustering where she grew up in the northwest. Then in the second map her nodes spread in such a way that you could probably count the north and east as her territory of comfort.

ShuckOne (46, transplant) ShuckOne is a graffiti artist. He is from Point à Pitre in Guadeloupe, an French island department in the Caribbean. He moved to Paris to reunite with his parents who had moved there ahead of him. He has a very interesting view of the subway system in Paris. As a graffiti artist he was often vandalizing the trains and stations and so got a backstage view of Parisian transportation. He sees it as the true city, where you can see a more precise caricature of city residents. In Shuck's maps you can interpret a corridor because as a teen he would follow the 2 line on the metro to tag trains and that is his trajectory on his first map. In his second map he travels between his studio in an artist's colony in a southern banlieue but is often in the center city.

Steffi (27, native to the Parisian region) Steffi is a freelance editorial consultant. She was born in Epinay-sur-Seine and now lives in Barbès, a neighborhood in the 18th arrondissement. She is Dannii's sister and works with Mawena. She spoke very openly about dress codes and her experiences with harassment. She is not afraid of public confrontation. She also talked about how conflicted she feels about gentrification. She enjoys the Ménilmontant neighborhood but feels that it's becoming more and more of wealthy neighborhood. Barbès is a predominantly black neighborhood and while as a black woman she feels comfortable there, she's not sure whether more diversity in the neighborhood would just mean displacement for current residents. It's interesting to compare Steffi's map to her sister Dannii. Unlike her sister, Steffi was not allowed to travel the city much as a young person but even so she still has a smattering of nodes

throughout the city. She swiftly learned to avoid the west and feels uncomfortable with its homogeneity. In her second map, she is very much an eastern Parisian and still shies away from the West of the city.

Yassine (23, immigrant) Yassine is a student and a museum guard at the Institut du Monde Arabe. He grew up in Taza, Morocco and moved to Paris for school. He lives in the eastern banlieue, Noisy-le-Grand, with his wife and child. As a practicing Muslim, he talked about the shifts in attitude he feels in the city. He says that when he first moved it was much more tolerant but now he feels more vulnerable. He says he tries to avoid touristy areas because people feel very free to be aggressive there. Even with these shifts he still wants to stay in Paris and is optimistic about the future. Yassine drew one map. In his map you can see that he is very curious about Paris and is never put off by a long commute. He has friends all over the city and knows the transit system extremely well..
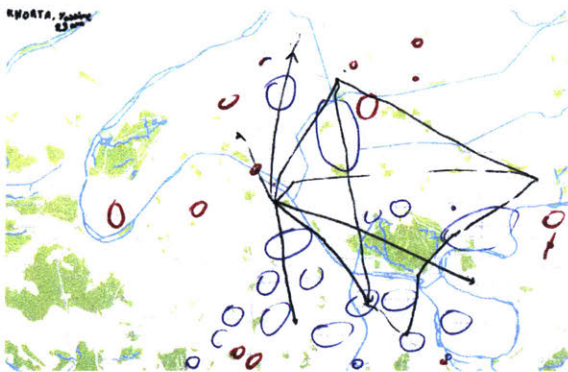
Each Map Superimposed

Current Zones of Fear   Current Zones of Safety   Current Daily Displacements

Past Zones of Fear   Past Zones of Safety   Past Daily Displacements
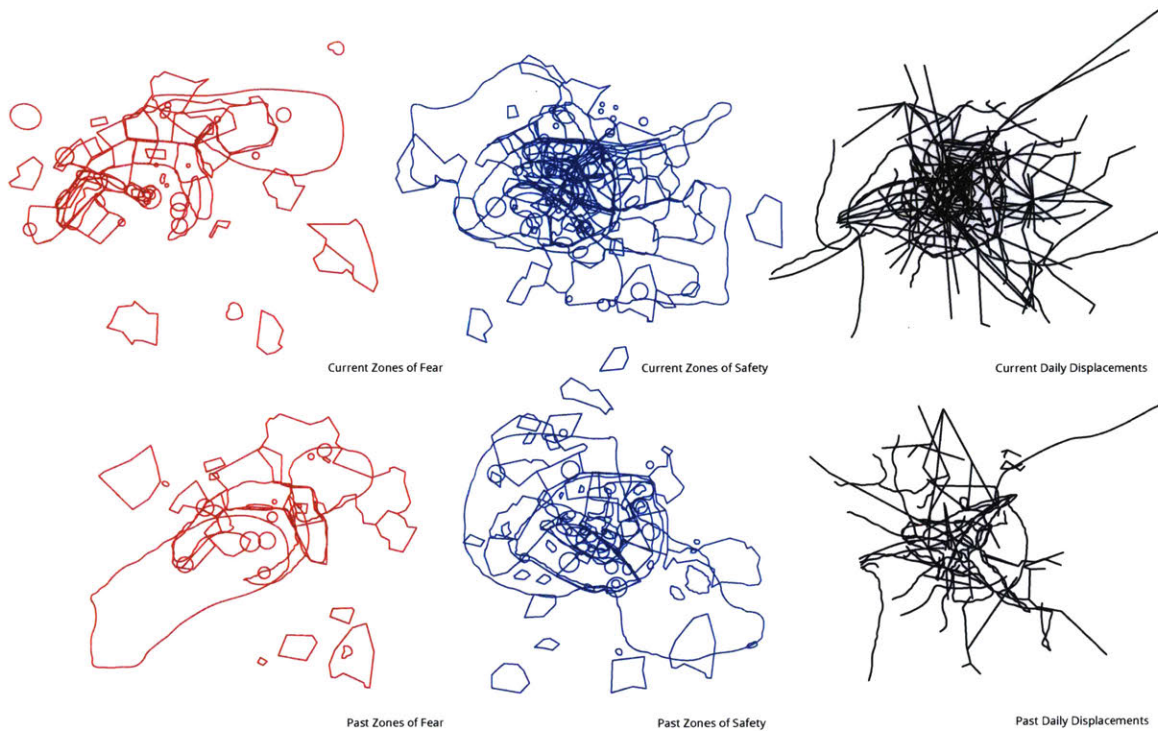
When I georeferenced the maps and overlaid them, some patterns begin to emerge. The first being the nodal clusters of childhood and new arrivals as well as the broad and amorphous lines in both the outlines of safety and of danger in the first maps. It is as if these lines were not defined by personal experiences but by rumors, from family or colleagues. For example, many interviewees circled the center of the city, where the transit and commercial hub Les Halles-Châtelet is. Many residents told me that they had been warned about how confusing and dangerous the area was and they decided to avoid it. In the maps that show residents' current ideas about the city, the lines become much more defined, more certain. The lines that show residents' regular trajectories in the city reveal the obvious, that as an adult and when you get to know the city your trajectories become much more diverse. These line also take in a much larger territory. Interestingly, Les Halles-Châtelet remains a node of discomfort, even though the trajectory lines show that residents are making more trips to the center city. This could be because Les Halles-Châtelet is indeed a very confusing transit hub.

APPENDIX B:
SCRIPTS

Episode 1 – Attentats (Attacks)

VO: Hello and welcome to the second season of Here There Be Dragons. I'm your host Jess Myers.

[MUSIC]

We've been working over the past few months to bring together a very special season for you. Last season we focused on the stories of seven New Yorkers, their fears and identities in a fast changing city. This season with an expanded team we're crossing the Atlantic and exploring the city of Paris. I spoke with 32 residents of the Paris metro region. I met them in bars, in cafés, in parks, in their homes, offices and studios where we chatted about their experiences with fear and identity in the French capital.

[SOUND/MUSIC TRANSITION]

You might remember the horrifying news we've heard from Paris as terrorist attacks rocked the city. Three attacks in the past two years. The one on November 13th 2015 left 130 people dead and 413 injured.[24] These attacks lead to increased media attention and speculation about whether France's capital was safe, what to do from there and who to blame.[25]

Although the attacks in Paris happened over a year ago, the shock they left in their wake is still visible throughout the city. For places like place de la Republique and around affected bars like the Belle Equipe and the Petit Cambodge the candles, graffiti, signs, and flowers left after the attacks have been swept into the national archives. The Bataclan, the concert hall where the most brutal attacks happened, has recently reopened. Plaques now memorialize the dead, replacing spontaneous shows of grief.

But even now residents still struggle with how to return to normal.

[MUSIC TRANSITION]

ALISON

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[24] "Libération.fr – Les 129 Victimes Du 13 Novembre," *Libération.fr*, accessed November 18, 2015, http://www.liberation.fr/apps/2015/11/13-novembre/.
[25] "Qui Sont Les Individus Impliqués Dans Les Attentats Du 13 Novembre ?," accessed November 18, 2015, http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2015/11/18/attentats-du-13-novembre-a-paris-ce-que-l-on-sait-des-assaillants_4812375_4355770.html.

I was actually very near to the Belle Equipe shooting just a couple of streets away and was locked in a bar there. I felt this terrible sense of grief. Like most people the day after I spent the entire day here, so when I finally got home I was sleeping but not sleeping and looking at Facebook and answering the phone. And then following day there was this mass movement to go to Place de la Republique so I went out. I felt a little bit scared. Yeah I felt "is this absolute suicide to go to this mass square?" If the terrorists want to do another attack they're obviously gonna choose there. But I looked around and saw all these other people going there and I thought yeah we do have to do what we have to do and it was also really healing to be there with all these people. Some people had been really brave as well to turn up saying I am a Muslim and I'm against violence. So I was a bit annoyed at how it was represented by the media because they just went round looking for white French Parisians to interview. What I saw was really what Paris is, people from everywhere from lots of different religions and lots of different colors of skin and that's what Paris is for me.

FRANK Z:

I have to go to work right. It's that simple. I have to feed my kids. To a certain degree we're obligated to continue like before. Life in the city doesn't allow us to do otherwise. Life continues. With or without terrorists. Of course we look at who boards the train or passes in the street, you look even when people have large bags. Maybe that's what's really changed: we take a few more precautions, are more careful around people who behave strangely. Also if they're bearded right, the big cliché but it's inevitable. It's with the best non-racist intentions. That's the pattern that's circulated daily in the media.

JENNIFER

I think people are fatalistic. There are things happening every day in the media that are scary. They killed people at a concert, they killed people on a patio, they killed people who went to see fireworks. These events seem unimaginable. They're like events that you see from afar. And the fact that this has come back and happened here, this has taken over the world and no one is safe, it's just that there's danger everywhere.

STEFFI

The day after the attacks on the 13th I went out. I stayed out all day. I walked for half an hour go to my friend's even though I could have taken a taxi, it was important for me to walk. It was important for me to tell myself that what happened is serious, but at a global scale, it was going to happen. It had to happen. It's serious and tragic for sure but I don't

want to shut myself in. Because my country isn't at war, there's no war in the streets, there's no bomb falling and no civilians dying around me every day. So, I can't behave as if my city is under siege. This is an isolated incident, that's very serious. We pray that it doesn't happen again, but if it happens again, it happens again and unfortunately, we can't do much about it.

VO: As Steffi, a 27-year old editorial consultant, just described, in the wake of the November attacks many Parisians felt a strong desire to be out in the city. In the days following the attacks while dignitaries marched in solidarity with France. Many locals showed their solidarity "en terrace" sitting in the famous open-air patios of bars and drinking in defiance. A demonstration of "the Gallic shrug," proudly continuing business as usual even with a fear of danger. But this shrug isn't new nor is it the whole story.

As a capital city, Paris has been the stage for the performance of political violence at many charged moments in the nation's history.[26] When the stakes of violent attack in Paris are political, citizen responses to that violence become political as well. The desire to return to normal is also a desire to prove that the violence and so the ideas that it represented were not strong enough to shift the nation. But in subtle ways they are.

For Franck and Jacqueline attacks from the recent past also pushed them to reflect on their responses in the present. For Franck, a 40-year-old architect, the recent attacks brought to mind the 1995 train bombings carried out by an Algerian extremist group.

FRANCK   F

In 95 there were attacks in France and in the subway, on the RER Saint Michel. At the time, I had just arrived in Lyon and the only way to get around was the subway. When I took the subway, I thought to myself well here we are. If something happens. I have no choice. It took six months before I started taking the subway without really thinking about it. And it was kind of the same with November 13th.

VO: For Jacqueline, a 94-year-old retiree, the attacks brought back memories of the bombings in the 60s during the liberation of Algeria from French colonial rule.

JACQUELINE

The attacks were mostly during the war with Algeria. One against Malraux, who was not home, the granddaughter of the super for his house had an arm torn off, she was a small

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[26] "La Peur," accessed October 24, 2016, https://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/le-siecle-des-emotions/la-peur.

girl who was maybe 5 or 6. It was very tense, but there was still a part of France that wanted the liberation of Algeria.

Before, they planted a few firebombs or stuff like that, now a guy driving a truck killed 80 people, hurt 210.We've never had anything like this before, but now everything is amplified. In every sense, in good as in evil. It also creates mistrust and it's terrible because it is unclear who is doing it, it's very complicated.

VO: In both of these cases, the French government implemented a security measure called le plan Vigipirate. Which translates to "watch out for pirates." It's the French equivalent of the terror alert that was used in the US post-9/11.

The state of emergency law that has been in effect since the November 13th attacks was written in the 1950s during General Charles de Gaulle's presidency, in response the civil unrest Jacqueline mentioned. It was meant to expand police power by setting curfews and authorizing extralegal search and seizure.

As colonial and post-colonial attacks, these bombings were considered a national issue, the painful transition away from the colonial past. However, the attacks in 2015 and 2016 were approached as international issues, although most of the assailants were born in France.[27] After the attacks the French implemented a number of national and international security responses including a bombing campaign in Syria.

Fabrice D'Almeida, a history professor at the university of Paris Panthéon-Assas as well as a prolific author and creator of Le Siècle des Emotions, a documentary radio series about the emotional effects of history on the nation, spoke with my co-producer Adélie about the strategy behind France's response to the attacks.

"L'avantage de problématiser les attentats de Paris comme le produit d'un conflit international c'est que ça permet de rentrer la France dans la grande mythologie d'un conflit de civilisation."

He says that the advantage of situating the Paris attacks, as a product of international conflict is that it permits France to enter into the grand mythology of a civilization conflict. Meaning that we [the French] are Christians attacked by Muslims, and this reading confirms Muslim extremist worldviews. If we consider this [attack] as something that came from us [France], then we can consider how citizens can mobilize in terms of education, integration, and eventually local surveillance. If we consider this [attack] as

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[27] "After Charlie Hebdo Attack, France Announces Draconian Anti-Terror Law - World Socialist Web Site," accessed October 12, 2015, https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2015/01/22/fran-j22.html.

something foreign, [then] the mobilization of citizens has to happen through the military and external intervention.

"C'est-à-dire de dire que nous serions en quelques sortes des chrétiens attaqués par les musulmans et cette lecture là en réalité conforte la vision du monde des extrémistes musulmans... Si on considère que ça vient de chez nous, on considère que la mobilisation des citoyens doit se faire en termes d'éducation, d'intégration et éventuellement de surveillance locale, si on considère que ça vient de l'étanger, la mobiliation des citoyens doit se faire par la voie militaire et par l'intervention extérieure."

Residents that I spoke to did not feel reassured when seeing paratroopers and soldiers on the streets and in subway stations. Instead they served as a constant reminder that the threat of danger could be anywhere

FRANÇOISE

Seeing paratroopers with machine guns on the street doesn't make me feel safe. First I think it doesn't do much good, it's more a show than reality, and then again it makes me think of the opposite of what it's supposed to. It should make me feel safe, but it reminds me that I might be unsafe. And policy rhetoric is obviously manipulated. So, there is a complexity to the way that this fear is used. It's like pain, it's a warning. Fear can do violent things and it can trigger thoughtless dumb defensive reactions that are often destructive. But I think we have to have a little fear.

VO: For Dania, a 19-year-old student, seeing paratroopers felt uncomfortable not just because of the specter of terrorism but also because of the way they scrutinized her.
DANIA

Ok I'll probably be switching between French and English because depending on the subject I'm more comfortable in one or the other.

Um I will say though I was very uncomfortable for a long time parce que quand je suis passée devant eux they would all check me out and talk about me, these soldiers.
I wasn't interpreting it as they're checking me out suspiciously, they're checking me out sexually you know.

VO: After the attacks in Paris and in Nice, the popular line in the French media was that these terrorist acts where attacks not on people but on the French way of life. But for people who fall outside of the stereotype of this lifestyle, young and white expressing freedom through consumption, the message was confusing. Many young French people

chose to resist to by going out to bars and proving they wouldn't let terrorists change their way of life. But what about French people who don't live like that or can't?[28]

After the state of emergency was implemented, police officers no longer had to go through a judge to search private property[29]. Since then restaurants, religious spaces, and homes of primarily Muslim residents have been searched without warning by armed police officers. This has left Muslim residents in a difficult position. How do they show solidarity? How does France show solidarity to them? Both Dania and Yassine, a 23-year-old student from Morocco, told me about their concerns. Here's Dania again.

DANIA

It's also because I'm Arab mais jure il y a des gens that feel uncomfortable around minorities Surtout maintenant avec tous les tous les attacks terroriste, I've noticed if there's someone who looks Arab on the metro people will look at them as if they're threatened or suspiciously and I've noticed that. I think it was the other day we were in the metro and there's a family, they were Muslim and they were on the metro and they had like suitcases with them and tout le monde a regardé like suspiciously like what are they doing why do they have suitcases. Tandis qu'avant that wouldn't be at all something people would be phased by I think. Which is very sad.

YASSINE

So, a woman who wears the veil and goes into a subway with a backpack, we start looking at her: "Maybe she has a bomb. I don't know what she has in this bag, what will she do." More and more, it happens that people will say to them, "Yeah go back to where you came from." So, it went up a notch, this thing about profiling people: he's a Christian, he's a Muslim, he's a Jew. It's a kind of divided and it gets worse. What I really noticed is that it gets worse and worse, and you need a solution for that. Because the problem is that they can't control people like that, it'll explode one day.

VO: Even outside of the Muslim community in Paris there has been a ground swell of criticism about politicians manipulating the meaning of the recent attacks to advance their own agendas. Both Mawena, a 26-year-old founder of the media platform Blacks to the Future and Frank a 42-year-old economic development manager, are immigrants to France, Mawena is from Benin and Frank who grew up in East Germany. Both are concerned about the current political conversation.

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[28] "What Does French National Unity Look Like? Personal Reflections on Charlie Hebdo - The Postcolonialist," accessed March 1, 2016, http://postcolonialist.com/culture/french-national-unity-look-like-personal-reflections-charlie-hebdo/.
[29] "Loi N° 55-385 Du 3 Avril 1955 Relatif à L'état D'urgence. | Legifrance," accessed October 12, 2015, http://legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006068145&dateTexte=20151013.

MAWENA

I have a friend who was celebrating her birthday and they were completely shot up, she's still in the hospital, she lost friends, she has friends who are seriously injured, an amputation. And it's true that no one emphasized the fact that she's black and her friends were. These attacks affected young people, people who were the most open, in theory. [There's] the sense that the younger generation shouldn't be so idealistic, this isn't a world of Care Bears. After recovering, the [party] line was they attacked our lifestyle, but that's kind of disgusting, it was a defense of capitalism and that was horrible, but I think there's an understanding that you have to whip out the scary scheming political debate: this is Islam against the West. But there's also a way for politics to use that, which allowed them to extend the state of emergency.

Now I really feel like we're in [this] process of political manipulation. It's strange because France wants to be so colorblind when in fact it's not, everything is much more difficult to analyze. In the US everything is clear, black, white, Latino, you know what the communities are. Here the one new category now is just Muslims, the black sheep that everyone has to hate, we never talk about black as it relates to black people, so we erase that all the time, everywhere, absolutely, you're unable to identify a problem in a racial way.

VO: I asked Frank whether he saw any similarities between the security he experienced growing up in East Germany during the cold war and the security responses he sees in Paris now.

FRANK Z

The only link that exists between the two is that now I fear that the State will fall back on pure protectionism. It's always the same discussion around security, individualism, freedom, and security in the end. I fear that the State will become unreasonable. I'll say something horrible but it's a good illustration. With so few attacks, I'm ready to take this level of terrorism, if that leaves me my personal freedom.

VO: Françoise, a 58-year-old architecture professor, thinks the political conversation surrounding the attacks is a small part of a larger global trend.

FRANÇOISE

As we grow older, we feel more vulnerable. One of the big reasons why French society is so terrified of everything is because it's an aging society. And Western societies are all

aging, compared to new countries. We feel more threatened when we get older, we feel more fragile. Western societies have perhaps arrived at a moment of their golden age, their height, the peak of their influence, it's crumbling, collapsing, so it all contributes to a feeling of impermanence, that maybe the end of a world is beginning, which has begun to make us feel less stable.

VO: Even before the attacks, immigration was a central political issue in France but in the weeks after the discussion came to a head. Should France close its borders to immigrants and refugees? But because of colonization, immigration in France is complicated. Many of the immigrant populations in France have been there for well over a century.

Having experienced the heaviest losses during the World Wars, the French government set up programs to attract young men from the colonies to work in French factories.[30] Similar to the Bracero program in the US, which brought laborers from Mexico to the Southwest in the 1940s.

In order to house these new populations the government began enormous social housing programs in the Parisian banlieues, suburbs just outside the city.[31] The projects that were built starting in the 1950s are called the Grands Ensembles, les cités, or simply les tours – the towers.[32] These projects housed not only immigrant groups but the white working class French settlers who were expelled from liberated colonies.[33] As the immigrant population grew so did racist sentiment against these housing projects. Today many are run-down, and have reputations for crime and violence.

In 2005 police neglect lead to the deaths of two young boys, sparking a series of revolts demanding better local services.[34] Since then social housing firms like Paris Habitat, have started programs to improve Grands Ensembles. But when it was discovered that some of the assailants in the recent terror attacks had lived in the Grand Ensemble, public opinion soured even further.[35] Saida, a manager at Paris Habitat, has had problems with public opinion of the northern banlieue Saint Denis.
SAIDA

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[30] Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies : Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, c1995., 1995).

[31] Philippe Juhem, "« Civiliser » La Banlieue. Logiques et Conditions D'efficacité Des Dispositifs étatiques de Régulation de La Violence Dans Les Quartiers Populaires," *Revue Française de Science Politique*, no. 1 (2000): 53, doi:10.3406/rfsp.2000.395453.

[32] Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Madeleine Lemaire, "Proximité spatiale et distance sociale. Les grands ensembles et leur peuplement," *Revue française de sociologie* 11, no. 1 (1970): 3–33, doi:10.2307/3320131.

[33] Mustafa Dikeç, "Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things: Ideology as an Aesthetic Affair," *Antipode* 45, no. 1 (January 2013): 23–42, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.00999.x.

[34] Peter Sahlins, "Civil Unrest in the French Suburbs, November 2005," accessed October 13, 2015, http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/.

[35] Angelique Chrisafis, "Charlie Hebdo Attackers: Born, Raised and Radicalised in Paris," *The Guardian*, January 12, 2015, sec. World news, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/12/-sp-charlie-hebdo-attackers-kids-france-radicalised-paris.

Saint-Denis has a complicated reputation, particularly with the November 13th attacks in which the assailants at the Bataclan all lived in Saint-Denis. There's a prejudice against that neighborhood despite everything that's been done in the city to improve citizen's daily lives.

VO: For Jean-Claude, a professor in urbanism who specializes in social housing research, the desire to connect terrorism to housing projects like the Grand Ensemble is over simplifying.

JEAN-CLAUDE:

The majority of the immigrant population living in France, was born and grew up in these Grand Ensembles, because that was the main purpose, often those you see today in Islamic radicalization movements, or Islamists, are children of the 2nd or even 3rd generation immigrants in France. They were born there. They are also French, and they are the children or grandchildren of the workers who were brought in the 1960s or in the 1970s to work in industry in France who were part of the population for whom the Grand Ensembles were built. They were born there, and for many they are still there. But I don't think that's a factor in the insecurity of the Grand Ensembles such as it is. There were much more significant things, much more specific to the Grande Ensembles in 2005 when there were revolts within these neighborhoods, cars were burned... There really was a stigma against those neighborhoods, concentration of poverty, concentration of exclusion in these areas. Terrorism, that was a problem that, in my opinion, goes far beyond urban issues and public housing. It's simply true that one of the first reactions the French government had, after the first attacks in January of last year, the Prime Minister said: "We have created apartheid." That was the word that was the Prime Minister used. In these neighborhoods, we have to begin to resolve this problem by better organizing what we call social "mixité" by making sure the new residents of these neighborhoods will not only be poor people. Terrorist movements probably have as part of their root cause a desire for identity. To highlight an identity to people who, otherwise, are largely excluded from the workings of society, through unemployment ... and need to identify with something. In part, no doubt, they identify with Islam, but it is not a given that they'll all become terrorists.

VO: Security goes beyond what the State can do to make us feel safe. It's more than police, more than curfews, more than terror warnings. It's also how residents interact with each other. And yes, the state does have something to do with that but so does history, family, social status, race, gender, religion, and immigration status. They all collide to give us our perspectives of the city, our ideas about what and where a threat to

us might be.[36] We'll delve into those ideas over the course of the series. Starting next episode where we'll talk about diversity or "mixité" as the French call it, and how it intersects with residents understanding of safety.

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[36] Peter J. Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (Columbia University Press, 1996).

Episode 2 – Mixité (Diversity)

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm your host Jess Myers.

Last episode we left off with Jean-Claude wondering about the benefits of "mixité" or diversity as we call it in English. Does a good social mix create greater security for urban residents? Before we dive into it, I'd like to talk about the words we'll be using in this podcast. I've decided to use some French words without translating them, because they can't be translated without losing some of their original meaning.

One of them is "mixité", and when the French say it, [ADELIE saying "mixité"] it means something slightly different than what we English speakers mean when we talk about diversity. In the US, the first thing we think about when we think diversity, is race. In France, "mixité" is primarily a question of class.[37] Of course race or religion are included in "mixité" but they're harder to quantify: the French government is forbidden from keeping official statistics about race and religion. [38]

Which brings us to another word that you'll hear a lot: populaire. [ADELIE saying populaire] In French, it doesn't mean well liked. It refers to France's working class groups, from factory workers to street sweepers. The Parisian working class has a strong political history. They've built barricades and led revolutions,[39] as you might know from Victor Hugo's Les Misérables, romanticized representation for sure, but you get the idea. But as we talked about last episode (if you haven't already I recommend you listen to it first), over a century ago immigrants to France joined the populaire class, which added a history race and religion to the word.

Whether they work in factories, shops or in the street, the populaire class has created their own culture, entertainment, and language. They've been strong advocates for their rights, as well as crucial parts of the socialist and communist parties. Many of the French populaire class live in the banlieue, [ADELIE saying banlieue] another French word we'll be using. The banlieues are suburbs but unlike American suburbs many of them are former factory towns with high concentrations of social housing projects.[40]

So in this season we'll use words like "mixité", populaire, and banlieue to hold their historical meanings in French, and we'll keep on refining their meaning throughout this

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[37] Feriel Alouti, "Sexisme, harcèlement de rue, "mixité" : les femmes à la reconquête de l'espace public," *Le Monde.fr*, January 21, 2017, sec. Société, http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2017/01/21/sexisme-harcelement-de-rue-mixite-les-femmes-a-la-reconquete-de-l-espace-public_5066521_3224.html.

[38] Marie des Neiges Léonard, "Who Counts in the Census? Racial and Ethnic Categories in France," *International Handbook of the Demography of Race & Ethnicity*, January 2015, 537.

[39] Alain Rustenholz, *De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris: d'Ivry à Clichy et de Saint-Ouen à Charenton*, 2015.

[40] Mustafa Dikeç, "Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things: Ideology as an Aesthetic Affair," *Antipode* 45, no. 1 (January 2013): 23–42, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.00999.x.

podcast. If you're ever confused about a word used on the show check out our glossary on our website htbdpodcast.com.

So, "mixité", does it keep us safe? Although France is thought to be fairly homogeneous, Paris is anything but. Paris and its surrounding banlieue have been a magnet metropolis for different waves of migration. If war is a catalyst for migration, so is colonialism. In the 20th century France had large colonies across the globe and experienced several land wars.[41]

We went to visit Jacqueline at her house in Bois le Roi, a southeastern banlieue tucked into a bend of the river Seine. She invited us to sit in her garden and told us how as a young girl before the beginning of WWII, she remembered a peaceful mix of French natives and European immigrants.

JACQUELINE

There were populaire neighborhoods in Paris, but there were areas that were very marked by certain populations, there were more Polish, there were many Italians, it was very diverse. Everyone got along well, apparently. I was in primary school. I remember there was a little Polish girl, there were two Italians. There weren't all these conflicts, like we have now between nationalities.

VO: Not all older generations are so at ease with this mix. Franck comes from a small town in the west of France, in a region known for its strong Catholic identity. When he moved to Paris, Franck's parents had some reservations.

FRANCK

"Mixité" is something that scares them. I come from a small town that was very homogeneous. It was a very Catholic town, kind of the Breton version of little house on the prairie. When we got to a big city and saw veiled women it was stressful for my parents. I spent some time in the 13th arrondissement of Paris, Chinatown, so when my parents came to visit me, seeing so many Chinese shops with lots of Chinese lettering, it was more than curiosity, it was concern.

VO: The obvious difference between the immigrants Jacqueline remembers and the ones Franck's parents are so concerned about is race. Although it was difficult for other Europeans to integrate into French society, especially Jewish refugees, but for them

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[41] Hugh D. Clout, *The Geography of Post-War France: A Social and Economic Approach* (Elsevier, 2013).

cultural integration was easier to achieve.[42] While immigrants from the colonies and non-Western nations are not so lucky.

Aurélie is a French lawyer in her thirties. She moved to Paris from her native Réunion Island, one of France's island departments of the coast of Madagascar. She remembers when she was harassed on the bus after she moved to a western banlieue.

AURELIE

I didn't like Levallois-Perret. It's pretty dead and it's very racist. I was on the bus and I was verbally abused by a lady because I answered the phone and spoke softly. She said, "Where you're from you can pick up the phone like that, but not here." I didn't say anything. I left the bus. I was shocked because I've rarely experienced instances of racism. I wasn't doing anything wrong. So I got off and said well ok, no to that neighborhood. But Ivry is very quiet, it's diverse, lots of Muslims and lots of Asians too.

I'm not Parisian. When you look at my face I could pass for foreign, I could pass for a French person with an immigrant background. I don't have a face that could pass for a typical Parisian.

VO: To her, "mixité" is a source of safety for minority groups, because people become exposed to other cultures and identities.

I feel safer in a cultural mix. I come from a multicultural environment, on Réunion Island it's like that. [In Ménilmontant] I feel comfortable because well it's pretty mixed. There're people like me who're from different cultural backgrounds. Instead of being insulted in the street because I answer the phone, honestly, it's no contest.

VO: Jacob, who moved to France from the US 15 years ago, had very similar feelings of looking for belonging. He encouraged husband to move away from his family's aristocratic neighborhood in the 17th arrondissement.

JACOB

I helped him to move away from what I call the bourgeois part of the 17th because that's where his family was and to move to this more popular area, more diverse area, a lot more young people, a lot more students, a bigger gay community just more open. It just felt like it was a comfortable place for us to settle. It's just attractive to be in an area that's

42 Didier Bigo, "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27, no. 1S (February 1, 2002): S63–S63.

more diverse. You just feel like you fit in better with people from different backgrounds and cultures. And it was more appealing than the very conservative, very wealthy, old wealth aristocratic part of the 17th.

VO: When talking to Parisian residents, two neighborhoods came up again and again as examples of "mixité" done right. Belleville and Ménilmontant are neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th arrondissements of Paris. Both of these neighborhoods are historical landmarks for the class populaire. In the second half of the 19th century Belleville and Ménilmontant were untouched by Baron Haussmann's massive reconstruction of Paris. This means that instead of the enormous boulevards you see in the center city, Belleville and Ménilmontant maintained their small winding streets, cramped worker's housing, and cheap cafés.

When it comes to "mixité", these neighborhoods seem ideal, where different social and cultural groups can peacefully co-exist. Léopold, the young editor of Funambulist magazine, sees Belleville as an important intersection of history while Steffi sees the mix of Ménilmontant as a crucial part of its liveliness.

LEOPOLD

The Carrefour of Belleville is a perfect example of that because on the one hand you have a historically white working class that was that was complemented by a more north African west African working class. To which was added a Chinese community, a Jewish community, and now it marks a limit between a part of east Paris that is under a relatively fast pace of gentrification. At this moment, you do have those social and racial "mixité" that all collides at this one point, which is quite interesting in the heterogeneity, that it creates.

STEFFI

In Ménilmontant where I lived before, there's a really big Muslim cultural community. People aren't all Muslims but basically you had a lot of Maghrebian people, quite a few Lebanese too. And when I went home at night, I felt really safe, because there was so much life. People knew each other, people talked to each other. There was this big community. You had plenty of other people, Europeans, Asians, because Belleville's not far away, lots of different people. There was a real life in the Ménilmontant neighborhood.

JENNIFER

Belleville definitely has its problems but when you go there you really get the impression that this mix is still intact. During Ramadan at night you see people peacefully ending their fast in the square, putting out large tables. It's a really beautiful sight to see that there's this very strong mix with the old generation that has been there for years and years. There's also a big Asian, and especially Chinese, community. Next to it all there may be a new bar, but both want to work together. I grew up in the banlieue, I still want to see people of all origins in the streets and it's not idealistic to say that, it's just it's part of my life, it's part of what I know. All my friends come from all over. Where I grew up, people came from everywhere, so I want to see that and at the same time I want to have my drink in a cool place where I feel like I'm in Berlin or in Brooklyn, because that's also my life. And so, I want to be able to have both parts of my life in the same place.

VO: Jennifer, a 26- year old journalist, echoes Aurélie's words: it's the unknown that makes us feel unsafe, and that's why to her "mixité" is a good thing.

We're comfortable with what we know. And a mix of everyone gives us a sense of well being, suddenly there isn't this fear of the unknown. Because I think that the feeling of insecurity has a lot to do with the unknown. We don't know this neighborhood, so we fear it. We were told that there were drug dealers, so we fear it. Oh, they're a little too black or a little too Arab, so we fear it. It's because people are afraid of what they don't know. So being in a place where you have a bit of everything, people from immigrant communities, young active people who can sometimes struggle like us, people who're starting a family. All three are my life, so I feel good. I feel at ease. I feel safe.

VO: "mixité" can seem like a utopian dream and it certainly isn't as simple as getting people to live next to one another. Politically, the concept of "mixité" is relatively new. It was first written into the French law in the early 90s and has been at the heart of urban policies for the last thirty years.[43] Mayors and local governments have made it a goal to achieve "mixité" from the top down.

VO: Samia, a sixty-year-old journalist, is skeptical of who "mixité" is supposed to benefit

SAMIA

But "mixité" is interesting because it adds value or "elevates" populaire areas, "enhances" them, but for those on top rather those on the bottom.

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[43] "La "mixité" Contre Le Choix - Les Mots Sont Importants (lmsi.net)," accessed January 11, 2017, http://lmsi.net/La-mixite-contre-le-choix.

VO: My producer Adélie spoke with Sylvie Tissot a political science professor and sociologist at the University of Paris 8, in Saint-Denis. Like Samia, Professor Tissot believes that "mixité" should be approached with nuance.

"Là on a quand même un tournant qui est symptomatique aussi d'un passage d'une rhétorique qui est très axée sur la réduction ou la disparition des inégalité sociales..."

She says that, [the law on "mixité"] was a turning point symptomatic of changing from a rhetoric that focuses on the reduction and dissolution of social inequality to one that simply manages social inequality and better disperses it in space. She believes that "mixité" changes the political narrative around poverty. Instead of attacking inequality and considering policies that would eliminate poverty, politicians are saying that poor people shouldn't be too concentrated, shouldn't be too visible in urban space.

"...a une manière de simplement gérer ces inégalités sociales en les répartissant mieux sur le territoire. Et je crois que c'est vraiment l'enjeux de cette notion de "mixité" sociale c'est à dire qu'au lieu de s'attaquer aux inégalités car tout simplement de dire qu'il ne faut plus qu'il y ait de pauvres ou qu'il ne fallait pas qu'elle se concentre trop, qu'elle soit trop visible dans l'espace."

But Eric, a 38-year-old musician, remembers the 80s and 90s when he was a teenager from the eastern banlieue of Panting interested in hip-hop and dance. Back then, he says, there were spaces that made it possible to cross these boundaries and that created unexpected opportunities that he says are no longer possible today.

ERIC

There were never any problems. We were still teenagers 15, 16 years old. We were lucky that we grew up in an underprivileged environment you could say, it gave us legitimacy in hip-hop culture. At the same time, we had access to very hip spots. We rubbed shoulders with models, artists from all over the world. We saw De Niro, Mondino, the top models of the 90s in this place called the Bains Douches. We were lucky to have quote unquote dual membership. It's very rare, it's over now. Today, you're either well connected or you're from the ghetto. That's it.

VO: Eric's experience was a form a "mixité" that he was able to seek out and achieve.

When Maurice Blanc, a professor of sociology at the University of Strasbourg, spoke to my producer Adélie, he pointed out the struggle that arises when a top down vision of "mixité" is enforced, especially when the broader needs of the lower class are not taken

into account.[44]

He says, is it desired "mixité" or enforced "mixité"? This is already a classic issue for sociologists going back to the 70s but urbanists, elected officials, and social housing managers won't hear it. Spatial proximity and social distance is still the reality today.

"Mixité" as an urban policy a more of a government guide initiative however it can be dangerous to assume that the presence of wealthier residents will improve the lives of low income ones.

Professor Tissot, who you heard from earlier points out that there is no solid legal definition of "mixité" but she argues that this might be for the best.

"Je ne souhaite pas forcément que l'action publique se donne comme objectif...

She says she doesn't want public intervention to make organizing citizens its main goal. She thinks that's dangerous and that instead public intervention should prioritize guaranteeing rights and equal treatment, especially as it pertains to housing law.

...d'organiser le peuplement. Je pense que c'est dangereux. Je pense que l'action publique devrait se donner comme priorité de garantir les droits et l'égalité de traitement, notamment par exemple le droit au logement."

Both Jean-Claude and Saïda work on the subject of social housing. In their work, they both see first-hand how complicated it can be to create "mixité" through public intervention.

JEAN-CLAUDE

The law says that there must be 25% social housing in Paris; the law does not require that they be distributed in the arrondissements. That's the mayor of Paris; she decided to better distribute them. Municipalities in the Paris region, who don't want to build the social housing they're supposed to say, "We want to preserve the quality of life of our residents. " In the minds of the people who don't want social housing next to their homes, there's this idea of [insecurity] not from terrorism but from the immigrant population in general. This is partly a behavior that can be equated to racism because that exists in the minds of many people, the association of social housing with the immigrant population. And when Paris Habitat 25:01 had social housing projects in the 16th arrondissment, many local residents reacted by saying it's bad for them, it's going to lower the value of

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[44] Blanc, "Social Integration and Exclusion in France."

their apartments, it'll bring a different demographic. I think it's very important to better distribute social housing in the city.

VO: The housing policy that Jean-Claude refers to, called the SRU "Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain" – Solidarity and Urban Renewal. It's been in effect for almost 17 years. The current city government has been working to create more social housing in wealthy areas like the 16th arrondissment. A report published by the city council in September 2015, says that while the 19[th,] the area around Belleville, is almost 40% social housing, the 16th is less than 4%.[45] Here's Saïda.

SAIDA

And so today we try to create social housing, where we're not expected to create social housing, like in the 16th arrondissement. We're starting to promote social "mixité" because, there's a real need in Paris.

It's not always easy. Not very long ago, in the 16th district of Paris where the municipality wants to set up a center for the homeless the residents of the 16th district were outraged because that they're afraid that this would lead to insecurity.

VO: Since this interview took place, the homeless shelter that Saïda refers two has survived two arson attempts. Although no one was injured, almost 50 people including 24 children were living in the shelter at the time. Months before its opening in October, 40.000 residents had signed a petition against the shelter.[46] Back to Saïda.

SAÏDA

Today I have social housing in very beautiful neighborhoods in the 8th district, in the 9th district. At first, it's difficult, and then, gradually, people get used to mingling and living together. These connections are created but there're inevitably prejudices on both sides. People are prejudiced because they say to themselves: "Olala what it'll be like? Are they going to respect the streets? There will be trouble. Terrible things will happen if we put social housing here. "And on the other side, people in social housing who'll say," Olala, will we suffer from contempt, how will we be received? Are they going to accommodate us? " After that what happens next: school, shopping. People meet. The things people do around the neighborhood that will at some point abolish prejudice. But it can be a bit complicated.

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[45] "Les Chiffres Du Logement Social à Paris," *Apur*, accessed February 17, 2017, http://www.apur.org/note/chiffres-logement-social-paris.

[46] "VIDEO. Les Habitants Du 16e Face Au Futur Centre Pour SDF : 'Ça va être La Zone,'" *L'Obs*, accessed January 2, 2017, http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/video/20160315.OBS6517/video-les-habitants-du-16e-face-au-futur-centre-pour-sdf-ca-va-etre-la-zone.html.

I had people who were in the 8th arrondissement and wanted to move back to the 18th. This happens very rarely to be honest; most of the time people still prefer to stay in the 8th. But it happens that families say, "The local shops are too expensive, our children are not very welcome at school, people give us sidelong glances, I prefer to return to a populaire 42:00 neighborhood where at least I had my bearings"

VO: Protecting yourself by living in a neighborhood that fully reflects your identity, where you don't have to explain yourself or your culture is a seductive proposal. It can push people to actively seek living arrangements where there is no "mixité". In English we might call this segregation but since France has a different set of cultural politics, the reasons for social stratification in the city can be very different. In French this separation is called communitarianism. Who gets accused of withdrawing into these kinds of social bubbles is complicated. Join us next episode when we discuss who gets to have a community and who doesn't. Are these choices dangerous for social cohesion or sometimes the safest choice possible? Is it really worth it to live in "mixité"?

Episode 3 – Communautarisme (Community)

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm Jess Myers.

Last episode we ended with a question, is "mixité" working? This episode we're going to look at the question of communitarianism, residents separating or isolating into communities. In the United States the idea that religious, ethnic, social, or cultural communities may in some ways destroy the national identity, exists but differently.

We do have our own issues with the concept of communitarianism expressed throughout our history whether it's enforced segregation, the internment of Japanese Americans, or the current proposal to force all Muslims in the United States to register. But solidarity expressed among racial, ethnic, or religious groups was not seen as creating sovereign nations within the country. In France, it was. When the French Parliament, the National Assembly, was created in 1789 after the fall of the monarchy, the question of community and loyalty was one of the very first orders of business. In France's case this debate started with Jewish people, who in 1789, were roughly 0.16% of the nation's population.[47]

French lawmakers dedicated 30 meetings over the course of 3 years to whether or not Jews could be citizens, and what kind of citizens. In his book *Insurgent Citizenship*, anthropology professor James Holston writes: "The Jewish question was so intensely debated because it synthesized a fundamental dilemma for the Revolution: Could a despised and marginalized group of people become citizens? And could they become full citizens, equal in their rights and duties with the French? Or were they destined to remain a separate nation within a nation, at best of second-rate membership? In that case, what indeed did the Revolution's proclamation of universal citizenship mean?"

(He continues), "Those in favor based their argument not on Jewish character or culture but on the logic of national citizenship. The most memorable declaration of this position in the debate of 1789 came from Deputy Clermont-Tonnerre:

> The Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals. They must be citizens... they cannot be a nation within another nation...it is intolerable that the Jews should become a separate political formation or class in the country. Every one of them must individually become a citizen; if they do not want this, they must inform us and then we shall be compelled to expel them. The existence of a nation within a nation is unacceptable to our country. (cited in Jaher 2002: 67)"

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[47] Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship*.

VO: France's republic was built on the founding motto Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité – liberty, equality, and brotherhood or solidarity, you could say. In France, just as in the United States there are systemic problems with racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and misogyny. And *that* begs the question: how can each individual be treated equally if the identities that they belong to either by birth or by choice are *not*? Adélie provided a little more historic context to the concept of communitarianism.

ADÉLIE

The question of loyalty [started] early on for the monarchy, with Jews and Protestants. The king is king by divine right. So if you don't share the same beliefs do you recognize the authority king was given by another God? Jews were recognized as French citizens during the French Revolution. It's a super important document - the thing that defines why we gave civil rights to Jews - that says, "You will be given all as individuals, and [nothing] as a group.

In France, this text undermines the idea of internal community, sub-community, which is replaced by the idea of national community. So, the collective consciousness in France is based on access to education, access to health. You work for the group, but it's as if there could be no subcategories between the individual and the national community. And any category between the two prevented your sense of belonging to the national community.

VO: If you identify with a community outside of the national community, the community of citizenship, then you identify yourself as foreign and incapable of integrating into the national identity. Communitarianism is often used as a political red flag, marking an idea or a policy not just as bad but as dangerous to the nation.[48] This rhetoric means that internal communities are not useful to France, and so they shouldn't be necessary for citizens either. Being French, as defined by the white Catholic men who founded the French republic, should be enough. To Anne, who moved to Paris in the 80s as an architecture student from the banlieues of Lyon, France's second largest city, this rhetoric has little to do with everyday realities.

ANNE

(35:41) In France we have a real intellectual and political incapacity to think about the community issue. We're not equipped for that. We were culturally equipped to think about equality. It's the foundation of our republic. It's a beautiful ideal. 36:25 But it's actually ill equipped to think about diversity and to think about the community as a

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[48] "Le Repli Communautaire : Un Concept Policier - Les Mots Sont Importants (lmsi.net)," accessed January 11, 2017, http://lmsi.net/Le-repli-communautaire-un-concept.

resource. This is a big difference with the English-speaking world and particularly with the North American world. It's as if we're afraid of community, because we think it can't be part of the French republican ideal, the community goes against the republic somehow.

I think we knew very little during the arrival of migrant populations. We have to remember that they came because we made them come to France. 34:38 We were happy to have the French car, the French automotive industry, we were still quite happy at the time to have waves of migrants who were brought first from north Africa and then from sub Saharan Africa. We're at the breaking point of a model that never managed to integrate people who were brought here and which is struggling to face its history.

VO: The decision of whether to live in a community that reflects only you or a community that reflects the demographics of the whole nation is about more than just simple comfort. We're going to talk about many different types of communities in this episode and why residents choose to embrace or reject them. When I spoke to Samia she told me about her Algerian parents being open to France but deeply worried that she and her siblings would lose their cultural heritage.

SAMIA

My parents didn't want us to go out because there was this fear of the looks we would get because we would be left in total freedom. Too much freedom would also mean losing our cultural heritage. When we were young my parents would prefer us to hang out with our cousins in a little community circle. There was never any pressure to submit to a forced marriage, to be in a culture of confinement. My parents were very open. But still there was this traditional cultural framework to keep an eye on us, to ensure that we wouldn't ditch the cultural heritage that we came from.

VO: When Jacob, an American immigrant to France, first came to Paris he actively sought out open gay communities. But as the city became more tolerant his feelings changed.

JACOB

I wanted to be in a community that I could identify with other members of the community. Gay being an important part of my identity. I was very often in the Marais. The Marais was gay Mecca. It was a place to go out and to be with friends and to have a good time. I used to feel like I needed that, that there was a lot of benefits associated with but less so now. As time goes by I think that Paris has become more open in general. I

don't feel like I need to be in a neighborhood that has a gay concentration. This city as a whole is already so much more gay than any other place outside of the city.

VO: Though Jacob was able to feel more and more comfortable as a gay man in Paris, Yassine, a young practicing Muslim, saw the city becoming less welcoming.

YASSINE

They try to create a national feeling to unite the French. It's enough to know French history, speak French, and be well integrated into a secular country and respect charters of secularism, then you're French. But what is secularism? You want to pray, you do it for yourself and you don't tell other people whether they have to do it or not. It's also up to the government to leave you free to do what you want to do. Religions and practices, this is a big topic. Already instead of saying a Muslim extremist, they say Islamist. We never say a 'Christianist'. So there's already a war of words.

VO: Esther, a young Jewish student, is wary of how useful communities can be if they are unwilling to have open dialogue with people who are not like them.

ESTHER

52:50 I don't exactly like the idea of only being among similar people, where you say to yourself "oh it's fine I don't need to talk, no need to explain," It's true that it's nice. I've had very few Jewish friends and when I had them, it was nice not having to explain what the religious holidays were, to have say this base of common knowledge that creates a kind of intimacy. But that's not everything, not at all. It's not healthy to never have to explain. I'm outraged by "safe spaces", women only, black women only than black lesbians only. We want to have less and less to explain. Exclusion is the problem of society. There shouldn't be like "safe spaces" where people say things that may upset people and we all get together and we're all happy to be together with one another other, because to me this is a sign of intellectual arrogance. That means you know you're right and that you not want to talk.

VO: Although Esther is skeptical of safe spaces, for some the safety that they offer goes beyond avoiding difficult conversations. Sometimes they are simply self-preservation. Here's Nava, who moved to Paris as a student from Jerusalem, talking about the difficulty of raising her kids as secular citizens in a Hebrew-speaking household.

NAVA

Before they were quite proud to say: "We can speak several languages." I didn't forbid them, but I told them not to brag about it. It's unnecessary risk-taking. It's a change that I'm introducing as a precaution, not as an existential fear. Precaution.

We're secular. It's my language because I grew up there. You'll never hear that I pushed them towards Judaism. It's Hebrew as a cultural language. I would never say that I've suffered from anti-Semitism. Not at all. That's not my primary identity. But we are a product of a double identity.

I don't hide but I feel more at ease to say certain things and not others. Or be a certain way, and not others. I don't wear any visible symbols. I have no accent. Nobody suspects that I have this dual identity if I didn't say so. Children don't have the ability to understand. Kids do very naïve things. Like singing a song in the street, but this song was a prayer that they heard somewhere. They just happened to hear a prayer some place and the music really attracted them but we don't practice at all. I'm uncomfortable because I wouldn't have wanted [them] to sing that. People who're listening, they're profiling them in that moment. I didn't tell them to stop, but that really was a problem for me.

A child doesn't understand that by doing that they become identifiable. And how can I explain it without bullying them, without taking something away from them, it's fine to be that, but not everywhere. It's complicated. I think it's much easier for people who are very religious, when identity isn't a question.

VO: The question of communitarianism is not just on the minds of city residents but city government as well. The municipality of Paris has tried to break up residential and business trends it sees as too homogeneous or too communitarian. But as you might guess, not all communities were created equal. In the eye of city officials, only certain communities need to be dismantled. Mawena says this project is destroying an important historic community in Paris.

MAWENA

Communitarianism implies a minority community and therefore a minority, religious, or racialized community. Château Rouge is very important; it's a central African hub. This doesn't mean that all the black people in Paris live there, in fact there're very few who live there, but it's a place where they work. There is a space in the imagination, in representation, even outside Paris, or anywhere in France, even on the continent: Château Rouge is the African neighborhood, because there's business, it's a central space. People circulate in this space, but they don't live there, there have always been white, Arab, yellow in Château Rouge, and they actually live there. It's a shame because in the name

of the fight against mono-commercial hubs, it's really the will of the city of Paris to push out Château Rouge and its African markets and their values.

VO: City Hall has been working on a project called Opération Vital'Quartier since 2004.[49] It's a commercial revitalization project aimed at breaking up mono-commerce or the clustering of similar businesses. But this sort of clustering is common all over Paris as well as in many major cities across the globe.

MAWENA

There are bastions of mono-commerce absolutely everywhere in Paris. What's annoying is that as soon as these businesses are racialized, they're talking about communitarianism; it creates a kind of phobia. I think it's a little twisted. It's tricky.

It's clearly a racialized problem, because we're not talking about mono commerce in the 13th [where] there are only Japanese and Korean restaurants and supermarkets but you never see issues of race in the discussion [of] communitarianism. They will simply talk about mono-commerce. So everything seems logical and legitimate and that's actually what I love about France, there's a continuous and perpetual erasure of these things, as if there's no problem, since there is no difference and that's what's really twisted. It's a policy of erasing. You blend in just on the basis of being French, no matter what, I dunno, it's weird.

VO: Chateau Rouge is a neighborhood whose identity comes from the people who bring it to life. It's a melting pot of the African diaspora in Paris. But it's also a resource for those looking to see themselves and their culture validated in a French context.[50] In her work as social housing manager, Saida sees the consequences of this feeling.

SAIDA

I remember one family, the mom wasn't happy because she told me that she couldn't go to market anymore: she went to the Château Rouge market, with its particular products. She said: "It's complicated. Where will I do my shopping?" There were open plan kitchens in the living room. It was complicated for her to plan how she would cook for her children in this kind of arrangement. I thought that the apartment was beautiful, the neighborhood was beautiful. But that was in the beginning when she first moved in it was like that. She was not happy. When we saw them like, two, three years later, the tone was completely different. They were doing well in the neighborhood, they were happy

[49] "Diversité Commerciale."
[50] Melissa K. Byrnes, "Liberating the Land or Absorbing a Community: Managing North African Migration and the Bidonvilles in Paris's Banlieues," French Politics, Culture & Society 31, no. 3 (Winter 2013): 1–20, doi:10.3167/fpcs.2013.310301.

because their children growing up well because they had become accustomed to this environment and, ultimately, even if they continued to go shopping in the 18th district, because it was easier for practical, culinary reasons. There are families who will go through something dramatic in this neighborhood and will want to return to their original neighborhood, others arrive with apprehensions and then well, after two years, three years, it goes very well.

VO: Saïda's story about attempts to move families into better more modern housing reminded me of social housing that was designed in the capital of Algeria, Alger during the mid-50s.[51] This re-housing attempt was also encouraged by the mayor's office under the colonial regime. The goal of this new housing wasn't just to get people into better living conditions it was also the hope that living in French modern architecture would change the cultural behaviors of the people living there. It was a push towards colonization while hoping that existing cultural values would disappear.

Although many of the residents we just heard were largely concerned with religious and ethnic groups, we did not mention that there are many communities that form in the city that are not considered dangerous or poorly integrated despite also seeking solidarity and security in communities. Groups such as the old aristocratic enclaves in Paris' 16th and 17th arrondissements.

In cities it is often true that historic communities create enclaves that give a certain identity to different neighborhoods. Just as there are little Italies and Chinatowns[52] in major cities in the US, this is also true of Paris.

STEFFI

In Barbès, I'm comfortable, because I'm a black woman among black people, you know. And that's one of the only places in Paris, where when you get off the subway at Château Rouge, [and] you're in Dakar, in Abidjan. That's pretty cool but I didn't grow up like that. I didn't grow up in Africa. I grew up in places where the people were really mixed. I'm not very comfortable in really communitarian places. Although it's not a problem for me. I understand an interest in community, but that's not where I feel best.

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[51] Kahina Amal Djiar, "Locating Architecture, Post-Colonialism and Culture: Contextualisation in Algiers," *The Journal of Architecture* 14, no. 2 (April 1, 2009): 161–83, doi:10.1080/13602360902867392.

[52] Nicole Beaurain, "Michelle Guillon, Isabelle Taboada-Léonetti, Le Triangle de Choisy : Un Quartier Chinois à Paris, Paris, CIEMI ; L'Harmattan, 1986 ; Véronique De Rudder, Michelle Guillon (Collab.), Autochtones et Immigrés En Quartier Populaire : D'Aligre à L'îlot Châlon, Paris, CIEMI ; L'Harmattan, 1987 ; Isabelle Taboada-Léonetti, Michelle Guillon (Collab.), Les Immigrés Des Beaux Quartiers : La Communauté Espagnole Dans Le XVIe, Paris, L'Harmattan, (Collection « Migrations et Changements »)," *L Homme et La Société*, no. 1 (1988): 117.

On the one hand I say, "Oh it's great that Barbès will look like the neighborhoods where I feel good" and at the same time I think it'll take away this neighborhood's identity. If I went to live in Barbès, even if it's not where I think my identity is quote unquote whole, it's precisely because it's a black neighborhood, and it makes me happy to live in a black neighborhood. If in 10 years Barbès isn't a black neighborhood anymore, I would have the feeling that we dispossessed black people in Paris. And that worries me a little. I'm really torn between the fact that I think "mixité" is really great and yet I know it's not as idyllic, because what happens is that it's not a mixture, it's a setback. You have people who have the means who will come and who'll push out those who don't have the means. So that's a little fear I have. I hope it'll become an increasingly diverse neighborhood, but I've seen in Ménilmontant that it's less and less of a diverse neighborhood and more and more of a bourgeois one. That's my only fear.

VO: In Paris, there is a certain catch-22 that sits below the surface of the communitarianism debate. If liberty and solidarity are two main tenets of the French motto, is it fair or equal to limit the scale as which people can express that solidarity. If solidarity in a local community is truly a threat to the national community why are all enclaves not equally threatening? Why is a black community more threatening than a Catholic one? And what is lost when these communities disappear?

For some Marxist groups, programs like the ones we talked last episode that promote "mixité", are merely a tool to weaken populaire groups' ability to organize.[53] Instead of giving them more resource, it breaks up and isolates once strong communities. Is there a way to create "mixité" and avoid communitarianism that doesn't destroy a feeling of community for historically vulnerable groups?

In the next episode we will continue to dive into that question but from different angle and about a different problem. In the US the joys and dangers of gentrification are often a topic of debate. Next episode we will turn this debate on Paris. Is gentrification a champion of "mixité" or a catalyst for isolation? In you haven't already you might want to check out last season's episode on gentrification in New York. We'll be discussing similar themes next episode.

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[53] Blanc, "The Impact of Social Mix Policies in France."

Episode 4 – Boboland (Gentrification)

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm Jess Myers.

During the last episode on communitarianism we ended wondering whether gentrification was a way to bring about "mixité" and how it affects local communities. If you haven't listened to the last two episodes, you might want to go back and listen before you start this one.

There are a few words for gentrification in French, one the most obvious being gentrification but there's also the word embourgeoisement, which is the process of a neighborhood changing from populaire to being bourgeois. A bourgeois or bourge can be a number of things, someone's who's middle class or higher, someone who's elite, someone highly educated, someone who has more power than the working class. None of these markers mean that being bourgeois is bad, but what it can mean is that their needs and wants get more attention then working class people who don't have as much social and political power.[54] Historically and politically, they've often been opposed to social reform movements led by populaire communities.

Historically, Paris had a lot of populaire neighborhoods made up of factory workers, independent skilled workers and small businesses. There was an area where people mostly worked in metallurgy, another one where they made furniture. There were car factories and workshops, tailors and shoe repairs. They lived in small, simple buildings on crooked streets and socialized in lively cafés.[55]

The deindustrialization of Paris and surrounding banlieues happened mostly in the second half of the 20th century, as the manufacturing industry in France declined.[56] As a result many of these formerly populaire areas emptied out.

So after a much-hated character appeared: le bobo. Bobo means bourgeois-bohème; a left leaning, culture loving elite. Kind of the French version of the hipster. Someone of or joining a more comfortable class who likes to dabble in the cultural spaces of the working class and/or ethnic groups. The bobo like the hipster is the boogieman of gentrification. No one wants to be bobo and yet we see them everywhere. And with their presence goes the neighborhoods we knew. This episode will be dispatches from and on the edge of Boboland.

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[54] Tissot, "Les métamorphoses de la domination sociale."
[55] Rustenholz, De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris.
[56] Ross, Fast Cars, Clean Bodies.

For years the 19th has been a populaire arrondissement, cut through by two industrial canals, the canal de l'Ourcq and the canal St. Denis. In the 20th century the neighborhood was dotted with canneries, hat makers, and carpentry shops processing a steady flow of goods. As these industries moved out of the city the neighborhood became the home of many different immigrant groups.[57] But Alice, who moved to the neighborhood in the early 2000s when she was in her mid-twenties, sees how the neighborhood is transitioning.

ALICE

I like the neighborhood; we're clearly in a populaire neighborhood. So there're the HLM towers, just next door. We're not far from the canal, it's extremely bobo, it's clear it's really in bobo-land. We went to get a coffee yesterday and ended up in a cafe where everyone was well put together, they have little beards, little plaid shirts. Perrier is 4 euros. I don't feel very comfortable in places like that. There's no diversity. And I love this area because it has a form of diversity, it's mixed, there's actually a large Jewish community, a large Asian community, and then a major north-Saharan community, sub-Saharan too, and then there're Europeans, I mean Caucasians, and my god all of us live well together and I like it. The fact that there aren't restaurants that serve little tomato consommé with olive confit, and there are also cafes where you can drink a coffee for 1 euro. So do I like this neighborhood? Yes I love it, it suits me, that's how I like to live. I had a friend who lived just near the canal where pff I couldn't do it. To me, this is a sign of what Paris is becoming. It's becoming a city of rich people, where we're pushing people who don't have the means out because of the extremely high rents.

When we're all living with people who earn more than 4,000 euros a month, I don't know what we'll have won. We'll be disconnected from a certain form of reality. The reality is that the neighborhood I live in is still a bit of a rough area, with lots of idle youth who have no jobs, who spend their days on the street waiting for something to happen.

VO: Bernard, a 64-year-old psychologist living in the eastern banlieue Montreuil, witnessed a similar change in his old neighborhood the Faubourg St. Antoine

BERNARD

The Faubourg St. Antoine at the time was still a very popular area. In our building there was another family, what we call old Titi Parisians, a Parisian working-class family, who were on the same floor as us. In the building besides that there were Tunisians on the

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[57] Marie-Claude Blanc-Chaléard, "ETRANGERS ET IMMIGRES EN REGION PARISIENNE: XIXe-XXe SIECLES," *Foreigners and Immigrants in the Paris Region in the 19th-20th Centuries.* 95, no. 384 (October 2003): 267–86.

same floor. There was an apartment that was a dorm where there were a dozen Tunisians in bunk beds. There were Algerians; below us there were Africans from Black Africa. We became great friends with them, they were from Mali. There were Yugoslavs, Portuguese, Spanish, it was a popular building. And it was a neighborhood where they manufactured furniture, and furniture had been manufactured since the 17th century. Gradually this neighborhood was emptied of its working classes during the construction of the Bastille opera house. Which is hideous by the way but whatever. And suddenly the price per square meter started climbing and we saw our neighbor said to us one day " you know I'm going to sell my apartment," and then he told us the price. So I broke out laughing and I said, "you'll never sell your apartment at that price!" And he said, well yeah that the price I sold it at. Which seemed crazy. I didn't really understand that the neighborhood was changing and it happened very very quickly.

The architecture hasn't changed, the buildings were even well maintained, well restored and all, but the population is a population of bourgeois that's clear. International artists, physicians, surgeons, lawyers. I saw galleries where there were small traditional shops, a vegetable merchant, a butcher, there were small shops. In the span of 2-3 years, all these small shops have disappeared; they've been replaced by art galleries. It was laughable because most of these art galleries all but disappeared after a few years; You couldn't find a bakery, butcher, a grocery store anymore but there were 6 or 7 art galleries next to each other. Amazing, amazing.

VO: You might remember Paris University Professor Sylvie Tissot from the "mixité" episode. She says that when it comes to the working class and gentrification there's a hierarchy of who is desirable and who isn't:

"une classe populaire artisanale, ce qui fait peut-être moins peur…

She says that an artisan working class, is seen as less frightening than a more industrial one, even if it's not explicitly said white artisanal workers are seen as less threatening

qu'une classe populaire plus industrielle même si c'est pas dit explicitement, d'une classe ouvrière artisanale plutôt blanche, bref un imaginaire qui est plus rassurant."

By the 80s, when Anne first moved to Montreuil as a student, the town already had a long history as a communist working class banlieue. Immigration meant that factory workers in the town were diverse[58] however by the time Anne arrived it was seen as a dangerous choice for a young student, but the longer she stayed the more she saw the change happening around her.

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[58] Rustenholz, *De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris.*

ANNE

When we moved to Montreuil in the mid 80s, Montreuil was still very populaire, with several populaire generations and a longstanding history of immigration. There were migrants who were very settled in the city. Montreuil was one of a point of welcome for Italian migrants. There are a number of little Italies in Montreuil and after that there were waves of Portuguese migrants and then after in the 70s, 80s and 90s it was mainly migrants from the Maghreb and then mostly migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, it was said that Montreuil was [the] second [largest] Malian city. Montreuil is also a city that has a very strong history; look at the immigrant workers hostels. There was a well-known hostel 6:30 strike in the 80s. When we moved there in the 80s, the city looked like that, there wasn't a lot of gentrification yet. It was our student friends who were there and people who were born in this city. There wasn't this movement that we now call gentrification. When we moved into the city we were really one of the first families to come with this movement in the southern part of Montreuil. The northern neighborhoods are still populaire neighborhoods.

This gentrification risks being done in favor of a certain population, the more creative class. [They're] the winners and the risk is that the most populaire classes and above all the migrant class, the more fragile population [are] the losers. I'm thinking of African demographics. There's a reversal of where the resources are and suddenly there's the risk of a new form of colony.

VO: Adélie struggles with the idea of bobos and gentrifiers because like Anne she once lived in a working-class neighborhood since as a student that's what she could afford. But as a journalist she sees herself as someone who won't make as much money as her parents and so the story of the upwardly mobile bobo isn't true for her, like it isn't true for many of her peers.

ADELIE

I gentrify because I'm white and I come from a bourgeois background but my purchasing power isn't going to change things. My purchasing power is limited to my 6pm beer I'm not in a profession where I could potentially earn hundreds of thousands. I'm aware that my presence in the neighborhood contributes to changing spaces that belonged to other people, who had other cultures. It's important to think to what extent you integrate yourself or not in this kind of neighborhood.

I think it's important to be nuanced about the people who are coming in. It's clear that there's a population of people coming from relatively affluent social class, most often white. It's really the generation above us, 30 to 40 year olds. And who have a higher purchasing power, they can put theirs kids in private school if they don't have to put them in public school with the children of immigrants. After that you have a whole other category of people coming and who's also rather white, to which I kind of belong, you could call them precarious intellectuals class. Your cultural capital is pretty high since you've gone through higher education. You're not rich at all and you don't expect to be, so there's also this interesting debate today in France around the concept of "bobo". Because "bobo" it tends to include everyone in the same package, while I probably have a "bobo" way of life, in economic terms that's not me.

VO: As Adélie says the word bobo is an easy concept that hides very different realities. For the first wave of higher income people moving to popular neighborhoods, it was either a political act or simply a financial choice as housing in the inner city became more and more expensive.[59] For students that's an obvious choice, but as people stay and their economic and political influence grows, more affluent new comers arrive and the benefits for the middle and upper class increase. These changes can lead to a shift in what kinds of people hang out in the neighborhood. In turn, that can lead to new or even uncomfortable interactions.

Esther talks about Saint-Denis, a banlieue at the northern edge of Paris that's currently very populaire but gentrifying quickly.

ESTHER

Saint-Denis is kind of *the place to be*, lots of young people, lots of trendy restaurants and just a few years ago it still had prostitutes on the street. It's something that happens fairly quickly. Sometimes both coexist, there are still prostitutes elsewhere in Saint-Denis, but at the same time you have bars, you have restaurants, you have neo-bistros. I tend to follow gentrification. I'm not avant-garde. I don't know it's probably due to safety. Mainly. And not at all because of social racism. On the contrary. And it's more the idea that I know that at least I won't get pickpocketed.

FRANCK

What's interesting is that we're not cleansing the city. It's the city that's changing, that's evolving. Ten years ago I had a friend who lived near Gare de l'Est, and I wasn't very comfortable going there. Today, it's much better. And oddly enough, now my Parisian

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[59] Blanc, "Housing Segregation and the Poor."

friends tell me "nah that's not Paris anymore," and they go to places that are in the 20th and the 19th, places I wouldn't go very often. The first time I went, there were men who were commenting on the people going by saying "look at these bobos, look who's come to fuck around there, to come here slumming "

ALISON

I've been here near the rue Faubourg St. Denis since 2008. Even though I've only been there less than ten years I feel nostalgic for what it was like when I came. For instance the café opposite at Chez Janette's Café when I originally came and signed the pre sale papers for my flat, that was run by two old ladies and it closed at 9pm and it was just like the most wonderful characterful old café and the people that you'd meet in there. The day I signed and moved into my flat there were these young good looking young guys behind the bar and they actually handed me a glass of champagne and said you're our first customer. So it was like literally happening as I moved in and that's become very much the center of the whole kind of hipster gentrification that's happening here.

VO: Gentrifiers often argue that they're the ones creating "mixité" in lower-class neighborhoods, but economic pressures insure that this mix isn't sustainable.

For Professor Tissot, there is an element of control underneath the argument for gentrification. She says,

"On aime la "mixité" sociale mais l'enjeu c'est d'en contrôler la proportion…

We like social "mixité" but the stakes are in controlling the proportion and defining the mix. By claiming this social mix, it's not just talk; it's also constructing a certain authority and a certain power over the neighborhood.

…d'en définir les composante. Et les gens qui revendiquent cette "mixité" sociale, en faisant ça, c'est pas seulement un discours, c'est aussi construire une certaine autorité et un certain pouvoir aussi sur le quartier."

Even if it isn't intentional, bobos end up changing a neighborhood's entire identity. In Paris because of the affordable housing laws we talked about in earlier episodes, gentrification isn't as fast as it is in the US. Low-income Tenants don't get pushed out as quickly but the resources that once supported them, like affordable local amenities, slowly dry up.

LÉOPOLD

Gentrification not just about people actually coming to live in a neighborhood. It's people and their economic means and their way of life what sort of commerce they like to patronize. I think the process we're seeing in Paris is a is something that needs years if not decades to really replace the population that originally lived in this space. I think we should be very careful about the way it's operating.

SAMIA

Peacefully living together, and "mixité" are essential. The poor can't live to one side. Why is there a district where housing is very expensive and another where it's cheap? When people want to find housing in Paris, when they have the means they go to the 7th arrondissement, when they lack the means they go in the 20th arrondissement.

VO: As cafés, bars, and shops begin reflecting the tastes of new tenants often times the higher cost of living is much more than longer term tenants are used to. But another class of bobo that we haven't talked about yet is also attracted to these places. For upwardly mobile people of color, some who grew up in the banlieue gentrification allows them to see their whole identity in one place.[60] It units both the places that they want to hang out in and the people that they grew up with.[61] For them this "mixité" is valuable even if it is fleeting.

JENNIFER

The 10th, which was very popular a decade ago, today you can't recognize it at all, it has totally changed, it's overpriced. I think that's where the future's at play in Paris, it's precisely the place where we could have a mix of generations, the social mix, yeah this mixture that actually gets back to what's going on politically in France, that actually we're divided, because we don't have the same religion, because we don't come from the same neighborhood because blah blah. I think that's where we could make the difference by trying to keep these neighborhoods where people are really in a mix, where people aren't afraid to say to themselves we live in the same neighborhood and it's fine, even if we're not from the same place. That could seem a bit utopian but it's not at all because it worked back in the day in the banlieue and so why couldn't it work now.

VO: Gentrification in big American cities is not the same as gentrification in Paris. Mainly because at the government level there's much more of a desire to build and

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[60] Jeremy Foster, "Sortir de La Banlieue: (re)articulations of National and Gender Identities in Zaida Ghorab-Volta's Jeunesse Doree," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 18, no. 3 (June 2011): 327.

[61] Bruno Levasseur, "De-Essentializing the Banlieues, Reframing the Nation: Documentary Cinema in France in the Late 1990s," *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film* 6, no. 2 (August 2008): 97–109, doi:10.1386/ncin.6.2.97_1.

protect affordable housing as well as preserve historic structures. But the symbols of change can lead to anxiety about the future of the neighborhood even if that future is still distant.

MAWENA

Paris was always divided. Like the Marais 19:12 went from a neighborhood of tailors to a boutique neighborhood. [It] went from a Jewish neighborhood to a gay neighborhood, but it's still a Jewish neighborhood there are still Jewish families. There isn't this gentrification phenomena where you push out the residents, you change the businesses because people evolve and adapt to their time.

I'm not an urbanist what I'm telling you is obviously a simplistic point of view, but I feel like we're afraid of gentrification in France for nothing. Because it just doesn't work the same way, you've got lots of people working in the 13th who live in the 18th, people studying in the 5th who live in the 20th. I think there's real circulation in Paris.

VO: A crucial point that Mawena brings up is the way that gentrification is seen in Paris, the difference between where people live and where they're seen hanging out. In neighborhoods like the 10th arrondissement, the Marais, the Bastille, there are still traces of the old communities protected from rising rent by public intervention. What does bar certain communities from the neighborhood might be the rising costs or disappearance of neighborhood amenities like grocery stores and cafés, like in Bernard's Faubourg St. Antoine. But economic power isn't the only thing that might make a person feel welcome or unwelcome in any given neighborhood. Next episode we'll be talking a little bit more on that theme. What are the social codes that make Parisians feel welcome or shut out of their city?

Episode 5 - Codes

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm Jess Myers.

Last episode we talked about "French hipsters" or bobos and the anxiety about being perceived as one. This episode we'll be expanding our ideas about how people want to be perceived in public space. The stereotype of Parisians being stylish and glamorous trendsetters has a long history. But the more you get to know the city the more you see how style can be contentious. It often dances along the fault lines of gender, class, religion, race, and sexuality.[62] How people dress is directly influenced by how they want to be treated in public space.

The way you're perceived in public can have huge part to play into how you're treated. In the US, a recent example is all the different laws trying to ban trans gender people from using the bathroom that matches their gender identity.[63] These laws don't overtly aim to control the way people express their gender identity. Instead, gender identities of trans people are perceived as a security issue. The argument behind the law, as you probably already know, is that trans women may assault other women when they use women's restrooms. What these laws suggest is that trans women are potential criminals. And by doing so, it essentially gives any establishment with restrooms the right to police *not* crime but identity and the expression of identity.

The identities and styles that are similarly policed in France have a lot to do with the politics we've discussed in past episodes. One example is headscarves worn by observant Muslim women.[64] Since France is a secular state, the law bans wearing religious symbols in state owned public space. In 2004 the French government passed a law that banned all religious attire in public schools. However, many saw this ban as targeting the headscarves that observant Muslim women wear. Just as with trans women and bathrooms, this ban has emboldened many French citizens to see Muslim women as criminals and foreigners when wearing these headscarves.[65]

Esther, who's a young Jewish woman from the 7th arrondissment, has noticed this shift. One day on the metro, she witnessed a Muslim woman being harassed for wearing a veil:

ESTHER

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[62] Michel Foucault et al., *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan : République Française, 2007).

[63] The New York Times, "Understanding Transgender Access Laws," *The New York Times*, February 24, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/24/us/transgender-bathroom-law.html.

[64] Sylvie Tissot, "Excluding Muslim Women: From Hijab to Niqab, from School to Public Space," *Public Culture* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 39–46, doi:10.1215/08992363-2010-014.

[65] Mayanthi, *The Republic Unsettled.*

I saw a scene in the subway that really shocked me. There was a woman who was completely veiled. 30:27 She had just a slit for her eyes. And a guy, I don't know if he was homeless or what, but he came up to her and yelled at her saying "We don't do that here, here it's a Republic, We don't do that." And she was so shocked that she felt obliged to take off her veil. Even though the fact that she was wearing a full veil made me a little tense, this man's reaction shocked me so much, it was so much more violent, so much more aggressive and I thought that it was really very insulting. It made me realize how much this woman had to suffer interactions like this. This mistrust has unfortunately increased with the rise of Islamist terrorist attacks, which many people associate in a, which many people associate in a excessive way to all of Islam. That's just to say that any woman who wears a veil is going to be seen as a supporter of the Islamic state. While this is obviously not the case.

VO: Many French citizens blur the difference between state owned public space and public space in general. Wearing a headscarf, or any kind of religious symbol in the metro is allowed. But Esther says that with the recent terror attacks, some people refuse to see the difference between practicing Islam and terrorism.

ESTHER

You can wear the veil and still represent French identity. But there are people who don't think that. We have the impression that our identities in conflict.

VO: Franck, who's from a very homogenous and catholic town, was surprised when he first saw men wearing a kippa, the small cap that observant Jewish men wear or women wearing the hijab.

FRANCK

The first time as a kid when you see a kippah or the hair on Jewish men, the first time you see a veil. It's true that it wasn't at all a part of my culture. We saw it on TV, but to see it in real life, the first few times I didn't know how to react. Today, I think these external signs don't cause me any problems when it's paired with a normal attitude. A girl who has a veil, but is laughing with her friends, she's still a young a girl. A child who has his kippah on and runs in the street like a child doesn't bother me.

VO:

France's history as a catholic country plays into its views of secularism. In fact the French word for secularism. The word laicité, secularism, stems from the same root as layperson. Secularism is defined by not holding an ordained position. So in Catholicism there are strict rules about who is a layperson and who is ordained. This means that nuns may cover their heads in public because it's a uniform as much as it is a religious garment.

However, in religions like Protestantism, Islam, and Judaism the line between lay and ordained can be blurred. Practitioners may have a roles in religious service. Those who represent the religion, pastor, rabbis or imams can marry and have children. But because these roles are not official, by a catholic framework, their symbolic garments become a problem. They can't fit into France's rigid conceptual framework for religion.[66]

In previous episodes, we talked about communities and minorities in France. We've also mentioned how some communities are allowed to exist and to be visible and some others are not. Franck also explained how the nation-wide debate about same-sex marriage showcased the double standard that exist between communities, this lead him to question his own community.[67]

FRANCK

I have a lot of doubts about my own religion. Especially with the demonstrations against same-sex marriage. I thought it was very aggressive of French Catholics to demonstrate their religion like that. It didn't go over well with me at all. I thought it was extremely violent. I don't think they realize the violence that it can instigate and the target they put on their backs. It seems to me that they feel totally protected, and I think that if it were Jews or Muslims who did demonstrations like that, there would have been very violent reaction against them, physically violent.

VO: French Catholics like Franck feel free to express their religion without consequences but for others like Esther having their religion identified in public can be cause for anxiety. Here she talks about Barbès, a diverse area in the north of Paris.

ESTHER

So Barbès, there's a kind of hostility towards women. I don't feel safe, as a girl and as a Jew. I've already been stopped several times in the street by people who've asked me "hey you, are you Jewish," and who will try to talk to me like that, it's never something

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Mack, *Sexagon*.

well intentioned, especially in France, where we have witnessed the rise of anti-Semitic acts during the last ten years so I know that it's something that they can read on my face and I know it doesn't always attract good things. So that's why I avoid places where, I know there's hostility.

VO: The original ban on public religious attire was enacted as a means to protect French secularism. But the issue has taken another meaning after the terror attacks of 2015 and 16. It's being framed as a security measure. In the summer 2016, the terrorist attack in Nice was perpetrated by a man. As a response officials from nearby beach towns in the south of France decided to ban the burkini, a modest wetsuit that observant Muslim women swim in.

I spoke with Professor Mehammed Mack whose book Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture talks about how the policing of gender and sexuality and the policing of national identity intersect.

MACK: My name is Mehammad Mack. I teach at Smith College in Northampton Massachusetts. Um my book is called uh Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture. Um and it talks about how today in France um Muslims, Arabs, minorities, immigrants and children of immigrants um have their Frenchness and integration into France judged according to whether they possess the right attitudes about gender and sexuality more so than traditional means of measuring integration like ah civic aptitude or uh linguistic integration.

VO: In our interview he talked about the ways that surveillance of minorities like women who wear hijab or the burkini are an extension of security politics.

MACK: Minorities are always overexposed. What they do is always under scrutiny, especially if you're an immigrant or a child of immigrants.

You're expected to disclose everything about your private life as a form kind of of surveillance.

When we had the whole episode of the you know the burkini scandal, it brought up counter examples, it brought up what're you gonna do about uh nun's on the beach, nuns who are bathing. Are they going to be uh subject to police identity check with weapons in the same way right? Um what're you gonna do with people at ski resorts or are these posh places you know, where people you know are notoriously anonymous and cover themselves. And sometimes it shows that a lot of these laws are unenforceable but it also

kind of brings up latent class and race elements because of course uh ski resorts and nunneries are not places where the threat of communitarianism uh looms.

Which is interesting because you know individualism might be important um when there's a threat of communitarianism but I would say overall in France uh you know assimilation is important. You know there's competing pressures right? So on the one hand you're asked to distinguish yourself uh from your community and become individual and sort of make it in the city center and leave a kind of environment that is going to turn you into a clone of some sort um and on the other hand uh you know when you are in the city center there's a pressure for you to assimilate to uh French norms.

VO: The way that a woman dresses, be it in religious attire or short skirts, has historically carried cultural and moral significance in public space. If they're being too modest then maybe they are expressing an identity that is perceived as conflicting with French national identity. If they're wearing something too revealing then they're flouting a traditional and historically conservative culture.[68] These constraints leave a very narrow path of freedom for French women to express themselves. The policing of woman's clothing in general was a concern for many of women that I spoke to; who felt like their choices of clothing would encourage others to treat them disrespectfully or even violently.

Steffi, a young black freelancer living in Barbès a black neighborhood in North Paris, echoed some of Esther's feelings about the neighborhood.

STEFFI

Today I live in Barbès and clearly I know that if I go out I know I won't be left alone. So there are two solutions. Either you put on the outfit you want to put on, you know that you are going to hear little remarks, so you deal with the fact that you'll have to react to these comments. Or you want to be left alone, so you don't put the outfit you had planned to put on, you put on a thing that'll pass anywhere so people won't piss you off.

VO: Aurélie, a lawyer from Reunion Island, moved to Menilmontant neighborhood because of her experiences in neighborhoods around Barbès.

AURÉLIE

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[68] "Gender Trouble in France | Jacobin," accessed February 18, 2017, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/12/gender-trouble-in-france/.

Porte de la Chapelle changes at night, the area around Goutte d'Or especially, I wouldn't hang out too much over there. I don't like being there all by myself. I don't feel safe. I can't dress the way I want. I lived there for a month and I didn't like it since there were a lot of drug dealers in front of my building. I couldn't get back at 2 o'clock in the morning dressed in shorts or a skirt. It wasn't possible.

13:22 I know that if I go out in the 18th or the Goutte d'Or anyway, there're only men in the street when you're the only woman you're watched, everyone is looking at you, and it's not nice, you feel unsafe. That's why I avoid going there.

VO: Evelyne, a 24 year old who works at an architecture firm in the Marais, believes like Aurélie that women have to pay attention not just to where they are and when but who they're with.

EVELYNE

I think that depending on the neighborhood you still have to pay attention to what you wear, especially being a woman because people are still likely to stare at you. I still wear dresses, still wear heels, but it's true that I work in the Marais, which is a central district of Paris. If I had to go to Pigalle, I might not wear dresses or I would put on flats, which is a shame. You also have to pay attention to the people that you're with. I mean that if you're in a big group, you say to yourself "I'm not risking anything," so you can dress the way you want. But if you're just two women, it's true that you have to pay more attention because two women in the street who're well dressed, people are more likely to stare at them, like men in the street. You don't want to be bothered. And you don't want to be told that you're provoking people, so you have to be careful what you wear depending on where you're going.

VO: For Isabelle, a 49 year old health professional living in the eastern banlieue Noisy le Sec, it's the people in public space that set off alarm bells.

ISABELLE

I'm really vigilant. There are places in my city were my guard is up more, the way to the train station, well a stretch of road between the station and home, because of this atmosphere at the station where there are lots of young people who hang out there, people who're not necessarily from the city but who hang there. That's something that puts me on alert so I'll be very vigilant on this part of my way home and mainly in the evening.

VO: The neighborhood you're in, what time it is, how you're dressed, who you're with and who's around you are all indicators that women constantly pay attention to when navigating the city. However, the security response to cat calling and harassment of women in public space is often deeply coded in identity as well.[69] Cat calling is often seen a problem pervaded by working class communities and communities of color.[70] Although many women sited areas around Barbès, harassment exists everywhere in the city.[71] Steffi told me about difference between her neighborhood Barbès and Saint Germain a wealthy touristy neighborhood in southern Paris.

STEFFI

The guy from Barbès is not going to tell you the same thing as a guy in Saint-Germain.

They'll both comment on your outfit, but not in the same way. You have one who'll say "olala you're so pretty, can I get your number" and you have another one who will tell you "oulala you ought to cover up, you'll catch cold mademoiselle. " The "you're so pretty," that's in the populaire neighborhoods. If a boy walks past me in the street and thinks I'm pretty, he'll tell me. He'll tell me in kind of an ugly way, he won't be respectful, but he'll just tell me. It's pretty clear. In the trendy neighborhoods, they'll do the whole show of being respectful. It's paternalising. I mean when someone who doesn't know you from Adam says to you "olala you have to cover yourself you'll catch cold" you want to tell him " I'm minding my business, I'm not your child, you don't pay my bills, I don't really see why you're worried about how I'm dressed." There's no reason for him to do that.

VO: As men see women's discomfort in public space, how to they see their role in these environments? Here's Léopold, a thirty-year-old journalist and editor.

LÉOPOLD

But the way women might feel in certain areas of the city have became very much um an excuse for many politicians and journalists to uh untie a certain amount of hyper securitization measures and racist discourses and police targeting that it might involve. If you talk about insecurity let's talk it all the way to inside our homes and see the statistics of how many women are injured or killed even every year from a domestic abuse. So I think all those politicians who seems very keen now to protect women in their very

[69] Alouti, "Sexisme, harcèlement de rue, mixité."

[70] Leland Ware, "Color-Blind Racism in France: Bias Against Ethnic Minority Immigrants," *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* 46 (January 1, 2014): 185.

[71] "Designing Gender Into and Out of Public Space," accessed January 21, 2017, https://nextcity.org/daily/entry/designing-gender-into-and-out-of-public-space.

paternalist reaction should uh if they're really interested in women's security, which they should, they should really look at those statistics of domestic abuse.

VO: In Professor Mehammed Mack's book, he defines a term called sexual nationalism that describes what's behind Léopold's unease with the use of women's experiences to push political agendas:

MACK: What is sexual nationalism? It's when you expect of other or of recent arrivals to your country um a level of progressivism around gender and sexuality that you could not reasonably expect um from your own people or uh from the nation. And it has- and in a way it's a little bit cynical because people uh who invoke this kind of sexual nationalism are not really invested in women's rights or in gay rights, but they're invested in it because it provides the best tool to marginalize or further exclude new immigrants or minorities that are already in the country who may have already put in the work to be accepted as French or be accepted as European.

VO: Leopold and Professor Mack raise an interesting point: do politicians really have women's safety at heart or are they using women's experience to benefit their agendas and to fuel a rhetoric that targets certain communities?

O: These conversations about women's experiences made me wonder about gender more broadly in public space.[72] Do men feel similar constraints and pressures in public space? How does their self-expression tangle with these cultural conflicts?

Anthony, a 26-year-old stock manager, talks about le regard – the look, a constant pressure of evaluation and judgment that we both give and receive in public space. Many of the residents I spoke to explained that this look can be particularly heavy in Paris.

ANTHONY

On the one hand I'm black and gay, so people staring at me is something that happens all the time. I can tell you that I pay less attention to it and I also play the game since I look at people too. I overplay the game. It's a thing that's never bothered me more than that, this sort of game of impressions and looks. I think that sometimes I might be looking at other people. It's a bit of a cliché and a kind of psychosis.

ALEXANDRE

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[72] "Harcèlement de rue : « Quand on est une femme en France, on est seule »," Le Monde.fr, April 16, 2015, sec. Société, http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/04/16/harcelement-de-rue-quand-on-est-une-femme-en-france-on-est-seule_4617354_3224.html.

Sometimes to quote unquote protect myself if I ever feel threatened on a metro I'll look threatening.

VO: Alexandre is a 25-year old French Filipino comedian, who moved to Paris from Indonesia for school.

I'll have my head down and I'll put a hoodie on. I used to do it as a joke. Look threatening or don't look like you're vulnerable but the in terms of like wearing different clothing. I don't dress fancy or anything. Sometimes I feel kind of stupid or left out and uh just recently, I was at a comedy show and I had jeans and a soccer jersey on. And this girl she was just like why do you wear that and I go because reasons and she's like oh well like it looks like you have the style of a racaille. I was like that's pretty fucked up. It kind of shocked me because she was dressed nicely but regardless of how she dress like why she felt compelled to say that.

VO: Alexandre brings up a word that has been charged with political significance since the early 2000s. Racaille is the word for thugs in French. After the 2005 revolts in the banlieue, that we talked about in episode one[73], racaille was a word used to describe the young people who participated, Nicholas Sarkozy the former French president famously used the word to describe the kinds of people who would be at the receiving end of his zero tolerance policing policies.[74] It's a way of calling someone violent and worthless, a menace to society and is typically directed at men especially men of color.[75] Meanings of the word have morphed over time but it still remains a politically charged term.

Banlieue residents have organized against the violent perceptions of their neighborhoods, which can lead to instances of police brutality.[76] In late 2016 and early 2017 this organizing was even reported in the US, after the death of Adama Traoré in police custody[77] and the brutal sexual assault of Théo during an identity check[78].

These instances explain the ways in which men have to balance their perception in public space, being careful to manage their whether they are being read as threating or vulnerable.[79] But we have to balance multiple gazes in public form the police to our own

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[73] Jaap Dronkers, "ETHNIC RIOTS IN FRENCH BANLIEUES: Can Ethnic Riots in the French Banlieues Be Explained by Low School Achievement or High School Segregation of First and Second-Generation Migrants?," *Tocqueville Review -- La Revue Tocqueville* 27, no. 1 (March 2006): 61–74.

[74] Didier Fassin, *Enforcing Order: An Enthography of Urban Policing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

[75] Schneider, *Police Power and Race Riots.*

[76] Levasseur, "De-Essentializing the Banlieues, Reframing the Nation."

[77] Julia Pascual, "Mort d'Adama Traoré : un pompier contredit la version des gendarmes," *Le Monde.fr*, September 14, 2016, http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2016/09/14/adama-traore-le-pompier-qui-contredit-les-gendarmes_4997787_1653578.html.

[78] "Affaire Théo : Manifestations Contre Les Violences Policières," accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/article/2017/02/09/affaire-theo-manifestations-contre-les-violences-policieres_5076878_1653578.html.

[79] Mack, *Sexagon.*

neighbors. Dannii, a 31-year-old insurance agent, talked bit about the construction of masculinity in her neighborhood in Epinay-sur-Seine, a banlieue to the North of Paris. Growing up trans there, she says she used certain dress codes to be perceived in different ways.

DANNII

I was born a man and I had to be exposed to this code right away, because I have to deal with ... the so-called combat of the gaze, that's to say really which of the two of you will yield and will lower your gaze and submit to the other man, so there's this quote unquote cock fight that you have to face. Then there's also the balance of power. What will I let out of my mouth so that the person in front of me will say OK that boy is dangerous. At the time it was less focused on religion, it was much more on the bullshit we did in the banlieues, I mean stealing cars, burning cars, robbery at another level, there was also another, everything to do with selling drugs. It's trivialized, I mean that you really have to do it to be recognized because otherwise you'll find yourself eaten alive in the banlieue and as a man, it's really very dangerous, especially in difficult banlieues. I preferred avoiding all that, private schools taught me differently, I saw things differently thanks to my friends, 12:20 different perspectives. I was just playing with the way I dressed. My style made all the difference; it really allowed me to get through without really any injuries. I think I'm really blessed. I tried to swim with these sharks, without becoming a shark myself. I mainly wear black, I avoid colors in the banlieue that was my thing, it was black, gray, blue, those were my colors.
I haven't had too many problems, despite my sexuality, my gender and everything.

VO: For Franck, who grew up in a small white working class city far from Paris, it's been tough navigating social classes in the city. He recalls being harassed by a homophobic man in the street, right when France was debating same-sex marriage.

FRANCK

Once in Bastille I went out to a dinner with a friend, it had to be half past midnight on a Saturday night, I was dressed very normally in jeans, a jacket, nothing extravagant and I had a bag, a plastic shopping bag with plenty of colorful stripes. You could see it as the gay pride flag. It's a "feel good" bag. So a man comes up and he grabbed me by my collar telling me " I'm sure you're a fag, fags, I want them all dead!" And the man wasn't drunk or anything. We were in the middle of legalizing same-sex marriage. I managed to escape. He was following me with his buddies. He said "yeah we're gonna fuck you up fag! ". So I realized the strategies I could use, typically taking off my tie, always staying close to a group. In some neighborhoods, I try to wear pretty neutral things, which is kind

of a shame, I realized that this bag that I like so much can be kind of 30:31 a signal. Sometimes I don't care! I use my bag and then sometimes I'll take my black bag. It's in the details of the style, I take off my tie, I even take off my jacket, just dark slacks and a shirt, and it works everywhere.

VO: Both men and women, gay and straight, religious or not, of many racial identities use cloths as a means of signaling how they would like to be treated. As Franck just said this might mean concealing certain parts of your identity through your style of dress. Mawena came to realize how little the way people dress had to do with were they're actually from. Through clothes' we project how we want society to identify us.

MAWENA

In the beginning we thought that when we were in the Marais we had to be stylish hipster fashionista types. Otherwise when we were in the 13th we could wear our overalls and disgusting shoes. But the more you grow up and the more you become Parisian, the more you realize that people don't care or that it's just an illusion. Because you realize that none of the people who go to the Marais to have a drink actually live in the Marais. They all live in Montreuil, in the 20th, they're just young stylish assholes like you. And on the other hand people who really live in the Marais, just get off work, go shopping and go home. But it's not the people who live in these places who actually bring life to them. There's a difference between what you think of a neighborhood and [which] people kind of perform this neighborhood. I don't think it's a problem to go to an opening in the Marais without not having [these] codes, legitimacy actually comes from something else, it comes from your attitude, your references and just your interest in being in that place. But so it's interesting because it's really the work of self-definition.

VO: Many of the people that I spoke to for this show told me, sometimes repeatedly, that Parisians really move around their city. From the rich west to the working class east there are jobs and homes and hang outs to get to. That means either wearing clothes where you blend in or expressing yourself and taking the risk. But as Mawena was saying there are other means of signaling legitimacy, they don't have to clash with tradition but update them.

This summer when I was taking the bus between two banlieues, Montreuil and Bagnolet, I saw a kid running to beat the bus to the bus stop. It was almost sunset during Ramadan, a holy month for observant Muslims and the middle of the Euro Cup and France was hosting the tournament. The kid, who was around 16 or 17, was wearing a long collared shirt called a djellaba, along with a pair of Air-Force 1s and a hoodie with Les Bleues, the French national soccer team emblazoned all over. When you think about it, this outfit is

very French. There are few other places in the world wear you'll find a teenager so fluid and so fluent between these different traditions and pop cultures. Only the history of France, it's colonial past, it's western influences, it's faith in an unwieldy but talented national sports team, could have assembled this kid, this cultural cyborg.[80]

So as much as we have to point out the codes that confine us, we should also know there are ways of subverting those codes and moving beyond them. Some people do it simply because they were born to do so. In the next episode we'll be talking about a different set of constraints, not the ones be put on our bodies but the ones we put in our streets. The borders and that emerge in our cities and how we cross them daily.

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[80] Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

Episode 6 – Frontières (Borders)

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm Jess Myers.

[MUSIC]

Last episode we talked abut the way Parisians play with social codes through cloths or attitudes to signal how they would like to be treated in public space. This episode will focus not just on the identities of people but of places. Ok so I'm going to lay some cards on the table. I'm in grad school for city planning and my background is in architecture. So as you may have noticed, I think about space a lot. I'm space obsessed. These next two episodes are going to be even more space focused. This episode, we'll be talking about the way that the city is divided through years of history, politics and design. Just like for New Yorkers the divide between uptown and downtown Manhattan or for North and South of the river for London, cities have significant physical and psychic borders that create local bias and affinities.

Paris is no different. If you know the city through visits or movies or books you may know that river Seine flows through the city, dividing it into the left bank to the south and the right bank to the north. You may also know the socio-economic divide that separates the east and west not physically but politically. Or perhaps you know the deepest cut, which separates Paris proper, or Paris intramuros from its banlieue: the highway called the periphérique. These divisions create identities not just for the neighborhoods but for the people who live there. For the residents that I spoke to these borders can be hard to dismiss and difficult to cross.

[MUSIC]

The divide between the East and the West of Paris began many centuries ago, with the aristocracy pulling more to the West, closer to the enormous palaces Versailles and the Louvre, while the working class spread towards the east.[81] Today west is still more wealthy but it's also much more residential while the east has more bars more shops and more young people. For Anthony and Nava the west is cold, the east buzzing with life.

ANTHONY

I feel more at ease in the east, there's more to do, it's much more dynamic. I like it more than the beautiful districts where everything costs an arm and a leg.

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[81] Rustenholz, *De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris.*

NAVA

I mostly bike or walk around the city, and I recently went on the belt surrounding Paris and all the western side, in the 16th. It wasn't very pleasant. I told myself I wouldn't go back there. It's very cold. The streets are empty, and I don't like emptiness. I prefer busy streets with a lot of people. In the 8th as well, I like the architecture but I'm not at all attracted to the atmosphere. I don't like it.

VO:

Alison told me about the political divide of the East and West. The western part of Paris has historically supported more conservative views while the east is more progressive.[82]

ALISON

It's even shown on kind of maps of the way people vote is that people tend to be more left wing in the east and right wing in the right it's almost like a straight split of red and blue on the map.

I actually to have a regular journey that I do to the 16th. In the popular imagination this is a place where all the far right voters in Paris live. But they hypocritically don't admit to it. There's meant to be a brasserie there where the Le Penistes meet but I don't know whether that's true.

VO: For most people I spoke with the East/West divide was pretty stark, there are bourgeois on one side and prolo or working class on the other. But for ShuckOne a graffiti artist who moved to Paris from the French Caribbean department, Guadeloupe when he was a teenager in the 80s, the East/West border was crucial to cross.

SHUCK ONE

During that discovery of urban and social emancipation, I discovered graffiti. I would go out at night to paint, to tag metros, to vandalize stations and to develop my art.

I was lucky I lived on line 2. It was strategic because it crosses Paris from east to west. It goes through all the most dynamic areas, multi-ethnic, cosmopolitan, melting-pot. That line is a reference.

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[82] Alexandre Léchenet, "Carte : Paris vote pour François Hollande," *Le Monde.fr*, May 7, 2012, http://www.lemonde.fr/election-presidentielle-2012/article/2012/05/07/carte-paris-vote-pour-francois-hollande_1696832_1471069.html.

One day, my cousin started counting and on line 2, there were more than 30 trains passing by that had been tagged or vandalized with my name. I was the king of that metro line.

VO: Just like the East/West border divides socio-economic status, the left bank and the right bank border works similarly.

The river Seine separates two different histories one ancient and the other modern. All of Paris used to the islands that float in the river Seine, Ile de St. Louis and Ile de la Cité.[83] The left bank of the river was on of the first parts of expanded Pars. It has the last remains of Roman architecture from when France or then Gaul was a part of the empire. The left bank is where the universities started, where poets and satirists first died penniless in dark rooms with bad wallpaper.

But the right bank is where modernity unfolded on the city and stayed. Aristocrats became businessmen, farms became factories and the shops became department stores. The famous boutiques, Printemps and the Galeries Lafayette, the worlds of Colette and Emile Zola, are the center of right bank.[84]

But the interesting thing about all of Paris's borders is that they intersect like a Venn diagram. Left and right bank cross east and west yielding neighborhoods of the modern working class and the ancient conservatives. These lines intersect. Cut in quarters by politics and the river.

FRANCOISE

When I go from here to there, I cross the Seine. The river is really a separation, but it's a separation that doesn't separate. I think it's a particular event in the continuity that is Paris.

LÉOPOLD

The differentiation between rive gauche rive droite for me is- is something that only native Parisians are very much looking at. Although I do notice and I very much take notice when I cross a bridge because I mean quite frankly it's beautiful and it's a little bit like when you cross an avenue in New York City. You look at this great canyon. So it

[83] Shlomo Angel, "Atlas of Urban Expansion" (Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2012).
[84] David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

does feel like a threshold to a certain degree but to me that was never linked to two distinct identities.

ESTHER

In schematic terms I'm more comfortable on the left bank because that's where I grew up and still live there. But in the eyes of my friends, I'm really a has been because everyone is [on the] right bank, in Republic, around Belleville. I'm aware that it makes me kind of a stick in the mud.

VO: The depth of history and culture that run along the dividing lines of any city carry enormous weight. When, she moved from London to Paris, Alison brought with her the strong memories of its river divide, it made her determined to call north of the river, the right bank, her home.

ALISON

I lived for 12 years in London before and the North or South of the river thing there is really really strong so maybe that was something that was already in my mind when I came here but I find myself really identifying strongly as a north Parisian and a Northwest Parisian.

I think there was a kind of snobbishness about living on the right bank. I was being a pioneer because the left bank it never changes you know and it's comfortable and rather smug. So I definitely found living in the 20th around Jourdain which has become a rather sought after area but at the time it was still kind of populaire very kind of working class but very friendly and villagey and lots of music going on, lots of artistic activities. So I was really proud to say that I chose to live there when some of the French friends I met all lived in the Latin quarter cause they'd been to university there they were all going don't go to the 20th it's really dangerous what are you thinking of.

Areas like the 7th - are massively more policed than the areas where there is actually more crime. I called the police on a couple of occasions here and they told me- there are very very few police available to deal with all the things that were happening in this area. I'm talking about petty crime like stealing a telephone or stealing your bag there's an enormous amount of theft and yet all around the 7th where the ministers live you'll see police all the time. So it does feel rather as if the police are kind of mobilized to protect the rich in this city.

VO: After a life spent on the right bank and in the north of Paris, Steffi found it tough to adjust to college life on the left bank. It made her realize how deeply influenced she was by the stereotypes of the neighborhood.

STEFFI

When I went to the Sorbonne, in the 5th, I didn't feel like I belonged. Now it's changing because the person I'm sharing my life with comes from the left bank while I spent my entire life on the right bank. Well, whenever I'd go to Paris, I'd go to the right bank, and everywhere I'd go on the left bank, I never felt comfortable. Probably because there are less populaires areas on the left bank and because I grew up in a populaire area, so I never felt like I could feel comfortable on the left bank.

Now I've discovered some little spots on the left bank that are really nice but it's a limit that exists. Because there's the Seine and clearly it's not just a river. I really do feel like there's a major difference between the right and the left bank. At least, from the people I met when I was younger, and from the way I used to see things, I always felt that they were two different worlds. On the one hand, you've got kind of lefty bourgeois intellectuals who still pretend like they're in '68 and who spend their lives at university because they can afford it. They don't need to work, they can stay [in university] for 15 years. They live with their parents and never have a problem in life.

That was what I imagined and so to me, the right bank was more working-class or at least people who had to roll up their sleeves and work. I've grown up since then and of course I've realized that it's not that simple. But you do still feel the difference between left bank and right bank. Even more so than the difference between east and west that I think is more political. People who vote for the right wing live to the west and [people] who vote left wing, live to the east. It's also true that there are way more populaire areas in the east than in the west. But besides that I don't really have an opinion on the east/west divide. I think the difference between the two banks is more relevant for me.

VO: For many Parisians the widest border, wider even the river, is the périphérique, the ring road that loops around Paris, making a deep cut between Paris and the banlieue. As you'll hear from residents this border is more than a physical separation. It's an emotional one too. In many ways the périphérique, which was meant to make the city more accessible by car ended up cutting off people in the banlieue from many basic services and opened them to stigma. But the banlieues have had a particular relationship with Paris for centuries. Since many factories and barracks were on the edges of Paris, there are also many historically working class towns in the banlieue. These towns also have famous histories of communism and labor organizing. These workers efforts

foraged the foundation of much of France's labor protections. At the same time the banlieue is also quite diverse, with town that are famously wealthy and aristocratic like Neuilly-sur-Seine, which at one point at the same GDP as the entire country of Greece. Or the banlieue Versailles the site of Louis the 14th notoriously opulent chateau. However, even with this incredible variance, stereotypes about the banlieue are common amongst Parisians and the media, who often use the word "banlieue" as a euphemism for poverty and crime. Even though there are neighborhoods in Paris that have similar levels of crime to towns in the banlieue, crime reporting in the banlieue typically defines a town. The way that Parisians say Paris proper, to distinguish the city from the banlieue, is Paris intramuros, which translates to Paris inside the walls. This refers to the old fortress walls that protected the city from invasion centuries ago. The walls have been replaced with a road and in some ways that road is even more impassible.

BERNARD

Paris was formerly surrounded by fortifications, which were called les fortifs, to defend against invasions. And then at some point the fortifications were destroyed. But for decades these destroyed fortifications gave way to what was called "the zone". And this zone was impoverished places where there were faulty barracks where whole marginal population of workers without money, people who came from the provinces, immigrants from various countries, and then also 34:33 thieves, prostitutes. It was often a dangerous neighborhood but quaint. The cinema [and] literature were really taken with it. And one day the périphérique was built around Paris. It doubled the Maréchaux boulevards and it was on the site of the Zone. And so there was a very clear separation between the 20 arrondissements of Paris and the banlieue.

VO: Like the left bank and right bank divide the stereotypes of both sides of the périphérique are very strong. As a young student moving to Paris from Bretagne Leopold remembers being curious to find out if the rumors were true.

LEOPOLD

Without being about really to form a very clear mental image or what might have been my thoughts back then I mean it's true that there's an entire mythology in Paris about the banlieue as being spaces where you might be at risk as a young little white bourgeoise kid and um and I think- I think coming from a small town it probably was a part of my imaginary but also that was something that I- I wanted to- if not challenge at least verify so to speak.

[00:13:56.08] L: Yeah I suppose, I suppose so. I mean again it's a sort of a- it's something that um that is part of- that is part of the imaginary that people living within the périphérique might be thinking. I mean I to talk about something a little bit nearer than us when you know Fox News did their no go zones uh places I think Parisians were very very prompt to either make fun or it or to be very angry at it. But I think the French media have been doing the very same thing about the banlieue for years and in that case Parisians are not quite as prompt to debunk this sort of mythology.

VO: Some of you might remember the Fox News report that Léopold is talking about, the one that called out areas in Europe that were supposedly so dangerous and populated by Muslim extremists that the police wouldn't go there. Léopold pointed out that although many disagreed with the report few people questioned how in many ways French media also crafts similar narrative. One thing these stereotypes fail to capture is the permeability of these boundaries. Nava and Françoise point out that many Parisians have lives that exist on both sides of the périphérique.

NAVA

The périph is like a living thing. This barrier is here, we work with it, around, beyond it, it's not impassable. And if it's something you can pass, then you have to respect what goes on on each side.

FRANCOISE

The périphérique was part of a whole series of large projects that were planned under de Gaulle and Pompidou. [They] destroyed a whole part of the neighborhood I lived next to and [some projects] were never realized. Throughout my childhood we were afraid because our house wasn't far from the area under eminent domain. I remember one evening when my father came to dinner and said "if we are under eminent domain what do we do." Because obviously it meant losing our house, having it bought at a very low price. We would have to move. There was a moment of temporary crisis but we didn't end up under eminent domain.

When I go to see my mother in Chatillon crossing the périphérique feels [like] passing from one universe to another. I've done it so many times that I think [of it as] continuity rather than separation even if I'm aware of crossing a border.

SAMIA

So I lived in the Parisian area, in Levallois back in the day it was called Paris because the area hadn't been dissected in departments with numbers, 92, 93. Levallois is really at a junction with the 17th arrondissement, so we just used to say we lived in Paris. The périphérique didn't exist back then. I'm 60, I was born in 55, and the périphérique was built in 66-68.

Now there's Paris and there's the banlieue. You know what they say: "on the other side of the périph." There are people who are horribly Parisian, who don't dare go to the banlieue, who are afraid. Being afraid of the banlieue is a real thing. There really are two societies: Paris is surrounded by a highway and that's the périphérique. And on the other side of the périph', there are towns in the banlieue and more populaire areas have been pushed to those towns. So Levallois has become the periphery of Paris, because it's on the other side of the périph.

VO: As Samia and Françoise just said, the périphérique puts very hard clear edges on what's Paris and what's not. For many young people from the banlieue, there is pressure to leave and begin life in Paris. For Anthony who grew up in Vitry-sur-Seine, a southern banlieue, this always the dream.

ANTHONY

The first border I'm going to talk about is the one that affects me the most. It's actually the périphérique. That's the strongest border, in the Parisian region. It's a border that's just real. I feel it everyday. When you're in Paris proper there are little shops, more people, there's life and when you leave there're fewer people, fewer shops, less life in general. In the cities that are right next to Paris, for example, Kremlin Bicêtre my home, Montreuil, there's still a neighborhood life that's very strong, but the more we move away the less it exists. Since I was 15 I knew I wanted to live in Paris. That was the horizon, not staying in the banlieue.

VO: Hervé grew up in the Northern banlieue Aubervillier, for him living in the banlieue was just a part of life. He never fully understood what Parisians felt about his banlieue until he started working in Paris and living there with his girlfriend Silvia, a Brazilian woman who moved to Paris from Miami.

HERVE

H: When I started to really work and live in Paris, and have more and more friends in Paris, some of whom were Parisian, [it] made me feel this difference. The city where I was born, Aubervilliers, is just on the border of the 19th. I understood that it wasn't Paris,

it's the Parisian region. But if I go to the rest of France, they'll tell me: You're from Paris. But on the other hand Parisians make sure I understand that [Aubervilliers] isn't Paris. And that's how you understand that there's a difference/ It's pretty funny.

14:22 People will say: watch out in the Paris banlieue, it's more dangerous, there's more theft, more trafficking, more run-down neighborhoods. So lots of stereotypes. Obviously it's not true. There are equally run-down neighborhoods in Paris.
H: It's these people you hear on TV. They're afraid of everything: of the banlieue. But they don't know their own city. They have a negative opinion because they have the same opinion as the people who live in the rest of France. The banlieue is scary. There's a beating every two minutes. They're completely disconnected from their own reality.

S : I know 100% that I'm one of those people who says "[the banlieue] isn't Paris." This is from my snobby side. I told Hervé "I'll never live in Aubervilliers, I'm too snobby to live in Aubervilliers." It's dirty, it's dangerous at night. You would always insist on picking me up at the metro stop when I came alone. You might not be afraid for you, but you were afraid for me.

VO: The stigma of violence and crime that exists in banlieue can at times be true. Although Hervé has always been comfortable in the banlieue, he has had experiences of violence there.

HERVE

H: I was coming back after having spent the evening at a friend's house, she lives in Ile-Saint-Denis. So it's the same, it's in the 93 in the Parisian region. Oh I can't remember, it must have been about 2 in the morning or something. I had an old car back then, and it simply stalled, it broke at a streetlight.

And that's when four people arrived with guns, knives and they made me get out of the car. Then they took me hostage in the back of the car. And they made me go from one ATM to another until my card got blocked. Then they took, they went around the periphérique several times, I suppose, because I had my head between my knees. And they abandoned me in a forest attached to a tree, threatening me that they'd come back to "finish the work". You know what "finish the work" means. Then I fled.

VO: For Dannii it was not just her northern banlieue that could be violent it was also the act of crossing borders that existed between neighborhoods. She was a boy from Epinay-sur-Seine and she had to deal with that stigma when encountering boys at Porte de Clignancourt, a northern neighborhood in Paris.

DANNII

I think that the first time I went outside my neighborhood, outside of my comfort zone, where I knew everyone, was when we went to go to a flea market at Porte de Clignancourt, the flea market of Saint-Ouen, an outing with all my friends. This was the first time I actually went outside my neighborhood and I was immediately confronted with a gang fight, a clash [between] neighborhoods. I grew up in Epinay-sur-Seine and Porte de Clignancourt it's another atmosphere, some people in my neighborhood had a history with other members of the neighborhood around Clignancourt. That had an influence on our relationship with all these guys from these neighborhoods. I remember we fought, I wasn't really strong. We got hurt. That's when I realized that even though I wasn't attached to all the boys in my neighborhood, 7:12 I carried the label of a guy from another banlieue and suddenly I became a threat when I went to another neighborhood. I had a label, that's it.

VO: The périphérique becomes this violent space not just because of experiences like Hervé's and Dannii's it's also physically impossible to cross on foot, it's made up of two concentric rings, which can range between two and five lanes. The idea behind it is that it creates accessibility for drivers but because the transit is so good with in Paris, few Parisians own cars, making them less likely to go out to the banlieue. Mehdi is a councilmen for his northern banlieue, la Courneuve, where he grew up. In our interview he mentioned that the problem with the periphérique is that is focuses on Paris and not the banlieue. Meaning if your banlieue is close to Paris it's likely that there won't be many local activities like theaters and cafés because the assumption is that you will go to Paris for them.[85] However, the farther a banlieue is from Paris proper, the farther it is from cultural activities and other amenities that bring a city to life.[86] In addition the banlieues are poorly connected to each other. For many of the residents I spoke to the périphérique made accessibility worse.[87]

MEHDI

But the problem is that because Paris is nearby, there aren't as many things here. Like cultural or economic activities.

The library burned down, there's no longer a building manager making sure it's livable. Building managers aren't only there to make things safe. He was creating a space to live well, because he knew everybody. Now there's nobody left making the connection

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[85] Dikeç, "Immigrants, Banlieues, and Dangerous Things."
[86] Patrick Zachmann, Ma proche banlieue (Paris: Barral, 2009).
[87] Azouz Begag, L'intégration (Paris: Cavalier bleu, 2003).

between people. There's no longer a connection between public officials and the population. Now it's a desert.

The whole neighborhood is less accessible for kids. It's not as easy for the kids to do stuff as it was before. Everything is damaged. There's a lot of alcohol everywhere. Before there wasn't any of this.

Here [the] buildings were renovated not so long ago. The buildings aren't run down. Social housing projects aren't unhealthy. It's not like it's overcrowded. There's just one problem: there's nothing that connects people. There's nothing human here. There's no local officials who're really human. They want to open a community center [that] they want to compensate for a lack of everything, but without doing anything really. There are no facilities, there are no services for young people. There are no youth workers, there's nothing going on in the public space.

Urbanisticly there's no life, there are no streets, there's a weird mall. In a "cité" there're alleyways, there's a No Man's Land that you can't do anything with, that you can't use, where there's no way to create connections. The first solution would be to have municipal facilities. [That's] what we're trying to do here, we're trying to create some kind of energy, some kind of presence

VO: In Paris the transit you live near sets the bar for your access to the city. Often the gentrification of a neighborhood hinges on its connections both to finance and to the train. When the subway and the trains are all closed by 1 am living between the banlieue and Paris can be a challenge. The banlieues themselves can be poorly connected meaning a trip to the town next door could take up to an hour if you don't have a car. In response to these challenges the city of Paris is investing in an enormous expansion of its transit infrastructure.[88] For Anne, who works between multiple banlieues this expansion is a welcome change.

ANNE

I travel a lot by motorcycle because today in the Paris suburbs it's easy to go from any point to Paris more or less, but it's extremely difficult to go from one banlieue to another and I have to go from one banlieue to another for my work, so the motorcycle is a practical choice to go quickly from one banlieue to another [or] to go to the school of architecture. I discovered that it was absolute freedom. I'm not constrained to bus, RER or subway schedules.

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[88] Ibid.

The big difference is that my children when they want to leave the house to hang out with friends, they have access to the metro. It's very simple. When they want to go to university, everything is accessible to them. When children live in Clichy or when young women or young men have to go to work, access to employment is very complicated, it takes more than 50 minutes to reach the center of Paris. Access to higher education is becoming very difficult due to the transit issue. There's already a big gap.

ERIC

Paris is a small city and on top of that, transportation stops. From east to west, from north to south the metro stopped at the ring road. The metro didn't go into the nearby banlieues. I don't know if you [can] imagine but it's like if the subway was only made for Manhattan and didn't go into Brooklyn or Queens. When I was very young, it was a little harder to go to Paris. I would take the bus to the metro. And then it expanded. The metro is right next-door.

The problem is public transportation. [But] now they've built the tram. There's a small one that goes around the périphérique, then [they'll build] a big one that makes another circuit and another that makes a huge circuit. The work isn't finished, [but] it's going to be good to get from banlieue to banlieue, it's progressed a lot. Before it was such a struggle. So sometimes it took an hour or two to get to a banlieue right next door.

JEAN CLAUDE

Part of the municipality's policy has been to prevent cars from entering Paris. They've closed down a lot of lanes, and made them for pedestrians only. Right now there's a debate about, well it's not even a debate anymore, it's a decision now, to close down the road along the Seine River. They'll close down this summer and won't reopen. And obviously it's very important for Parisians, because the majority of them don't own cars anymore. But it's a problem for those who live in the suburbs: people from the banlieue use their cars to get and out of the city and they might feel excluded from the city center.

VO: These expansions of infrastructure that Jean Claude and Eric just talked are called Grand Paris. Grand Paris is the decades old idea that Paris is more than just Paris intramuros and that the city will soon come to fully include the banlieues.[89] But Jean-Claude sees how an old idea of Paris isn't so easy to shake.

JEAN-CLAUDE

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[89] Billet Jean, "Bastie J. — Géographie du Grand Paris.," Revue de géographie alpine 74, no. 4 (1986): 424–424.

The idea of the Grand Paris, which is starting to work within institutions but in people's minds, it's not there yet. There's still a very strongly, dividing line between the city of Paris and what goes on on the other side of the periphérique. Of course a lot of people cross that line everyday for work, for entertainment, to shop. We spend all of our time going back and forth over this dividing line so in the end, we all live in the Grand Paris. But there's still, nevertheless, the desire to preserve Paris and it's "villages."

VO: Which are the borders that divide and which are the borders that define, making clear where certain identities reside, protecting them by defining them? The city of Paris does have a plan to make the périphérique more of a porous border. The idea of Grand Paris is to break down the divide between Paris and it's surrounding banlieues, making the region more like one big city.[90] But some think that these plans will increase the more malicious forms of gentrification and will push low-income residents even further out, creating a new périphérique elsewhere.[91] But others believe that it could open up opportunities for people living in the banlieues to have greater access to the city and push Parisians to explore the banlieue. However you look at it the Grand Paris plan is another in a historic series of plans for the city, that hope to create a kind of utopia, which we'll explore further in the next episode.

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[90] Theresa Enright, *The Making of Grand Paris: Metropolitan Urbanism in the Twenty-First Century*, 2016.
[91] Tissot, "Les métamorphoses de la domination sociale."

Episode 7 – Utopie (Utopia)

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm your host Jess Myers.

[MUSIC]

Last episode we left off talking about Grand Paris, the plan to breach the urban borders of the city and unit Paris with its surrounding banlieue through huge infrastructure projects.

It will come as no surprise to you that Paris, a city that is roughly two thousand years old, has had many plans for urban utopias. Moral utopias, technocratic utopias, sanitation utopias, eugenic utopias. Plans for the aristocracy, for the poor, for laborers, for immigrants, for police it's impossible to walk the city streets and not be neck deep in the fragments of ideal cities dreamed up by kings and artists, mayors and bureaucrats, urbanists and environmentalists, builders and citizens.[92] Often utopias are designed to be ideal living spaces for residents. But utopia is can also be a hair removed from dystopia depending on who you talk to. What is a laborers place in aristocratic utopia or an immigrants' place in nationalist's? Do plans for utopia actually create more democratic access for all city residents?

In this episode we'll be diving into the utopias scattered throughout Paris in the 20th century. Who were they built for and who were they built to keep out?

[MUSIC Interlude]

Post-war France was a fast modernizing place. Towns throughout France went from wartime rations to electricity and washing machines in the blink of an eye, swiftly replacing traditional lifestyles with modern ones. The 60s-80s saw a huge amount of government-supported projects from infrastructure to the city's first skyscraper, the Tour de Montparnasse.[93] This was also the time when the péripherique was first built to offer access to the city by the cars being minted in Renault's and Citroën's automotive factories at the edge of the city. [94]

Growing up in a nearby banlieue, François remembers the impact these projects had on her childhood.

FRANÇOISE

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[92] Birignani, "The Police and the City."
[93] Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
[94] Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies.*

In the 60s there had been a project to build a highway. It was part of Pompidou's great projects for Paris, so they had expropriated a lot of land to build a highway that was never built in the end. So there were wastelands and we loved playing there. They were spaces of incredible freedom, abandoned spaces, spaces of transgression. We jumped the fences, and played in the grass, in the ruins. It was extraordinary. I remember those spaces very well.

These were all the projects of the sixties in Paris and in the banlieue. We went from a traditional historical urban fabric to something that was new and that's now associated with important social problems, with poor or immigrant populations. There's an association between these territories and [the image] of a radical break that was both social and physical. Many people associate it with a sort of insecurity because it was a break with things that, in one way or another, were perceived as a continuum—even though that's not necessarily an accurate historical representation.

VO: This rapid slingshot into the future left some residents at the mercy of city hall's vision of a modern city. As Jean-Claude explains some were not seen as being a part of that vision.

JEAN-CLAUDE

In the 70s and 80s, there was a really important series of political measures, which we called urban renovation back then. [The working class] was expelled from the center of Paris, from the city of Paris itself, in the name of transforming neighborhoods. The 13th, 14th, and 15th arrondissements were almost entirely torn down during the 50s, 60s, and 70s in order to replace them with more modern urban planning. Those were populaire areas, that's where the working-class was. These workers were sent to the Grand Ensembles and social housing projects built by Paris Habitat in the banlieue. None of this happens anymore. But back in the day, sociologists said the working-class was being deported to the banlieue. Today it's no longer happening, that's why Paris still has people who are working-class.

VO: These swift changes did not come without push back. In fact when the Tour de Montparnasse was completed the building was so reviled that skyscrapers have been exiled to the city's periphery ever since. This zoning policy paved the way for constructions like La Defénse, the Parisian business district on the city's western limit. Its construction cleared away wartime shantytowns, farmland, and old factories to make room for a new brand of business.[95] The kind that was playfully mocked by filmmakers like Jacque Tati in Playtime. It was built as a means of competing with London, New

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[95] Rustenholz, *De la banlieue rouge au Grand Paris.*

York, and Tokyo as a major global financial center. Although many criticized the gaggle of skyscrapers as being so generic, that they could be any where in the world.[96]

[MUSIC from Play Time by Jacque Tati?]

However the idea of a district where no one lived, that was completely abandoned after working hours lead some to feel insecure there. As a teenager Alice was told to stay away from La Défense but it became a thrilling but terrifying playground for her and her friends.

ALICE

I don't know if you've seen this movie called "Irréversible" by Gaspard Noé? In a nutshell it's a horrible movie where a woman gets raped in a tunnel below the street. You can meet the wrong kind of person and here's no way out. You might not be able to call someone for help because there's no one. You're kind of trapped. There's this place underground, and then there's the La Défense square, where no one lives, it's only offices and it's only people working there and so there's no one to hear from their windows. It's very dehumanized, especially at night.

I remember one time, one of my friend's mothers was really angry because we'd gone to La Défense without telling her. It must have been at the beginning of the 90s. In 1990, I was 14. We'd gone to La Défense and it was towards the end of the day when it starts to be dodgy. Now it's become a business center, very safe, but back then it was kind of sketchy, there were high rises, tunnels, [and] dark places at night.

Those high rises are faceless, there's no balcony, the windows are often opaque, you can't see what goes on inside. You don't see people. That's why it gives me this impression of being dehumanized.

It was both an attractive and worrying place during my teenage years.

VO: For Franck, who moved to Paris to work in La Defense, the area has really improved but the rumors of it's past still influenced the way he felt about it.

FRANCK

I didn't have any negative apprehension about La Défense and safety there, but when I started working there it's true that at night when you get back on the subway or the RER and it's absolutely empty. You can end up alone on a [train] platform with quote unquote

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[96] "The Glory That Was Paris," *New York Times*, June 23, 1971.

gangs and of course I've been told about the gang wars in the square in front of La Défense, but that was almost 20 years ago. Now it's nowhere near that but I've been alone in the metro with gangs of pretty tough young men and sometimes they'd shout at me. It's true that I never felt very comfortable. I have co-workers who are women and they're very afraid. Well at least they feel unsafe after 8 or 9 o'clock at night, especially in the winter.

VO: La Defénse isn't the only district marked by its past and its rapid modernization. One grand utopian vision that I heard about over and over in my interviews, has been an infamous district in Paris since the 12th century. Once a centuries old municipal food market, le ventre de Paris, the stomach of Paris located in the heart of the city, Les Halles-Chatelet was redeveloped into a mall and transit hub in the 60s.[97] Ever since the central district called Beaubourg has been a lightening rod for utopian dreams in the city.

BERNARD

I never knew the real Les Halles, I mean the atmosphere, the heart of Paris. It was unlivable because there were kilometers of trucks parking or driving in the streets at 3 AM. Things had to change. They moved it all to Rungis. I saw the end of les Halles, there was still the meat market, the flower market. I saw a bit of what it must have looked like and it was really nice. There were those beautiful buildings, built by Baltar. The iron architecture was beautiful, and I think the people of Paris wanted to keep them. It was squatted by art collectives for one or two years. By real artists without any money, by theater companies, dance companies, by squatters. The idea was to keep the building. We fought to keep les Halles. There were terrible fights with the police. I was 19 or 20. One evening there was a huge party. All the owners of the bistrots nearby were giving out free drinks. They took the tables out on the streets and put some barrels of wine or beer on them. There were dozens and dozens, maybe even hundreds of thousands of people who were there in the streets, participating in a protest saying "Les Halles is ours, you will not tear it down."

There was the entire team of Charlie Hebdo from back then before it became what it is now. Cavana and all the gang were outside, they were all drunk and laughing. It was a huge populaire protest to save Les Halles and it was all useless. Les Halles was destroyed to build this underground mall, this horror. And so obviously the physiognomy of the area completely changed. It became a place for consumption, not really a place where people live.

People from the banlieue don't know Les Halles. They only come for the underground mall. Sometimes they don't even go outside. There are four stupid floors with stupid

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[97] Norma Everson, "The Assassination of Les Halles," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 32, no. 4 (1973).

stores that are packed on top of one another and millions of people from the banlieue coming there, packs of young people just hang around in there, like they would hang around a mall in the banlieue, probably not even going out in the area. They wander around the stores because they're like mosquitos attracted to the light of consumption. When you talk with young people from "populaires" areas, to them Paris means to be bourgeois.

FRANÇOISE

Today, Les Halles is mostly a flow of people and it's below ground, which changes everything. I think that back when it was a market it was unsafe. It was a very populaire neighborhood, with bad boys, prostitution, illegal trafficking, a lot of rats. It was pretty dirty, not heaven by any stretch of the imagination. It was a real working space with all that that entails. It was completely eradicated during the great transformations of the 60s and 70s. Since then, new insecurities have developed. You wouldn't go there at night because there were people who wanted your wallet hidden in the bushes. I was never assaulted but I also never went there. It's become very easy to come from even the farthest banlieues, from the *projects,* from areas that have been overlooked since the banlieues were built in the 60s, to come to Les Halles because it's downtown Paris, a rich city, [a place] to traffic things.

JACQUELINE

When they built the Centre Pompidou, they destroyed some streets that were very old fashioned and they rebuilt other things, now you have this beautiful square. It's a good thing. I mean you like it or you don't but it was the first modern museum in Paris, and of course there were people yelling that it was horrid, but it was current and now everybody thinks it's great. If you take the escalator all the way up, it really is remarkable, if the weather is nice you can see all of Paris. There's history behind all of this, there's life for hundreds of years.

VO: When the market houses of Les Halles were destroyed the identity of Beaubourg radically shifted. It changed from a neighborhood where the working class and the well to do were often at each other elbows to a commercial and cultural hub flowing with tourists headed to the Centre Pompidou (another contentious construction) or the four stories deep underground mall and transit hub.[98] Les Halles connects four subways lines and three commuter rail lines, moving over half a million commuter on any given weekday.[99]

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[98] Pierre Schneider, "Paris Starts to Heal the Gaping Wound Left by Les Halles," *New York Times,* September 9, 1979.
[99] "Il Y a 50 Ans : Que Faire Du Quartier Des Halles à Paris?," *Le Figaro,* May 1, 2015, http://www.lefigaro.fr/histoire/archives/2015/05/01/26010-20150501ARTFIG00166-il-y-a-50-ans-que-faire-du-quartier-des-halles-a-paris.php.

For some this meant long awaited connection between the center city and the banlieue but for others it made the heart of Paris clogged and congested, welcoming the wrong kinds of people to a once historic district. [100]

EVELYNE

Les Halles-Châtelet, it's the biggest train station. I think it's even one of the biggest stations in the world because there are so many connections at Les Halles and this station is so dense with people moving everywhere. They still haven't finished the renovation work but it's very gloomy and it really isn't pretty. So everybody avoids it. People in Paris walk very fast and it's always very crowded so you need to know where you want to go when you're in Les Halles.

Yeah it's sketchy. Because it's overcrowded. There are people who stay there all day maybe and it smells bad too. The platforms, are very old and there haven't be any renovations, it's one of the dirtiest stations. No one's ever liked Châtelet.

AURELIE

I think it's a place where there's a lot of traffic, so lots of people come from the banlieue who take the RER, it's where everyone who lives in the banlieue come to hang out. So there's always a crowd, always a lot of people whether it's inside or outside and you can't feel safe even if there are police. It's true that I have a special relationship with Les Halles because I got my purse stolen there. It's the first and only time I've had something stolen in Paris and it was in Les Halles.

VO: Even before ever setting foot in les Halles Châtelet, some Parisians were already primed to fear it. From a young age Dania's mom told her to avoid it.

DANIA

I remember that my mom once told me that Les Halles was sketchy and like not to go there. There's a lot of um I don't know the word I mean in French we call it like a racaille. I don't really know how to explain it, it's like people who kind of try to pickpocket you or try to like talk to you.

VO: For many Parisians Les Halles – Châtelet is a place to avoid, crowded and dirty with pickpockets trolling for tourists, a bit like Times Square for New Yorkers However many people from the banlieue especially as teenagers saw it as their first foray into Paris

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[100] "Where Les Halles Stood: Culture Center and Shops," *New York Times*, September 4, 1979.

proper, since so many RER, the banlieue commuter trains, passed through Les Halles-Chatelet.

ERIC

Les Halles, I knew the area in the 80s when it was renovated. It was a very very modern place with all kinds of different stores behind a glass wall especially with the Fnac, which was a huge cultural center. All the CDs that came out were there. So it attracted musicians, young people and the whole area around Les Halles was very trendy, with small bars like le Père Tranquille, le Père Fouettard and there were models and photographers who would come there to have drinks and network. There was this famous place called Les Bains Douches and so all that made the area one of the trendiest and busiest in Paris. Then what happened? I can't tell you, maybe it was a victim of its own success.

The RER made the area very accessible, it made it a too populaire. People notice when there are too many stores, it really kills the place. So the place became a little has-been, trendy people left the area. And I don't go there anymore. Thankfully it was saved because Etienne Marcel is not far and [it's] authentic. Maybe it's those places that will save Les Halles. In fact maybe the older neighborhood will save the modern one.

STEFFI

I think there are several things going on there. It's changing right now because the renovation is almost done. But Châtelet was under construction for a very long time. And it's a place where you don't feel safe, because you can easily get lost there. I always get lost there. If you don't know where you're going, you spend your time going around in circles. You go crazy.

There're a lot of people from the banlieues who meet up at Châtelet. Since I'm from the banlieue I think that a lot of people don't want to admit it, but [they] see people from the banlieue as a danger . I don't really know why. I just see people from the banlieues as people who are profoundly bored, they're bored and they're stuck, they have very little freedom. The only freedom, when you live on the RER A or D is to go to Châtelet. There you can buy a pair of tennis shoes, you can dance hip-hop, you can meet people from everywhere. Ok there are people who get into trouble but really what people want is to escape the reality of their lives in the banlieue because nothing really happens there.

VO: Since les Halles – Châtelet in very central in Paris its design takes on a symbolic importance. It signals to residents and tourists alike how Paris is modernizing, how it's

keeping up as a global city.[101] This symbolism made Les Halles – Châtelet very important to city hall, which was just a stones throw away and changing as rapidly changing along side the city itself. Paris had eliminated the position of mayor in the mid 19th century but reinstated it in the 1970s. For the first mayor Jacque Chirac, who would later move on to the presidency, the redesign of the center city was also litmus test for the mayor's office. Les Halles-Chatelet has remained a gambit for city hall ever since. In 2002 then mayor Bertrand Delanoë organized an international contest for the redesign of Les Halles. Famous architects like Jean Nouvel and Rem Koolhaas submitted proposals but a local team of architects won, with a proposal to open the underground mall area up to the central district of Paris.[102] For Léopold and Jennifer, the proposals missed the true strength of Les Halles.

LEOPOLD

I think the four propositions that had been selected were all anonymously bearing the signs of this sort of aesthetic of the shopping mall as we know it and not really seeing Les Halles for what it is which is this incredible node where all residents of Paris as understood as metropolitan area collide and meet so um I think the reason that was the result was opened a few months ago is very much the result of this sort of favor for the brands that wanted to open again at this location rather than the potential encounters of people.

JENNIFER

For my friends and I who lived in the banlieue, Châtelet in Paris, represented a way to get out of what we knew without going too far. So for our parents, it was the only place that was close enough so that we could go on our own and at the same time for us it was already good enough because it was Paris.

What drew me to Châtelet for a very long time was the very cosmopolitan aspect, not only in terms of where people came from of and what they looked like. It seemed to me like a place where anyone could meet. It's a platform to go from one place to another. So a lot of people, who might live in the Marais, who might live in Etienne Marcel or who live in the banlieue, might have to go through Châtelet to get somewhere else.

I like that very universal aspect. You could see a man in a suit leaving work, people hanging out who come from the 9-5, but also young Parisians going out for a drink. To me Châtelet is really that, and I think people only realized this recently with the

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101 TenHoor, "Architecture and Biopolitics at Les Halles."
102 Franck Beaumont, "L'architecture Du Forum Des Halles - Evous," accessed December 2, 2015, http://www.evous.fr/Le-Forum-des-Halles-architecture,1180748.html.

renovation, now that it's become more presentable but when I was younger I already saw this potential. You could go shopping, you could have a drink, you could go to the museum, and you'd have to go through there to get from one place to another.

VO: Ever since Les Halles Châtelet first opened as a commercial center there was always debate about who should be there. In the 70s and 80s teenagers from many different subcultures would hang out there skin heads, punks, goths as well as black and brown teens from the banlieue.[103] This along with suspected drug trafficking in the area led city hall to try and reshape Les Halles – Châtelet. As this new proposal finally nears the end of it's construction, is the utopian ideal for Les Halles Châtelet meant make the area more welcoming or remove unwanted to people?

FRANÇOISE

It was fantasy for Parisians to say things like "we don't go to Les Halles because it's a place where there's drug trafficking, it's a dangerous place." It's a place where there are people from the banlieue, little thugs and homeless people go there. It's kind of a [slum] in the heart of Paris. One of the priorities with the new renovations was to upgrade, to bring stores above ground so that the mall would emerge and to keep the area under surveillance. Also to make the stores a lot more chic in order to attract wealthier people. Safety is good for business. That's a very important aspect of the project in my opinion, of renovating les Halles.

In Les Halles. The border isn't horizontal, it's vertical, above and below. If I'm speaking as an architect that means the ground in the city is artificial. It's not longer real ground but the roof of the mall that's below and the border is really between the public transportation and Paris.

VO: Utopias carry in their plans inherent borders and inherent outcasts. As much as they wish to control the environment in the end the ultimate goal is to control residents in some way or another, whether that control is viewed as positive or not. They are designed in the hope they will encourage certain behaviors and dispel others. But as all the utopia to ever dream their way in to Paris have come to learn, in the end the people will out. Although the destruction of Les Halles may have deported one group of low-income people but a new class still took their place, claiming a space in the city for themselves. As in any city a huge part of making it your own and so making it a place of safety is claiming space. In the last episode of the series we will talk about how residents do just that, reshaping the city to their own wills.

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[103] Stephane Degoutin, "Trou Noir Urbain (Nostalgie Du Forum Des Halles)" (Propositions/spéculations, 2009), www.nogoland.com/wordpress/2009/11/trou-noir-urbain.

Episode 8 – Centres

[MUSIC]

VO: This is Here There Be Dragons. I'm your host Jess Myers.

[MUSIC]

For our final episode, we'll be picking up where the Utopia episode left off. How do residents take ownership of their cities? What are the safe havens and domestic spaces that residents make for themselves?

[MUSIC]

The residents that I spoke to are a mix of Parisian natives, transplants from other parts of France, and immigrants. They live in the 20 arrondissements of Paris proper and in the many banlieues surrounding the city. And many split their time on both sides of the periphérique. A question that I asked each of them was where their personal city center was, where was the heart of the city to them. And how did they come to feel that way? This episode we're exploring the many different Parises that exist for its residents. Some of them reached to the city's past for the answers, some reach into their own pasts, while still others saw the city's heart in Paris's future.

In this episode I'll also be responding to some listener questions about themes from past episodes and how we went about certain aspects of the show. Look for that at the of the episode

[MUSIC]

The urbanism of Paris and of France generally has a very strong sense of centrality. The 20 districts of the city spiral out like a snail shell from the two small islands floating in the river Seine, the Île de la Cité and the Ile Saint Louis. These islands were once all that Paris was. The famous Notre Dame Cathedral sits on the edge of the Ile de la Cité making it the center of the entire city. The point everything seems to revolve around. For many in Paris and in France this center holds strong symbolic significance, so much so that the highest honor for French citizens is to have their funeral mass at Notre Dame. Here's Adélie.

[MUSIC from the memorial mass]

ADELIE

Notre-Dame, nobody goes there. It's true that's a symbolic center, it's the center of a certain Paris, a Paris that's white and that has a Christian culture, even a catholic culture.

After the terror attacks, the first mass was at Notre-Dame. When there are important or painful events, people go to Notre-Dame. For example, after the Air France crash about 5 or 6 years ago, the memorial mass was at Notre-Dame. There was a priest, a rabbi, an imam, a pastor and readings from several religions. The memorial ceremony, the ceremony that represents the highest honor is at Notre Dame. It was Air France that organized the service out of respect for the victims, they organized it at Notre-Dame, not at the Sacré-Coeur. When a president dies, they have a mass at Notre-Dame. Symbolically, it remains really important. It's a political symbol, at least for a white, Christian part of the population.

VO: Due to its fame and grandeur Notre-Dame and the center city islands are almost exclusively the domain of tourists. As we heard in the last episode with Les Halles Châtelet, sometimes the center is exactly the place that people avoid or don't feel welcome. But for Alice this center took on another layer of significance because of a challenging year she spent there.

ALICE

[That] year that I spent in Paris was pretty weird because I spent a lot of time with people who do drugs. A lot.

I had to leave Paris because my first time here went so badly. I joined my mom in Guyane because I'd become a drug addict. It was right after high school, I was going to university. I never really went to classes but I walked around Paris a lot. We took acid and walked through the streets, we walked through Paris back and forth. I have a lot of memories from that, especially walking through a Paris that was incredible. A supernatural Paris, a gorgeous Paris. I had very few unpleasant encounters. Paris was always magical. I have amazing memories in Paris and that's why I love Paris. That year was both terrible and extremely important for me, in my love for this city.

It's pretty funny, there's a lot of things that happened in my life around St Michel, because my mother lives there, because I lived there during a pretty weird year. There's something extremely touristy, so Parisian. It's completely overrated and yet people live there. There's the Ile de la cité, with the courthouse, I have a buddy who's been through there a few times. A lot of things happened in that particular place. There's something symbolic in that place. It's true that as a Parisian you almost never go to places like that. It's not a place where I go or live. It's a place where I can understand how outsiders see Paris.

VO: Like Alice, Françoise is also a native of the city. She was born in Chatillon, a banlieue on the southwestern edge of the city and moved to the 14th arrondissment when she 18 and 40 years later that is still where she calls home. Like Alice, she loves Paris for the way she feels there, for the way she discovers it. For her the act of discovery is also an act of homecoming.

FRANÇOISE

What I like about Paris and what I think doesn't really exist anywhere else, is that there's a lot of spaces that are neither in the street nor at home. There are in-between spaces. Spaces that are semi-public. They're very complex, very rich, historically and I find that very exciting, there's a full spectrum of sensations between how exposed you are in public spaces like in the street and the intimacy of your home. I love it so much, all those passages, and small streets, all those courtyards. In Paris you push [open] a door, you [end up] below a house, you end up in a courtyard, in a passageway. The different neighborhoods are so beautiful and it creates such a feeling of intimacy. And when it's shared, it also means protection, and that also creates the feeling of security that you can have in Paris, to feel secure but adventurous at the same time.

~~Paris is my home. I often say that to my American students, or friends who come to visit. It's my own ecosystem, I'm comfortable in that city at any times, night and day, I like walking through it, I'm rediscovering it every day. I love this city, I feel good here, I know it well, I'm physically comfortable in this town, with my own body. In the metro, in the streets, along the Seine. I like getting lost in it, because obviously, you never completely get lost. I have a strong, and profound, emotional bond with this city, as a space, as a landscape, I really do feel at home. Maybe that's also because like most Parisians who aren't very wealthy, we have small apartments, so there are lots of things you do outside, you go and work in cafés. I live very close to two beautiful gardens: the Luxembourg gardens and the Montsouris park. I used to go and spend entire afternoons in the park, move along with the sun, and bring along an entire bag of books, like [I'm] in my own garden, it's like the entire city is my own apartment, It's my extended home.~~

VO: Shuck, who came to Paris from Point à Pitre on the French Caribbean island Guadeloupe, discovered the heart of city through its veins. He discovered a sense of belonging not on the streets but in the underground.

SHUCK

If I were to choose a place in particular, I'd say it's the blood vessels of the city, its arteries, the underground, these places that allowed me to follow an artistic trend, movement, current: the metro. Even today I like taking the metro because it gives me a chance to observe society, to be able to draw a caricature of it.

VO: For many of the residents that I spoke to their center had very little to do with places they still visit but places where they left formative memories. For Anthony and Nava, those memories are particularly strong from their years in university.

ANTHONY

[A center] is simply the places where I've spent the most time. When I was in college, in the 13th at Tolbiac. Whenever I'd get off the metro in that place, I feel a little nostalgic, I remember the walk to school. So many things happened there. There's also my

boyfriend's apartment in Montmartre, we've spent a lot of time in that area, we know all of the restaurants, all the bars. There's a real emotional past there.

NAVA

I never lived near the canal but I've always liked that place, its openness. It's the same thing with the Pont des Arts, near the Beaux-Arts, I think it has to do with how the water creates an open space. The water is very very important. It's full of life.

VO: Like most city dwellers, Jacqueline lived in apartments for most of her life before buying land in Bois-le-Rois the scenic river bound banlieue to the south of Paris. But at 94 she still lives in her Paris apartment for most of the year, meaning that for her Paris's parks and gardens are a crucial lifeline.

JACQUELINE

When I have time, I like to go to the Palais Royal and its gardens. I like walking below the archways, sitting there. I also often go to the Luxembourg gardens. I like taking the bus there. Walking on the Boulevard Saint-Germain. I like sitting at a terrace and having a drink there. I've remained very Parisian. There are neighborhoods in Paris that I really like. I like the banks of the river, the Tuileries, and the Vert-Galant garden but now that's a little far for me. Back in the day I used to love going there.

VO: For other residents I spoke to, the center wasn't about what existed but what could exist. Big infrastructure investments like the ones put forward in the Grand Paris plan, had the possibility to connect Paris and the banlieue, completely reshaping the city for residents on both sides of the périphérique. For Anne and Samia this means not only new connections between towns but also between people.

ANNE

I hope that the new transport networks that are being built around the outskirts of the Paris expressway will allow people to [explore] differently. It will allow the people who live in this area to have new mobility, new rights and in the same way they'll allow people who live more centrally to come and discover all the resources and wonders of these areas, which are quite astonishing.

SAMIA

There are many things going on here these days. There's a political merging that tries to bring together 25 towns so that it's more dynamic, culturally, economically, socially. They call it Plaine Commune. They're trying to make these towns viable. I keep up to date with what's going on in those cities, in the theatres, the concerts, debates about history, about the banlieues, about memory, because that's very important to me. There are really some very very interesting things that are open to the public.

Vo: Like Anne and Samia, Jacob believes in the opportunities that new infrastructure could bring to his neighborhood. For him it means diversity in a historically homogenous community.

JACOB

I really would like to see the you know the northern suburbs you know especially just beyond the 17th. I mean uh um in Seine Saint Denis you know I just think there's a tremendous potential there's urban fabric both residential and former um industrial space that ah you know that has a very high human density that has a lot of diversity and um certainly a lot going on and certainly with the new investments by the city and the grand Paris um this is one of the neighborhoods one of the areas of the city that will attract the most investment, the most attention and so you know it's also very close to the airport the major airport. I mean I think it's closer to being a new you know the new the center of the new Paris. Which you know maybe we're not talking about uh seeing it until 2050 but I still think there's a shift uh in uh you know demographics and even potential for architecture and new forms of living. It's um it's in this part of the metro regions.

[MUSIC]

There's one last account about ownership and the city I want you to hear. Just as we started with a church with Notre Dame, we're going to end with one too. Instead of being at the center of Paris, it's on the highest point in Paris. The Basilique du Sacré Coeur de Montmartre, or just the Sacré Coeur is in the very hilly neighborhood Montmartre in the 18th arrondissment right at the northern edge of the city. And like everything in Paris, it's a very complicated place. The Sacré Coeur is a votive church, designed in 1875 and completed in 1914. It was built as both a penance and a vow. The penance was for ceding Paris to Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870.[104] The vow was a promise from the bourgeois ruling class of Paris to never let a revolt like the Paris Commune of 1871 ever happen again. The Paris Commune of 1871 was a historic revolt where the working class citizens of Paris seized their city against the wealthy bourgeois ruling class for nearly two months[105]. It ended with the army of Versailles murdering and executing something between 6,000 and 20,000 Parisians in weeklong bloody tirade called the Semaine Sanglante. Essentially the Sacré Coeur is a monument justifying those murders. There is an ongoing debate about whether to tire it down and honor those who gave their lives during the Paris Commune.

But as we talked about last episode just because a project is built with a certain set of values doesn't mean those values are respected by the people who use it. In my interview with Steffi, she told me how people from the banlieue, banlieuesards, who are often discriminated against in the city center, use the stairs of the Sacré Coeur as a place to

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[104] Richard D. E Burton, *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[105] "Démolir Le Sacré-Cœur Ou Honorer Les Morts de La Commune ? - Libération," accessed May 5, 2017, http://www.liberation.fr/debats/2017/02/28/demolir-le-sacre-coeur-ou-honorer-les-morts-de-la-commune_1551465.

hang out. From this point in Montmartre you can see the whole city and in those moments their ownership of the city can't be denied or taken away. I'd like you to listen to Steffi's story in her words first and then the translation afterwards.

[MUSIC]

~~But Steffi, who grew up in a difficult Northern banlieue, already see this Paris and Paris that can belong to a diversity of people.~~

~~STEFFI~~

~~I like Paris at night. Going from the left bank to the right bank at night, crossing the Place de la Concorde by foot in the middle of the night. I've never felt as comfortable as when I'm walking through Paris and through those places. There was a time when I used to cross at the Bon Marché and I'd walk from the neighborhood around Montparnasse to the one around St-Lazare, I'd walk through the 7th, in front of the National Assembly, and these neighborhoods, after 11 at night, are really really empty. And that's nice because some other places are never empty. My neighborhood is never empty. In Barbès there are always people, no matter the time. So it's really nice to be alone in those places, it's like Paris belongs to you. So I'd say Place de la Concorde at night, Paris at night. I like Paris at night.~~

STEFFI

Le Sacré-Cœur, pas tant pour l'église parce que je suis pas très à l'aise autour des monuments religieux, dedans dehors je suis pas très à l'aise, mais les marches du Sacré-Cœur, c'est important pour moi. C'est un endroit important pour moi parce que… parce qu'on voit tout Paris de là. On voit tout Paris et pareil, je pense que ça ressemble vachement à ma manière d'apprécier Paris. C'est que j'y vais souvent. En fait le Sacré-Cœur, j'aime beaucoup cet endroit, le Sacré-Cœur parce que déjà c'est ouvert donc ça ferme jamais. Évidemment le, enfin le jardin ferme, mais les marches ne ferment pas, donc c'est toujours accessible, pendant la journée y a plein de touristes c'est insupportable et le soir y a des banlieusards. Y a des banlieusards qui viennent se caler là pendant trois heures, parfois ils s'embrouillent et parfois ils sont juste là dans leur voiture et ils font rien, ils sont juste là… et j'aime bien le Sacré-Cœur pour ça, parce que c'est un espèce de… c'est comme un espèce de choc de culture où tout d'un coup un endroit hyper hyper symbolique pour la ville de Paris et pour les touristes. Ce mélange d'un coup la nuit il appartient, il appartient un peu aux banlieusards et là je me retrouve.

The Sacré Coeur, not because of the church because I don't feel very comfortable around religious monuments, but the steps in front of the Sacré Coeur. They're really important for me. You can see all of Paris from there, and that's kind of how I like Paris. I often go there, I like [it] because it never closes. You can always go on the steps, they're always accessible. During the day it's unbearable there are so many tourists, but in the evenings you have people from the banlieue. Some come and hang out for hours, sometimes they get into fights, sometimes they're just in their cars and don't do anything, they're just

there. That's one of the reasons why I like the Sacré Coeur, there's like a culture shock and it's very symbolic of Paris. It's a mix and at night it kinda belongs to those people from the banlieue and I feel good there.

[MUSIC]

VO : Like Steffi, many of the residents I spoke to felt a sense of safety and belonging in the parts of the Parisian region that they had carved out a little bit of ownership. For Steffi it's the steps of the Sacre Coeur, where perched above the city and surrounded by other people from the banlieue, she feels the city belongs to her. For other's it's as small as their street corner, or their block, or a place where their contribution to the culture of the city is valorized.

[MUSIC]

For the entirety of the season we've discussed all the different signals in public space that can make a person feel vulnerable or unwelcome in the city but there also so many influences that allow residents to feel safe, and this safety doesn't necessarily have to come police or military intervention. You might remember that at the end of last few episodes, I asked for your questions and comments. One of the questions that we got was exactly on this question of safety is signaled in public space:

This is Anna calling in from Hong Kong. As another American abroad I'm really interested in false perceptions of safety by outsiders. Are there signals that as an American that you read as safe that French people do not and vice versa. And what're some ideas about safety that people with in Paris mistake when they cross over into neighborhoods they are unfamiliar with?

This is a great question but as an American I can't speak on behalf of the French experience, which is why *Here There Be Dragons* centers around residents' experiences. However, I can speak to some similarities that I came across in my interviews with residents and in my research. So, one big theme is police practices. Does visibility of the police and of the military signal to people that they are safe? So many of the residents that I spoke with said that visibility of soldiers doesn't make them feel safe, instead it makes them feel like something is always wrong. (and you can hear some of these statements in episode 1 on the terror attacks in Paris in 2015 and 2016).

Another conversation is whose safety do the police protect? There's that age-old saying that you shouldn't feel scared around the police if you haven't done something wrong. But it's just not that simple. As we discussed in pervious episodes in 2002 former minister of the interior Sarkozy took a policy from former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani's playbook and introduced zero tolerance style policing practices in Paris. This meant that police were making more frequent stops of people they suspected of low-level offenses. There are many excellent accounts of the fallout of these polices and also Paris's police having a history of harassing immigrant groups, especially North African Arabs. I definitely recommend, Didier Fassin's book, Enforcing Order: An Ethnography

of Urban Policing.[106] If you're interested in other books and media that we read for the show, definitely sign up for the newsletter.

One last thing I'd like to bring up in terms of signaling safety is something that Esther brings up in episode 3 on communitarianism is the hyper intellectualized rejection of the term "safe spaces." In this context when people say safe space they are often referring to a meme of college students attempting to advocate for spaces where marginalized groups feel safe.[107] The term has since taken on this boogieman status of meaning spaces where people don't want to be challenged about their ideas or students who feel entitled to censure and want to be babied.

I would like to point out that every space is a safe space to someone and historically a space is safest to those with the most power and the least amount of accountability of other people. So, as an example, corporate spaces where it's difficult to have reports of sexism or racism taken seriously create very safe spaces for racist and sexist acts, where those actions go unchallenged. It also effectively censures people who endure those acts, because they know that their jobs are on the line. The signals that make up a sense of safety are highly subjective. What I hope this podcast has been able to explain in that one person's safety can lead to incredible hostility for someone else, especially in highly diverse public spaces.

~~Another question Anna asked about episode 6, on borders, was:~~

~~In episode 6, when one lady is talking about being snobby and not wanting to go to the banlieues, she says, the tone of the translator makes her feel like this is another valid opinion in the conversation. Was that a decision? I'm trying to figure out how to position perspectives that are discriminatory in my own work and that bit stood out to me.~~

~~So, for the borders episode I wrote a lot of context about the banlieue and many residents give their different perspectives. I'm hoping that the episode itself will give people enough information about different banlieues to be able to question an opinion that stereotype the banlieue as all one thing or one type of person. When you hear these problematic points of view, in daily life or in your travels, you can say hey I've heard that before and now I have some tools to respond.~~

The last question is from Léopold, who I interviewed for this show. He also interviewed me for his podcast Archipelago. He ask me what I thought about safety and security rhetoric being used as a political tool to enable discriminatory policies to get more public support.:

To which degree do you think that this entire rhetoric of safety and the potential stigmatization of entire neighborhoods that it might create. And again, it's not in any way to deny a feeling obviously because those feelings are here but don't you feel that part of

[106] Didier Fassin, *Enforcing Order: An Enthography of Urban Policing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
[107] Alan Levinovitz, "How Trigger Warnings Silence Religious Students," *The Atlantic*, August 30, 2016, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/silencing-religious-students-on-campus/497951/.

this rhetoric is the type of speech that Judith Butler talks about, which is the speech that enacts itself while saying it. ~~And I have a personal example I'm bring back a little bit of personal but I've ben to Latin America only once and I went there with no codes whatsoever about what would be a neighborhood that's known as safe or a neighborhood that's not known as safe. So I would get this retrospective speech about oh you should not have gone there it's dangerous. And it's quite interesting that if you don't have all this rhetorical stigma about a neighborhood you might very well go there without to much prejudice about it. And things might happen, things might not happen. You might have a great time. You might feel a bit weird. But the fact that you went there without these rhetorical waves about safety all of a sudden it changes the way that you perceive your surroundings as well. I mean I'll come back to this first question. How much is it a speech that enacts itself?~~

Yeah, I think that that's true. ~~That security conversation can be very manipulative and set up an idea of just like. You know I take these interviews and I compare them to what the national security rhetoric conversation is in France right now, especially after the attacks. And~~ I think it is very manipulative but what it does is say that everyone has one kind of fear, everyone has one kind of sense of insecurity and we can only respond to that sense of insecurity in one way. ~~And that's like aggressive policing or like the gendarmerie is going to surround the Eiffel Tower or whatever. And I think that's actually completely ineffective in addressing the kinds of fears, just the everyday fears that people are saying that they have. I completely agree that in talking about security the response is like you know like in the states you have Black Lives Matter saying that police violence is wrong and is creating incredible insecurity and the response is always like well what about black on black crime, that's the question that we need to be answering. And it's just like black on black crime is this thing called crime and it's also your job to take care of.~~ But what I think is so interesting coming out of these conversations is the way that insecurity or safety and the way that people feel safe and don't feel safe have relatively little to do with what a police officer can take care of. I was talking to one woman who was saying how a new gendarmerie or a new police station opened close to her house. Like huge groups of men, armed men, standing around on the street where she lives. And she'll walk by in a short skirt and she'll see that the police officers standing on the sidewalk are checking her out. And it's just like how does that feel any different from like the teenage boys standing in front of the high school doing the same thing. It's like a woman being able to wear a short skirt and have it not be an issue is not something the police can really respond to. How can we- and think this just gets to the heart of hearing people speak, hearing people speak about their safety and bringing that to the forefront is saying, if we can just get an understanding of what's going through people's heads when they see us look at them in the street how can we as individuals make public space safer for each other by being just a little less horrible to each other because we have a better understanding of what people are going through. ~~Someone who I was talking to, she's a woman, she dates women, and she said sometimes when I take my girlfriend's hand there's all of this commentary, all of these people thinking they can approach us in this way and that's not fair. It's not like a police officer will make it more fair. It's not like a gun will make it more fair. It's having someone speak up and say it's not a big deal for me to hold my girlfriend's hand, why would you approach me in the street? And having that story out there saying that you are~~

~~closing off a public space to somebody by trying to impose on them an idea of how they should behave or what they should do or where they belong. That's on individuals to start thinking about how we impose ourselves on others in public space and how we can make public space more welcoming for each other in a way.~~

[MUSIC]

So that was an interview I did with Léopold in the middle of my field research and many months before I started editing the podcast. You can hear the entire interview on the Funambulist's podcast Archipelago, it came out about three months ago. Something I would like to emphasize is that security rhetoric is very manipulative and it's also a driving force in much of our global politics right now, often at the cost at all else. This is what I was thinking about when I heard about the shooting on the Champs Élysées, where a shooter, a 39-year-old French citizen, murdered a police officer and wounded two others.[108] It seems that the hyper nationalist anti-immigrant political party the Front National stands to benefit from this tragedy, despite the fact that no immigrant was committing a crime. It seems that nationalist anti-immigrant parties across the west benefit anytime these tragedies occur. And yet when we turn to hateful rhetoric to protect us, when we turn to our largest bombs, to our highest walls, to our strictest travel bans, they never do seem to protect us in the ways that we had hoped. Perhaps that's because the people that they put in power were never truly interested in our safety in the first place, perhaps also because true safety has very little to do with discrimination and isolation.

I don't have all the answers of how we can begin to take each other's individual sense of safety in consideration. I will continue to post writings and clips on the htbdpodcast website so look out for them there. If you have questions or comments please continue to send them in to htbdpodcast@gmail.com. This is only the beginning of a discussion that I hope this series has been able to inspire. And I hope the conversation can continue long after this episode ends.

[MUSIC]

Thanks for listening this has been the second season of Here There Be Dragons. But not only is it the second season of this podcast, it is also my master's thesis for my degree in city planning. Each one of your comments, your questions and contributions have become a part of my research and my thesis committee and I thank you for that. I'd also like to thank my sponsors at MIT Council for the Arts who made this season possible, my wonderful producer Adélie Pozjman-Pontay, my thesis advisor Anne Spirn, my second reader Renée Green, everyone who agreed to be interviewed for this show: to Adélie, Alexandre, Alice, Alison, Anne, Anthony, Aurélie, Bernard, Dania, Eric, Dannii, Esther, Evelyne, Frank, Franck, Françoise, Hervé, Isabelle, Jacob, Jacqueline, Jean-Claude, Jennifer, Léopold, Mawena, Mehdi, Nava, Océane, Samia, ShuckOne, Steffi, and

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[108] "Fusillade Sur Les Champs-Elysées : Retrouvez Le Déroulé de La Soirée," accessed May 5, 2017, http://www.lemonde.fr/police-justice/live/2017/04/20/fusillade-sur-les-champs-elysees-a-paris-un-policier-tue-un-assaillant-abattu_5114537_1653578.html.

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