Urban segregation

clichy-sous-bois | paris

kathrin riemenschnitter

m. arch I

thesis submitted to the faculty of the virginia polytechnic institute and state university in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

master of architecture

chair prof. hans rott
committee member prof. donna dunay
committee member prof. heinrich schnoedt

april 29th 2008 blacksburg campus | virginia
This thesis investigates, whether or not, and to what degree architecture effects the urban and social segregation of suburbs which are built primarily to house industrial labor in times of economic growth. The city of Clichy-sous-Bois, which became well known because of its riots in 2005 was the particular focus of this study. The work informs the reader about the historical background of Clichy and its dedicated French metropolis Paris. It gives back-ground information about the riots of 2005 and today's situation of the Banlieue. Then, the thesis follows some general examples about the "Haussmannisation" of Paris and gives examples about the "Haussmannization" of Paris and gives a short insight in the statistical coherences of crime and urbanism. After that, it takes a quick look at special housing examples. It concludes with a summary and a possible proposal to improve the conditions in Clichy-sous-Bois.
introduction

why is someone writing a thesis about urban segregation? and why would one choose the city of clichy-sous-bois?

the first time I heard about clichy was because of the riots in 2005. I read a lot of articles about those riots and their circumstances. in particular the questions of liability for the actions in the banlieue came up. In most of the literature the role of architecture was discussed along with the lack of social programs and missed opportunities for integration. the main question emerged: is architecture to blame for the situation? and what can architecture do to improve the quality of life in clichy? clichy represents only one of many suburbs worldwide that was built to house industrial labor and experienced economic and social decline after the industry closed and moved away. to understand the circumstances of the situation, I analysed the history of clichy and searched for background information for the riots. I dealt with the “hausmannisation” of paris to understand the historic development of the banlieues around paris and picked up something about the possible connection between crime and problems of urbanism. then I analysed some comparable examples, which were built around the same time. I informed myself about the prefabricated houses in the former german democratic republic (gdr) and the schöpfwerk in vienna, austria. in addition, I extended my view on the traditional and still successful social housing in vienna. at the end of my thesis I make a proposal, how architecture could improve the living-quality in clichy.

all information used, I received from books and through internet research. all sources are listed in the bibliography at the end of the book.
definitions

urban

“a degree of density and mass of development, also a certain complexity of social and physical systems”

urbane

“attribute referring to an elevated standard (and adhesion to) of quality”

banlieue

direct translated banlieue means inviolable precincts and is the french word for suburb. in a historical sense it implies the trade zone, directly around the middle age city, where it was forbidden for foreign tradesman to offer their products. after the french revolution and especially with the “haussmannisation”, the upper class banished the lower class in the banlieues, in order to gain better control. after the revolution, especially in paris, the proletariat caused many street fights in the city center since the 1970’s, banlieue has become a derogatory term, implying slum conditions, for the quarters around the center of french big cities. today it stands for regions with many immigrants and social housing. banlieue epitomizes a high rate of unemployment, criminality and drug distributions.

integration

migrant

“is a person following employment opportunities or other attractors which are tied to a particular location or are seasonally determined, such as agricultural harvesting, fishing or industrial processes which follow global production patterns.”

segregation

“when people of different classes, races, sexes, or religions are kept apart so that they live, work or study seperately”

social segregation

“can be political, economic and based on certain group preferences, such as sexual preferences, eating habits and status within corporate or public social structures”

urban
clichy sous bois
clichy started as a little village next to the forêt de bondy and initially was a desirable place to live.

at the beginning, clichy was intended to be a village for better situated parisiens but with the industrial boom in the 60’s and 70’s of the 20th century, the french economy grew fast and heavy industry was located next to clichy.

because of the need of many new homes for the industrial workers and forced by a lack of time for preparation, prefabricated residential building blocks were installed. unfortunately after a relatively short time, like in a lot of other cities, the big industrial boom was followed by a slowing economy.

a lot of industrial sites needed to be closed or were moved to other locations. because of the changing work situation, lots of workers moved with the companies out of clichy, too.

only the least mobile poor remained and still form the population base of the village. this started a trend towards deterioration of any economic base still present. failing to be able to raise rents the underfunded housing stock soon followed the decline and is in deplorable condition today.

at present clichy-sous-bois is one of the poorest suburbs of the capital city paris. clichy is well-known for its high rate of unemployment and diversity. a large part of the population are emigrants, refugees or people with migration-background. the main part of inhabitants are coming from an islamic background and the old french colonies in africa.
riots

the majority of young people in clichy-sous-bois belong to the third generation of citizens of the town. all of them are french citizens and speak french fluently, nevertheless they are not accepted by french society but rather discriminated against. in school they get taught civil rights and outside at the gate of the school are posted the three keywords of the french revolution:

liberté, égalité, fraternité!

but the young people of clichy are not benefiting by any of it. they are living in their own isolated world and spend their time with street brawls and small-time criminal acts. they do not feel respected and noticed. nobody is interested in their lives. only when they started burning cars and apartments, and with that destroying french status symbols, they got the public’s attention.

the current president and then interior minister, nicolas sarkozy, titled them scalawags, dirt and sleaze and fed with this reaction the local anger and outrage causing an already incendiary situation to escalate. the clichy situation was used by imitators as a model for similar unrest in other parts of the country resulting in property damage. some of this took place out of sympathy for the tragically killed adolescents, but most just to get attention.

since then clichy and its politicians are more than ever interested in solving the grievances in the city and started some major urban projects, which should be finished by 2010.
after the riots in clichy the government and various social organisations tried to help the situation of the inhabitants with many different social and economic projects. they are trying to improve the living conditions in clichy.

clichy’s economic base was severely diminished; in the 1980's, Clichy and the neighboring suburb of Montfermeil joined in order to gain more economic support, thus hoping to improve the deplorably low standard of living and their miserably bad housing stock. its main issues are to improve the infrastructure, living conditions and to support youth projects. especially families with migration background should receive aid.

the politicians planned in the grand projet de ville to connect clichy with the metropolis paris, to demolish and reconstruct the run down buildings, establish socially mixed quarters and to develop or redevelop public spaces and services. because clichy itself can only provide 40 percent of the needed capital, it gets other public support. the funds are subdivided in diverse parts, 80% is going in apartments/living, 9% in urban structures, 7% public institutions/services and 4% for the payment of the hired engineers. the now started project pru (projet de rénovation urbaine) stands around 480 million euro.

its key elements are the demolition of 1398 and the reconstruction of 2000 apartments, the renovation of 129 social apartments. moreover three malls should be torn down and replaced by two new ones.

then they are going to reconstruct and build streets and public spaces. the whole project follows the idea of a very rural space plan with a lot of green spaces.

after the riots in 2006 some artists started a small social project in remembrance of the two killed youth in 2005. they made pictures of the citizen of clichy and presented them in an exhibition. this project had the goal of uniting the people of clichy and to help them to identify with their city.
paris of today is the result of a major renovation process in the 19th century. this process was carried out with a certain brutality and, at the same time, this was commensurate with its importance.

the historic organical grown paris developed itself more and more to a dirty rundown, place and breeding ground for epidemics. the lower class was particularly affected.

for a long time, the government of paris was only interested in the extension of the city borders and not in the restorations of the city center. this facilitated a segregation of the diverse social classes. the rich and the poor separated into different quarters. the poor lived in the narrow, dirty city center and the better situated people moved out to the healthier, cleaner border of the town.

at this time, paris did not have any working sewage or traffic system that would make it able to serve the overly dense increasing demands of the overloaded population. very early on, various artists called attention to these issues, but it took a while until the government reacted because its members on the whole lived segregated in the periphery of the city.

napoleon III found a good counsellor in the prefect georges-eugène haussmann. both envisioned an urban plan that forms the appearance of the city today.

they planned the renovation of the city center and the surrounding districts. after several street battles and increasing barricade fights, the governing heads of paris became aware of the need to change the situation.

this reorganization involved broadening and straightening of streets and their connection through sight-axis (boulevards). napoleon III and haussmann made regulations for a uniform facade design as well. after long discussions of the reconstruction theme it was finally decided to act on it and this radical urban vision was realized. by cutting rigorously through the old urban mass the city was given a chance to „breathe“ again.

but every pro is followed by a con. driven by this plan, a major part of the historic cityscape was destroyed and the poor population was now strategically displaced to the banlieues. still affected by the revolution, the government thought they would gain better control over the rebellious working class outside of the city center. in fact, the rich moved to the city and the poor population was banished to the deficient, connected banlieues.
crime and urbanism

In cities the density accompanying urbanism is not alone the reason for crime. Social, economic, and moral circumstances primarily promote and determine crime.

Crime is caused by demographic, economic, and social factors. The effect of urban planning and architecture is debatable, but they have, at least, an effect on crime.

Sociology differentiates between various kinds of fear of crime. On the one hand, there is the victimization perspective, where an individual fears that direct implications of crime and violence designate him or her as a victim. Furthermore, there is the social-control perspective, which happens at the micro-level, where the person feels uncomfortable because of "social disorder". This is shown in "ruinous buildings, paroles on walls and loitering adolescents and drug-junkies".  

Another variable is the social-problem perspective, which exists at the macro-level where the person's fear is affected by media.

Even if the direct connection between crime and architecture is difficult to establish, there is indication that public spaces exist which promote such notions of fear. A more informed planning and design approach could potentially redirect toward a positive perception.
in a study of the city of Basel (Switzerland) from 1995, men and women were asked which areas in a city they avoid and circumvent because of fear.

The most named situations were subways, parking garages, streets, parks, forests and certain quarters of the city. These areas were avoided during day and night time.

In reality these locations are the ones with the smallest acts of violence.

But more vital locations like bars and restaurants, which suggest a higher degree of safety, are the areas with the highest crime rates. Especially during nighttime, people prefer spacious streets to narrow alleys.

Statistics and studies show that areas with the most city-functions and biggest mass of people carry the highest density of crime.

Interestingly, most of the criminals do not live in these locations. The delinquents have, in the most cases, no or a lacking social and spacial connection. They live often in very cramped and isolated conditions, carrying with them a high level socialization defect and a multi-faceted conflict.

Many are coming from a low socio-economic environment and constitute fringe group minorities. In a lot of cases the percentage of youth are very high. They are living crowded, in overfilled apartments and there is only minimal informal social and formal control.
eisenach-nord
east-germany
(past german democratic republic)
prefabricated residential housing
east germany

the uniform residential housing blocks have been built because of the lack of apartments as a result of the world war II.

today they are the social boiling point in eastern germany. unlike in earlier times, the prefabricated building blocks now act as a collection point of immigrants, asylum-seekers, welfare-recipients, as well as an incubator of racism and crime.

the dream for many german democratic republic citizens regarding the urban micro-cosmos with its own infrastructure was displaced into the satellite-city. the solidary social-mixed house community succeeded in an ethnically and socially uniform area.

what was happened? after the fall of the wall in november 9th 1989 and the german reunification, the fake local economy plummeted. many industries closed and a lot of people in the eastern part of germany lost their jobs.

in the following ten years, around 2 million people left the housing blocks. on one hand, people wanted to satisfy their vision of the new western dream to own their own house. on the other hand, they were satisfied to find a better-paid job in the west.

the poorest individuals remained in the empty apartments. out of approximately 3 million apartments, distributed in 15 big residential areas with 225,700 buildings, about 300,000 apartments remained empty.

in response to this situation the government and the different cities tried to counteract the structural and social breakdown with renovations, reconstructions, or demolitions. many reconstructed buildings, like the residential blocks for the expo 2000 in leinefelde, which were very appealing to new customers.
social housing vienna

the social housing in vienna maintains a long tradition since the early 20's when the first building of this style was built. in its basic conception, the social housing was designed to upgrade the living circumstances of immigrants.

in order to address the threat of cumulative health problems, a big focus was put on direct air ventilation and natural illumination of the apartments. every apartment received an individual view to the street or backyard, in addition to the direct access to daylight. both types of apartments are similar, including their own balcony or loggia, while all apartments feature their own sanitary facilities. most of the social housing units have additional bath and laundry facilities, child and daycare centers, and shops.

the city of vienna quickly became aware of the fact that the quality had to be more important than quantity, especially in social buildings. all buildings are not only very detailed in their space plan and functions, but also in the design of their facades. the various buildings possess countless unique qualities with the additions of decorative elements such as little oriel, special colored stucco, sculptures, statues, decorative fountains, mosaics, and wall and ceiling paintings.

there is a large spectrum of motifs. many of them strongly symbolizing social progress.
the residential area at the schöpfwerk in the 12th municipal district of Vienna, was built in the 80’s of the 20th century. According to the census in December of 2006, 7,675 migrants from circa 20 different nationalities were living in the buildings. The average age was between 30-35 years.

The schöpfwerk was distinguished by its good socio-political environment. Onsite, specially trained social workers helped the inhabitants to orientate and integrate into their new surroundings. To integrate the migrants, also beyond the borders of the residential area, the influence area of the social workers contained the neighbouring regions, as well.

Very important and characteristic for the mode of operation is the relationship between the social worker and individual inhabitant. Helper and resident respected each other as equals and kept in contact with one another in a continuous dialog. The inhabitants were not guided in a dominating fashion in their decisions. They were empowered by the social workers to solve upcoming social, economic and moral problems by themselves. The workers understood their position as “provocateur of the luck to be autonomous” and saw each other in the position of a confidant, neutral troubleshooter and a kind of conflict arbitrator. They tried to familiarize their protégé with “economic, spatial, structural, ecological, judicial and cultural aspects of urban life.”

Until now, this strategy has worked out very well and is very much accepted and appreciated by the people of the schöpfwerk. The only potential of conflicts is the building condition because of the lack of acoustical privacy.
in my research, I found several similarities between the different areas of clichy-sous-bois, the prefabricated housing in the past gdr (german democratic republic), and the schöpfwerk in vienna.

every area has a significant proportion of the social lower class. the stratum involves poor or citizens living in precarious conditions, immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers. the unemployment rate is in all cases very high as well.

all researched areas, which were built between the big industrial booms of the 1960’s until the early 80’s, underwent or are still undergoing social and economic segregation. considering the architecture in each of those fields, all areas speak in uniform architectural language. In all regions, the prefabricated buildings define the urban appearance.

during the time of the industrial boom, the prefabricated buildings did a great job to increase the shortage of housing for the industrial workers. for that time period, the newest and most cost efficient technology was used, while a very fast construction time was maintained.

during the time of the industrial boom, the prefabricated buildings did a great job to increase the shortage of housing for the industrial workers. for that time period, the newest and most cost efficient technology was used, while a very fast construction time was maintained.

the gdr-buildings have been especially popular because they promised an upgrade of the living standards at that time. many of the residents enjoyed the feeling of new luxury with their very own sanitary arrangements. in the 1980’s and 1990’s the industry shrunk. as a matter of fact, a big part of the workers left the residential building blocks. they moved with their work to new locations. several apartments stayed empty. no new residents wanted to move in. the owners of the apartment buildings missed rental income and therefore did not renovate the buildings. the apartments lost their value and the rent sank. the buildings deteriorated. the employed inhabitants moved out and the poor people moved in, most of which were welfare recipients.

today these regions mark the biggest problem zones in the cities. they are the retention basins for disadvantaged groups. it is in these areas that the fight with social brutalization began. with the disappearance of the industry and work, the identification with themselves and the region disappeared. only those
remained who had no hopeful outlook towards the future or any opportunities for tangible improvement.

this situation primarily reveals that architecture alone cannot solve existing social, economic, and moral problems. Architecture and urban planning and design can only furnish supporting environments for positive and progressive social and individual circumstances. Architecture can only provide room for life, but it cannot be the sole remedy for existing socio-political problems.

in all areas, the government or other socio-political organizations started more or less successful social and architectural projects.

in clichy, there are a lot of urban, social, and economic project operating in parallel. the big goal is the improvement of the infrastructure and living standards in the suburb areas are being reconstructed and reorganized where possible and destroyed and rebuilt where necessary.

the schöpfwerk in vienna is the most successful and long-lasting program so far. in the area with the biggest variance of nationalities, a group of social workers engaged positively. they gave integrative help to the inhabitants and their neighborhoods.

in the example of eisenach-nord, the government and the town started to make the city more attractive again. they began initiating a lot of architectural and urban redevelopment projects. they were driven by the facts that this area, had the highest vacancy, as well as the highest rate of building demolition compared to the other two examples.

based on the examples of cooperative social housing in Vienna and studies relating crime and urban sociology, one may get a preliminary impression in which areas architecture and urbanism might positively effect the quality of life in the various urban quarters.

contrary to the prefabricated houses of the gdr, the social housing in vienna gives more priority to the quality of each building. all houses are more of an elaborate architecture, rather than the fast built living blocks presented in the other examples. to each and every social building is attached a special decorative element. nowadays social housing in vienna is very established. more than ever, it stands for innovation in residential housing and is of interest to several well known architecture offices (coop-himmelblau, delugan&meisel). the existing apartments are very popular in every social class.

a cursory examination of le corbusier’s “unité d'habitation” hints that the numeric density of a high- or mid-rise alone may not necessarily lead to social segregation. from an architec-
tural point of view, it is perhaps the repetitive production and assembly of bland and unconsidered units that are missing the esprit and cleverness of the unité and the viennese social buildings.

nevertheless, the high rise in clichy lack space. they lack a sense of inner spaciousnes for self-development of their residents and they miss transitional space between public and private areas. at the moment, the apartments are too small for the needs of their residents. room for existential things are not present such as working, learning, playing or simply storage space. even important transitional areas are missed, where people meet and communicate on areas such as balconies, loggias or terraces. in the form of usable rooftops (corbusier) or additional semi-public room on one of the floors in the building (niemeyer).

an opposite example are the buildings of le corbusier and niemeyer. they provide the community with semi-public space in the form of usable rooftops (corbusier) or additional semi-public room on one of the floors in the building (niemeyer).

the public recreational areas, like parks, green spots and forests, of clichy, are also very undefined. parking spaces and garages are very unorganized, in a sense of openness and clarity. the whole area of clichy seems very unclear and unstructured and desires a homogenous organization. clichy requires more than an upgrade of the building substance. it needs a whole redesign, reorganization and a new definition of public, transitional and private areas.

the apartments need to be adopted to the new needs of their inhabitants. this means an increase of the apartment size and a decrease of the number of units per building, which also includes a whole reorganization.

the entrances need a new definition and have to be more recognizable. the addition of loggias and balconies give the residents an additional open-private space. the unused rooftop could be transformed into a semi-public community area. Also, the remaining free space needs a new definition and could be used as additional little allotments, like “schrebergarten”.

my proposal of steps to improve the existing building substance and its direct surrounding

steps

step one

removing of the façade
to light up the apartments with more
natural light

in this case
displacing the small windows with a
whole transparent façade

step two

making the first floor more transparent and clear
& giving it a new function

in this case
removing parts of the existing wall
and give it the function of a half-open parking garage
step three

lighting up the main traffic space

in this case
removing some of the floor levels outside the traffic core and redefine some of the floors as loggias and balconies

step four

increasing the living volume and decreasing the quantity of apartments

in this case
adding extending cubes and rearrange the organization of apartments

step five +six

revitalizing and reusing the rooftop and thereby creating an additional community space

in this case
using the roof as secondary garden for all inhabitants of the house through adding little cubical gardens. it is a place where people can relax or meet and has also a socializing function for the tenants
step seven
upgrading the direct surroundings of the building and light up the first floor
in this case
installing of water basins to get reflection and additional light in the first floor

step eight
celebration of the entrance
in this case
the ramp acts a big entrance gesture and is symbolic of a tongue that captures the inhabitants in the

step nine
upgrading and organizing the surroundings of the building, creating an outdoor, public and semi-public space
in this case
building a public space and a kind of plaza in the front and creating a private-public garden space next to the building. Both spaces are functioning as community spaces, where people can meet. Every apartment of the house has its own garden-parcel(s) and can be used independently by their owners
my proposal is a multi-family house with a variable cube system. 
the entrance and main serving space is in the center of the building. the private traffic space is always on the inside of every cube, which widens the spectrum of apartment possibilities. one cube has the size of approximately 45 sqm. the added outside extension has around 20 sqm. 
the inside of the cubes is variable. there are also many possibilities to add to the cubes. the cubes can be arranged horizontally and vertically. 
the house should be a home for all people from all social classes and backgrounds.
schemata different building types

south-north

proposal

east-west

old

old
60 61

literature

definition

hand out by prof. hans c. rott;

wikipedia:

history of clichy

wikipedia:
unruhen in frankreich 2005,

unrast-verlag.de
bernhard schmid, zu den unruhen in den französischen banlieues
—hintergründe und auswirkungen—, 11.11.2005,
http://www.unrast-verlag.de/unrast,3,0,246. html, 2.13.2008;

ostblog.de
emmanuelle piroit and kamil majchrzak, frankreich— eine art selbst
verstümmelung, linked in the internet from michal stachura/perma
link, 4.20.2006, 9.39pm,
http://www.ostblog.de/2006/04/frankreich_eine_art_selfstvers.php,
2.14.2008;
interview of emmanuelle piroit and kamil majchrzak, translated from
bernhard schmid, unruhen in frankreich: der universalismus ist das
problem, linked in the internet from michal stachura/permalink,
7.05.2006, 1.55 pm,
http://www.ostblog.de/2006/07/der_universalismus_ist_das_pro.php,
2.14.2008;

riots in clichy

wikipedia:
unruhen in frankreich 2005,

jungle-world.com
bernhard schmid, von wegen alles anders, jungle world nr.44,
11.2.2006,
bernhard schmid, frankreich im herbst, jungle world 44,11.1.2006,
bernhard schmid, kommentierte brände, jungle world nr. 44,
11.2.2006,
andreas merx, die sprache der gewalt, november 2005,
http://www.migration-boell.de/web/integration/47_365.asp,
2.15.2008;

zeit.de
michael mönninger,
aufstand in paris, 3.10.2005,
„geld ist nichts, respekt ist alles“, 11.7.2005,
nachbeben, 12.08.2005,
paris braucht jetzt politik, 11.07.2005,
http://www.zeit.de/online/2005/45/paris_mm_711, 11.20.2007;
tahar ben jelloun,
verbrannte erde, 11.10.2005,

frank drieschner und martin klingst,
raus aus dem ghetto, 11.10.2005,

feuerschein der gewalt, copyright dpa, 11.06. 2005,
ausnahmezustand in frankreich, copyright dpa, 11.08.2005,
http://www.zeit.de/online/2005/45/paris_12te_nacht,11.20.2007;

author's note:
unless otherwise noted, the images herein are
the original work of the author. all images re-
produced herein from sources other than the
author are used in accordance with the fair
use clause. use of any and all images or quo-
tations is strictly for educational and non-profit
purposes.
reproduction is strictly prohibited.
riots in clichy

wikipedia;

unrast-verlag.de;

ostblog.de.

situation and upgrading measures

clichy-sous-bois.fr:

http://www.clichy-sous-bois.fr,
renovation urbaine,
http://www.clichy-sous-bois.fr/jsp/site/Portal.jsp?page_id=5,
projet de renovation urbaine,
les grandes orientations du projet,
http://www.clichy-sous-bois.fr/jsp/site/Portal.jsp?page_id=84,
3.25.2008;

jungle-world.com;

unrast-verlag.de;

ostblog.de;

zeit.de.

haussmann napoleon III paris

g. braziller, haussmann, paris transformed, saalman howard, new york, usa, 1971;

haussmann's renovation of paris,

crime and urbanism

2) noah bubenhofer, www.bubenhofer.com. publikationen, städtebau und kriminalität,

prefabricated buildings eastern germany

leben im plattenbau, zur dynamik sozialer ausgrenzung, carsten keller, campus-verlag gmbh, frankfurt/main, germany, 2005;

plattenbau,

plattenbau,

social housing vienna austria

kunst und kunstgewerbe in den neubauten der stad wien, josef bittner, verlag gerlach & wiedling, vienna, austria, 1930;

neubauten der stad wien, josef bittner, verlag gerlach & wiedling, vienna, austria, 1930.

schöpfwerk vienna austria

3) renate schnee, sabine haslinger, stefan hauk: http://www.bassena.at/content/site/stadtteilzentrumbassena/wiewirarbeiten/index.html, 1.05.2008;

4) renate schnee, sabine haslinger, stefan hauk: http://www.bassena.at/content/site/stadtteilzentrumbassena/gemeinwesenarbeit/index.html, 1.05.2008;

bassena, stadtteilzentrum am schöpfwerk, http://www.bassena.at/, 1.05.2008;

renate schnee & christoph stoik.

summary

interbau berlin 1957, internationale baumaustellung berlin gmbh,
berlin-charlottenburg, germany, 1957;

and all previous quotes.

author's note:

unless otherwise noted, the images herein are
the original work of the author. all images re-
produced herein from sources other than the
author are used in accordance with the fair
use clause. use of any and all images or quo-
tations is strictly for educational and non-profit
purposes.

reproduction is strictly prohibited.
images

introduction

definition

history of clichy

riots in clichy

situation and upgrading measures

haussmann napoleon III paris

crime and urbanism

prefabricated buildings eastern germany

social housing vienna austria

schöpfwerk vienna austria

summary

author’s note:
unless otherwise noted, the images herein are the original work of the author. all images reproduced herein from sources other than the author are used in accordance with the fair use clause. use of any and all images or quotations is strictly for educational and non-profit purposes.
reproduction is strictly prohibited.