Are large-scale regeneration plans favouring the replacement of poor by rich in Paris?

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Introduction
The city of Paris is confronted with the leaving of working classes and the influx of upper and upper-middle classes. There have been numerous publications evidencing and alerting on the phenomenon in the last years. Some of them follow an ethnographic approach close to the first works on gentrification (Simon, 2005; Bidou-Zachariasen and Poltorak, 2008; Clerval, 2008a; Collet, 2008) while others analyse the macro-process and role plays by urban policies (Bacqué and Fijalkow, 2006; Prêteceille, 2007; Clerval 2008b; 2010). Few of them have studied the function of the large-scale regeneration plans in this process. This paper tries to understand if the multifaceted developments favour or limit replacements in the core of Paris metropolis: on the one hand, regeneration plans are considered by the local government as an opportunity to limit the replacement phenomenon and implement social mix; on the other hand, Neil Smith as well as other critical scholars argued that they mask, fuel and generalize gentrification in European cities (Smith, 2002; Moulaert et al., 2003; Lees, 2008). The first part of the paper attempts to delineate the main arguments of these opposite points of view. In order to confront these standpoints to a concrete case study, the second part is devoted to analysing the design and the components of the Clichy Batignolles large-scale development and confront it to three different scales: the whole city, the district (arrondissement) and the neighbourhood where it takes place. The project’s ‘boundary’ situation – located on the Parisian historical limit between western bourgeois and north-eastern working class neighbourhoods – represents a suitable case study to discuss our question.

Replacement, social mix and large-scale regeneration plans in Paris

Embourgeoisement or gentrification
The replacement phenomenon in the core of European large cities is a phenomenon linked to globalization that follows different trends and forms depending on internal social trends, urban policies, institutional contexts or welfare regimes (Hamnett, 2003; Kazepov, 2005). Inner Paris – centre of a twelve million inhabitants metropolis – is by no way an exception (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot, 2004). Upper and upper-middle classes have increased sharply in the city during the three past decades, conversely working classes have deeply diminished. Between 1982 and 1998, the people who pertain of upper and upper-middle

Per contrastare il fenomeno del subentro delle classe medie e superiori sui ceti popolari, il comune di Parigi conduce una politica urbana basata sul principio del mix sociale. Oggi, la realizzazione di social housing nei grandi progetti di trasformazione urbana è percepita come l’occasione migliore per implementare questo principio, anche a costo di alterare sostanzialmente le strutture abitative e il contesto urbano esistenti. Allo scopo di discutere il ruolo di questi progetti nel trasferimento o nella permanenza dei ceti popolari a Parigi, quest’articolo mette a confronto il progetto di Clichy Batignolles, riqualificazione urbana basata sul principio del mix sociale, con le condizioni del quartiere popolare in cui il progetto si inserisce. L’obiettivo di questo confronto è quello di esaminare lo sviluppo urbano nei suoi esiti, non previsti dal comune parigino, sul contesto, in termini di cambiamento sociale.

Parole chiave: sviluppo urbano; mix sociale; Parigi