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“Afro-Arab Migration in Europe:
Urban Design as a Resolution to France’s ‘Crisis in the Suburbs’”

In the twentieth century, the world has become a mixture of thoughts, experiences, cultures, identities, and issues. With the aid of technology and communication, this mixture has continued to grow and will continue as we begin the twenty-first century. As people move around the world, the cultures, identities, and experiences they have, follow. The migration of these people to different regions creates many problems as people face the fact that this world is becoming one giant place. The questions that are raised from such a reality are: What regions are being most impacted by the migration of populations around the world? How are specific countries handling the reality of a political, economic, and social transition that may not be in their control? And lastly, what can be a reasonable and desirable resolution to this change that we are seeing in the world?

I. Circumstances of Afro-Arab Migration to Europe

A major event of the second half of the twentieth century in Europe was the economic re-stabilization and improved quality of life for its citizens. The need for this was caused by events, such as the World Wars, that caused Europe to plummet economically, politically, and socially. The implications of this re-stabilization resounded across the world, as Europe became a major economic and political player once again. One of these implications is a motivation for people in other parts of the world to want to benefit from this economic and political safe haven. Specifically from the northern and western regions of Africa, people started to migrate to Europe

as early as the 1960's. (El-Khawas 37) Afro-Arab migration into Europe is bringing about issues, primarily of prejudice and racism, because of the economic consequences, the increase in migratory people amongst whole populations, and questions over global and state citizenship for these populations.

Afro-Arab migration brings about many consequences amongst its European host. A major consequence is migration's effect on the economies of the countries receiving an influx of people able to work. Not only does migration affect the economy of the host country, it can also have implications for the country that provides the immigrants, which can be more detrimental to their economy than to those in Europe. Mohamed El-Khawas, a professor of history and political science at the University of the District of Columbia, discusses in a recent article how emigration from Africa is creating a crisis. The crisis is of a lack of trained professionals to contribute to Africa's economy. (38) The impact of migration from Africa is not only causing problems in the countries to which they flock, but they are creating states of 'crisis' in their home countries. These economic implications brought about by African immigration are caused by the African desire for greater employment opportunities in Europe and the high risk of economic instability on most of their continent.

The economic growth and re-stabilization of Europe after World War II has prompted the improvement of employment opportunities, which provided incentives for people to move to Europe. Lauren M. McLaren, professor of politics and international relations at Oxford University, described how economic growth characterized countries in Western Europe in the 1950's and 1960's, by stating the labor and employment imbalance as a cause for increased demand of workers. (909) She states that "to remedy the labor shortages, the rapidly developing countries recruited individuals from countries with an abundance of labor." (909) This gave many countries in Africa, most of which were still under colonial rule, the chance to benefit from

this economic imbalance. As a result, McLaren says, “the world fell into a recession, and these new foreign workers were often blamed for the economic and social problems of the host country.” (910) Recession was one particular implication caused by the emerging trend of migration to Europe. Lauren McLaren also states that “attempts were made by governments in most of the countries to reduce the numbers of migrants coming to the country” (910) which included expulsion and more control over their borders. This could be the origin of early anti-immigrant feelings, as countries try to pull out of the recession. Overall, greater employment availability motivated many to leave Africa for Europe but also motivated many in Europe to hold back and develop ‘antiforeigner’ feelings.

The quick surge of workers to arrive from Africa, beginning in the 1960’s, was due in part to the economic instability of that continent. North Africa, in particular, has faced strong hardships both economically and politically for a long time and is one of the primary reasons why most of the African immigrants are from this region. Barbara Conry, foreign policy analyst at the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C., illustrates that North African countries have been facing economic and political problems since the point when most became independent states. (116) These dysfunctional systems are due in part to how these countries developed after gaining independence from the ‘colonial masters’. Countries in the North African region developed, according to Conry, socialist systems that, “emphasized nationalization of industries and assets, protectionism, large public investment programs, and heavy subsidization of basic goods and services.” (123) This led to a population heavily dependant on the government for economic support. Nevertheless, as Conry later points out, the governments of these countries cannot be the only economic player if the economy is to continue to survive. (123) What this proves is these socialist governments cannot continue to support an economy on its own and the economies of the North African countries are beginning to suffer. It is because of this economic instability and digression that has spurred migration out of this region.

Both the Africans' needs for more employment opportunities and the instability in their home countries have prompted Europe to be at the forefront of migratory activities. In recent years, intense migration has stifled the economy of the European Union (E.U) and according to Judith Crosbie of the EIU ViewsWire, a news syndicate of the E.U, this year Europe "will continue to battle against more waves of illegal migrants." (Crosbie) What is different this year, Crosbie states, is that the European community is going to begin new programs that try to control illegal immigration with more legal migration of specific groups, such as skilled workers. (Crosbie) This is important to note because the E.U is tackling this issue because according to the *Economist*, the biggest problem for the E.U as it approaches its 50th birthday is an economic one. (Economist) The economy is an important factor when discussing the issue of Afro-Arab migration and its implications may cause parties such as the E.U and North African countries to look at this situation much differently.

The size and scope of this situation is dramatic when compared to the native populations of the destined countries. Migratory flows have been persistent since the 1950's and it has affected many aspects of European life including the economy, politics, and importantly culture. In Judith Crosbie's report on the E.U, she mentioned that by 2050, there would be 20 million less people in Europe of working age, (Crosbie) which means that there could possibly be some 20 million immigrants arriving in Europe to fill in for this deficit. This is possible considering the pace of this trend. Europe has seen a slight increase in migratory populations each year, while at the same time, receiving stress from its native populations because of its effect on their cultures and way of life.

Western Europe has been the destination for many immigrants in recent years. Ben Hall from the Centre for European Reform, in 2000 wrote, "in places like the UK and France...and Germany, too, the number of foreigners rose 4million in the 25 years after 1960." (72) He said

that with France and Britain, the number of immigrants was high due to the “relatively open access for citizens of their former colonies.” (Hall 72) What is important is that the number of immigrants coming to these countries, not only France, UK, and Germany, but others like Ireland, Holland, and Italy, are seeing increases each year. According to statistics gathered by the European Commission, countries like Germany and UK are seeing an average of 2.5% and 2.3% increases in net migration each year since 1995. Others like Ireland and Holland see an average of 2.0% increase each year. Astonishingly some countries, like Ireland, are seeing an increase of over 4% each year in the amount of immigrants entering their country. (Eurostat) In 2003, the European Commission reported that out of the entire European population, 16 million non-E.U immigrants lived in Europe. (Eurostat) One major concern of all this is the amount of illegal immigrants who enter Europe each year, although highly underreported, “one reputable estimate puts the number of illegal migrants smuggled each year as 400,000.” (Hall 74) One question when looking at these statistics is where all these groups of people originate.

In Africa, immigration is a major part of life for its inhabitants. The story of immigration is slightly different from that in Europe. Here, Africa is seeing decreases in the populations of their adult and working populations, which suggest that many people are leaving for economic opportunities. Countries in Africa are not necessarily losing population overall, just in certain demographics. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, France (OECD) reports that in countries like Morocco, over 300,000 members of their workforce have migrated to countries like France and Belgium. In Algeria, close to 300,000 members of their workforce went to countries like France and Spain. (OECD) One of the places with the greatest number of emigrants to leave Africa came from the country of Côte D’Ivoire, which the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) reported in 2000, had a total of 2,336,000 people leave the country within the 1990’s, mostly due to civil war. Overall, the United Nations (U.N.) reports that between 1965 and 1990, the number of international migrants to leave Africa increased to 45

million with the U.N. suggesting “the number of international migrants is set to increase in the years to come.” (U.N.)

An issue with Afro-Arab migration is that many people are leaving Africa while at the same time many people are moving to Europe. There is no coincidence to the connection that many who flee Africa for reasons of economic progress or refuge are going across the Mediterranean Sea to their neighbor, Europe. What arises from this trend is the controversy of immigration and its effect on the national culture of the host country. The Global Agenda, a group associated with the *Economist* in London reported such a controversy in its discussion of economic benefits from immigration, by stating, “immigration has become a complex and controversial issue for the E.U, with economic benefits being weighed up against resistance from voters.” (Global) This resistance from voters is due mostly in part to opposition if immigrant populations and their profound effect on their countries, (Global) but also due in part to the perceived differences of other ethnicities (McLaren 913) that can be seen. The scope of this trend depends upon how native people react to the immigration issue, and how developments from these reactions create consequences all over, which carry both positives and negatives.

Reactions to the trend of Afro-Arab migration reflect two leading perspectives many people hold about the cultural dynamics of the world. The strongest issue presented by this trend is the debate between global and national identity. Two perspectives that people may have towards this debate is the globalism perspective and state primacy perspective. People who hold the globalism perspective believe that the division of the world into separate countries is not appropriate for today’s society. (Kelleher 42) Those who see the world with this perspective believe in the proponents of assimilation, acculturation, and syncretism; which relate to the idea of cultures merging into one whole. State primacy, however, views the world as one that desires specific political and economical organizations (Kelleher 44), mainly the state. Those who see

the world with this perspective tend to have a very patriotic or nationalistic attitude of their country. The issue of immigration has created a debate of global versus national identity between groups of people who have the globalism and state primacy perspectives because globalism advocates an integration of the immigrants with the host culture while state primacy promotes nationalism and emphasis on the sovereignty of the state.

One person who carries a globalist perspective, Sebastián Royo, associate professor of government at Suffolk University-Madrid, discusses the issue of both emigration and immigration with its circumstances in Portugal. In his article, he discusses the causes of both emigration and immigration in Portugal plus the shift between the two, sometime around 1980, and how demographics have changed. Most of his article is meant to provide the reader with information regarding the history and trends involved within the migratory processes, but he also provides information about its effects within the country. He illustrates Portugal as one that was an outward society seeking to explore and spread its culture across the oceans (Royo 114), meaning that for most of its history, Portuguese were exploring the world in areas such as Brazil, Angola, and Venezuela. However this history changed for Portugal around the 1970's and 1980's when Royo suggests that the introduction of democracy and decolonization to many regions of the colonized world led to this shift of a country known for spreading its culture to one receiving cultures from the very same areas it use to control. (113) There was also something else that influenced this shift, which was the incorporation of Portugal into the European Community which "influenced immigration patterns for non-Portuguese citizens." (Royo 113) This shift in migratory patterns is an important event for Royo because to him Portugal became more self aware of its national identity while at the same time becoming more aware of its influence on the global community. (113) His globalist perspective, however, is really shown when he discusses the impact of immigration on Portugal. Royo concludes with the statement that immigration, combined with modernization and integration into the E.U., has improved the

country and its relationship with the collective community. (135) Royo sees immigration as a real benefit to Portugal and he primarily sees this with a globalist perspective because with the improvement of their economy, with immigration and cultural openness, Portugal has become a greater place. Not many countries in Europe saw results such as this, as could explain why others may not have the same perspective of immigration as Sebastián Royo.

Others may see immigration as something besides contributing to the collective interests of a community. Saskia Sassen, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, argues that there is something ‘denationalizing’ about the trend of immigration to any particular country. She starts out by stating “there is today a growing literature on the state and globalization”, a literature she argues “is the incipient formation of a type of authority and state practice that entails a partial denationalizing of what historically had been constructed as national.” (Sassen 7) Sassen is concerned with the role of the state polity and its influence over domestic affairs. Such affairs as economics, security, and social stability are often what become, according to Sassen, ‘embedded’ in the globalization of the national entity. Specifically with the affair of social stability, Sassen relates this to the influx of immigration, and brings up the question of citizenship and how globalization is de-nationalizing its relation to a single country. She argues that “the growing articulation of globalization” and the “associated withdrawal of the state from various spheres of citizenship entitlements raises the possibility of corresponding dilution of loyalty to the state.” (Sassen 18) Here, Sassen makes the connection with immigration and loyalty to the state. Proponents of a state primacy perspective, like Saskia Sassen, see the effects of an overall globalization as hindering the individual state and its influence over its people. An influx in foreigners within a country due to the growing globalization of their economy and politics can bring about fears of loyalty to the country, with possibilities of failure of the state. With this perspective, hostility towards foreign populations may be the result of such avid feelings towards the state. Sassen argument that a growing fear of state denationalization is

caused by globalization has proved to show that others may see Afro-Arab immigration as a hindrance to the existence of the European nations.

Both the globalist and state primacy perspectives see Afro-Arab immigration differently, as either a great advantage or something to fear. As this trend continues throughout Europe, there is a greater chance that people with the state primacy perspective will have an influence on the regulation of immigration in the E.U because of its severe impact on the entire European continent. In individual countries, the division over these two perspectives may vary, but each will have its influence in politics and society as each country tries to deal with the issue of immigration.

II. Urban Design: The Solution to Afro-Arab Segregation in France

The migration of populations from Northern Africa into Europe has created significant effects on the political, economic, and social levels for each country that has a part in this event. In Africa, migration is the cause of economic collapse as many highly trained people leave, and social conflict, as these populations become socially unbalanced by the patterns of migration. In Europe, immigration is causing an increase in population, which is straining the economy and their social welfare systems, and creating social and political turmoil because of the mixture of different cultures on this European scene. Specifically in France, this immigration has created an issue of social turmoil at very high levels, which has placed this country at the forefront of finding a solution to making immigration a beneficial catalyst in European society. Afro-Arab immigration in France has developed segregation and social unrest because of its attitudes towards the increase in ethnic minority populations, the design and organization of French cities has perpetuated this situation, and now a solution to this problem may lie in the considerations of urban design.

The development of immigration in France follows that of Europe during the twentieth century. Recently, this global trend has created some local difficulties with social and economic relations in France. Nancy Honicker, associate professor of English at Université de Paris, describes these difficulties as that of “la crise des banlieues” (31) which represents her view of how the world’s attention was brought to the northern suburbs of the city of Paris and much was written about the abject misery and danger of these ‘rough neighborhoods’ in recent months after riots and violence marked these areas. (32) These northern suburbs are home to many of France’s immigrants, who settle here because it is here that many can develop a future that is not scrutinized. (Honicker 31) Immigrants moved to the suburbs because here were opportunities that immigrants could exploit and often were not available in the city. But at the same time, one would find abject misery in these suburbs because this was “the refuge of the criminal, the poor.” (Honicker 31) This situation of the *banlieue* or the suburb originates from France’s attitudes towards immigrants, specifically after World War II, that stem from immigration’s impact on France’s economy, the increasing presence of foreigners in French culture, and the heavy reliance on the social welfare system of the country.

France’s economy is highly interconnected with the economy of the broader European Union. While immigration affecting the entire economy of the European Union, specific effects have carried over into the economy of France itself. One effect is high unemployment rates, which result from the increase in the total working population. The high unemployment rates create tension between the national-born population, who need the jobs, and the immigrants, who are taking the jobs. One example is in Marseille, where Caroline Wyatt, a BBC correspondent, reports that “in a city with a 14% unemployment rate”, it seems that the problems of “high crime rates and a culture of casual, sudden violence” are “magnified.” (Wyatt) What Wyatt is suggesting is that there is a connection between unemployment and violence in France. If

unemployment is associated with immigration, the violence may be a result of the attitudes pressed against the immigrants for encouraging an economic slowdown. Wyatt also supports the idea that jobs are the only way to integrate France and create a sense of national identity. (Wyatt) Violence, specifically that related to the oppression of ethnic identity, is supported by the economic decline associated with overall immigration; but at the same time it appears, at least to Wyatt and many others, that the solution to this violence is to stimulate the economy. France's attitude toward immigration from an economic standpoint is that they are merely "living off the state without doing anything in return" which "really doesn't help people." (Wyatt) Many in France carry the attitude that immigrants are the cause of economic problems and that economic growth will not necessarily be the answer, it may just cause more immigrants to come. What some people like Martin Arnold of the *Financial Times* believe is that "too little is being done to find social and economic solutions", while the emphasis is being placed on other issues such as security. (Arnold) France may be concerning itself too much with maintaining stability in these secluded enclaves around France's cities without actually tackling the issue.

Another major cause of violence from ethnic minorities in France is the ever-increasing threat to the French identity and the restriction of the ethnic minority identity. Since 1998, the net migration rate per 1,000 people has increased to its highest so far in 2002 at 1.1%. (Eurostat) That translates to about 660,000 immigrants, in 2002, when the total population of France is approximately 60 million. With mostly all of these immigrants originating from regions outside of Europe, there is a greater fear towards France's national identity than ever before. Timothy Savage, a U.S. Foreign Service officer, who discusses the growing Muslim community, introduces one example and how it is affecting the European community; and says, "Muslims increasingly identify first with Islam rather than with either their family's country of origin or the European country in which they now reside." (30) With this growing identity towards a religion rather than a country, what will happen to the national identity of France when according to

Savage, in 2025, one-fourth of France could be Muslim? (28) To handle the situation of increasing immigrant populations and the effect of their identities on the whole nation, France has implemented its integration model, where increasing the importance of French citizenship while embracing equal rights and secularism could bring about a heterogeneous French culture. (Wihtol de Wenden 50) However, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, doctor of political science at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, states that "the government has put little emphasis on implementing such values effectively", suggesting that the attitude of the French government is to not concern itself heavily with this issue. A lack of emphasis on acculturation leads to situations like those in 2005, where many young Muslims were resisting assimilation into their European cultures because of their strong devotion to Islam. (Savage 31) While underneath, "the truth is that they want to be French, but in their own way" (Wihtol de Wenden 51) but cannot because of the perceived discrimination in European societies that affect employment, education, housing, and various religious practices. (Savage 31) This perceived discrimination stems from the French's lack of motivation to acculturate the incoming immigrants and large minority groups that are already there.

With such a lack of governmental motivation in encouraging acculturation, the discrimination in employment has created a heavy reliance on social welfare systems, such as public housing and wages, amongst the minority groups in France. Such heavy reliance is creating negative stereotypes amongst the minority communities, especially the Islamic community, such as comments like:

"The French worker who sees on the same floor of his low-rent housing complex a man with his three or four wives and twenty-odd kids who gets \$8000 or \$9000 a month in family welfare payments without working. If you add in the noise and the smell, the French worker goes crazy."
(An-Na'im 918-919)

This comment is representative of many comments heard about the societal gap between the working class and the welfare dependant families. The funding of welfare systems, according to

Abdullahi An-Na'im, professor of law at Emory University in Atlanta, is to bring together efforts that will integrate these immigrants with French society. (919) However, French perceptions of these immigrants leads to a dependence on these welfare systems and becomes intrusive to integration. (919) Such perceptions of these immigrants being mainly poor, unskilled, and with communicative difficulties, (919) prohibit them from interacting with French society. Both the French government and French society are prohibiting the advancement of immigrants and creating greater reliance on welfare systems because of their discriminatory behavior. The French practice of placing these immigrants on welfare systems and residing them in public housing in the suburbs is what leads to the social unrest as seen in the 'crisis of the suburbs' in 2005.

Part of the social unrest and segregation that is taking place in the suburbs is due to the development of the French city. The French city is a reflection of French society and its values as a collective whole. It is the design of French cities that has created the framework for social segregation and the 'crisis in the suburbs' because of the historical development of French cities and suburbs, the strict social division between city and suburb, and the lack of infrastructure for the communities.

The historical development of *les banlieues* or the suburbs originate from the beginning of French cities themselves. From their creation in the 12th century, the suburbs were believed to have the "power to terrify" where there was limited safety, only danger and darkness. (Honicker 31) This view will not disappear as the suburbs burgeoned into inhabited villages, towns, and cities up until the 21st century. The reason for this view was practical, Paris was a fortified city up until the early 20th century, and outside of the fortified walls, anything was possible. (Honicker) The suburbs were representative of a place of instability, a "perfect terrain for crisis." (Honicker 32) This 'instability' is what made the banlieue a perfect place for foreigners

arriving in France, it was affordable and it had opportunities. Today, the fortified wall of Paris has disappeared, but in effect it still exists, where the *périphérique* has become the modern equivalent of a fortress wall, an expressway that encircles Paris and has taken the place of the division between city and suburb. It is here that Nancy Honicker describes a place where “pedestrians nervously look both ways” as they cross “a rodeo where all the rules of the road have been temporarily suspended”, (33) which symbolizes this transformation between two worlds. This strong division of the city from the suburb really took shape in the post World War II period when population growth and redevelopment were in progress. Rosemary Wakeman, associate professor of history at Fordham University, focuses on the history of the suburb in France and says that it developed from an idea of “the Paris region”, an ideal view of the city and suburbs as a more stable environment in terms of politics and society. (126) This was created by ending the local divisions and their differentiated qualities and replacing it with a modernized urban community. What resulted are urbanized “spheres of influence and culture” (Wakeman 126) which soon grew to be more like spheres of ethnicities. With the introduction of collective housing and suburban planning, the banlieue became more of a social experiment in the containment of immigrants when, in 1969, Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas ordered the construction of high-rise buildings in the countryside, based off of the ideas of people like Le Corbusier, far from the city in segregated communities. (Wihtol de Wenden 48) However unintentional, what resulted was something not entirely expected by the French government.

This development of Paris and its suburbs, mostly during the past century, has created a strong divide between city and suburb. This strong division can be seen by Nancy Honicker’s description of the *périphérique* as a fortified wall on the edge of Paris. (37) There is not just a physical separation of city and suburb (the *périphérique*), but a social separation as well, which results in violence in one place and not the other. The groups of people that live in each community are distinctly different; ethnically, socially, and economically. Ibrahim Badr,

professor of French studies at York University in Toronto, told CBC News “there is nothing wrong with ethnic neighborhoods”, referring to those around Paris, but mentioned that problems arise when the connection between ethnic neighborhoods and extreme poverty is made. (CBC) This is precisely the case with the suburbs around cities like Paris, Lyon, and Toulouse, where the division between the city, which has a lower unemployment rate and a better quality of life, with that of the suburb, whose unemployment rate is almost double, (Arnold) you see a social disconnection.

The disconnection is felt amongst the residents of these communities because of how they are treated by French society. An example of this is the reference of French-born citizens, who have foreign-born parents, as immigrants themselves. Jeffrey Reitz, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto told CBC News, “there’s a deep frustration of being seen as immigrants for young people who were born in France” but at the same time, the French need to see that there is no distinction when they are born in France. (Honicker 40) Nancy Honicker concludes her article on the *banlieue* with the message that the French government needs to look over that division, and notice that there are French citizens on both sides of this social gap. This division of France’s urban atmosphere, and the government’s inability to see on both sides, is a strong cause for the social unrest that is seen taking place throughout the suburbs of the country.

The division of the French city from its suburbs creates large gaps between the quality of life on each side. One aspect is the quality and quantity of infrastructure on each side of this division. The French cities, with a more stable economy and wealthier tax base, have much greater infrastructure than that of the suburbs, with their economic instability and poverty, which therefore cannot provide what is needed for these communities. The lack of infrastructure, such as schools, hospitals, and community centers, is a cause for the social unrest that France experienced in 2005. The *Economist* reports that mayors from various Paris suburbs, of different political backgrounds, have created a joint effort to improve the quality of the banlieues, which

includes greater infrastructure and housing, (Economist) and hopefully stimulate their economies. This is necessary because there is a lack in the capital needed for developing communities. Martin Arnold describes the situation of one select suburb, Clichy-sous-Bois where “there is no police station, post office, railway station, or job centre and very few shops or businesses.” (Arnold) Problems associated with this lack in infrastructure are an increase in crime and an increase in drug use, especially amongst youths. Bruce Crumley, of *Time International* magazine, quoted Jean-Michel Genestier, a chief of staff to the mayor of a Paris suburb, in saying “each time there’s been any letup in police pressure...we’ve seen related [drug] crime and general insecurity rise.” (Crumley) What he says might help is keeping kids in school and off the streets which is possible if the schools and police exist and are where they need to be. With the current situation in most suburbs, a lack of infrastructure is just worsening the situation. What is necessary is creating the framework that can make social integration possible and create a better dissolution of the strong division between city and suburb.

The social unrest and segregation of immigrant populations is mostly because there is a strict division between these groups of minorities and the French majority. This division covers different levels of the socio-economic plane, with an economic division between the wealthy and the poor, the employed and unemployed; a social division between the ethnicities, those who are foreign-born and local-born; and a physical division of the city and suburb. The physical division is the epitome of this division because one, it is a contributing cause to the other types of divisions, and two, it can be changed. Urban design is a possible method for dissolving the physical disconnection between those in the city and those in the suburbs. Urban design could solve the issue of segregation and social unrest by creating diversity in both the city and suburb. It could provide better access to employment opportunities through transportation options, and most of all provide the infrastructure needed to improve the quality of life for all ethnic groups.

One possible solution offered in urban design, which can solve the ‘crisis of the suburbs’, is creating diverse communities in France’s cities and in their suburbs. Dominique Moisi, senior advisor for the French Institute for International Relations, makes the idea of diversity a possible solution when she discussed with the *Financial Times* about a controversy with Muslim populations that involved a solution combining modern French society and traditional Islamic practices. (Moisi) Providing the combination of modernity with Islamic identity, there can be diversity. Multi-income level housing can be a start by blending different groups of people together underneath one roof, with the ability of groups of people being a part of a modern community while maintaining their identity. After all, the immigrants want to be a part of French society, but “feel rejected by French society and too few feel a sense of pride in themselves.” (Moisi) Creating a community of diversity can help to reverse those feelings of rejection and no pride. RTPI News reported on a recent meeting with a group of planners known as PlaNet, who say, “spatial segregations that reflect ethnic and social relationships in cities need to give way to more shared spaces that facilitate trust, reciprocity, and connectivity.” (RTPI) Diversity can also go beyond just combining different groups together in the same living spaces, but “civic bonding” and “collaborative governance” can also be produced from the creation of these diverse “urban networks.” (RTPI) Diversity is one of the major processes necessary in solving the state of the suburbs in France, with the stirring of social and cultural groups as being a major proponent in leaping over the gap between city and suburb.

Urban design can begin to blend these two distinct economic worlds together by providing better access between these two worlds, essentially combining these two economies. Nancy Honicker mentions the “well-documented proof of discrimination and exclusion in areas of employment” (36) which suggest that there is a deliberate separation of immigrants and employment. Better access to employment opportunities can effectively improve the lives of the immigrant populations, considering the dismantling of discrimination. Transit oriented

development (TOD) could provide the means for better access to employment and create “vibrant, livable communities.” (Transit) In communities like Clichy-sous-Bois, where there is no railway station, transportation options could improve conditions for that suburb. Transit oriented Development is the “creation of compact, walkable communities centered around high quality train systems” which “make it possible to live a higher quality life without complete dependence on a car for mobility and survival.” (Transit) With many immigrants unable to afford an automobile, the possibilities provided by transportation options can greatly improve their economic conditions. Disconnected suburbs could literally be connected with transportation networks and therefore connect their economy with the much more stable economy of the city.

Along with transportation, other infrastructure such as schools and hospitals, can improve the quality of life for the suburbs of French cities. The improvement of existing infrastructure and creating efficiency with these types of institutions through redevelopment plans can help improve the quality of life in these suburbs. One example of this is mentioned by Peter Gumbel of *Time International* in the suburb of Clichy, where people are “pushing for the greater efficiencies in the delivery of care itself” with hospitals like Beaujon Hospital that are “stretched to the breaking point.” (Gumbel) One way to relieve this pressure is to increase the healthcare system with improved infrastructure and more hospitals. Another example of infrastructure’s effect on the quality of life in the community was seen in the northern suburb of Plaine-Saint-Denis, where in 1998; the French government built a football stadium, the Stade du France, and transformed this neighborhood, which “had a poor reputation since its industrial jobs disappeared.” (Newman 831) What is special about this situation is that “France’s victory in the 1998 world cup...reverberated beyond football” where “the image of the stadium has transformed perceptions of these northern suburbs.” (Newman 831-832) Urban design initiatives can also include major projects like that of the Stade du France, which can help transform

communities on one level by bringing something significant to the community, and on another level, bring greater perceptions of the community which can influence funding and further redevelopment.

III. Urban Design as a Vehicle to Cultural Diversity

Two perspectives that most people have towards the trend of migration in Europe, globalist and state primacy perspectives, either value the assimilation of all into one large culture or the protection of the state in terms of its political, social, and economic powers. However, there is a third perspective, which, according to political scientists Ann Kelleher and Laura Kline, is one that values the individual rights of cultures regardless of political or economical divisions. (47) This perspective, known as cultural pluralism, is one that the profession of urban design is most associated with in terms of its methodology and goals. One of its goals is circulate groups of people by breaking down the barriers and creating communities. (Economist) Urban design has the possibilities of creating cultural diversity through redistribution of ethnic groups within homogeneous populations, development of infrastructure in deprived regions, and designing mixed housing that combines people of different backgrounds, income levels, and cultures together.

The redistribution of groups amongst homogeneous populations can produce more diversity with appropriate planning and skills. Urban design can be a mode of cultural mixing with the development of neighborhoods that are universal, suitable to people of all cultures in economic and social ways. An example of planning in terms of multi-ethnic communities is some suburbs in California, which are referred to as “ethnoburbs”, or a place of varied ethnicities that have developed amongst relatively homogeneous communities. (Li 3) Here, ethnically diverse communities were created by pulling people out of the city and into this suburb. At the

same time, however, “the formation of ethnoburbs has demonstrated tremendous opportunities and challenges for American society as a whole.” (Li 22) What the ‘ethnoburb’ demonstrates to societies like the United States, is that there is the possibility of creating diversity all over, including the suburbs, which according to Wei Li, associate professor of Asian American Studies at the University of Connecticut, is “the traditional turf of white Americans” (16) Urban design can reconfigure the landscape of communities across the United States, creating the opportunities for ethnic diversity. The ‘ethnoburb’ is an important ethno-economic solution as well, where many ethnicities are offered opportunities that are not present in the ethnically segregated neighborhoods of the city. (Li 22) The development of ethnically diverse communities across the country can help make a connection between the national economy and ethnic groups, which may be at a disadvantage.

The connection of ethnic groups and global economy are most clearly established through the development of infrastructure in regions that are in desperate need. Most immigrants fell into the demographics of the impoverished when they move to a new country, and most remain in poverty unless real initiatives are taken to improve their chances. Urban design can improve those chances with the proper planning of infrastructure systems, railways, roads, communications, hospitals, and schools; where poor populations can have a better foundation to build up. An example of how infrastructural planning is an appropriate measure for development is the Tripura region of India. It is clear, to Manik Sarkar of *Business Line* in Chennai, that without the adequate infrastructure for investment, Tripura may never economically survive. He says that “it is therefore clear the building of infrastructure will have to be the first priority” if one were to find the region suitable for investment. (Sarkar) The goal of Sarkar and others in this region, located close to the border with Bangladesh, is to create a more economically viable region for its people and possibly benefit from the close relationship to its neighbor. Sarkar says that in order for their commodities to be traded effectively, there would be a necessity for

infrastructure such as roads and telecommunication systems, (Sarkar) which will facilitate the economic development of the region. Economic development is an important factor for quality of life in a society, which translates to the immigrant populations being heavily reliant on the economy for their own survival. Infrastructure can stabilize and grow economies so that the societies to which they support are contributing methods to immigrants and their emersion into the whole society.

The emersion of immigrants into society via economic mobility is one method, but another is the design of mixed-income housing to locate immigrants among people of other social and ethnic groups. Urban design offers solutions to the disconnection of different social and ethnic groups by designing projects based around a holistic approach to urban living. In South Africa, after apartheid ended in 1994, different local governments were established which created an atmosphere for the redistribution of segregated peoples. (Parnell 21-22) This establishment has occurred in South Africa because Susan Parnell writes, “South African cities are more unequal today than ten years ago” and have “higher numbers of poor people,” (20) while at the same time are the centre of the nation’s wealth. South Africa has to face the issue of urban poverty and the lack of diversity within their communities. (21) Placing segregated groups together in similar living conditions helps to blend the distinctions of poverty and ethnicity, solving at least one part of the many problems South Africa face. Urban design initiatives offered by governmental organizations in cities as Johannesburg and Cape Town create solutions that allow different levels of people to live together, whilst removing the ‘hostile social conditions’. Large redevelopment projects with mixed-income level housing at affordable rates is enabling these groups to emerge from poverty which appears to be one of the leading political issues right now in South Africa.

Overall, urban design proposes economical and viable solutions to all of the urban, social, and economical issues that face communities across the world. With the implementation of ideas

such as infrastructure, mixed housing, and cultural blending, these issues can be dissolved into ideal situations that urban design holds as its goal. The profession as a whole offers an outsider's view to the political, social, and economical factors and determinates that creates the urban issues seen in countries all across the world including the United States, India, South Africa, and especially France. The question that derives from this study of the implications on migratory patterns in Europe is what will urban design, as a profession, continue to do to prevent further issues from erupting? What will happen if there is a change in the trend of immigration to Europe? What will happen to the city in the future? The Suburb?

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