

## LIVING IN PARIS: OLD AND SMALL PLACES IN A WORLD CITY<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction:

In the minds of the Brazilian intellectual and artistic elite, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Paris has been a symbol of modernity: the city of light, the city of world culture, the center of artistic and literary production. It is no accident that one of Brazil's main universities, the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), was founded in the 1930s thanks to generous support from the "French Mission", which included Claude Lévi-Strauss. But it was above all in the 1960s that Paris became a pole of attraction for Brazilian graduate students. In the 1970s many political exiles from the military dictatorship (1964-1979) also arrived<sup>2</sup>.

A great shock for a majority of those students who chose Paris because of their image of modernity, among other reasons, involved the precarious living conditions which, for financial reasons, they were forced to endure: small apartments of less than 20 m<sup>2</sup>, often with no toilet and sometimes no shower or bath, incomparably inferior to the apartments of the Brazilian middle class, for whom the "modern" has highest value.

The most common residential itinerary of Brazilian graduate students in Paris begins with a period of residence in a room at the Maison du Brésil in the Cité Internationale Universitaire de Paris (which could last, according to the rigid rules of the CIUP, a maximum of three years), during which they make their first adjustment to small spaces. The trajectory usually leads on to *studios*, *studettes* and not uncommonly, small rehabilitated *chambres de bonne*. These are spaces usually located on the top floor of buildings, originally designed to serve as servants quarters, "*chambres de bonnes*", in the bourgeois houses. These spaces, very often minuscule, now serve at one and the same time as bedroom, kitchen, dining room and as a place for study and work. They are temporary residences, just as the life of Brazilian students in Paris is somewhat temporary. They usually do not imagine spending their lives there.

This paper is the result of observations and commentaries of middle class students on living conditions collected during different periods in which we lived in Paris, from 1968 until today. But it is also the fruit of more systematic field research conducted in 1996-97, when we visited many apartments in Paris, initially in order to rent them for colleagues (*deux a quatre pièces*) and later (*studios, studettes and chambres*) with plans to write this article.

In general our informants were between 25 and 35 years old middle class students and live or lived in these apartments during their graduate studies, always as tenants and sometimes as subletters. We heard and visited the homes of two types of informants: those currently live in these spaces and those lived in them when "they were young", thus with two different perspectives about this living situation; the latter group being more insightful, as if distance from the precarious situation made them better able to reflect upon their earlier situation.

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<sup>2</sup>The military coup and the tightening of the dictatorship, with the AI-5 measures in 1969 led many Brazilians to seek exile. On the other hand, the military governments policy of stimulating graduate studies allowed a significant number of young university professors to move to Paris.

## A Bit of History

Studios are designated by historians as *chambre unique* (single room), while economists and some of real estate ads refer to them as apartments of one *pièce* or room, and distinguish them from those of two or more rooms. Let us consider this manner of identifying the apartments. In France it is common to refer to apartments of: *un deux-pièces*, or that is, two rooms, with little importance given to the use of these rooms. The categorization by rooms sounds strange for Brazilians accustomed to reading apartment ads where a living room and bedroom are clearly distinguished. In Brazil, it is said "an apartment with one bedroom and one living room". The lack of distinction between living room and bedroom appears to be a throwback to a time when living quarters were undifferentiated in their use. In fact, in Paris, the living room is often transformed at night to a bedroom reassuming its function as a living room only during the day. In Brazil, this may occur in residences of lower and working classes but rarely in the middle classes (Rial, 1988)<sup>3</sup>.

Despite the fact that the term *une pièce* designates the property within the context of the real estate legislation, currently the word most often used by residents to indicate these single room spaces is a *studio*, a residential category that was developed at the beginning of the XX century in Paris by young celibate bourgeoisie men as explained Monique Eleb and Anne Debarre (1995:188/189).

The common characteristic element of the *studio*'s inner space is its multi-functionality, that is its lack of functional distinction. It is where one sleeps, eats, works and receives friends. In fact, the *pièce unique*, is only a variation of an important concept in French residences which is to have broad spaces without divisions and not as much of a specialization as is found in Brazil. However, in general, the most striking feature of these small living spaces is their precariousness. They do not have what in Brazil and the United States would be considered basic commodities of apartment life, particularly bathroom fixtures. The one room apartments, *chambre uniques* or *studios*, as they came to be known in the XX century, are found as far back as the XVII century when these *chambres uniques* comprised 31% of Parisian homes, and increased in number at the end of the XVIII century (Pardailhé-Galabrun, 1988).

The *chambres de bonnes* became common in the XIX century. In the XVII and XVIII centuries entire families lived in one-room apartments. In the XIX century, the hygienist movement launched a strong campaign against these spaces which were considered "insalubrious". The discomfort and tiny scale of these apartments are notorious and have been the target of numerous criticisms, most notably by members of the hygienist movement as well as authors such as Zola, Balzac and Hugo.

How did these apartments come into existence? The first apartments rented in the center of the city were those called *maison bourgeoisie*, the form of which was progressively consolidated during the XVII and XVIII centuries (Pardailhé-Galabrun, 1988). The properties, which had earlier been destined to the family in the Latin sense, came to be destined to the conjugal family, defined by the Napoleonic code. These constructions, as Bertrand (1980) explains must in the first place be "rentable". Any originality that would remind a conformist bourgeois client was avoided so that these buildings multiplied in a uniform fashion; differences in size, etc, were reflected in the amount of the rent. As there were no guidelines

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<sup>3</sup> When we refer to the differences between the lower and working classes and the middle classes, we have as a foundation a broad and deep discussion within Brazilian Anthropology. To speak of middle classes we are referring to the part of the population that has access to university education, which lives in large urban centers and which share contemporary western cultural values.

fixing a set number on size of rooms, the only guideline was "la belle aparence" of the facade and the entrance.

These buildings were one of the consequences of Haussman's urban revolution who, by building wide avenues, aimed at two principal objectives: the first was the maintenance of order, by the destruction of the narrow lanes that were easy to barricade and had a tended disposition for the formation of military barracks. Thus, the avenues were designed in the form of rays, in straight lines, to meet the needs of the artillery and the charge of the cavalry. Haussman's second objective was to create a new urban framework for the dominant class with opulent buildings, large department stores, banks and train stations. Urbanism, strictly speaking, which would be based on an economic rationalization of the city, was still incipient. To this day, the Hausmannian style, and its codes, mark architectural thinking in Parisian housing.

During the second half of the XIX century, the price of land in the center of Paris increased enormously. The houses grew; with each reconstruction another floor was added. The apartments became smaller and the first rooms to be reduced in size were the kitchen and the servants room, places where the owners of the house rarely trod. The kitchens were a type of appendage hidden and ignored. In some regions they were called *souillardes* (filthy), a name that clearly evoked the value given to this room. Garbage was stored under the sink or thrown into an open bin. Because of the dampness caused by laundering and cooking, ventilation was a constant problem. Some kitchens did not even have windows (Martin-Fugier, 1979). Many were connected by an air vent to an equally windowless bathroom, causing the kitchen to be filled with all types of odors. In this place, the servants spent their days as well as many of their nights.

Thus, it is not surprising, that the hygienist doctors proposed profound changes. In 1909, Doctors Thierry and Graux defended a reform that would make the spaces healthier: they suggested a special room for cleaning shoes and clothes (which, up to until then, had been cleaned, of course, in the in the kitchen), and next to the kitchen, they suggested the installation of a pantry with a cabinet for dishes and clothes. They also proposed that the food cabinet be closed (previously, it had been located under a window, which opened into a damp air-shaft, where people shook out carpets and threw out garbage); that a closet be installed on the exterior wall to refrigerate some foods (*la glacière*); that the kitchen be easy to clean, finished with tiles and washable paint; and that it have large windows opened onto spacious areas. These same hygienic concerns were applied to the aid's rooms on the sixth floor.

The utilization of the sixth floor as a living space for the servants is a practice that began in the XIX century and, in fact, became more common in the later half of the century. Earlier, the servants slept in collective rooms for the same sex, two or three in a bed. Martin-Fugier (1979) questions the reasons for the development of these sixth-floor rooms. She points that real estate speculation, which intensified in the Second Empire, led to the construction of higher buildings. As there was no elevator, the most difficult part to reach was left for the servants. The sixth-floor was for employees because nothing else could be done with it.

Often one had access to the top floor only through a special narrow staircase (still found in some buildings today) which also led to the kitchen. On this floor, the rooms were numbered and the doors opened to a usually narrow corridor. One could find, 30, 40 or even 80 rooms, depending on the building, which shared one or two water faucets and squalid toilets in the hall. The keys of one room served to open all the others at the beginning of the XIX century; at the end of the century, individual keys appeared, which did not change very much the high number of thefts on this floor. This was a mixed floor, where both men and women servants slept, and the owners cultivated an image of orgies that took place there although there is little evidence of such events.

What were these sixth floor rooms like? Anatole France(1918) describes the floor: "sticky, grimy, loved by spiders, where the slow odors of sinks circulated". Many were so small; it was hardly to stand up. The windows were mostly *tabatières*, that is openings in the roof. The roofs were thin - letting the cold enter in winter, and transforming them into crematories in summer<sup>4</sup>. It is said that in winter, in order to wash in the morning the residents had to break the ice in the water jar. The first legislation barely protected the sixth floor residents<sup>5</sup>. But it did call for minimal ventilation and was evoked in the demands of the hygienists a few years later.

The furniture in this room was simple: a small steel bed, a wooden table, a chair, a basin and a chamber pot. But the room was also used to store the master's furniture and was filled with other objects. Since bed linens were not changed even with the arrival of a new servant, the sixth floor was frequently infested with fleas, ticks and lice.

Rising concern about the indescribable squalidness of these rooms, and repeated epidemics such as the cholera epidemic of 1849, led to the law of April 1850. This law created hygiene commissions given consultative power within the municipalities and power to intervene in questions of public hygiene. According to Butler, this law remained inefficient because of a lack of political conviction. In any case, the 1850 law had an undeniable symbolic value. Seen as a victory of the hygienist movement, it spurred on activists who continued to press their demands (Butler1983:17).

In addition to these bourgeois buildings that forced the servants to live right under the roof, there was another type of building in Paris, built after the XIX century, exclusively for the poor and working class, where small apartments predominated. These small buildings, which rarely reached five floors, were gentrified<sup>6</sup> after the Second World War, with the rising costs of urban real estate within the city walls of Paris. All of the floors were composed of small *pièces uniques* with an average of 12 m<sup>2</sup> with one toilet per floor that could serve more than 10 apartments.

The XX century has witnessed a recovery of residences considered (because of their small size) to be precarious, residences first destined either for the servants of bourgeois apartments, or for poor families. But if studio is the category most often used today for a one-room residence, we also find *studette and chambre*, as two other recurring categories of one-room residences of less than 15 m<sup>2</sup>. What distinguishes the *studette* from the *studio* is clearly its reduced size and the fact that it often has only a small kitchen and or a shower without a toilet. A *chambre* never has a toilet, rarely has a shower or space to cook and often does not even have hot water.

Many years passed before architects began to build residences "for artists", which came to be called "studios", bringing a positive image to this room with multiple functions and nudging the category "studio" closer to art and further from a simple "room".

## Internal Space

Statistics from the French National Statistical Institute (INSEE) indicate that the precarious residences in Paris are decreasing with the death of the elderly who lived an entire life without a bathroom or heating and, because of the small retirement income that they received, did not invest in the improvement of their bathroom facilities. It is, however, with

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. *La Fronde* newspaper, of July 26, 1899.

<sup>5</sup>The decree of June 22, 1904 about the Sanitary Regulation of the City of Paris limited the minimal size of these rooms to eight square meters, measuring 1.3 meters from ceiling to floor. The size of the room could not be smaller than 29 cubic meters.

<sup>6</sup>Gentrification is a process recurring until today in cities such as New York or London (Smith, 1996).

the disappearance of these elderly residents that these apartments, banned from sale by law in 1948, return to the real estate market and are quickly rehabilitated with the introduction of *comfort* (that is with a bathroom, which has a shower and a toilet). The elderly, according to the INSEE data, are the principal residents of one-room apartments and those that suffer most from the lack of facilities. Seventy one percent of the apartments without a toilet and 25% of the apartments that are very small in relation to the number of residents are occupied for ten years or more.

## Bathroom fixtures

### Salle de bain

The first report on precarious living conditions in Paris that we heard was that of Eva, a Brazilian student who at the end of the 1960s lived in an apartment without shower or bathtub, where she had to take a bath in a large tub that she placed each day in the kitchen. Eva said that she was "ashamed to bathe in front of the pots" in a clear allusion to her discomfort because of the improper use of the kitchen, a place to prepare food and eat, and not for washing the body.

Eva, despite the precarious condition of her home, was lucky to live in an apartment larger than a *chambre de bonne*. In these units, the hot water in the sink had various uses: personal hygiene (sponge baths, teeth brushing, face washing) as well as kitchen duty (washing ingredients, washing dishes)<sup>7</sup>. It is common in these *chambres de bonne*, to improvise a shower above the sink standing up in the same place that the dishes are washed<sup>8</sup>.

One of our main sources, Laura, who lived for a few years in a *chambre de bonne* without a toilet or shower, on the sixth floor of an elegant building in the 8<sup>e</sup> told us that each day, as did many Brazilians obsessed with baths, she would go to the neighborhood pool where there was a municipal *bain-douche*. On cold days, Laura improvised a "*banho francês*" (french bath)<sup>9</sup>, as do the majority of residents of these spaces. Fortunately, her room had a hot water (*eau chaude* - in addition to *eau froide*), given that until today these facilities are listed in real estate ads as desirable items. After a few years under these conditions, she was able to move to a *studette* of 12m<sup>2</sup> on the third floor of an old building at the foot of Montmartre in the 18<sup>eme</sup> arrondissement, where she improvised a shower in the kitchen.

The idea of having to leave home to take a bath would be difficult for a Brazilian to accept. The Maison du Brésil, built by Le Corbusier and Lucio Costa at the Cité Universitaire Internationale de Paris is one of the rare residences where each room has its own shower, even if the toilet is collective two per floor. Brazil never had public baths. The poor passed directly from taking baths in streams to taking baths within their houses, even if they had to carry buckets of water up hill when there was no plumbing in the *favela*.

We find sharp differences in the way that Brazilians and French represent the bath. The shower is seen by the French as a primitive stage in relation to the bathtub, the place for a true bath, even when this bathtub, for lack of space, is nothing more than a *baignoire sabot with pieds de lion* (clog bath with lions feet), or those bathtubs where one takes a bath sitting

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<sup>7</sup>For a small number of our male informants the sink also served as a urinal. The chamber pot (le pot) very present in XIX century literature and that gradually disappeared from the reports concerning bodily care in the XX century, was not mentioned by our informants.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. the images of the morning bath of a student living in a *chambre de bonne* at the beginning of the 1980s in the documentary "*Chambres de Bonne*" by Jean Loic Portran, 1980, color, 13 min, VDP.

<sup>9</sup>"Banho francês" is what is known in Brazil to wash oneself with a washcloth, a practice considered exotic in Brazilian culture where to wash oneself requires the passage of water over the body, which is only possible for Brazilians under a shower.

down (which are not sold in Brazil). The representation of the precariousness of the shower in Paris is well illustrated by Jean Luc Godard in his classic film of the 1960s, *Une femme est une femme*, where the main character, in order to wash, places a basin under the shower from which water rarely fell.

Brazilians, in contrast, do not complain about the presence of a bathtub, but see it as an object of the past. In Brazil, only recently with the distribution of hydro-massage systems of the Jacuzzi type, have bathtubs come back into fashion. They may now be included in the middle and upper class apartments, but always with a shower, in general above the tub. To bathe in a tub is not considered to be truly hygienic, it is seen as a pleasure or a luxury. Mário told us that when he takes a bath in a tub in his small bathtub he feels the need to take another with the shower attachment because "water only cleans when it passes over the body". The French bath is considered an inefficient cleaning method and "something for the lazy".

Another complaint from Brazilians about this space concerns the showers which in France are small and on flexible hoses, sometimes without a fixed support on the wall, very different from the large electric showers to which they are accustomed. The various systems of transformation of a flexible shower cord to a fixed shower are considered inefficient by the French as well as the Brazilians.

### **Bain-douches**

The situation of Laura, who needed to leave her house to take a bath, is not rare in the city. As late as 1990s we find apartments without toilets or *salle de bain* in the building located in places considered to be the most elegant in the city such as the *Ile de Saint Louis*. There where another Brazilian, Nádia, lived, there were still sinks in the hallways: not as decoration, because they had been used until recently.

In fact, until 1950 only 10% of the apartments in Paris had a *salle de bain*. Today there are 19 public baths in operation and the city government (*Mairie*), still continues to renovate them since they are considered necessary for the low-income population in the city. Many Parisians take baths in the *bains douches* to this day, in a tradition that dates back to the XVIII century, when the *bains-sur-Seine* were common<sup>10</sup>.

The complete absence of water in a home is rare (33,000 residences in all of France) while it is difficult to find apartments as shown in the documentary "Sous les toits de Paris"<sup>11</sup> in which, in 1968, a young French family (father, mother and baby), makes a bricolage creating an illegal water connection by running a pipe that goes to a pail. But more than one million residences are still found without a shower or bathtub, or that is 5% of the principal residences of France still do not have either alternative for their occupants other than the public bath. More surprisingly, 1.4 million residences in France, or 6% of the total, have either no toilet, shower or bathtub (see table below).

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<sup>10</sup>In 1884, the city hygiene project began with the construction of the first bain-douche in Chateau Landon, a place that little by little would be incorporated into the life of Parisians. By the post-war years an annual average of 900,000 baths were taken each year in the municipal bains-douches. In the 1950s, there were 20 municipal bains-douches and 160 private facilities. Known as *loues* these collective baths for the poor were composed of a boat tied to the shore that served as a deposit for clothes. Steps allowed one to go down to the river where the bottom was covered with sand. Used until the middle of the XVIII century, they were no more than 20 left by 1770. After these places became points of prostitution. In the XIX century there was an increase in the number of establishments that offered hot baths. From 300 bathtubs in 1813 the number rose to 2,374 twenty years later, in 1823. In 1883 Dr. Royer made a report in which he found that the average Parisian took two to three baths per year because the cost of the bath was very high. From these recommendations, the public baths were opened upon which the private establishments would infringe.

<sup>11</sup>"Sous les toits de Paris", by M. Spinello and J.P. Gallo (1968), black and white, 25 minutes.VDP.

NUMBER OF UNCOMFORTABLE PRINCIPLE RESIDENTS<sup>(12)</sup>

	Number of Principle Res in 1992	Percent of Total Prin. Res. <sup>(1)</sup>	Percent of Total Population <sup>(2)</sup> %
No hot water	647,000	2.9	2.0
No water	33,000	0.1	0.1
No toilet in apartment	918,000	4.1	2.9
No toilet in building or property	147,000	0.7	0.4
No shower or bath	1,105,000	5.1	3.2
No sink other than in kitchen	866,000	3.9	2.6
No central heating <sup>(3)</sup>	4,062,000	18.3	16.5
No heating at all	45,000	0.2	0.1

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<sup>12</sup>(1) In terms of homes; (2) In terms of individuals; (3) The notion of central heating has a broad meaning here, referring to all of the installations where a single heater feeds heating ducts in the rooms of one residence or various apartments. It also includes the integrated electric heating systems. See. Clanche 1995:91-114.

It is for good reason that in the presentation of his film "*Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle*" only two decades ago, Godard mentioned the bathroom, a routine space, among the horrors he listed.

## The Toilet

As we can see in the table above, in the last French census of 1992, 4% of the residences in France, or that is nearly one million residences do not have an interior toilet. From what we could observe in our visits to apartments in Paris, this number is also high in the capital city. It is thus for good reason that these are one of the most important spaces emphasized in the advertisements for apartments *chambre unique*, in addition to the kitchen, and the place most often emphasized in conversations with residents of small apartments, as if in itself it represented all of the awkwardness of this space.

There are normally two solutions found in the old buildings with toilets outside of the apartments: they are located either on a small platform in the corner of the staircase between the floors, or in the same corridor as the apartments. Laura said that to go to the toilet she had to descend a few steps on the stairs because it was not on her floor. The route to the toilet was drafty and worse, because there was no light in the hall, at night she needed to walk while balancing a candle. Laura did not mention, however, one of the greatest complaints of the users of these collective toilets - the filth. As these buildings rarely have servants, and when they do, they do not clean the top floor, the bathrooms need to be cared for by the residents themselves. At times, one winds up being the victim, as in the case of Gabriella, a young Italian anthropologist who said she was the only one to clean it, one of the reasons she moved. This task has a counterpart: the person that cleans it feels more like its owner than the others, but can feel used, like Gabriella, or like the young French man in the film "*Chambre de Bonne*", who complained: "*I am the only one to clean it, the others leave their shit for everyone. I even bought this brush, it cost me 30 francs (\$6 dollars) but no one uses it.*"

Toilets are gradually being installed in these apartments and the last one to get their own the toilet ends up being the only one to use the one in the hall. On the floor where Solange lived, in 1997, in a building next to the Sorbonne, there was an apartment without a toilet or a *salle de bain*, that had been recently renovated but where the owner preferred not to put in a toilet *broyeur* of the sort used in the other apartments in the building. Thus, the tenant continues to use the toilet at the beginning of the hall, near the small elevator, as if it were theirs yet outside the apartment. The tenant had the only key - but the toilet door never closed properly and in this case, it was as if the building hallway were the hall of the tenant's apartment.

The toilets are generally nothing more than a hole in the floor, a Turkish toilet, with a hole between two elevated places in the shape of shoes where the user steps, similar to what Hemmingway (1964) found in the 20's in his building on rue Cardinal Lemoine, number 74.

The main solution for the installation of the toilet found today in Paris is the *broyeur* system. This is a means of liquidification of waste that allows drainage through normal drain pipes, allowing the installation of the toilet even if there is not suitable plumbing. It was installed in Solange's apartment, who lived in a *deux-pièces* - resulting probably from the joining of two or three earlier rooms. Between the two rooms a *salle de bain* with a toilet was built, where the owner of the property placed a notice in plain sight with a written warning and icons indicating not to deposit tampons, condoms, razors, etc - which is also not recommended in regular toilets, but in this case would be catastrophic. Christine, a Parisian



friend, paid dearly for the oversight of a Brazilian who clogged her toilet with a simple o.b.. There are stories of apartments invaded by clogged waste from the system which is absolutely prohibited in other countries.

## The Kitchen

In all of the apartments, even those of reduced dimensions, we find a space reserved for the preparation of meals. There are various words used by the residents and in real estate advertisements for the kitchen space. We find the following terms: *cuisine équipée* (equipped kitchen), *cuisinette* (small kitchen), *cuisine Américaine* (American kitchen), *coin-cuisine* (corner kitchen) and kitchenette which is sometimes called *cuisinette*. Although there is a difference in the name, in general they refer to the same thing: an integrated space in the room that forms the apartment where the equipment for preparing meals is located. This *cuisine américaine* publicized as a symbol of modernity was in fact an architectural invention created at the turn of the century for lower class housing in Paris (Eleb,1995:137). In addition to the corner kitchen, we also find the *cuisine placard*, as in the apartment of Solange, where the kitchen is installed within a closet, or the *cuisine douche*, which integrates in the same space, stove, refrigerator, sink and shower, as in Mariana's apartment. Often this space is indicated by a floor covering that is different than the rest of the room, usually in ceramic.

Concerning the stove, many solutions accompany the transformation of these spaces between the 1960s and 1990s. In 1968, as showing by the documentary *Chambres de Bonnes*, an old women of 76 years cooked over a small wooden stove (also the major source of heating) fed with wood from packing boxes that she got from neighborhood shops (6<sup>ème</sup>). Students and immigrants in that period already had gas stoves that took up a substantial part of the residences but which allowed them to feed themselves or their family. A very common model of stove at this time, and which is still found in some apartments, is a small three burner plate with a separate oven, generally placed above a cabinet where food is stored. As to the refrigerator, it is not part of the required furnishing of the 1960s and 1970s, having been introduced in the 1980s in a small model that began to circulate at accessible prices. Until then people would place food on the window<sup>13</sup>, often in a system of bags when there was no ledge, or, at best, they would resort to cold storage boxes, the *glacières*, boxes located in the outside wall and which in winter sometimes serve as a refrigerator for storing food. As there are few sunny days and months of intense heat in Paris, this system, utilized from September to May, offers good refrigeration. At the end of the 1980s, a device called a "four in one" began to be installed in these kitchens, which included a sink, cabinet, stove and refrigerator.

As we indicated earlier, if an apartment has just one sink, it would have multiple uses. There are various models of sinks, and one post-war model is still common. It is porcelain, with a square basin divided in two with one side for drying the dishes. Because the faucet of these sinks is installed very high, it splashes water and it is very common for people to place a rubber tube around the spigot to direct the water.

Another common detail in these small spaces is the presence of a type of exhaust, a small tube with a fan in the window, that allows the circulation of air and of smells that otherwise would require opening a window (which is often avoided because it is necessary to move furniture due to the limited space and which in the winter would cause a loss of heat).

## The Use of Internal Space (bed, table and cabinets)

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<sup>13</sup>As in the 1967 film by Jean Luc Godard, "*Um femme est une femme*," where the central couple lives in one of these small apartments and places their food in the window.

*Studios* are characterized by versatility in the use of space and equipment and by the ephemeral manner in which furniture is arranged. In general these small apartments do not have space for the simultaneous use of all the furniture and thus the furniture is mobile, that is, it can be moved, opened or closed depending on the needs of the resident at any given time. At the beginning of the century with the construction of the first studios, there was an architectural movement that began to invent furniture adapted to these new spaces: the canapé for sleeping, etc, which was laughed at the time (Eleb, 1995:189).

It is in the place for sleeping/sitting that space most often needs to be controlled and shifted. There are two principal solutions to the problem: the first is the installation of a mezzanine/loggia loft which liberates two to three square meters, precious space for the placement of a small table with chairs or even a small canapé which at times is used by a visiting friend or relative (common guests for foreign students in Paris). The second is the presence of a canapé which must be opened each night for sleeping and remounted the next morning in order to have a little internal circulation space. Often, as in the case of Gabriella and the sculptor who live in 10m<sup>2</sup>, to open the canapé they must move a few pieces of furniture.

In the XVIII century there were more than 30 words for bed, because of the variety of its forms and functions. The most common bed at the time had curtains (72.5%) while beds with high or low pillars were also common (63%). We did not find in our research any bed with curtains or posts today. The bed itself is rare in these apartments. The use of a mattress placed right on the floor or of a sofa that serves as a bed is more common. This could be a double, for two people - and in this case is left closed during the day and at night is transformed into a bed, not without disturbing the residents who are required to store sheets and covers so that the sofa can perform its two functions, diurnal and nocturnal. The bed in the *chambre unique* apartments has multiple functions. It is a place to sleep at night, it is a place to work - that is where one reads and writes - it is a place for meals, especially when the resident is alone. It is also a place to receive visitors. The bed is also the place most protected from the cold when there is no central heat, only electrical space heaters, and the residents need to economize energy by protecting themselves under the covers.

In apartments of 12 m<sup>2</sup> it is difficult to have a bed and a sofa, unless there is a mezzanine as in the apartment of Mariana. In the larger apartments we can find a distribution of functions between these two pieces of furniture. In this case, the residents have a tendency to leave the sheets and covers on the bed during the day, at most covering them with a bedspread. However, as they both share the same room, the bed can serve as a sofa in case of guests. This was the case for Carol who lived in 21m<sup>2</sup>.

*"At first I had only the sofa from IKEA. It was a drag, I had to make the bed every night. Later, someone gave me a mattress. It gave me the illusion of two rooms: the mattress was the bedroom, the sofa the living room. We got used to it. In Brazil I lived in a house of 100m<sup>2</sup>, in Paris, each piece of furniture was a room. When I would go to the table to eat I would imagine I was going to the kitchen, when I went to the table to work it was as if I was going to my study".*

Without room dividers, the furniture creates invisible walls, divides the apartment, multiplies the perceived space; the space is above all the dreamed space (Bachelard, 1957).

The table, next to the canapé also plays this role, being either a place for intellectual work or a place for meals. When there is only one, the table is large, at least some 60cm large and high, at least 70 cm from the floor. But it is rare that there is only one table in an apartment, usually there is another smaller and lower one, which serves for a television or radio and on social occasions, or for the meal of the resident, as a place for a plate. The larger table is usually the work table. Since our sources were mostly doctoral students, the table

served as a desk where books, papers, a computer and printer were placed. At meal time, if there was no other table in the home, it is cleared of these objects and assumes the function of an eating table, especially when the resident receives visitors. When the resident is alone he or she prefers to leave it untouched. At times the table is foldable and must be opened each time it is needed. In cases where the apartment is small, we find a three-legged table that breaks down, that needs to be closed at night so the bed can be made and remounted during the day when the table occupies the space of the bed, guaranteeing a small corner for eating or even in some cases making meals on the floor or on the canapé so it is not necessary to move the study material.

These apartments generally have a small closet for clothes and shelves for books (which accumulate with time in the residence). The dishes and the food can also have their own cabinet, near the kitchen/corner, with the space below the kitchen sink also used for this purpose. One of the greatest complaints of our sources was that food storage becomes impossible when there is little space and for this reason the built-in cabinets (placards) are highly appreciated. At times we find cabinets that serve multi-functions. This is the case of a chest, which in addition to serving as storage can be useful as a low table or can be a small sofa.

In some of these apartments small closets are created below the roof eaves, as we can see in scenes of films about *chambres de bonne* where the residents playfully call these small closets "caves", in one film because they stored drinks there and in another because they stored wood with which they would light their wood stove (this was in the 1960s and it is now prohibited to light fires in apartments).

## The External Space

### The View

For our sources, the territory of these apartments goes beyond the internal space, extending to the hall, the stairs, and above all incorporating the view as an extension of the living space.

Many ads for these small spaces mention brightness or a view as one of the advantages of this type of residence, which is evidence that light is not always abundant in the *chambres* and *studios*. There are many categories used in the ads to indicate the advantages of living *sous les toits de Paris* such as *chambre mansardée* (a mansard room) *clair* (bright) *ensoleillé* (sunny), *vue dégagée* (open view), *sans vis à vis* (no building in front). There are also references about exposure to the sun, emphasizing when there is a southern exposure which is desired in the Northern hemisphere, or if there are windows on both sides (*double exposition, exposé sud, plein sud*). A view of a certain city monument is mentioned more for sixth floor and top floor apartments as in the ad below.

Studio confort Séjour, cuisine, 6e ct. dernier étage. **Vue sur Tour Eiffel.**

The view referred to in the ads is also emphasized by the residents to counter-balance the difficulty of having to climb six flights of stairs. "*I feel like my room is a boat and that I sail above the roofs of Paris*"; "*I have a beautiful view and the illusion of being free*" said some of the sixth floor residents in one of the documentaries about this type of residence. The composer Eric Satie also pointed to the advantage of his "placard" with a northern view, when he playfully said, "*My view reaches the Belgium border*".

For the ground floor apartments the advertisements list a view of a private patio (*cour privée*) of the building's internal garden (*vue sur jardin privatif*) or of a garden with trees

(*sur jardin arbores*); greenery that makes any Parisian dream of the campagne, a mythic space for the French. For others who are less fortunate, they speak only of the view of a *pátio* (*sur cour*) or of a street (*sur rue*) in the old *loges de concierge* which are being transformed into *studettes*.

The situation is nearly tragic for some of our sources, above all those who experienced, in addition to living in a micro-space, living on the ground floor with very little sunlight. The lack of light stimulates imaginative strategies and unexpected social interactions. Peter, the central character of Mary McCarthy's novel *Oiseaux d'Amérique*, who lived in a small dark Parisian apartment, would take his plant for a walk to offer it a bit more light.

### **Halls and Roofs**

The appropriation of a condominium space, like a hallway, by one or two residents is common, which indicates the community spirit generated by these types of situations in which a living space is minuscule. In addition to the declarations of neighbors that lend each other domestic utensils and cooking ingredients across doors and windows and often improvise dinner parties in the small hallways between their residences, we have Laura's story of how the access hall of her apartment was "privatized" during an insupportably hot summer when she and the neighbor realized that if they left their doors and windows open they could create an air current that refreshed them a bit. With time, they became accustomed to this new living situation with the doors open, and did not even close them to sleep. "*We wound up becoming friends. In the morning when he went down he would take out my garbage*".

The heat is omnipresent in the memory of the sixth floor residents. Many times the roof is made of zinc offering little protection against the exterior temperatures and is also very low, concentrating the heat. A couple of Brazilian students who lived in a sixth floor apartment, fruit of the union of two *chambres*, said that hot nights were spent nearly sleep walking in a path between the bed and the bathroom. There they would refresh themselves by soaking in the bathtub which was left full of water and then go back to bed still wet to support the heat under the roof. One night, one of them wound up falling asleep inside the bathtub.

Another scene of escaping from the heat was witnessed by one of us on the Rue des Chantiers, on the 5<sup>ème</sup>, a block from the Bd. Saint Germain. One very hot August day, while the sun beat mercilessly down on the buildings, an old woman tried to cool off her home by climbing out a small window to pour water on the zinc roof. This dangerous task showed that many strategies are developed to bear the summer in these apartments. For some it is not enough to bathe the body, it is necessary to bathe the house itself.

### **The elevators and the stairs**

In addition to the hallway, the stairs and elevator are also seen as extensions of the apartment, as can be found in a short advertisement that boasts of the spaces outside the apartments:

1 piece VII<sup>e</sup> 180 000F - Investisseurs! Enfin une chambre de service proche du Bd.Victor Dupuy. La qualité de la cage d'escalier et de l'ascenseur satisferont pleinement les futurs locataires.

With nothing else to offer, they boast about the staircase and the elevators. In the floor plans that accompany some ads it is common for the design to include the hall and stairs (and at times the elevator). The stairs are not always spacious, especially in buildings in

neighborhoods such as Halles or the Latin Quarter where the stairs get smaller at each floor, as in the case of our friend Christine who lives on the 5th floor of a XVIII century building and where furniture must be introduced through the window because the stair case is too narrow. But this is not a problem in Paris, because specialized moving companies have elevators (like fire truck ladders) that allow them to do the moving on the outside of the building.

The lack of light and a view characteristic of undervalued apartments on the ground floor, is compensated by the ease of access. A sixth floor resident each year climbs up 14,455 meters, advancing 28,9000 meters on the horizontal axes if only one trip is made daily, according to a calculation made by Bertrand (1980).

The elevator, which appeared in 1904, would decrease the vertical hierarchy of the apartments in which the value of the apartments decreased on the upper floors. In some cases the elevator would invert this order. But the installation of an elevator is only possible in very large buildings, where there was a large staircase. It is important to remember that there were often two staircases in one building, in the case of a front entrance (coté rue) or the rear entrance (coté cour) which is less appreciated than the first. Even when there are elevators in the buildings, they almost never go to the sixth floor, stopping at the fifth, the last floor destined for bourgeois residents. For this reason, when ads indicate elevators for the sixth floor apartments, it is understood that there is only one flight to climb, the fifth to the sixth, as in the case of the apartments of Denise (6è) and Sofia (13è) both formed by the regrouping of *chambres de bonne* and raised to the category of deux pièces.

Sometimes, even when the building is a condominium, or that is, where all the residents equally share the facilities, elevator access is a tightly guarded privilege.

Historians say that when elevators first came into use, they were considered dangerous. There were cases when only the concierge had the key to the elevator, so that everyone needed to be assisted in order to go to their own apartment<sup>14</sup>.

### **The concierge**

Many of these buildings have watchmen to manage them, the concierges, who are the living souls of the buildings. Sixth floor residents report that the concierges regularly treat them as inferior residents. "We are like an inferior tenant, cut-off from the world because of the height (...) and the concierge is the policeman that controls us, he speaks badly of our noise that seems to disturb the true tenants, those that live on the floors below us", said the residents in *Sous les Toits de Paris*. "In the building where I live there is mirror that reflects on the lobby where the *concierge* is stationed, so that he can see through the mirror everything that he cannot see directly. This panoptic observer of private life knows the time I go down to buy a baguette, when I check the mail (and knows what is in the mail because he fills the post boxes), when I (Carol) go out, with whom I go out, when I arrive. Thus, no anonymity is possible". If today the concierges no longer distribute the key at night to the tenants, they still have many means of control over the tenants' lives. They are very different from the uniformed doormen of U.S. buildings on Park Avenue, who are there to open the door, but interfere very little in the life of the residents. The concierges do not use a uniform, they are like the other residents of the building car they actually live in the building. They share the same concerns about heating, a water shortage or electricity blackouts and have friends and

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<sup>14</sup>The elevator continues to be considered a dangerous device until today. Many buildings prohibit children to use the elevators alone.

enemies in the building. Their solidarity however is not with the tenants, but with the absentee owners. Any threat to the building status quo is seen as a threat to themselves.

The concierge or *gardienne* in the more current version, is at times cited in the texts of real estate advertisements, to indicate that the building is of good quality: "the building even has servants!" Their place is comparable to that of the elevator - as in an ad that says the apartment has a *gardienne et ascenseur*. The guard, the ghost that provides security for residents in all large urban centers, is also found in Paris, and if the concierge was a required object for bourgeois buildings, today they are there as much to insure that there will be someone to protect the building from theft. Since robbery is common in Paris, armored doors are also advertised for apartments as well as *digicodes*.

### **Parks, cafés and libraries**

After all we wrote about the extremely bad conditions of living in some spaces in Paris, some questions impose themselves: Why do the Parisians live in such apartments? How come they are still attractive to foreigners and Frenchs coming from the Province? The answer lies beyond the tine walls of their homes: is Paris, the town, the external spaces that surround these apartments.

We already mentioned the public baths as an external extension of these apartments. And also point out the view of the city as an important part of the apartment, the gray and black ardosian and zinc roofs, with their ceramic chaminés indeed compose a nice view for most of our informants. But rare of these aparts have a view and in fact, those that do have one don't allow to see very far away since they are located only at the 6th floor level.

"Public baths" and "view", however, are not the only external spaces that matter for the Parisians. As we know, the very conception of a modern city was built around the notion of the predominant role of public spaces (Sennet). And Paris is no exception. Zola(1974) already emphasis the enormous importance of the streets, the markets, the fountains, the pub's for the poor Parisians escape from their *taudies*. In the beginning of the century, Baudelaire's, Simmel's and Benjamin's descriptions of the *flaneurs* make us understand the bourgeois enchantment of just loiter, anonymous, in the city's boulevards or to gaze at it from a cafe's verandas. The large store's windows and the direct and almost erotic contact (Balzac) with the object displayed/exposed inside also became part of the world of these inhabitants.

Today, the streets of Paris keeps its charm and continues to be seen as an extension of Parisians homes. They are admired as an enormous living museum in which every sight has been already painted or photographed. Beyond its beauty, the Parisian public space is generous in many ways. It offers squares where children play on sandboxes and with a variety of public equipments. It offers cement Ping-Pong tables and spaces where men, most retired, spend hours playing *pétanque* or where Parisians stop just to read a newspaper or a book in the sunny days. It offers large parks, like Bois de Vincennes, Bois de Boulogne, and also parks as Parc de Choisy, de Bercy, Kellermann, de la Turlure, de Monceau, de la Butte-du-Chapeau-Rouge, de Belleville, de Montsouris<sup>15</sup>, André-Citroën, Buttes-Chaumont<sup>16</sup>, Georges-Brassens. The garden's list are extensive: Jardin de Luxembourg<sup>17</sup>, Jardin de Plantes<sup>18</sup>, Jardin Saint-Vincent, Jardin de Fleur, Jardin des Halles, Jardin du Marais (Léopold-Achille, Saint-Gilles-Grand-Veneur), Moulin de la-Pointe, Jardin de Invalides, du Trocadéro, de la Zac Dorian, de Reuilly, Atlantique, de Ranelagh, Orphelins-Apprentis d'Auteuil, de l' Arsenal, des

<sup>15</sup>See the film PARIS EST UNE FÔRET, de Georges Franju and CLEO DE 5 à 7 de Agnès Varda.

<sup>16</sup>See the film LA FEMME DE L'AVIATEUR, de Éric Rohmer.

<sup>17</sup> The Jardin de Luxembourg is show, among other films, in TOUS LES GARÇONS S'APPELLENT PATRICK, de Jean-Luc Godard and LES JARDINS DU LUXEMBOURG de Joëlle Van Effenterre.

<sup>18</sup> The Jardin de Plantes is show in the film LA PUNITION, de Jean Rouch.

Blancs-Manteaux, de l'Intendant, du Marais, du Pré-aux-Chevaux, Saint-Vincent, Sarah-Bernardt, de Auteuil, Thomire). And longer is the list of squares. There Parisians spend their time in contact with nature and go for picnics, bike drives, soccer, volley, bat-mits games or just stop for a moment to walk or read. There they walk their dogs, feed pigeons and cats. Including this old woman who came everyday to the park of Trocadero with a pan full of left-over to feed "her" cats - and afterwards, sits on a bench, places a rug over her legs to avoid dirty her decadent fur coat and caresses them for a long while.

Paris offers the Sena's riversides for sunbathe and picnics but also for jiu-jitsu, capoeira, tai-shi and rock dances classes; offers the calm sidewalk of the water channel of Saint Martin. Even the graveyards (Montmartre, Montparnasse, Passy, and Père-Lachaise) are frequently used as parks (Petonnet, 1987; Sansot, n/d). The water fountains (Trocadero, des Innocents) serves as piscine for the youngsters in the hottest days of august, and the parks' grass (Champs de Mars, Parc de Montsouris, etc) are transformed into a living-room for conversation when the weather is nice. Not mentioning the Beaubourg's side-walk, called "beach" for the tourists and the Parisians whom lies down on the its cobble-stones to get the benefices of the sun.

The streets are more and more a sport space but to wonder in the city became a pleasure activity long before the body-built culture of the end of the 20th century. Paris has already 100 kilometers of bike tracks and keeps extending them; bikes and lately rollers, are common ways of transportation. Every Friday night, a group of 1000 to 2000 rollers get together in front of the Galaxy Shopping Mall at Place d'Italie for a group ride throughout the city, with the police protection. The Trocadero's square, marmoreal ground/floor as well as the Bastille's place are also loved spots for skaters and rollers.

Besides, there are the public in-doors spaces. During the winter, the large internal spaces of Centre Georges Pompidou, Les Halles and of numerous shopping malls and huge stores (Gallery Lafayette, Samaritaine, BHV, etc) fulfill some functions of the boulevards and the squares. The place of Agora inside Les Halles is used as a meeting point for *teens* who stay there for hours, dancing hip-hop and even playing with their dogs. Almost the same can be see in the Beaubourg hall, which attracts elders. Spaces normally use for circulation, can be transformed in meeting points sometimes during the year: some subways halls gains televisions sets during Roland Garros tennis cup or World Soccer Cup; its been taken by musicians and sometimes even fruits and jewelry sales. And since 1975, the transportation 60 dollars pass called Carte Orange allows its owners to use the subways and buses as much as they want. Many retires get into a bus just for the ride.

The innumerable libraries are also places to stay during the day. Every neighborhood in Paris has its free public library. Beside books, they offer daily newspapers, a variety of magazines and sometimes multimedia sections. They are visited by students, of course, but also by the common habitants of the city in search of books or just to enjoy the warm of the heat. Many habitants have a precisely hour everyday when they go to the library to read the newspaper. The popularity of these 62 libraries can easy be measure by the long lines in front of Beaubourg, the central one. With one single card a Parisian are able to use all of them. There are also other places to stay hours reading. It's very common to see consumers that goes to a bookshop not intending to buy anything. No sale's men will disturb them, at a large magazine. At the cartoon's section of FNAC, for instance, visitors are surprised by the large number of youngsters on the floor reading their favorites stories. Idem at the music section of FNAC or Virgin.

The most famous of the Parisian public in-doors spaces however are the coffeehouses (Langle, 1990), the *cafés* that exists as a real extension of the Parisian's apartments. They're used as a place to be with friends as much as to work alone. The literature is full writers that used the *cafés* as their second home (Hemingway, Verlaine, Benjamin, Sartre, Beauvoir and

the list goes on and on), spending there the largest part of the day or the night. Today, many cafés keep this function (Dumazier, 1962:197-249). The second floor of the famous Café Deux Magots has a room with comfortable armchairs where writers and intellectuals spent their time. Others, serves as a helpful warming place in the winter saving money for the heat. In the absence of offices at the University, Sorbonne's teachers no rarely invite students to the Café de Cluny or Balthazar that also offers a room with comfortable chairs.

Of course, all this café's generosity has a price. And the prices, usually high, vary for the same *expresso* according to a supposed space-value: to drink it at the balcony may cost half of to drink it at a table which is less than to drink it sitting at the window (veranda) or at the tables placed out-side. Instead of charging the time, the cafés charge the space, establishing a non-arbitrary scale.

For our Brazilians informants, the bars use also to be part of their lives but in no way they're work related. A Brazilian bar is more like a pub than a coffeehouse. There we are supposed to drink beer. Called "barzinho" (middle and upper classes) and "botequim" (lower class), they are noisy spaces where people get together for hours during the evenings, drink, talking and sometimes "batucando", that is playing music using the wood-tables as drums. Brazilians, in general, don't work in a botequim. No one considers work the conversations of a botequim (café du commerce) even though it is where writers and journalists find their inspirations and many songs were there composed (for example the classic Tom Jobim's "Garota de Ipanema"). Once in Paris, the Brazilians seem to discover another café function. But few of our informants actually used it as an office. More frequently is the use of the Parisians libraries seen as extensions of their home study places.

Their home kitchen also has an extension: the university restaurants (RU) or, for those who are doing researches at a CNRS' lab, the "cantina". Sidney, a college teacher at a catholic University in São Paulo, told us "My life changed after I discovered the MSH's cantina (restaurant), I became gayer". In his case, is not just the food quality that matters; more important is to be not alone - even if he doesn't talk to his table neighbors he feels their company. Not mentioning the internal spaces where they have to pay to get inside but that are often visited by our informants: more than 300 cinemas ("We use to go with her, even though she had only 2 years old they let us in"), theatres, museums, art galleries, etc.

## **Conclusion:**

What do the small apartments of Paris evoke for us? In the first place, the ephemeral, the circumstantial, the sacrificial. They are living spaces; therefore they should be spaces where one can be, where one can stay. Yet, for the residents, to be there is a transitory phase of life, a passage. No one sees themselves as a resident of these small apartments for their entire life. One is there for a limited period of time - the time of sacrifice imposed by the conditions of social apprenticeship for those that is still not fully integrated into society, the student; the time of sacrifice imposed by one who needs to save money to go to another place, where there would be a true home.

This symbolic non-integration of the resident of the space of the small apartments brings us a second image that these spaces evoke: exclusion. What is unique to Paris is not so much the existence of precarious residences from the point of view of the fixtures and appliances offered, or of the apartment size. This is found in any large city of the world and even more so in recent decades with the growth of the so-called fourth-world population. What is unique to Paris is the spatial mixture of rich and poor residences, without this concretely forming a social exclusion in a tradition that dates back to the monarchy.

The social mixture of the residences, a consequence of the mixture of the types of residence, was recommended as a humanitarian way of contributing to social peace through



the understanding between neighbors. The result, however, is that instead of an horizontal hierarchy, in Paris the tradition caused to prevail a vertical hierarchy within one single building.

To live in a *chambre de bonne*, or a *loge de concierge*, any room that could be considered a "studio" is to be close to the social life of the true citizens, to live with them but not fully integrated into the city. To live in these micro-apartments, is to be in some way in a threshold space, a space that characterizes the period of study. *The chambre de bonne* is close to the roof, an extreme, as the *loge de concierge* which is on the *rez-de-chaussée* of the buildings, a semi-public space, the space of the lobby, a place to wait to go up to the residences, the place of mail boxes, of waiting for the elevator. In one case, the space is excluded because no one goes up to the sixth floor, in the other, because everyone passes through them: close to the front door, to the strangers that circulate in the street. One is found on the top story, the other is not even on a separate story.

The fact that Parisian culture allows a young student to live in a space that would be considered "marginal" in another large city of the world, without this indicating a lowering of their social condition, appears to us to be a question peculiar to the social representation of living in Paris. For to live in a *chambre* without a shower or toilet is not considered humiliating, as it would be in Brazil, and is in fact part of the initiation rites of French intellectual life. However, these living spaces are only accepted as transitions and linked to a threshold period in the life of a student, since once the period of studies is over, this type of residence becomes "inconvenient" for a young member of the middle class in search of social insertion.

### Post-script

In 1991, then Prime Minister Edith Cresson in an interview with English television made a statement that for weeks kept the diplomatic corps of two countries busy, requiring numerous requests for apologies from the Mitterrand government: "The Japanese are like ants, they live piled up on top of each other". I remember that upon hearing the declaration on a French television broadcast, that many images came to me of the tiny spaces in Japan<sup>19</sup>. Yet how, in Paris, the capital of France, could it be possible to be so indignant of the Japanese lifestyle. For the French, such as Cresson, this was no way for humans to live, and in search for an animal that is also an example of discipline, the choice landed on the ants. But, for Brazilians, it is the Parisians that appear to be jailed up in winter in their micro-cages, with the peculiarity of being neighbors to residents of large apartments. The social division by neighborhood, initiated by Hausman, has still not dislodged these residents and thus the Japanese on the sixth floor continue to live together with the Parisians of Cresson.

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<sup>19</sup>As in Wim Wenders film, *To the End of the World*, which shows a Japanese hotel in which the "rooms", were in reality drawers, cells of two cubic meters in a wall where the guest entered and closed oneself in, but inside even had a television.

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