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Housing for Reciprocity:
Housing Organisations Seeking out Just Social Relations Among Diverse Residents

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Thesis abstract

This thesis examines research on housing programs in Australia and France that provide low-income housing within central, well-resourced urban areas. It argues that these models, conceived on the premise of reciprocity, offer a more just approach to residential desegregation than mainstream "social mix" policy approaches employed within both the Australian and French contexts. It explores how framing social relations between socioeconomically diverse residents through the lens of reciprocity offers a conceptual and practical alternative to "role model" thinking that underpins social mix, which assumes that the values and behaviours modelled by middle-class residents who, through large scale demolition and reconstruction programs, move into areas that concentrate poverty, can "bring the neighbourhood up" (Bacqué et al. 2014). Reciprocity alternatively frames encounters across difference as mutually enriching exchanges between interdependent equals. Relations of reciprocity thus flow across a web of interconnected individuals, and flow across time.

The thesis draws on research into programs run by four non-governmental housing organisations—in Australia, mixed-tenured community housing in Ashwood, Melbourne and homestay accommodation for people seeking asylum in Brisbane; and in France, student housing provided next to social housing estates in Paris's 18th district and a mixed-tenured co-housing residence in Montreuil. It examines how these organisations conceive of reciprocity in their missions, and they operationalise these conceptions in their approaches to recruitment, partnerships, capacity building, accompaniment and housing design. It considers how these approaches shape social relations between residents, by exploring *what* and *how* residents are reciprocating in encounters across difference. Finally, it provides emerging examples of how these encounters contribute to reducing inequalities and prejudice, and strengthening capabilities and solidarity. In doing so, it proposes a theoretical conceptualisation of reciprocity based on a social ontology of interdependence and interconnectedness. It also argues that these cases offer insights into alternative approaches to social mix and demonstrate the value of elaborating new, more just models of residential desegregation.

Thesis Summary in French

1. Objet et perspectives de la thèse

Cette thèse comparative porte sur des programmes de logements abordables en Australie et en France, produits à destination des populations à bas revenus dans des zones urbaines centrales plutôt favorisées. Elle cherche à montrer comment ces initiatives, qui émanent à la fois d'associations et de bailleurs sociaux, proposent une alternative à la déségrégation résidentielle, plus juste pour les bénéficiaires que les approches dominantes des politiques de mixité sociale.

Les gestionnaires de ces logements conçoivent en effet le mélange de groupes sociaux divers dans l'habitat sur la base du volontariat et dans la perspective d'une « réciprocité ». La thèse analyse les relations sociales dans ces cadres résidentiels en montrant qu'elles sont à l'inverse de la théorie des « role models » qui sous-tend l'objectif de mixité sociale et explore les types d'échanges mutuels entre les résidents différents socialement dans quatre programmes. Elle revient ensuite sur la manière dont ces analyses réinterrogent les différentes dimensions de la justice sociale et ouvrent sur la réciprocité comme alternative à une conception de la mixité sociale fondée sur l'idée que les valeurs et les modèles de comportement des classes moyennes pourraient valoriser l'ensemble du quartier.

La ségrégation résidentielle structure des villes telles que Paris, en France, et Melbourne et Brisbane, en Australie, d'une manière qui non seulement sépare les résidents dans l'espace selon des critères socio-économiques, mais repousse également les résidents à faibles revenus à la périphérie des villes (Rhein 1998 ; Préteceille 2006, 2009 ; Blanc 2010 ; Pawson et Herath 2015 ; Randolph et Holloway 2005 ; Baum et Gleeson 2010 ; Wiesel et al. 2018). La thèse s'appuie sur la théorie d'Iris Marion Young (2002) sur des formes d'injustice sociale générées par la séparation spatiale et résidentielles entre les habitants les plus aisés et les plus pauvres de la ville.

Les réponses politiques à la ségrégation dans les villes occidentales consistent moins dans la création de logements accessibles pour les personnes à faibles revenus dans les centres-villes bien dotés en ressources, que dans la démolition à grande échelle du parc de logements sociaux dans les zones qui concentrent la pauvreté, afin de reconstruire des logements mixtes publics-privés (Lelévrier 2013 ; Arthurson 2012). Bien que destinée à faciliter "les rencontres entre des personnes qui ne se rencontreraient pas autrement" (Mugnano et Palvarini 2013:418), la mixité sociale a été largement critiquée (Lelévrier 2013 ; Arthurson 2012). Outre les limites des politiques menées au nom de la mixité sociale et de leurs effets, les postulats sur lesquels repose la notion de mixité sociale restent en eux-mêmes problématiques. La justification du bien-fondé de la mixité sociale se fonde en effet le plus souvent sur la notion de « role model » ; les quartiers qui concentrent la pauvreté pourraient être améliorés par l'arrivée de résidents plus aisés, qui servent de modèles de comportement pour leurs voisins plus pauvres (Camina et Wood 2009 ; Rose et al. 2013 ; Bacqué et al. 2011 ; Arthurson 2012 ; Lelévrier 2013 ; August

2019 ; Costarelli et Melic 2022). Ces résidents de logements sociaux, potentiels bénéficiaires de cette mixité, sont le plus souvent des personnes à faibles revenus, des personnes de couleur, des immigrés, des jeunes et des membres de groupes religieux minoritaires (August 2019 ; Arthurson 2012). Outre la vision très négative qu'une telle hypothèse donne des "pauvres dans la ville", elle fait de des comportements "modélisés" de la classe moyenne, une normalité non remise en cause (August 2019). Plus problématique encore, elle suppose que les bénéfices des rencontres à travers les différences vont dans une seule direction (Camina et Wood 2009), faisant des résidents plus pauvres, des bénéficiaires plutôt que des acteurs dans ces ensembles résidentiels. Cette thèse cherche à questionner ces postulats à travers une analyse fine de programmes de logement visant la déségrégation et l'accès au logement de populations à bas revenus mais mettant en œuvre une « réciprocité » entre les groupes sociaux différents.

Quelles sont les relations sociales qui se nouent entre les divers habitants au sein d'un espace résidentiel mixte, mais conçu comme un lieu d'échange mutuel ? En s'appuyant sur la littérature de philosophie politique et de géographie critique, la thèse explore le concept de " réciprocité" - intégré dans une ontologie de l'interdépendance sociale qui conçoit les individus comme reliés par des réseaux relationnels mutuellement bénéfiques (Campbell 2006) - comme une autre manière de structurer ces relations sociales, et comme une alternative plus juste que les politiques ordinaires de mixité sociale, pour les ménages à faibles revenus. Contrairement à la littérature sur les relations de « care » (Williams 2017 ; Wiesel et al. 2020 ; Power et Williams 2020) ou d'hospitalité (Bell 2007 ; Germann Molz et Gibson 2007 ; Valentine 2008 ; Darling 2020), ce concept de réciprocité reste largement sous-étudié dans la recherche urbaine. Pourtant, la réciprocité présente un grand potentiel en tant que cadre théorique pour analyser les relations sociales dans la ville et voir dans quelle mesure elle peut favoriser plus de justice sociale. Il est particulièrement intéressant de voir comment ce postulat de réciprocité peut sous-tendre la mise en œuvre de modèles de logement alternatifs qui cherchent à contribuer à la déségrégation.

L'une des injustices découlant de la ségrégation résidentielle décrite par Young (2002) est le manque d'espaces - tant physiques que sociaux - permettant aux habitants de se réunir au-delà de leurs différences, afin d'acquérir une compréhension des divers points de vue, valeurs, expériences et réalités sociales, et d'en explorer les implications pour la vie urbaine commune. Les interactions sociales entre des habitants divers sont donc en partie considérées comme une opportunité aussi pour les plus privilégiés de la société. Ces derniers peuvent prendre conscience de la réalité de la pauvreté et de ses effets sur les habitants de leur ville, et assumer une responsabilité partagée pour l'éradiquer, tout en ouvrant un espace pour une participation plus universelle à l'élaboration et à la reconstruction de la ville.

2. **Questions, perspectives de recherche et choix des terrains**

Pour analyser la réciprocité en tant que postulat sous-jacent aux programmes de logements visant à lutter contre la ségrégation, la thèse s'appuie sur le concept de "politique de la possibilité" de J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006, 2008), qui considère le travail scientifique comme un moyen " d'ouvrir des possibilités " (2008:215). Observer des manières moins dominantes

d'être et de voir dans la ville peut permettre de mettre en exergue ces pratiques alternatives (Williams 2020). Dans cette perspective, la thèse analyse la réciprocité, en tant que mode de relation alternatif et moins visible, à même d'orienter des programmes de logement. Le travail de terrain étudie également comment la réciprocité peut structurer les rapports des résidents qui participent à des programmes de logement fondés sur cette éthique.

L'analyse se centre sur quatre programmes pertinents de logements abordables en Australie et en France qui identifient la réciprocité comme une valeur fondamentale qui guide leur conception et leur fonctionnement. Il s'agit d'un programme de logement communautaire dans la banlieue de Melbourne, d'un programme d'hébergement pour les demandeurs d'asile basé dans les banlieues aisées de Brisbane, d'une résidence pour étudiants universitaires à proximité de logements sociaux au cœur de Paris, et d'une résidence d'habitat participatif à revenus mixtes dans la proche banlieue de Paris.

Les quatre programmes proposent des logements à loyer modéré dans des quartiers centraux mixtes, ce qui permet une proximité avec des résidents urbains plus aisés. Ils constituent des initiatives innovantes qui se distinguent des programmes de mixité sociale classiques à plusieurs égards. La principale différence à souligner est que plutôt que d'essayer d'attirer des ménages de la classe moyenne pour qu'ils s'installent dans des zones qui concentrent la pauvreté, ces programmes utilisent le logement social ou abordable comme un outil permettant d'éviter que les personnes à faibles revenus ne soient exclues des quartiers aisés. De cette manière, ces personnes ont accès au centre-ville, à ses services et à ses équipements et, dans certains cas, évitent d'être expulsées de leur quartier. Une autre distinction entre ces quatre programmes et les politiques classiques de mixité sociale réside dans les conceptions des rapports sociaux qui les sous-tendent. Chaque organisme cherche à favoriser parmi des habitants divers socialement, des "rapports de réciprocité" - un terme utilisé explicitement par deux organismes (RWA et Habitat et Humanisme) et de manière plus indirecte par les deux autres (HousingFirst et AFEV).

Malgré des contextes nationaux et urbains très différents, des groupes cibles variés, des modèles de logement et des cadres institutionnels divergents, le point commun entre ces quatre programmes reste le principe de base de la réciprocité en tant qu'éthique susceptible d'encadrer de manière plus juste les rapports sociales entre les résidents. Tous ces programmes cherchent à favoriser les interactions sociales entres des habitants divers, à la fois au sein de l'espace de logement et au-delà. Dans les communications formelles et informelles, les discours de ces organismes présentent les avantages de ces rencontres comme étant multidirectionnels. Il n'y a pas un "groupe" fixe qui bénéficie de ces interactions avec un "groupe" mieux intégré ou plus productif.

Les questions de recherche qui ont guidé l'enquête de terrain sont les suivantes :

- Comment la réciprocité est-elle conçue et mise en œuvre dans les postulats et les pratiques des organismes qui proposent les programmes de logement ?

- Comment la réciprocité est-elle conçue et vécue dans les rapports sociaux entre les habitants ?
- Comment la vie des habitants est-elle influencée par les rapports de réciprocité ?

Pour répondre à la première question, une partie de la thèse porte sur les discours de chaque organisme et la manière dont la réciprocité est mise en œuvre dans leurs programmes de logement. La deuxième et troisième questions sont abordées principalement du point de vue des habitants qui se rencontrent et pratiquent (ou pas) des relations de réciprocité. L'analyse des interactions de réciprocité sur la vie des habitants qui y participent s'appuie sur le cadre conceptuel de Ruth Fincher et Kurt Iveson (2008), mettant en avant les concepts de redistribution et de reconnaissance, ainsi que ceux de capabilités et de transformation collective.

Les deux programmes d'études de cas australiens sont nés dans un cadre néolibéral (et en réponse à celui-ci), d'abord sous la forme d'une action collective répondant à une injustice ressentie. Dans la banlieue de St Kilda, au cœur de Melbourne, divers habitants se sont mobilisés pour contrecarrer un processus rapide d'embourgeoisement, évoluant vers ce qui est aujourd'hui connu sous le nom d'association de logement *HousingFirst*. À Brisbane, des individus se sont organisés pour trouver des moyens d'atténuer les effets des politiques de plus en plus sévères à l'égard des demandeurs d'asile, créant *Refugees Welcome Australia* pour proposer des programmes d'hébergement. Ces réponses peuvent être interprétées comme une manifestation de la capacité du collectif à s'élever pour lutter de manière constructive contre l'injustice, démontrant que le cadre néolibéral, bien que dominant, n'est pas omniprésent et que d'autres façons de voir, d'être et d'agir dans la ville sont possibles, voire même accélérées par les effets négatifs des politiques néo-libérales (Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2008).

En France, les études de cas s'inscrivent dans les discours et les cadres politiques existants, propulsés par l'avènement de nouvelles politiques visant à une certaine égalité. Pourtant, elles sont aussi l'expression de réponses citoyennes et associatives à l'injustice dans les grandes villes de France. A Paris, la perception de l'injustice pousse les étudiants à agir en tant que citoyens engagés contre l'exclusion et l'inégalité vécues dans les quartiers pauvres des grandes villes françaises. L'AFEV (Association de la Fondation Etudiante pour la Ville) propose des logements aux étudiants dans ou à proximité des résidences de logements sociaux, en contrepartie d'un engagement des étudiants dans des actions de "solidarité" avec leurs voisins. À Lyon, un promoteur immobilier rejette l'idée que la relégation des pauvres aux marges de la ville soit une conséquence inévitable de son propre métier, et encore moins des processus de planification et de rénovation urbaine, et crée Habitat et Humanisme, dont une des missions vise à maintenir les personnes à faibles revenus dans les centres-villes.

Mes données ont été principalement récoltées à partir de méthodes ethnographiques, par le biais d'entretiens semi-structurés ainsi que par l'observation des pratiques des organismes ou des espaces où les habitants se rencontrent. J'ai également recueilli des données par le biais de

documents officiels et de communications de chaque organisation. Les données ont été recueillies en 2018, selon le calendrier suivant :

HousingFirst (Melbourne) : février-avril 2018
AFEV (Paris) : mai-juin 2018, septembre-novembre 2018.
Habitat et Humanisme (Paris) : juin-septembre 2018
RWA (Brisbane) : juillet-septembre 2018

J'ai interrogé 98 personnes dans les quatre études de cas. Parmi elles, 47 membres du personnel ou bénévoles des organisations fournissant les logements ou de leurs partenaires, répartis comme suit : HousingFirst (15); Refugees Welcome Australia (16); AFEV (10); Habitat et Humanisme (6). J'ai également interrogé 51 habitants : HousingFirst (21) ; Refugees Welcome Australia (10); AFEV (10) ; Habitat et Humanisme (11).

3. Structuration de la thèse

Pour mieux comprendre le concept de réciprocité et son potentiel dans des programmes de logements sociaux et abordables, la thèse explore d'abord le concept, à travers une revue de la littérature sur la mixité, les interactions sociales et des discussions théoriques sur la justice, s'appuyant en particulier sur la philosophie politique (ch.2). Elle développe ensuite dans le chapitre 3, les implications d'une « épistémologie de la possibilité », visant à mettre en exergue des initiatives et pratiques qui ouvrent sur des alternatives aux politiques menées, en s'inspirant des travaux de J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006, 2008).

Après avoir posé le cadre théorique et la perspective de la thèse, le chapitre 4 retrace l'histoire de chaque organisme et les contextes nationaux et urbains des quatre programmes de logement tout en faisant ressortir les similitudes de ces cas.

Le chapitre 5 analyse ensuite les conceptions de la réciprocité dans les missions et le discours de chaque organisme, à la fois dans les communications officielles et dans les représentations qu'en ont les membres du personnel. Chaque organisation conçoit les rencontres de réciprocité comme un moyen de produire des résultats plus justes pour les résidents individuels et pour la communauté ou le quartier, classés selon les quatre thèmes suivants : (1) résultats matériels (redistribution) ; (2) reconnaissance ; (3) capabilités ; (4) transformation collective.

Le chapitre 6 examine les différentes manières dont chaque organisation s'efforce de traduire ces conceptions dans le programme de logement qu'elle propose. Cela est perceptible à la fois dans les modes de recrutement et les efforts de formation du personnel et des bénévoles, dans des partenariats réciproques avec les organismes, dans le recrutement de habitants ayant une motivation sociale, dans l'accompagnement social des habitants et la création d'opportunités d' interactions, ainsi que de dans la conception d'une architecture favorisant les échanges.

Le chapitre 7 analyse finement à la fois les interactions sociales entre résidents divers et les représentations sociales qu'ils en ont. Sont ainsi identifiés les différents types d'échange, à la

fois de biens matériels, de compétences, de pratiques culinaires et artistiques, de moments de convivialité et de réseaux. En examinant des exemples concrets, le chapitre retrace les flux de réciprocité et la manière dont ils sont échangés entre plusieurs résidents et dont ils peuvent aussi refléter des pratiques de solidarité plus anciennes dans leurs trajectoires. Ce faisant, il élargit considérablement l'acception étroite de réciprocité qui la réduise souvent à l'échange de dons matériels, en couvrant un éventail d'objets d'échange tangibles et intangibles. En élargissant l'éventail de ce qui est échangé, ce chapitre élargit aussi considérablement le champ des personnes qui partagent la vie urbaine.

Le chapitre 8 discute les résultats qui peuvent être tirés de l'ensemble de la thèse. La conclusion donne ensuite un aperçu des impacts émergents des rapports de réciprocité sur la vie des habitants. En facilitant la reconnaissance et l'expression de la dignité, les rencontres de réciprocité sont une forme de justice en soi. Mais elles peuvent également faire progresser d'autres formes et dimensions de la justice, dont les résultats peuvent être appréhendés sous l'angle de la redistribution, de la reconnaissance, des capabilités et de la transformation collective. Bien que l'étendue de la recherche ne permette pas de retracer les effets transformateurs qui prennent généralement beaucoup plus de temps à se concrétiser, les exemples suggèrent que certains effets initiaux se font déjà sentir.

4. Quelques résultats

Tout d'abord, ces rencontres basées sur la réciprocité sont plus stimulées, qu'orchestrées par ces organismes de logement. Les habitants décrivent comment ces actes sont l'expression de valeurs et de convictions préexistantes qui découlent de leur propre culture, de leurs croyances religieuses, de leur éducation et de leur formation, ce qui entre en résonance avec les travaux de Wise (2006) ainsi qu'avec les conclusions de la littérature sur le "care" (Horton et Kraftl (2009).

Ensuite, tous les habitants ne participent pas à ces rencontres et lorsqu'ils le font, des tensions et des conflits peuvent survenir. Mais les interactions reposent sur un engagement à refuser la séparation et le cloisonnement en tant que modèle socio-spatial d''organisation de la vie urbaine.

La thèse a proposé et cherché à élaborer une conception de la réciprocité à partir de divers éléments pertinents de la littérature. Au niveau le plus basique, la réciprocité se manifeste par un échange, ce qu'Amanda Wise décrit comme "des formes simples de réciprocité et des voisins faisant preuve d'une "petite gentillesse" (2009:179). Comme l'ont montré les exemples du chapitre 7, lorsque ces rapports sont conçus comme s'étendant dans le temps et dans l'espace, lorsque la portée de l'échange est élargie au-delà du matériel entre un réseau de personnes considérées comme interconnectées, il n'y a pas de simples bénéficiaires, ni d'individus complètement indépendants et autosuffisants. Tous peuvent participer aux interactions réciproques qui constituent le tissu social de la vie urbaine, tous peuvent contribuer à la ville de multiples façons, et sont financés et soutenus par les contributions des autres.

La viabilité de ces programmes de logement est en soi une contribution importante à la redistribution en tant que dimension de la justice. Lorsque les habitants qui s'opposent initialement au logement social y adhèrent en raison des rapports de réciprocité qu'ils établissent avec les locataires, cela se traduit par l'acceptation de ce logement et, potentiellement, par une moindre résistance à la construction d'autres logements sociaux. La durabilité d'une formule d'hébergement chez l'habitant dépend plus directement de la nature des rapports sociaux entretenus entre les hôtes et les invités. De même, les locataires sociaux placés dans des immeubles habités par des personnes plus aisées sont délogés si leur présence suscite de l'hostilité. Ces quelques exemples suggèrent que les rapports de réciprocité contribuent à la longévité et à l'évolutivité de ce type de modèles de logement et à leurs effets redistributifs, notamment en fournissant aux locataires à faibles revenus un logement décent dans des zones favorisées et centrales.

Certains habitants plus aisés apprennent également à connaître les besoins de leurs voisins à faibles revenus grâce à ces rencontres basées sur la réciprocité et tentent de faire en sorte que ces besoins - tels que les centres de santé - soient pris en compte dans les espaces où les décisions concernant les ressources locales sont prises. C'est un exemple de la manière dont la redistribution peut être favorisée lorsque les habitants disposant d'un plus grand pouvoir économique s'intéressent aux problèmes de la vie urbaine interdépendante, ce que la ségrégation résidentielle les empêche souvent de faire (Young, 2002).

Il existe de multiples exemples de rencontres basées sur la réciprocité qui remodèlent les perceptions que les habitants ont les uns des autres. Ainsi, dans certaines conditions, les rencontres peuvent réduire les préjugés, mais aussi, dans certains cas, remettre en question les "schémas culturels qui déprécient systématiquement certaines catégories de personnes et les attributs qui leur sont associés" (Fraser:1998:31; Wilson et Darling 2016). Ainsi, les rencontres sont plus efficaces pour modifier les perceptions des autres lorsqu'elles sont durables et récurrentes (Matejskova et Leitner 2011 ; Schuermans 2016 ; Farias 2016).

Dans ces exemples, lorsque les habitants de la classe moyenne réévaluent leur perception de leurs voisins plus pauvres et ethniquement diversifiés, ils tendent à les considérer comme plus humains, ayant plus de capacités qu'ils ne l'avaient reconnu auparavant - surmontant la méconnaissance "niant des attributs communs de l'humanité" chez les gens (Fraser et Honneth, 2003, p. 45-46). Dans l'autre sens, les habitants expriment leur soulagement de ne pas être jugés et discriminés par leurs voisins blancs et plus riches, mais d'être au contraire abordés avec dignité, en tant qu'êtres humains égaux. Pourtant, seuls trois personnes interrogées ont été en mesure de décrire concrètement comment les interactions avec leurs voisins les ont aidés à remettre en question leurs propres perspectives culturelles. C'est peut-être là l'une des limites de la réciprocité et de la lutte contre les préjugés.

La thèse a également illustré ce que les rapports de réciprocité permettent aux habitants de faire et d'être, dans le registre du développement des capabilités. Martha Nussbaum considère le développement des capabilités comme une réalisation de la dignité et du potentiel inhérents à chaque être humain, sur lesquels chaque individu a une "revendication morale" (2002:131).

Elle affirme que "la question centrale posée par l'approche des capabilités" est de savoir ce que l'on est "réellement capable de faire et d'être" (Ibid.). Un ensemble de capacités centrales, présentes dans les exemples fournis au chapitre sept, concernent la posture adoptée par les habitants lors de leurs rencontres avec des habitants différents. Être à l'écoute, faire preuve d'empathie et de compassion, incarner l'humilité et être ouvert à l'apprentissage grâce à une "position respectueuse d'émerveillement" sont des capacités qui, selon l'analyse de Young, permettent aux habitants de se reconnaître réciproquement et d'élargir leur vision de leur monde social et du rôle qu'ils y jouent (1997:56).

Au-delà des individus, les interactions de réciprocité peuvent contribuer à la transformation de la collectivité ou de la communauté. Grâce aux rencontres avec les autres, les gens apprécient de se sentir membres d'une communauté ou, dans le contexte français, d'un quartier, ce qui leur procure un sentiment d'appartenance, de dépendance mutuelle et de solidarité. Cela corrobore les conclusions de Depraetere et al. selon lesquelles les rencontres répétées entre individus dans "l'ici-et-maintenant de pratiques spécifiques dans des lieux particuliers" peuvent donner lieu à de "nouvelles formes de solidarité" où divers habitants "se positionnent comme des personnes qui font partie intégrante du quartier" (2018:110). Les auteurs décrivent l'émergence de cette solidarité comme le résultat d'une "transformation" des structures et des relations sociales, où les personnes vulnérables peuvent "sortir des positions qui leur sont attribuées au sein du quartier" (Depraetere et al. 2019). Parmi les pratiques qui ont rassemblé diverses personnes dans la solidarité, on peut citer la pratique de l'art, le partage de la nourriture et la prise en charge des enfants. Au-delà de ces pratiques spécifiques, l'engagement envers le quartier lui-même, le fait de "faire partie intégrante du quartier", a également été une source d'identification mutuelle à Ashwood et à Blémont (Depraetere et al 2018:110).

Enfin, au-delà du sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté locale ou à un lieu, dans toutes les études de cas, la notion d'être "humain" est avancée comme base d'une identité partagée. Cette notion d'identité humaine sous-jacente est utilisée de la manière la plus explicite par le RWA, sur la base de la conviction d'une dignité intérieure inhérente à chacun. Certains habitants, sans aller jusqu'à formuler une identité commune, ont pu identifier de nombreuses qualités ou attributs humains qu'ils pensaient avoir en commun avec d'autres, comme la bienveillance, la confiance ou la générosité, d'une manière qui transcende les marqueurs socioculturels, ethniques et autres marqueurs traditionnels de la différence sociale. Bien que ces perspectives ne reflètent que celles des habitants engagés dans des rencontres de réciprocité - et donc potentiellement déjà plus ouverts à la création de liens avec d'autres personnes diverses - elles suggèrent néanmoins les limites de l'identité basée sur le groupe social pour théoriser les modes de relation et d'identification de tous les individus au-delà des différences. On pourrait même dire que dans le discours du RWA et les réflexions partagées par certains habitants, il y a une aspiration croissante à un sens de l'identité et de l'appartenance plus inclusif et plus large, quelque chose qui s'apparente à la notion d'une communauté humaine élargie (Sandercock 1998).

Alors que les questions de distribution concernent principalement le partage des ressources matérielles ou des possibilités d'y accéder, le chapitre 7 montre que la nature des ressources

partagées entre les divers habitants va bien au-delà, et inclut des expressions d'attention, d'amitié, de don de temps, de partage de connaissances et d'expression artistique, pour ne citer que quelques exemples. Ainsi, le partage des moyens matériels est réciproque, même s'il tend à se faire entre les membres les plus riches et les moins riches d'un lieu, parce que cette pratique s'inscrit dans un réseau plus large d'échanges réciproques de biens matériels et immatériels.

De nombreux exemples tirés de cette recherche soutiennent également l'affirmation de Fraser selon laquelle la reconnaissance sert souvent de condition préalable fondamentale à la redistribution, car la justification de la redistribution des richesses matérielles et des opportunités tend à être ancrée dans une conception de la valeur d'un peuple. Sans cette reconnaissance fondamentale - qu'une approche fondée sur la culture de la pauvreté tend à nier (Fraser 2003 ; Arthurson 2012 ; August 2019) - le droit à un logement et à une éducation de qualité peut ne pas être considéré comme acquis.

Après avoir montré l'interdépendance de la reconnaissance et de la redistribution dans la conception de la justice, la thèse réinterroge la réciprocité comme facteur d'accroissement des capabilités et de la transformation collective. Dans un certain nombre d'exemples, lorsque des habitants mal reconnus se voient offrir la possibilité de développer et de démontrer leurs capabilités, cela peut modifier l'estime qu'ils ont d'eux-mêmes ainsi que les préjugés que les autres ont de leur valeur et de leurs capacités. Même de petits gestes - créer et exposer des œuvres d'art, organiser un barbecue, animer des cours de cuisine, jardiner, arbitrer des matchs de football pour les jeunes - contribuent à modifier la perception de ce que les gens sont et de ce qu'ils peuvent être, en reconnaissant que malgré leur situation sociale ou économique, ils ont quelque chose à apporter. De même, l'amélioration des capabilités peut conduire à des résultats de redistribution, comme la vente par les habitants des œuvres d'art qu'ils ont créées, ou la familiarisation avec le contexte social australien, de manière à aider un demandeur d'asile à accéder à des opportunités d'emploi.

Cela amène à une dernière question : la justice pour *qui* ? Les habitants à faibles revenus sont-ils les seuls à avoir besoin de justice ? L'élargissement de la conception des bénéfices justes de la redistribution et de la reconnaissance aux résultats des capabilités et de la transformation collective démontre que le besoin de justice est universel. Certes, le besoin de redistribution et de reconnaissance des personnes socialement et économiquement privées de leurs droits mérite la plus grande attention, afin de réduire les obstacles matériels et symboliques qui entravent leur capacité à s'épanouir. Toutefois, une vision relationnelle de l'inégalité suggère que dans le cadre de la réciprocité, tous ont besoin des capabilités qui leur permettent de fonctionner individuellement et collectivement comme des agents efficaces du changement social. En d'autres termes, les habitants les plus aisés doivent également renforcer certaines capabilités qui les rendent plus conscients et plus efficaces en tant qu'agents de la justice sociale—aux côtés de tous les autres habitants—tout comme les diverses communautés ont besoin de solidarité et d'un sentiment d'appartenance, sans lesquels leur capacité collective à s'épanouir est diminuée.

En conclusion, le concept de rapports de réciprocité peut être considéré comme un moyen d'éclairer les différentes dimensions de la justice - redistribution, reconnaissance, capabilités et transformation collective - consolidant ainsi sa valeur en tant que catégorie analytique permettant de théoriser des rapports sociaux plus justes dans la ville. La thèse développe une conception de la réciprocité comme un rapport qui circule à travers un réseau interconnecté de personnes, par l'échange de choses tangibles et intangibles, y compris des échanges interpersonnels réalisés avec une certaine posture d'écoute et "d'émerveillement". (Young 1998). Bien que la réciprocité en tant qu'éthique ne soit pas inventée par ces organismes, ces derniers peuvent favoriser des approches et des conditions propices à sa pratique, en créant des opportunités pour que les gens se rencontrent et contribuent à leur lieu d'habitation. Cette approche contraste fortement avec les théories des rôles et modèles qui sous-tendent les politiques de mixité sociale classiques et avec l'idée que les interactions entre les diverses personnes ne vont que dans une seule direction. Il s'agit également d'une approche relationnelle du logement, qui ne se limite pas à la qualité du parc de logements, mais concerne également les personnes qui le gèrent et celles qui y vivent. Cette thèse questionne ainsi les croyances, les valeurs et même les préjugés qui sous-tendent certaines approches du logement. Elle montre que les approches de l'offre de logement peuvent être transformées si elles sont conçues à travers une ontologie relationnelle de l'interdépendance et de l'interconnexion sociales. Dans ce cadre, les logements sont conçus comme des espaces de rencontre, fonctionnant à différentes échelles et dans de multiples sphères.

Declaration page

I declare that:

(i) This thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy (Science).

(ii) Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

(iii) The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Preface

(i) Chapter five of this thesis was copy edited by an editor, Tim Ould, who is not knowledgeable in the field of human/urban geography.

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Chapter One: The Role of Low-Income Housing Residents in Making and Remaking the City

1.1. Introduction

What is the place of low-income housing in the city?

There is an important body of literature that examines *where* low-income housing is concentrated and with what effects on its residents: from the massive social housing estates dotted around the periphery of Paris, to central but architecturally anomalous high-rise towers in Melbourne's inner suburbs, or even the controlled, isolating dwellings for people seeking asylum throughout Australia (Blanc 2010; Lelévrier 2013; Wiesel et al. 2018; Burke and Hulse 2010; Pawson and Herath 2015; Bolt et al. 2010). This literature has made significant contributions to understanding patterns of segregation in cities, and the impact of desegregation policies such as socially mixed housing.

But what is the place of low-income housing in terms of its *contribution* to the city? What does its presence in urban centres that would otherwise be unaffordable to the city's poorer residents add to urban life? How do these residents play a role as protagonists in the everyday making and remaking of the city?

In this thesis, I examine how the ways in which housing providers conceive and manage low-income housing is premised on diverging ideas about the place of such housing in the city and explore the tangible implications of these ideas. Specifically, I examine 'reciprocity' as a premise for low-income housing.

1.2. Seeking out housing for reciprocity

Persistent and in some cases intensifying residential segregation structures cities including Paris, France and Melbourne and Brisbane, Australia, in ways that not only spatially separate residents across socioeconomic lines but also push low-income residents out to the periphery (Rhein 1998; Préteceille 2006, 2009; Blanc 2010; Pawson and Herath 2015; Randolph and Holloway 2005; Baum and Gleeson 2010; Wiesel et al. 2018). As elaborated in the next chapter, Iris Marion Young (2002) documents the multiple injustices that can take root when the city's more affluent and its poorer residents live in spatially separate worlds.

Policy responses to segregation across Western cities have focused less on creating accessible low-income housing in well-resourced centres of cities, and more on the large-scale demolition of old public housing stock in areas that concentrate poverty, to rebuild mixed public-private tenured housing (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2012). Although intended to facilitate "encounters between people who would not otherwise meet" (Mugnano and Palvarini 2013:418), social

mix, as such interventions are known, has been widely critiqued, as discussed in the next chapter (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2012).

Aside from limitations to the model itself, the premises upon which social mix is justified and based are deeply problematic. Most prominently, social mix programs are often premised on 'role model' thinking, the idea that neighbourhoods that concentrate poverty can be improved by bringing in more affluent residents, who can model aspirational behaviour to their poorer neighbours (Camina and Wood 2009; Rose et al. 2013; Bacqué et al. 2011; Arthurson 2012; Lelévrier 2013; August 2019; Costarelli and Melic 2022). Steeped in controversial 'culture of poverty' and 'underclass' theories, these low-income housing residents who are framed as the recipients of modelling behaviour tend to be made up of people with low incomes, of people of colour, of immigrants, of youth, and of minority faith group believers (August 2019; Arthurson 2012). Aside from the highly deficit view such an assumption paints of the "urban poor", it also renders the "modelled" behaviours as normal and unscrutinised (August 2019). Most problematically, it assumes that the benefits of encounters across difference flow in a single direction (Camina and Wood 2009), casting lower-income residents as only recipients rather than contributors to these housing sites.

When conceiving of this thesis, I sought to explore alternative ideas or premises to low-income housing and desegregation that challenge and contrast role model thinking. Therein began a preliminary search for housing organisations and programs that regarded the residents of low-income housing not as problems to solve nor dependents to support, but as human beings full of potential. From this perspective, providing access to decent, stable housing could be seen as a base from which people could better develop and utilise their potentialities as a contribution to society at large. Viewing low-income housing and its residents in this way also has bearings on *where* this housing is provided, as their presence in vibrant city centres and well-resourced suburbs is recast not as a drain on a place, but as an asset.

If the middle-class are not unidirectional role models for their less well-off neighbours, what *are* the social relations that ought to connect diverse residents across their encounters? Drawing on the literature from political philosophy and critical geography, I propose the concept "reciprocity" —embedded within an ontology of social interdependence that sees individuals connected through mutually beneficial relational webs (Campbell 2006)—as a way to frame these social relations, and as a more just premise for low-income housing. Unlike the literature on relations of care (Williams 2017; Wiesel et al. 2020; Power and Williams 2020) or hospitality (Bell 2007; Germann Molz and Gibson 2007; Valentine 2008; Darling 2020), this concept, I propose, remains largely underdeveloped in urban studies and housing studies. And yet, reciprocity holds great potential as both a theoretical framing for examining social relations in the city and the extent to which they further justice, as well as a premise that can underpin approaches to housing policies and programs in ways that render them more just. Of particular interest is how a premise of reciprocity can give rise to alternative housing models that seek to contribute to desegregation.

One injustice stemming from residential segregation that Young (2002) describes is the paucity of spaces—both physical and social—for residents to come together across difference to build common understanding about diverse perspectives, values, experiences, and social realities, and to explore implications for shared urban life. Encounters across difference are partly pursued then as an opportunity for society's more privileged to become more conscious of the reality of poverty and its effects on people within their city, and to take up a shared responsibility for eradicating it, while also opening space for more universal participation in the making and remaking of the city.

1.3. Overview of the research approach

To examine reciprocity as a premise for desegregated housing provision, I draw on J.K. Gibson-Graham's (2006, 2008) "politics of possibility," which casts academic work as a means to "open up possibilities" (2008:215). By drawing attention to less dominant ways of being and seeing in the city, these alternatives can be amplified and given more attention (Williams 2020), to become "visible potential objects of policy and politics" (Gibson-Graham 2008:619). Through this lens, I seek out how reciprocity, as an alternative, less visible way of relating, can inform housing programs. I also consider how reciprocity exists in the lives and relations of residents participating in housing programs that are premised on this ethic.

I was able to identify four relevant low-income housing programs in Australia and France that identify reciprocity—as opposed to role model thinking—as a premise or core value that guides their design and operation. These include a community housing development in suburban Melbourne; a homestay program for people seeking asylum with a base in wealthy Brisbane suburbs; a residence for university students in public housing estates in the heart of Paris; and a mixed-income, intentional cohousing (*habitat participatif*) residence in an inner-Paris suburb.

All four programs offer low-income housing in central, mixed-income settings, enabling proximity with more affluent urban residents and high-quality services and public goods. They stand apart as innovative models that are distinct from mainstream social mix programs in several ways. Perhaps the core difference to highlight is that rather than courting middle class households to move into areas that concentrate poverty, these programs use social or affordable housing as a tool to keep low-income people from being priced out of well-resourced neighbourhoods. In this way, they are granted access to the city centre, to its services and facilities and, in some cases, avoid being displaced from their communities.

Despite significantly different national and urban contexts, varied target groups and divergent housing models and institutional frameworks, as described in chapter four, the common thread between the four programs examined in this thesis is the basic premise of reciprocity as an ethic that can more justly frame social relations between residents. All programs seek to support encounters across difference among residents, both within the housing space, and beyond it, woven into the fabric of the urban every day. In formal and informal

communications, the discourses of these organisations frame the benefits of such encounters as being multi-directional. There is no one fixed "group" that benefits from its interactions with a better-integrated or more productive "group"—all residents can be enriched and develop capacity as justice-builders through being exposed to different ways of seeing, being and doing in the city. As noted, the term that appears to best capture this way of conceptualising urban social relations, whether used explicitly or implicitly by these organisations, is reciprocity, applied in a material sense, but also an interpersonal one, touching on questions of justice as redistribution, but also as recognition.

Drawing on these four programs as case studies, and taking a 'politics of possibility' approach, the aim of my thesis is to explore the potential of reciprocity as a framing for social relations and for operationalising novel, progressive housing policies and programs. To achieve this, the research questions guiding my inquiry are as follows:

- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted within the premises and practices of the organisations providing the housing programs?
- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted in social relations between residents?
- How are residents' lives impacted by relations of reciprocity?

In pursuit of the first research question, I consider how reciprocity is conceptualised in the discourses of each organisation and how these are operationalised in the various dimensions of their housing programs. The second and third questions are pursued predominantly from the perspectives of the residents who are encountering one another and enacting relations of reciprocity. How do their lived experiences not only shed light on whether reciprocity is indeed being practised among residents, and with what limitations, but also build on the meaning and scope of a conception of relations of reciprocity? In considering some emerging impacts of encounters of reciprocity on the lives of the residents participating in them, I draw inspiration from the conceptual framework of Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson (2008). I consider impacts through the concepts of redistribution and recognition, and additionally, capabilities and collective transformation. Taken together, an exploration of these three questions elucidates the power of the concept of reciprocity as a theoretical framing for just social relations and as a core premise upon which more just residential desegregation programs can be conceived and implemented.

1.4. Introducing the case study programs

All four programs were established in response to a perceived injustice, where small groups of individuals felt stirred to take concrete, constructive action to actually build justice—simple gestures that evolved over time to the complex organisational forms that they take today.

The two Australian case study programs emerge from within (and in response to) a strong neo-liberal framework, initially as collective action responding to a perceived injustice. In the inner-

Melbourne suburb of St Kilda, diverse residents arose to counteract a rapid process of gentrification, evolving into what today is known as housing association HousingFirst. In Brisbane, individuals organised to find ways to mitigate the effects of increasingly harsh policies towards people seeking asylum in Brisbane, creating Refugees Welcome Australia to offer homestay programs. Such responses can be read as a manifestation of the capacity of the human spirit and of the collective to arise to constructively challenge injustice and to propose something more just in its place, demonstrating that the neoliberal framework, while dominant, is not all-encompassing. As Gibson-Graham (2006, 2008) stress, even within its clutches, alternative ways of seeing, being and doing in the city are possible—and one could say, even accelerated by its ill effects.

In France, while also strongly influenced by the growing forces of neoliberal processes, the case studies operate within existing political discourses and policy frameworks, propelled by the advent of new policies seeking a more generalised equality. And yet, they too are the expression of citizen responses to injustice in France's large cities. In Paris, perceived injustice galvanises university students to take action as engaged citizens against the exclusion and inequality experienced within the poorer neighbourhoods of France's large cities. Today, AFEV offers housing for students in or near to social housing estates, where students commit to engaging in "solidarity" actions with their neighbours. In Lyon, a property developer rejects that the relegation of poorer people to the city's margins is an inevitable outcome of his own profession, much less urban planning and renewal processes, and creates Habitat et Humanisme, whose mission seeks to keep low-income people housed within city centres.

1.5. Overview of thesis

To better understand the concept of reciprocity and its potential as a framing for low-income housing programs, my thesis explores the concept through engagement with theoretical discussions about justice, and empirical case studies. The rest of the thesis is organised as follows.

Chapter two reviews literature on residential segregation and approaches to overcome it, including social mix and the role model theory that underpins it. It explores the literature on encounters across difference as a form of possibility to overcome urban separation and prejudice and traces some of the literature on how social relations have been conceived in various conceptions of justice in both political philosophy and critical geography. It concludes by providing an overview of relevant literature on the notion of reciprocity in order to propose a theoretical concept to guide the research.

Chapter three outlines the methodology employed in the research, including the implications of an epistemology that seeks out possibility for all parts of the research process, and presents the selected case studies in more detail.

Chapter four traces the history of each organisation and the national and urban contexts that shape their development as well as their current-day operations. This context helps situate the case studies while also pointing to similarities in their origin stories that continue to inform their current-day missions. Details of the places and neighbourhoods within which their housing exists are also provided.

Chapters five to seven present the empirical findings of the research. Chapter five examines the conceptions of reciprocity conveyed through formal communications as well as the discourse of each organisation's personnel. Each organisation's discourse, while overlapping, contains various nuances, elaborating a rich, layered conceptualisation of reciprocity as a vast and malleable concept. The chapter also considers the kinds of impacts each organisation envisages that encounters of reciprocity can produce, categorised in terms of redistribution, recognition, capability and collective transformation.

Chapter six explores the processes and approaches through which organisations operationalise a conception of reciprocity. It considers approaches that include recruitment of personnel; capacity building efforts; core partnerships with other organisations; resident selection processes; accompaniment of residents; creating opportunities for encounters; and designing architecture for reciprocity. The chapter aims to demonstrate the significant implications such premises have on the way mixed-income housing programs are designed and managed.

Chapter seven draws predominantly on empirical work with the residents of these programs, both those who access low-income housing as well as their wealthier neighbours whom they encounter in and around their homes. It considers the nature of encounters of reciprocity that do occur and, while not exhaustive, provides an overview of what is being exchanged reciprocally and by whom. In doing so, it significantly expands narrow notions of reciprocity that reduce it to the exchange of material gifts, capturing a range of tangible as well as intangible objects of exchange. In broadening the range of what is exchanged, this chapter also significantly widens the scope of who is contributing to shared urban life, with many residents in social housing and free accommodation acting as agents of reciprocity towards their neighbours. Finally, in examining these themes, the chapter highlights some emerging impacts these relations of reciprocity have been making on residents' lives.

Chapter eight serves as a discussion and conclusion for the thesis, providing a summary of findings and developing certain themes in more depth. This includes elaborating a theoretical conception of reciprocity that draws on the empirical chapters, as a contribution to thinking on justice and social relations in the urban. It also elaborates critical reflections that derive from some of the thesis' practical findings, describing some of the characteristics of these desegregation models that set them apart from social mix, both in terms of the premises they are based on and the approaches they adopt. Finally, it revisits the role of context in shaping these outcomes before outlining pathways for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review: Elaborating a Conception of Housing for Reciprocity

2.1. Introduction: the context of residential segregation

As cities are increasingly characterised by multiple forms of difference, they are being approached as places in which diverse populations can learn about "new ways of living together" (Uitermark et al. 2005:628). Worsening housing affordability around the globe contributes to residential segregation between different social groups, and questions around how this process is patterned spatially and socially—and how it ought to be patterned—come to the fore.

Studies of cities as geographically distant as Paris, France and Melbourne and Brisbane, Australia, document patterns of concentration of lower-income residents in areas that are spatially and socially separated from those in which more affluent city dwellers reside (Rhein 1998; Préteceille 2006, 2009; Blanc 2010; Pawson and Herath 2015; Randolph and Holloway 2005; Baum and Gleeson 2010; Wiesel et al. 2018). This socio-economic difference is virtually synonymous with ethnic difference in French cities (Préteceille 2009), while in Australian cities, there tends to be an over-representation of people born overseas as well as people with disabilities in areas that concentrate poverty (Randolph and Holloway 2005; Wiesel et al. 2018; Beer and Faulkner 2009). Furthermore, recent debates in Australia consider whether concentrations of culturally and linguistically diverse people qualify as segregation (Sydes 2019).

Critical geographers have long evoked the concept of justice to provide the bearings towards a more egalitarian world in which individual and collective human potential can flourish. Particular attention has been paid to reconceptualising justice in the context of difference (Fincher and Iveson 2012; Connelly and Steil 2009). Moral philosopher Iris Marion Young (2002:211) argues that the *injustice* of residential class segregation stems from several of its effects. Firstly, it can exacerbate structures of privilege and disadvantage, whereby households that are already in situations of disadvantage are located in areas that further deprive them of access to high quality services and facilities. This kind of "locational disadvantage" is also documented empirically (see for example Wiesel et al. 2018).

Young places particular emphasis on the injustice that stems from "an entire way of life in which relatively well-off people can conduct nearly all of their everyday activities insulated from encounters with those less well-off, their faces, their dwellings, their working conditions" (2002:212). In the absence of encounters with lower-income residents, they and the urban problems they face are kept at a distance and out of sight from the city's privileged. Young argues that this allows prejudices formed in the abstract to go unchallenged while simultaneously depriving affluent city-dwellers from "the opportunity to understand the problems and perspectives of others" (2002:212). This, according to Young, adds a further

layer of injustice—that the problems of "interdependent" urban life are unseen and ignored, and the specific needs of less well-off residents overlooked in decisions made about where resources are channeled in an area. She writes:

> Class segregation, finally, enables those who are wealthier and with more economic power to ignore the problems and interests of those less privileged and simply attend to furthering their own well-being and perceived interests. Enclosed in comfortable enclaves, they can be indifferent to the needs and interests of others and withdraw from the problems of interdependent urban life (2002:214-15).

Implied in this critique is the notion that injustice in the city is a collective problem and thus finding its remedy a collective responsibility. In this way, for Young, poorer residents are not the only casualties of this segregation, as in parallel, more privileged residents are deprived of the opportunity to develop and utilise a latent sense of justice. She writes that "everyday human encounters" across difference could make such residents aware of their relative privilege, so that "their sense of justice might be pricked; some of them might even think that something should be done to change the situation" (2002:215).

Young's analysis suggests that for justice to be advanced, there is a need for approaches to housing that can bring people together across their differences, and for greater insight into the conditions that facilitate this. In particular, it highlights the importance of generating learning on the provision of housing for low-income people in ways that do not segregate them from more affluent city-dwellers, nor from quality services and opportunities.

In pursuit of this vision, this chapter draws on the relevant literature to elaborate a conception of 'housing for reciprocity.' It begins by examining J.K. Gibson-Graham's (2006, 2008) notion of a *politics of possibility* and outlines how this will inform the epistemological approach of the research, as a means to document everyday examples of justice building. Through this lens, it examines empirical findings from two strands of literature on approaches to overcoming residential segregation—social mix housing policies and encounters across difference. It distils a set of conditions that emerge as being conducive to encounters across difference, identifying social relations between diverse residents as the most critical among these. From here, it analyses the conceptual and empirical shortcomings of the role model thinking that underpins social mix policies to illustrate the need for a renewed conception of the social relations upon which encounters across difference in housing are premised, and proposes reciprocity.

To theorise these relations of reciprocity, the chapter provides a historical overview of the conceptions of the individual, society and their relationship that have underpinned different approaches to social justice and identifies social interdependence as an ontological basis for reciprocity. It goes on to explore the literature on care, hospitality, and reciprocity to inform a conception of reciprocity, and then the literature on redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and solidarity to theorise potential just outcomes of housing for reciprocity. Finally, the chapter concludes on a more practical note, engaging with the housing literature to consider the implications of a social ontology of interdependence for approaches to housing provision.

2.2. Theorising justice in the city through the lens of possibility

This section reviews literature on a politics of possibility (Gibson-Graham 2006) and on grounding justice norms in everyday urban life (Fincher and Iveson 2008; 2012) to elaborate the epistemological approach to this research. As James Connolly and Justin Steil observe, "the city is the scale where questions of justice are felt concretely as part of everyday life," and as such, "the production and experience of urban space illuminate the philosophical articulations and concrete struggles for social justice" (2009:6). And yet, across this quest to uncover how ideals of justice—and struggles towards these ideals—take shape in the everyday beats of city life, the commonly told story is one of pervasive *in*justice. Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson observe that geographies of justice in the city focus "almost exclusively on documenting instances of injustice" (2012:240). In light of this, they identify the important work of compiling "evidence about the hope residing in cities" that could "sit usefully alongside the many examples of despair" and contribute to the conceptualisation of justice (2012:240).

Into this space, a more hopeful way of observing and engaging justice in studies of the urban is emerging. It posits that reducing the city to a site of injustice cannot give rise to the kind of knowledge that is required to actually build more just cities, and obscures alternative ways of being, doing and relating in the city (Gibson-Graham 2006, 2008; Fincher and Iveson 2012; Fincher et al. 2019; Williams 2017). Towards this end, J.K. Gibson-Graham (2006, 2008) calls for a "politics of possibility" as an approach to research that seeks to uncover and make visible examples of justice building in the city, rooted in the here and now, to "bring new worlds into being" (2008:619).

This approach has been explicitly adopted by geographers Miriam Williams (2020) to examine everyday practices of care in urban spaces and Monica Farias (2021) as a means to challenge dominant narratives about poverty. Williams describes Gibson-Graham's (2006) politics of possibility as "a hopeful politics attuned to progressive worlds and oriented towards the practice of amplifying and making these worlds visible" that is "seeking to recognise the possibility of what cities could be in the here and now" (2020:3). Farias (2021), meanwhile, emphasises the importance of placing new approaches to conceptualising social relations at the forefront of an approach that foregrounds possibility.

These considerations do not deny the need to uncover and expose instances of injustice in the city, and to shine a light on the structural disadvantages that perpetuate oppression. They seek rather to demonstrate that when the documentation of injustice is the dominating lens through which the city is viewed, it can prove difficult to observe instances of justice, of alternative ways of "doing/being/thinking" the city (Latham 2003; Williams 2017). And yet, it is among these alternative approaches that the building blocks for a more just city will likely be uncovered. Without giving attention to the city's "generative capacity," Alan Latham argues, "there is little chance that it will be possible to invent imaginative, viable solutions to the genuine problems posed by the contemporary city" (2003:1719).

This approach suggests that we need not wait to tear down the unjust structures of today's cities to begin building the just cities of tomorrow, as the processes, structures and forces that tend towards injustice cohabit alongside those that further justice.

To examine everyday examples of justice building in these sites, this research also draws inspiration from the approach of Fincher and Iveson (2008), which seeks to link "broad justice norms to everyday realities," as a means to contribute to knowledge generation on everyday efforts to build more just social relations in the city (2012:240). As they note, "certainly the most useful norms are those that have been interpreted 'on the ground,' providing a view of what justice does actually look like, in some policy and practice detail" (2012:240).

2.3. Encountering difference in housing: conditions and sites

This section draws on empirical findings documented in the literature on social mix housing policies and on encounters across difference to identify a set of conditions that converge across multiple studies as being conducive to these encounters. Having outlined these conditions, it identifies social relations between diverse residents as the most critical among them.

The housing market has been a major driver of residential segregation in both Australia and France, and this has been compounded by the location and design of social housing. In consequence, there has been a long practice of employing housing policies and programs to promote desegregation—most notably, social mix policies, which have been pursued since the 1990s in both contexts. In most cases, such policies entail demolishing and replacing old social housing stock with a mix of new social housing and privately-owned residences targeting higher income brackets, through urban renewal or regeneration programs (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2012).

A major aim of these policies has been to facilitate "encounters between people who would not otherwise meet" (Mugnano and Palvarini 2013:418). However, studies have found that despite such policies enabling spatial proximity between different social groups, social distance prevails, with Camina and Wood (2009) documenting "parallel lives" as the norm in these newly mixed settings (see also Gilbert 2009; Charmes 2009; Lelévrier 2013; Bolt and Van Kempen 2013; Rose et al. 2013; Bacqué et al. 2014).

These estate renewal programs have also been criticised for breaking up communities, displacing low-income people in what has been labelled as a form of state-sponsored gentrification (Capp et al. 2022; Rose et al. 2013). However, this is not the only approach to social mix. Though less common, social mix has also been pursued through the new acquisition of social housing in more affluent areas (Bacqué et al. 2011; Rose et al. 2013; Lehman-Frisch 2009). There have also been new programs, innovated by non-governmental organisations, that seek to bring about different types of social mix at the building and neighbourhood scale (Lelévrier and Melic 2018; Lelévrier et al. 2017; Costarelli et al. 2019; Costarelli and Melic 2022).

A politics of possibility compels us to look more closely, to seek out and bring to light those instances in which encounters across difference are occurring, and to learn what they reveal about more just ways of relating to one another in the city. Daniel Swanton writes that the very notion of encounter carries with it "a sense of hope and possibility" for new ways of living with difference (2016:114). This framing, he continues, "troubles talk of segregation and parallel lives that are habitually enrolled to explain urban disturbances" (2016:117). More recently, Ruth Fincher et al. write about the "political potential" that emerges from "the capacity of urban inhabitants to enact a particular form of […] being together in difference as equals," where they "work against racialized forms of oppression and inequality in cities" (2019:33).

In this same vein, Amanada Wise, in her thinking on "everyday multiculturialism" in the Australian context, makes the case for focusing on everyday examples of encounters across difference, writing:

> At a time of increasing anxieties surrounding 'segregation' and a supposed decline in social capital in highly diverse western cities (Phillips 2006; Putnam 2007) it is surprising how little is known about who, where, how and why people get on in multicultural suburbia, how diversity is lived on the ground, from below, in the borderlands, in contact zones. And the closer one looks, the more it becomes obvious that 'parallel lives' are not necessarily the prevailing norm (2009:42).

Into this space, the literature on encounters documents and analyses the nature and impacts of interactions that take place across difference. Ruth Fincher describes the broad range of circumstances and conditions for which the term is evoked:

> Encounter, then, is a frame of reference that positions interactions at the centrepiece of the analysis of urban diversity and its planning. It encompasses interactions that are tiny and fleeting, all the way to interactions that are massed, repeated and sustained through time and space. It emphasizes the importance of bodily presence, of physical and material togetherness, emplaced and in the moment, and the contingency of outcomes that might ensue (2019:73).

A key point of interrogation in the literature on encounters concerns the extent to which they have the potential to generate disruption, by bringing into question previous assumptions, ways of seeing and ways of being, and to enhance mutual understanding (Wilson and Darling 2016). In her research, Gill Valentine (2008) does not find that contact across difference has lasting effects on diminishing prejudices and can even reinforce them. However, many researchers have shown the importance of nuancing such findings and are dedicating energy to learning about the conditions under which encounters can be more impactful (Schuermans 2016; Wilson and Darling 2016; Wilson 2013). For example, in their recent volume, Depraetere et al. highlight "the active and creative ways in which people regulate, live and deal with diversity on a micro scale," with contributions showing that "living with diversity is possible and can take place in many different ways" (2018:2).

To this end, some researchers distinguish between encounters that are fleeting and casual and those that are regular and recurring (Matejskova and Leitner 2011; Schuermans 2016; Farias 2016). Indeed, much of the literature seems to suggest that encountering is a process, requiring effort and labour over a sustained period (Amin 2002, 2008; Wise 2016; Iveson 2006; Farias 2016; Fincher 2019). Ash Amin (2012) contributes the concept of a "micro-public" to describe those spaces in which encounters take place habitually through the pursuit of common projects—places like schools, neighbourhoods, community gardens and workplaces. However, the 'public' nature of these micro-spaces excludes the potential for housing as a site of regular, habitual interaction across difference. This omission may be because, as noted, evaluations of efforts to promote the co-habitation of diverse people within residential settings, particularly through top-down social mix policies, have tended to document "parallel lives" between residents who share a neighbourhood or even a hallway but not much else (Camina and Wood 2009; Lelévrier 2013; Rose et al. 2013; Bolt and Van Kempen 2013; Arthurson 2013).

Despite these conclusions, many studies do document sporadic instances of encounters across difference within "socially mixed" residential settings (Raveaud and Van Zenten 2007; Camina and Wood 2009; Bacqué et al. 2011; Lelévrier 2013; Rose et al. 2013; Bacqué et al. 2014). Furthermore, not all thinkers conclude that social mix should be discarded completely, with some calling for a "social mix version 2.0" (Galster and Friedrichs 2015; Levin et al. 2022).

Thus once again, a politics of possibility compels us to inspect the literature on encounters closely for traces of small ways justice is being furthered. And indeed, applying this lens to key social mix studies seems to suggest that certain conditions are more conducive than others to interactions across difference, and findings in the respective literatures tend to converge on the nature of some of these conditions. This thus gives impetus to taking a closer look at these encounters, to consider what can be learnt to inform an approach to overcoming residential segregation through housing that is more constructive than orthodox social mix models.

One finding is that encountering difference should be a choice that is voluntary and purposeful and not imposed through outside engineering efforts (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Wilson 2013; Camina and Wood 2009; Mugnano and Palvarini 2013). For example, in their research on innovative approaches to social mix in housing, Costarelli et al. examine small-scale approaches to social mix that recruit middle-class residents based on their motivation, which recognise "the importance of personal attitudes and motivation to interact with neighbours from different socio-cultural backgrounds" (2019:139). This social motivation is posited as a potential solution to social distance and parallel lives (Costarelli et al. 2019:139).

While not observed in the context of housing, Monica Farias writes that what makes her research on middle class volunteers in Popular Assemblies in Buenos Aires pertinent is that difference is welcomed: "Every person who joins an Asamblea does so voluntarily" and is "motivated by concerns for social justice and with the intention of working across difference" (2016:172). This suggests the value of programs that create "opportunities for enrolment" for people to engage in encounters across difference if they so wish (Fincher and Iveson 2008:42).

Another related finding is that the creation of such opportunities requires active support—even when diversity is valued, this may not necessarily translate into the initiative to go towards others (Blokland and Van Eijk 2010). Some researchers have found that community groups and organisations play an important role in initiating and supporting encounters across difference (Wilson 2013; Farias 2016), including in the context of mixed housing (Camina and Wood 2009; Mugnano and Palvarini 2013; Chaskin et al. 2013; Rose et al. 2013; Costarelli et al. 2020). This suggests the usefulness of examining further examples of how organisations facilitate and support encounters across difference in housing programs.

Other elements that the literature suggests may create conditions for encounters across difference include people's past trajectories and their prior experiences of difference (Lelévrier 2013; Bacqué et al. 2014; Hollands 2001); the influence of architectural design and the built environment (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2013; Wise 2016; Camina and Wood 2009); the existence and nature of spaces for meeting (Chaskin et al 2013; Mugnanon and Palvarini 2013); and the nature of activities that bring people together (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Kearns et al. 2013; Lelévrier 2013).

In relation to this last point, Fincher and Iveson give particular attention to activities of conviviality that can bring people together, which they describe as "the purposeful sharing of activities by individuals who may not necessarily be known to each other" (2015:24). These interactions tend to be fleeting and are "conceptually at some distance from sharing identities" (Ibid). The authors provide examples of libraries and street festivals as places where conviviality can unfold.

Fincher and Iveson's approach to conviviality builds on the work of Paul Gilroy, who describes conviviality as follows:

> Conviviality is a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not—as the logic of ethnic absolutism suggests they must—add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication (2006:40).

Gilroy thus proposes that people can find momentary shared identifications that are grounded in everyday experience. While this does not eliminate differences such as class and race, it can render these unremarkable. In this way, conviviality "provides possibilities for people from minority or excluded groups to become recognised and known within communities" (Wiesel and Bigby 2016) and can generate a sense of the collective that surpasses fixed categories of ethnicity (Nowicka and Vertovec 2014). This kind of conviviality, Lisa Peattie writes, "cannot be coerced, but it can be encouraged" (1998:248).

Other authors highlight the key role that volunteering efforts play in not only facilitating encounters across difference but, largely due to their sustained and interpersonal nature, in shifting perceptions of others and reshaping ways of seeing (Cloke et al. 2007; Farias 2016). For example, in their research on volunteers working with homeless people, Cloke et al. observe that though not universal, some volunteers have experienced "a sharp change in their

perceptions as they have encountered and then 'got to know' homeless people" (2007:1096). Similarly, Farias describes a "gradual process of awareness" among middle-class volunteers working alongside lower-income residents in a long-term shared project (2016:180). She also finds that this enables some middle-class volunteers to "learn privilege," to "pave the way for a shift in their subjectivities" (2016:180).

Yet, by far the most important element that comes through from previous studies appears to be the nature of the social relations that define encounters across difference. This is taken up in the next section.

2.4. Social mix as a policy response to residential segregation: the limits of "role model" theory

This section analyses the conceptual and empirical shortcomings of role model thinking as a premise underpinning approaches to residential social mix, and the impacts it has on residents' conceptions of themselves and their relationships with one another. It highlights the need for a renewed conception of the nature of social relations that ought to underpin encounters across difference in the residential setting and proposes reciprocity.

The "role model" theory that has underpinned mainstream approaches to social mix merits particular attention. The theory proposes that the arrival of middle-class newcomers into a low-income neighbourhood can "bring the neighbourhood up" (Bacqué et al. 2014). It thus frames the benefits of encounters across difference as flowing from middle-class "role models" to lower-income residents, through the modelling of middle-class norms, values and behaviours.

The central idea that middle class residents ought to serve as role models to their poorer neighbours has been identified as problematic and erroneous (Arthurson 2012; August 2019; Blokland 2003). It finds its roots in the "culture of poverty" and underclass theories that emerged in the 1960s in the context of poor, largely black American inner cities (Lewis 1966). These theories advanced the idea that the spatial concentration of poor, non-white populations had given rise to a sub-culture, with its own norms and behaviours deemed pathological and deviant (Arthurson 2012; August 2019; Blokland 2003; Katz 1993; Valentine 1968).

Though culture of poverty theories were heavily contested on both moral and empirical grounds even in those times (see Leacock 1968; Valentine 1968), and continue to be refuted, these ideas still shape the way poverty is framed within current social mix debates about the perceived benefits of middle-class role-models for lower-income residents, and within policy discourses and implementation (Arthurson 2012; August 2019).

If the starting point for social relations across socioeconomic difference is so asymmetrical, it is difficult to see how these relations could culminate into the kind of concern for interdependent urban living towards which Iris Marion Young (2002) aspires. In one example

of this challenge, Damaris Rose et al. (2013) demonstrate how when role-model narratives are used by developers and local officials to court middle-class residents into a low-income neighbourhood, this encouraged a sense of entitlement among these newcomers. In this case, newcomers came to see their role as improving the neighbourhood in line with their own vision, with little regard for the needs and perspectives of existing (poorer) residents. Unsurprisingly, their collective lobbying to replace long-standing local businesses with commerce to suit their tastes and visions of the neighbourhood was met with resistance, and conflict came to characterise relations across difference.

Furthermore, by placing middle-class norms as aspirational and as the standard against which the lives of less well-off residents are judged, prejudiced conceptions of these residents are reinforced (August 2019; Katz 1993; Valentine 1968). The blame for poverty is assigned to individual behaviour and to their perceived moral failings (Arthurson 2012; August 2019; Blokland 2003). In parallel, this line of thinking perpetuates the erroneous view that only one "culture"—that of the racialised poor—needs to change, and that middle class norms and values do not need to be probed or questioned (August 2019; Lehman-Frisch 2009). In addition to reinforcing unequal social relations, given the high correlation between poverty and immigration in both the Australian and French contexts, this approach can consolidate ideologies of Western cultural superiority.

Camina and Wood (2009) argue that role model thinking ignores the potentially reciprocal benefits of encounters across difference. In the context of socially mixed neighbourhoods in the United Kingdom, their observations lead them to conclude, "it would be wrong to see this as a movement in one direction" (2009:474). They cite family, friendliness and participation in community life as values that newer, wealthier neighbours appreciated as being modelled to them and their families by their less well-off neighbours.

It thus becomes clear that mainstream social mix policies are inhibited in part by the problematic premises that underpin them, and that contradict the actual intended outcome of these policies. As the concrete example from Rose et al. shows, such premises can shape the narrative that residents have of themselves and their place in a neighbourhood in relation to their neighbours. They can also shape the way housing policies and programs are designed and implemented, with tangible effects on the extent to which desegregation efforts are successful and manage to further justice.

This suggests that segregation cannot simply be framed as a design problem: it is also a deeply conceptual problem. A renewed conception of the nature of social relations that ought to underpin encounters across difference in the residential setting is needed. This can provide an alternative framing for how the challenge of residential segregation is conceptualised and for approaches that seek to combat it. As illustrated here, social relations between residents matter and, from a politics of possibility, it is important to seek out and uncover a more just set of social relations "through which ethical responsibility might flow" (Popke 2010:252). When one considers the above landscape through the lens of possibility, Camina and Wood's (2009)

findings stand out, suggesting that conceptualising the benefits of encounters across difference as being reciprocal has potential to inform a more just framing of social relations.

2.5. Theorising relations of reciprocity: from individualism to interdependence

In order to elaborate a conception of reciprocity as a way of framing social relations that are more just, attention needs to be given to its ontological foundations. What is the conception of the individual, of society and their relationship that underpins different approaches to social relations and upon what foundation does reciprocity rest? This section examines critiques of individualised approaches to social justice and the social relations they promulgate, and traces how this gives rise to a conception of social interdependence, which will serve as the philosophical foundation for relations of reciprocity. It also analyses the conversation on approaches to justice as redistribution and justice as recognition that takes place among key thinkers of justice.

There has been a long history of thinking on just social relations in the city within urban geography and moral and political philosophy, whereby the conversation that has been unfolding about the nature of justice itself has been underpinned by increasingly sophisticated conceptions of what such relations ought to look like. Such views are based on particular assumptions about the nature of the individual and of society, which frames the way these relations—and justice itself—are conceived.

David Harvey has been one of the most influential geographers in this space. His thinking moved away from views on justice put forward by influential moral philosopher John Rawls (1973), whose theory of justice sought to promote the liberty and equality of all individuals. Underpinning Rawls' approach is a conception of social relations between disparate, 'sovereign' individuals, whose interests are inevitably in conflict: the role of principles of justice is to mediate between these interests.

Much of the thinking on justice that followed in critical geographical thinking has sought to problematise this notion of the 'sovereign' individual, which has been further consolidated under a neoliberal economic regime, where the "truly ethical subject" is framed as "one who opts out from society, who manages to disregard the ontological condition of being-together in favour of self-cultivation" (Popke 2010:249).

For Harvey (2010), a justice rooted in a discourse of individual rights and freedoms, at the expense of collective aspirations, perpetuates inequalities and alienation between different social classes. Harvey employs a Marxist analysis and proposes that a more just set of social relations must be based on solidarity and collaboration, which can emerge once the unjust structures that underpin capitalism are radically transformed.

While Harvey's important work on justice continues to inform the field, one perceived limitation of his approach is that it does not grant that an alternative set of relations might

emerge from within the current social structure, as a politics of possibility would put forward. Miriam Williams argues that Harvey's approach risks "framing neoliberalism and globalisation as totalising discourses," and writes that an alternative "focus on the here and now […] moves the debate of utopia thinking away from a revolutionary project that only seeks to overthrow and re-make what is, to one that starts with what is happening in the present" (2017:2219).

Another perceived limitation is that Harvey's approach universalises various forms of difference into a single category—that of class—overlooking how injustice can also be rooted in other forms of difference, such as ethnicity or gender (Young 1990; Fraser 2000; Fraser 2003; Fincher and Iveson 2008; Connolly and Steil 2009). Into this space, various feminist thinkers have sought to rethink justice and the social relations that underpin it in the context of manifold expressions of difference in urban spaces. This path has been led by moral philosopher Iris Marion Young (1990) and her thinking on justice as recognition. Emerging out of a 'cultural turn' in political economy studies, Young's "politics of difference" interrogates how social relations differentially position social groups, privileging some while oppressing others, and the effects this has on their experiences, life opportunities and their knowledge of society. One of her key contemporaries, Nancy Fraser, describes the purpose of a politics of recognition as working towards "a difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect" (Fraser 2003:7).

The conception of society that underpins Young's approach to justice is that of different social groups that relate to one another. In this way, she shifts the discourse from thinking about just relations between individuals to just relations between social groups, moving from individual to group rights. For Young, justice entails transforming these relations by recognising the claims of oppressed social groups in order to reduce discrimination and stigmatisation and their subsequent harms. In addition to redressing a lack of equality rooted in difference, Young's approach also advocates that difference needs to be affirmed and group identities recognised and respected. These groups, she qualifies, are not defined by pre-existing or essentialist attributes; rather, they are formed through a politics of identity, based on an affinity their members have with one another.

One perceived limitation of Young's view is that in focusing on recognition and identity politics, she downplays the continued importance of redistribution to reduce disadvantage and economic inequality (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Yiftachel et al. 2009). Philosopher Axel Honneth (2004), another prominent proponent of the recognition agenda, explicitly subsumes claims for distribution within what he frames as a broader struggle for recognition "over the degree of social esteem to be accorded to various productive activities" (Zurn 2003:525).

In response to such views, Fraser (2000; 2003) argues that in contexts of gross economic disparities, any attempt to remedy misrecognition without addressing redistribution is merely symbolic. Fraser (2000; 2003) develops a framework that combines a cultural politics of difference with a social politics of equality. Her "parity of participation" sees social relations as existing among peers endowed with equal status, with the redistribution of economic resources—along with recognition—being an indispensable criterion of this equality. Fraser

emphasises the importance of analytically distinguishing these two dimensions of justice, while also acknowledging how fundamentally intertwined they are in practice.

"Culture of poverty" ideologies are an example of this idea. Fraser outlines how socioeconomic inequalities that originated from the economic structure of society have given rise to accompanying "cultural attitudes that demean poor and working people," who are seen to "simply get what they deserve" (2003:24). Overcoming poverty, therefore, requires both redistribution and recognition to garner the required support for economic reform.

Another perceived limitation of Young's approach to recognition—which also characterises Honneth's approach—is the primacy given to affirming group *identity*. In their joint publication, Honneth and Fraser (2003) outline the commonalities and differences of their respective "identity" and "status" models of recognition. Under Honneth's (2003; 2004) identity model, relations of mutual recognition are considered essential to individual self-realisation and personal identity formation. Thus, moral disappointments, experiences of injustice and individual expressions of misrecognition are considered as legitimate grounds for claims for recognition, which are pursued as a means to promote self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem, to which every individual is considered morally entitled.

In contrast, Fraser's approach seeks to move away from addressing misrecognition arising from isolated individual prejudice and actions, which she argues could only be achieved by policing individual beliefs. She proposes her alternative "status" model of recognition based on her conviction that principles of justice ought rather to address institutionalised patterns of cultural value that "form the ground rules for social interaction" (in Dahl et al. 2004:378). When such patterns "constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem," she argues, individuals or groups are unjustly denied "the status of a full partner in social interaction" (2000:113-114). Fraser elaborates:

> When some groups feel that their very identities and ways of being in the city are unfairly denigrated or stigmatised, justice is fundamentally a matter of status and has an inter-subjective dimension: the pursuit of equality involves working against 'cultural patterns that systematically deprecate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them' (1998:31).

Examples of such patterns include social-welfare policies that stigmatise single mothers or policing practices such as racial profiling (2000). "In each of these cases," Fraser explains, "interaction is regulated by an institutionalized pattern of cultural value that constitutes some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior" (2000:114). From this perspective, what is being recognised is not group-specific identity, but rather the status of individual group members as being "capable of participating on a par with the rest" (2000:113).

According to Fraser, reciprocal recognition and status equality are attained by replacing "patterns of cultural value that impede parity of participation" with "patterns that foster it" (2000: 115). She differentiates "affirmative" remedies that address the *results* of

misrecognition from "transformative" remedies, that seek to address the underlying social arrangements at the root cause of them. At the heart of the divergence of the identity and status models of recognition are different visions of the level at which the remedy ought to be pursued—through changing structures, such as institutions and social practices, as per the status model; or through changing individual hearts and minds, to strengthen a sense of self-esteem and self-worth, as per the identity model.

Furthermore, by focusing on the recognition of status, rather than identity, Fraser (2000; 2003) argues, her approach to recognition avoids a tendency within identity models to reify group identities, to encourage separatism between groups, and to mask uneven power dynamics within groups. Her concern over separatism between groups resonates with a related but broader concern about the limitations of Young's approach to recognition, in that while it moves from the unit of individual rights to group rights, it does not assume an overarching common identity that binds different groups together. Young writes that city dwellers "being together entails some common problems and common interests, but they do not create a community of shared final ends, of mutual identification and reciprocity" (1990:238).

As such, there is no proposed solution for remedying conflicts of interest between different groups—and this can even pit them against one another (Campbell 2006; Connelly and Steil 2009; Storper 2001). Without a vision of shared identity and common purpose, endless compositions of "us" and "them" can proliferate and define group identities more narrowly and in opposition to one another. In her status model of recognition, Fraser tries to overcome this apparent dichotomy between recognising "our common humanity" and recognising "what is distinctive about individuals or groups," by suggesting that both are valid depending on the nature of the specific misrecognition in question (2003:45). She explains:

> In cases where misrecognition involves denying the common humanity of some participants, the remedy is universalist recognition […] Where, in contrast, misrecognition involves denying some participants' distinctiveness, the remedy could be recognition of specificity […] In every case, the remedy should be tailored to the harm (Fraser 2003:46).

Fraser thus proposes a vision of difference that does not deny an underlying common humanity, and even suggests that recognising this common humanity—rather than recognising difference—can in some cases underpin the path to justice, such as in efforts to redress apartheid in South Africa.

Leonie Sandercock takes this further by articulating the need for a notion of an "enlarged human community" in which difference is promoted and can even flourish (1998:198). Sandercock connects the existence of this overarching identity with the concept of dignity for all, writing of a "shared destiny" and the "acceptance by all of the right to dignity, however different one might be, which is grounded in a basic humanistic respect for others, for all others, in an enlarged human community" (1998:198). Even where social groups exist, she writes in contrast to Young that they "might be understood as always potentially sharing some attributes, experiences, and goals with other groups" and see themselves as "participating in the same

society" (1998:199). Accepting this notion of a "human community" implies that social relations ought to be re-envisaged in this light.

Against this backdrop, Heather Campbell (2006) proposes an ontological approach that establishes a connection between individual liberties and rights, and responsibilities towards others, by framing individuals as part of a larger whole and in relation to one another. Drawing on environmental justice literature, Campbell writes, "It is perhaps concern about the environment, rather than long-enduring socio-economic inequalities, that has in recent times most profoundly drawn attention to the interconnectedness of the world and encouraged a broadening of the scope of justice" (2006:110).

From this perspective, Campbell writes, "individuals are interdependent and part of mutually beneficial relational webs" (2006:110). The individual thus shifts further away from Rawls' independent or "sovereign" individual, to the *interdependent* individual, who relates to others through an interconnected web. Additionally, non-exclusive groupings can encounter one another through mutually beneficial relational webs within an interdependent whole, that is not confined to identity-based groupings. This ontological stance thus potentially resolves the dilemma that Jeffrey Popke describes as a "longstanding tug-of-war between individual and collective notions of responsibility, and the associated ideals of liberty and equality, and independence and interdependence" that has plagued "the history of thinking on the social" (2010:243).

Campbell continues that seeing people "as part of a larger whole and in relation to one another" opens up space for action, for broader expressions of justice. She extends this same vision to the socioeconomic realm, where it can help to theorise how individual actions can both perpetuate injustice and promote justice within the city. When individuals relate to one another as part of an interdependent whole, "across time and space, justice must necessarily embrace the collective implications of actions" (Campbell 2006:101).

In some ways, Monica Farias takes up Campbell's (2006) project of applying a social ontology of interdependence to the socioeconomic realm. Farias adopts a relational approach to theories of poverty. She writes:

> A relational approach to poverty critiques the responsibilization of "the poor" for supposedly making "poor choices" and having "deviant behaviors" (Lawson et al., 2008). Furthermore, it acknowledges the role and responsibilities of the "non-poor" in the (re)production of poverty through actions that directly or indirectly sanction the perpetuation of social, economic, and political inequalities and exploitative conditions of labor (Lawson et al., 2015) (2021:317).

This vision has particular pertinence in an attempt to refute role-model theory and associated 'culture of poverty' theories as a meaningful premise for approaches to housing that seeks to desegregate across socioeconomic and other, intertwined forms of difference. A relational theory of poverty decisively moves the 'blame' for poverty away from poorer urban citizens, and alternatively demonstrates the pertinence of a concept like reciprocity for structuring social

relations: if the creation and recreation of poverty is a phenomenon to which the actions of all contribute, even if often inadvertently, then all have a role to play in remedying it. In relation to housing in the city, this raises significant questions about where people choose to live, how they see and relate to different neighbours, and how they choose to invest their time, energy and financial resources into the local space.

2.6. From "role model theory" to "relations of reciprocity"

If the individual and society are taken to be part of an interdependent whole, what kinds of relations enacted across difference reflect this foundation of interdependence? This section explores how theorists of social relations of care and hospitality have drawn on the concept of reciprocity to frame these relations in a more symmetrical manner. From here it explores how an ontology of social interdependence moves the concept of 'reciprocity' away from the idea of a barter exchange (Derrida 1992). The section examines the contribution that the literature on reciprocal recognition (Young 1997; Benhabib 1992) and empirical studies that examine reciprocity in the context of multicultural suburbia and in volunteering (Wise 2009; Darling 2011) make to elaborating a conception of relations of reciprocity.

One way that such relations have been framed is through a feminist ethics of care, which are also based upon a relational social ontology of human interconnectedness and interdependence (Tronto 1993; 2013; Beasley and Bacchi 2007; Fine and Glendinning 2004; De la Bellacasa 2012; Power 2019). Initially emerging to render visible the unpaid work carried out by women in the private (domestic) and, later, public sphere, one important accomplishment of ethics of care literature in drawing attention to everyday caring activities has been its ability to consciously shift away from ideas of a "rational disembodied atomistic individualism" that liberal theories of justice (and more recently neoliberalism) have promulgated (Beasley and Bacchi 2007:283; Braidotti 2006; Lawson 2007).

An ethics of care is alternatively based upon a social ontology of mutual dependence, relationality and care (Tronto 1993, 2013; Sevenhuijsen 2003:183; Beasley and Bacchi 2007; Popke 2009; Olson and Sayer 2009; Darling 2011; Ward 2015). Joan Tronto writes in her seminal work, "being involved in a relationship of care […] makes obvious the interdependence of human individuals and presents a challenge to the idea that people are or should be completely independent" (1993:134), while De la Bellacasa (2012) describes interdependence as being a *condition,* rather than a contract. These ideas have been explored more recently through the lens of a "new urban ethics of care" (see for example Wiesel et al. 2020).

Numerous theorists of an ethics of care have pointed to the pertinence of reciprocity. For example, Fine and Glendinning (2005:616) seek to reframe care as "reciprocal dependence" to ensure the relation is mutual. Without a framing notion of reciprocity or mutuality, it has been argued, relations of care can perpetuate asymmetrical social relations, which see some people take on the role of "charitable" caregivers towards others who are more passively cared for

(Milligan and Wiles 2010; Fine and Glendinning 2004; Beasley and Bacchi 2007; Darling 2011).

More recently, Tronto's (2013) notion of "caring with" posits that the relation between care givers and receivers is mutualistic and reciprocal. Jane Midgely (2016) examines Tronto's notion of "caring with" at the interpersonal scale, while Emma Power (2019) considers it in the context of communal solidarity, where all can trust in their own "capacity to give and receive care" (766). Similarly, in her research on the role of people with learning disabilities who act as caregivers, Nicki Ward frames care as embedded within "a web of reciprocity and mutuality," where opportunities to enact reciprocity through relationships of care are recognised "as a valued social role" (2015:168, 176).

In this sense, *reciprocity* preserves an approach to care relations that is equitable and mutualistic. Furthermore, while an ethics of care has growing relevance to the structuring of social relations in ways that further the remaking of a more just city in the here and now, as a standalone concept, it is perhaps too limited to theorise *all of the ways* in which people can come together as "equal peers" (Fraser 1998) in contemporary cities of difference, because people reciprocate more than just relations of care with one another. For example, much has also been written about the concept of hospitality, which has traditionally been concerned with the reception of guests and the generosity a host displays towards strangers (Derrida 2000; Gotman 2001).

Amid similar concerns of relational asymmetry that have surfaced within the discourse on an ethics of care, Anne Gotman (2001) has described hospitality as a reciprocal capacity to give and receive and through this lens, conceptualises hospitality as a mode of practising reciprocity. Without the notion of reciprocity, this concept too appears to face a similar limitation to an ethics of care—the relation between a "host" and his or her "guest" can be unequal in many social settings, where the host maintains the privilege of welcoming and defining the terms of hospitality (Derrida 2000, 2005; Still 2010; Barnett 2005; Iveson 2006; Darling 2011; Boudou 2012).

Reciprocity thus offers a promising way forward for theorising just social relations. In the way it is being applied, *reciprocity* is not simply an alternative expression of social relations that sits alongside care and hospitality, but, it is proposed, provides a framing for *how* these relations ought to be enacted—mutually and reciprocally. In that sense, it serves as a framing for social relations that gives expression to a social ontology of interdependence and interconnectedness. Reciprocity is particularly pertinent in relation to housing theory because, as established, a major challenge to overcoming parallel lives in mixed-income residential areas relates to conceptions of social relations among residents, and who among them is seen to contribute to and benefit from encounters across difference.

Reciprocity is a theoretical concept that surfaces in different places across the literature. In addition to the discussions on hospitality and care cited above (Gotman 2001; Fine and Glendinning 2005; Darling 2011; Tronton 2013; Ward 2015; Midgely 2016; Power 2019),

reciprocity is examined in quite some depth in philosophical and political theorisations of justice that address the recognition of people who are marginalised (Young 1997; Benhabib 1992; Fraser 1998). These approaches consider the role of reciprocity in interpersonal exchanges. Practical, everyday forms of reciprocity and mutuality are also explored in the context of studies on hope and belonging in multicultural suburbia (Wise 2009), and in the context of volunteering, where giving and receiving have been conceptualised as inseparable, and knowledge and experience documented as that which was reciprocated (Darling 2011). A cruder approach to reciprocity frames it as a kind of barter exchange that occurs between two, enlightened self-interested individuals (Derrida 1992; Bloom and Kilgore 2003) .

However, while reciprocity is a concept that threads throughout the literature, its theorisation within critical urban theory has not been given the same attention as concepts such as care or hospitality, especially not in relation to urban theory and housing. Nor has there been an attempt to generate theory that can unify what outwardly appear to be disparate uses of the concept.

The conception of reciprocity as a barter exchange arguably stems from it being framed within a neoliberal or individualistic paradigm, as a calculated exchange of commodified goods, motivated by enlightened self-interest (Derrida 1992; Bloom and Kilgore 2003). From this perspective, reciprocity creates an expectation of repayment between two individuals, so that any gift given is in anticipation of the reciprocation of that gift. This conception tends to create an expectation of materials goods that are reciprocated to an equivalent value. In employing the term reciprocity, care theorists have sought to move away from this narrow conception based on mutual self-interest. For example, Ward qualifies that "reciprocity is not used to represent the idea that people are 'trading favours' in a 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours' transaction" (2015:167).

Reciprocity alternatively framed by an ontology of social interdependence recasts the act of giving and receiving: within the context of a society to which the individual is connected, these are conjoined as a mutual act—as seen in research into the act of volunteering (Cloke et al. 2007; Darling 2011). Ward argues that reciprocity "should be recognised as important in nurturing and supporting mutual interdependence" (2015:168).

This ontology also suggests that reciprocity need not only flow between two people, reciprocating one another's material gift; rather, relations of reciprocity can flow across a web of interconnected individuals and also across time (Ward 2015; Power 2019). Miriam Williams describes how care needs to be based on "an understanding that to be in the world, is to be dependent on others at some point in the course of our lifetime" (2020:2; Tronto 2013). In the same vein, Power (2019) describes the temporal frame of "caring-with" as stretching back into history and forward into the future, allowing an analysis of the past actors, conditions and labour that make care giving possible in the present, and to consider the capacity or potential for future care being produced by current relations of care.

Reciprocity has also been theorised in connection to recognition in the realm of interpersonal exchange. Iris Marion Young (1997) develops a conception of reciprocity in interpersonal

exchanges and communication. Her notion of "asymmetrical reciprocity" purports that relations of reciprocity emerge through the act of conversing across difference to gain insight into others' perspectives to facilitate mutual understanding. For Young, this reciprocal exchange must be based on a conviction that one has something to receive as much as something to give. In addition to this conviction, she writes of the importance of human qualities such as moral humility and patience as characterising these exchanges, and of adopting a "respectful stance of wonder," which she describes as an "openness across, awaiting new insights about their needs, interests, perceptions, or values" (1997:56).

Underpinning this vision is a conception of each individual as equal in status and characterised by dignity. For Young, exchanges of this nature can promote "reciprocal recognition," where each person recognises and "takes account of the other" (1997:351), which she believes can reduce discrimination and its resulting harms. Such potential outcomes are not trivial. In addition to preserving the dignity of all participants in a given exchange, giving weight to voices hitherto unrecognised can allow what Sandercock describes as the "disruption of other voices," notably because the "privileged groups" who tend to define policy issues "do not always understand the needs and interests of oppressed groups" (1998:198).

Young also proposes that such dialogue assists those in positions of privilege to become more conscious of their own positions, assumptions and perspectives. She writes that "wonder also means being able to see one's own position, assumptions, perspective as strange, because it has been put in relation to others" (1997:56).

In her research on middle-class volunteers in Popular Assemblies in Buenos Aires, Monica Farias observes this outcome empirically. She explores the example of middle-class volunteers who encounter poorer residents of the city, with whom they did not previously have the habit of interacting:

> The act of 'seeing,' of being able 'to see' something, maybe for the first time, comes up repeatedly in conversations with members of the Asambleas. They recognise it as the result of having engaged with people they would not have come into contact with if it were not for the fact that they all share the space of the Asamblea. Learning from others' experiences and lives prompts critical reflection about their own identities and histories (2016:180).

Similarly, in his research on volunteers encountering asylum seekers at drop-in centres in Sheffield, United Kingdom, Jonathan Darling describes reciprocity as a potentially "transformative process," from which volunteers can emerge "altered in some way," through enhanced self-knowledge and self-awareness (2011:411).

Young (1994) differentiates her approach to "asymmetrical reciprocity" to Seyla Benhabib's notion of "symmetrical reciprocity," which Benhabib (1992) argues is achieved through what she terms "reversibility"—essentially, putting oneself in another's position. Benhabib describes this as a "symmetry and reciprocity of normative expectations" that she sees as essential to "the ties of reciprocity that bind communities together" (1992:32).

Both Young and Benhabib see reciprocal recognition as a means through which Hannah Arendt's (1961) notion of "enlarged thought," a concept both subscribe to, can be achieved. Young describes this as occurring when "a person moves from a narrowly subjective, self-regarding perspective on action to a more objective and socially inclusive view" (1997:57). However, Young critiques Benhabib's notion of equating reciprocity to "reversibility" and "symmetry" because, she argues, the notion that one can understand another person's perspective or see things from their point of view ignores that any effort to do so will necessarily be coloured by individual experiences and privilege (1997:5).

In her analysis of the two approaches, Elaine Stavro (2001:138) tries to find a balance, agreeing with Young that Benhabib's notion of reversibility "ultimately reduces the richness and complexity of relationships to the selfsame." At the same time, she finds that Young's response in the notion of "irreducible differences" take this a step too far. "I don't take up the perspective of the other," Stavro writes, "but still, I contend, some permeability is possible: our experiences, however unique, are similar and comprehensible" (2001:144). For Stavro, "the problem with Young's notion of asymmetry" is that "it implies that our experiences are so different as to be ultimately incommunicable" (Ibid). This proposed balance between Benhabib and Young seems useful to theorise what reciprocity looks like in interpersonal exchanges that allow people to gain insight into one another's perspectives and needs, without claiming to fully understand them.

As insightful and sophisticated as these notions of reciprocal recognition are, they arguably don't capture the full theoretical potential of reciprocity when applied to the vast range of encounters that can take place in urban living. The next section draws on the literature to develop a framework that broadens the scope of the applicability of reciprocity and to explore potential outcomes of justice to which it can give rise. This informs an attempt to frame the empirical research in a way that can contribute to a theoretical conception of reciprocity in just social relations.

2.7. Reciprocity and just housing outcomes

An empirical investigation into the patterns of relations that form in housing programs premised on reciprocity will seek to accomplish a task set by Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson: to link "broad justice norms to everyday realities" as a way to generate knowledge on efforts to build more just social relations in the city in the here and now (2012:240). This section explores the literature on some of these broad justice norms, comprising the concept of justice as recognition (Fraser 2003); justice as redistribution (Fraser 2003; in Dahl et al. 2004); and justice as capabilities (Nussbaum 2002; 2004). Theorisations of these various dimensions of justice are explored to inform the development of an analytical framework that can be used to empirically examine the impacts of encounters of reciprocity on furthering justice norms. By drawing on the literature on new forms of solidarity emerging in contexts of diversity (Depraetere et al. 2019) as well as feminist theories on emancipatory forms of power, including

at the collective level (Miller 1992; Held 1993; Hartsock 1989), the section proposes a fourth dimension of this framework, collective transformation.

Fincher and Iveson's (2008) own framework used to examine everyday examples of a "just diversity" provides a helpful staring point. The framework, which comprises the principles of redistribution, recognition and encounter, is "applied to evaluate critically a range of remedies that seek to address the systematic reproduction of differences between rich and poor" (2008:23). The authors describe this approach as an effort to "stage a dialogue between philosophical justice-thinking and analysis of urban situations in which justice seemed to be emerging in ongoing, situated struggles against injustice" (2012:237).

Their approach also explicitly pushes back on the so-called "communicative turn" that reduces justice in planning to fair deliberative processes and procedures and places "the 'what' question about justice" to one side (Fincher and Iveson 2008:5). This perspective is shared by geographers like Susan Fainstein (2005) and Heather Campbell (2006). Fincher and Iveson argue that "to create more just cities, planners need a framework for making judgements between different claims in the planning process" (Fincher and Iveson 2008:5).

In line with this approach, this thesis will not only consider whether and how encounters of reciprocity across difference take place, but it will also consider whether such encounters and the relations they engender actually further justice. To do so, the *outcomes* of encounters of reciprocity will be analysed according to two of the three norms elaborated by Fincher and Iveson: redistribution and recognition. In this approach, encounters, though valid in their own right, are framed more as the *means* through which these more just ends can be attained.

As explored in the previous section, much of the literature on reciprocity to date has been developed in the context of justice as recognition. In relation to encounters across difference in housing, this approach to reciprocity offers a valuable frame for analysis. By applying reciprocity to the *interpersonal* and the *communicative*, the concept is liberated from the narrow definition of a barter exchange. It allows for a more sophisticated exploration of mutual benefits across difference that challenge role model narratives, where residents exchange perspectives, experience, and ways of seeing across difference.

While often framed as antithetical in the literature, both the identity model (Honneth 2004) and the status model (Fraser 2000; 2003; in Dahl et al. 2004) of recognition offer a means to assess whether the outcomes of encounters of reciprocity advance justice. Through the lens of the identity model, it is possible to analyse whether encounters of reciprocity lead to shifts in an individual's perceptions of self-esteem and self-worth "within their relationships and within the wider world," as observed by Ward in her research on carers with learning disabilities (2015:168).

Through this same lens, interpersonal relations of reciprocity can lead to shifts in the perceptions that residents have of one another, particularly the reduction of prejudice. In line with Young's (1994) notion of "reciprocal recognition," diverse perspectives and ways of

seeing could be learnt, in some cases giving rise to the questioning of one's own ingrained and often taken-for-granted perspectives. Furthermore, commonalities and recognition of a shared, dignified humanity might replace a sense of otherness. These potential outcomes connect to the literature on encounters across difference that suggest that under certain conditions—with just social relations being at the heart of these—transformations in perspectives and attitudes are possible.

Through the lens of the status model (Fraser 1998; 2000; 2003), another potential outcome of encounters of reciprocity could be a form of status equality that would see all residents participate as full partners in social interaction. This could be an outcome of *affirmative* remedies that address the *results* of systemic misrecognition—such as residents accessing opportunities to demonstrate social roles of capacity in encounters across difference. For example, in her research, Ward (2015) observes the symbolic injustice stemming from social patterns that represent people with learning disabilities as vulnerable and in need of care and protection. However, when people with learning disabilities are provided with opportunities to demonstrate reciprocity through providing care to others, they are able to "adopt a valued social role more often denied to them," (2015:167-8) and more on a par with the rest of society. In this way, residents of low-income housing, who are also often subjected to similar deficit representations, could be provided with opportunities to enact roles as equal peers hitherto denied to them.

Given the limited scope of the operations of a housing organisation to modify social arrangements, the extent to which "transformative" recognition is achieved at the structural level of society—in the way Fraser (2003; in Dahl et al. 2004) theorises it—as a result of encounters of reciprocity is likely to be more limited. Nevertheless, it is worth considering how the conceptions of reciprocity held by these organisations shape their provision of housing and the extent to which this gets to some of the root causes underpinning the stigma associated with social housing. As Fraser notes, welfare programs tend to "target the poor not only for material aid but also for public hostility" (2003:65). Consideration can also be given therefore to the extent to which reciprocity for housing can contribute to low-income housing provision that avoids such stigmatisation, and that promotes an alternative, parity-fostering narrative of its residents.

Heeding Nancy Fraser's (2000) response to recognition approaches to justice, it is also important to theorise how relations of reciprocity might further redistribution. Within the concrete practice of urban planning, Fincher and Iveson (2008) describe redistribution as an effort to improve the material conditions of people's lives by reducing urban inequalities—or remedying a "maldistribution of resources"—stemming from unjust social structures.

A first consideration concerns how relations of reciprocity might increase the success of mixed-income housing programs which in themselves intend to be redistributive by improving the quality of living standards and surrounding amenities for lower-income people (Lelévrier 2013). Connected to this are questions about whether the success of such living arrangements can reduce inequalities that stem from individual and place-based stigma (for example, reduced

access to employment opportunities, school avoidance by children of native-speaking families) (Wiesel et al. 2018; Bacqué et al. 2014), as well as resident attitudes towards maintaining spaces and services that respond to the diverse and sometimes particular needs of a mixed local community (Rose et al. 2013) and accepting that public resources will be targeted towards such ends (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Raveaud and Van Zanten 2007).

Another consideration relates to the redistribution that one could theorise may emerge as, to draw on Young's (2002) thinking on residential segregation, people become more aware of their own privilege and the injustice associated with it as they enact relations of reciprocity with those who may have less advantages than them. David Harvey (2010) asserts that the cumulative effect of a large number of individual choices made in self-interest under the influence of the forces of a market-exchange system contributes to societal injustice. What would such choices look like if—from the perspective of a politics of possibility—in the here and now, a growing number of people become more conscious of the everyday realities of injustice and, even in small ways, began to make different choices that inch towards the collective responsibility that interdependence beckons? (Campbell 2006; Cloke 2002; Popke 2010; Midgely 2016).

In the case Monica Farias (2016) studies, increased individual consciousness about poverty and the people it inflicts as a result of encounters across difference facilitates the enactment of relations of reciprocity, whereby people participate in a soup kitchen "in relation to one another as part of a web of interdependencies" (2016:181). Farias describes how the redistributive outcomes of these encounters are connected to a growing consciousness of the situations of others, writing of "a relational understanding of poverty in which all social actors are implicated in the production and reproduction of poverty. The *Olla* (soup kitchen) thus becomes a 'window to the neighbourhood,' an opportunity to come closer to people living in marginal situations, to get to know their needs and to find collective solutions to them" (2016:176).

This also suggests that the very act of redistribution can bring to light the interdependence of human relations, which reframes actions from being a unilateral act of helping "needy others," to being an enactment of collective responsibilities towards an interdependent whole, that is mutually enriching and beneficial (Farias 2016:181). Farias's findings resonate with a feminist ethics of care perspective, which seeks to challenge "the assumption of the autonomous self whose actions are devoid of any relational context," and "directs attention to the situated and relational basis of responsibility" (Midgely 2016:625).

Similarly, Raveaud and Van Zanten (2007) write of middle-class parents who move into lower income neighbourhoods and decide to invest in local schools by engaging with teachers and offering tuition and homework support. Their actions "emphasise the need to strive for equal results or at least for equal satisfaction for all and a model of integration based on more interconnectedness between social groups" (2007:122). These findings of possibility illustrate that there is value in seeking to learn about encounters through which diverse people can enact

relations of reciprocity, in ways that reflect an ontological view of social interdependence. This should include the impacts of these relations for redistribution and recognition in the city.

Another concept that will be explored is the development or enhancement of capabilities that can potentially result from encounters of reciprocity across difference and the various spaces created to facilitate them. A capabilities approach to justice was pioneered by Amartya Sen (1993) and further elaborated by Martha Nussbaum (2000; 2002). Like conceptions of justice as recognition, Nussbaum's approach to capabilities is based on a conviction about the inherent dignity or worth in every individual. For Nussbaum, justice is related to the imperative to provide opportunities for all people to develop capabilities, as a reflection of this inner dignity. She writes:

> The basic intuition from which the capability approach begins, in the political arena, is that human abilities exert a moral claim that they should be developed. Human beings are creatures such that, provided with the right educational and material support, they can become fully capable of these human functions (2002:131).

A lack of opportunities to develop these capabilities, Nussbaum argues, "blights powers of human action and expression," leading to "a life without dignity and choice" (2002:131). Nussbaum continues: "The central question asked by the capabilities approach […] is *what is she actually able to do and to be*?" (Ibid).

In this sense, the research will consider what encounters of reciprocity enable residents *to do and to be*, or how it sets them on a path through which they are gaining capacity *to do and to be* more as active agents of their own lives. For these purposes, the use of the term capabilities will be applied more broadly than the specific list that Nussbaum (2002) proposes.

Fraser (in Dahl et al. 2004) notes that her approach to justice, through which she promotes the principle of participatory parity, could also be framed in terms of providing capabilities for social interaction, though she qualifies that her approach does not focus on capabilities for individual functioning. Nussbaum's framework thus allows for the analysis of a broader set of capabilities that, while fostered through social interaction (in the case of this research through encounters of reciprocity), can give rise to a broader scope of individual development.

Furthermore, it is possible to find some parallels between Nussbaum's theory and Sandercock's (1998) notion of an "enlarged human community." The very notion of a human community implies that there exists a distinct identity of *being human* that, on the one hand is differentiated from animals and other forms of life—as Nussbaum goes to lengths to illustrate—and on the other hand, that possesses shared traits and attributes that all humans have in common, in conjunction with differences that are also woven into the fabric of social life. Sandercock describes the idea of shared "attributes" (as well as shared experiences and goals) as forming the basis of a human community (1998:199). One could thus read the innately human potentialities that Nussbaum writes of—those that can develop into human capabilities—as

forming part of the foundation of shared attributes that humans have in common and upon which a notion of an "enlarged human community" can be built.

Considering this, it will be important to consider what transformation looks like at the collective level, and whether indeed forms of collectivity and shared identity emerge across difference. While the literature on conviviality puts forward the idea of a sense of the collective that can emerge beyond fixed ethnic categories (Nowicka and Vertovec 2014), as noted, this tends to be a "fleeting" sense of the collective, "conceptually at some distance from sharing identities" (Fincher and Iveson 2015:24).

Recent literature on new forms of solidarity emerging in contexts of "superdiversity" does theorise and observe shared identity formation across difference (Oosterlynck et al. 2016; Oosterlynck 2018; Depraetere et al. 2018; Depraetere et al. 2019). Amid concerns in many Western European countries that growing ethnic and cultural diversity poses a challenge for "formal mechanisms of redistribution and informal acts of charity, reciprocity and support" (Oosterlynck et al. 2016:2), and related skepticism around "the possibility of fostering solidarity in ethno-culturally heterogeneous societies" (Depraetere et al. 2018:89), this literature explores how solidarity can take shape through a shared sense of place.

Building on Durkheim's (1893) foundational thesis on solidarity, Oosterlynck et al. argue that "a narrowly national framing of solidarities no longer captures the complex and multiple entanglements and engagements of people" (2016:3). They thus seek to rethink the expression of four traditional sources of solidarity—interdependence; shared norms and values; struggle; and encounter—in contemporary and localised contexts. Stijn Oosterlynck describes this as an effort to examine "how people mobilise different sources of solidarity in their attempts to take shared responsibility for the concrete places where they live, work, learn and play together in superdiversity (2018:1). Depraetere et al. elaborate:

> The growing ethnic and cultural diversity of the population makes it necessary to look for innovative forms of solidarity elsewhere, namely in the here and now of actual practices in particular places. From a spatial perspective, we propose a shift from the bounded territory of the nation state to the relationally constituted places where diversity is encountered and negotiated. From a temporal perspective, a similar shift is needed from the imagined historical continuity of the national community to concrete practices of solidarity (Oosterlynck et al. 2016:4).

In their research into a local currency scheme at the neighbourhood level, Depraetere et al. observe that *repeated* encounters among individuals in the "here-and-now of specific practices in particular places" gives rise to "new forms of solidarity" that emerge from the "shared care for these places" (2018:89, 108). Their findings are particularly relevant given the place-based nature of housing, and the extent to which diverse residents of the case study housing programs share a home, a corridor, a building, an estate, or a neighbourhood, in which they are to varying degrees bounded and invested.

Of particular interest when considering potential outcomes of encounters of reciprocity in ways that can promote more just relations across difference is the authors' finding that these new forms of solidarity are transformative in nature. Rather than integrating diverse populations into existing relationships and social structures, these very relationships and structures are transformed, to give rise to new forms of identity, equality and belonging. The authors argue:

> Although the solidarities that we observed are situated in a particular neighbourhood, they do have the power to blur or even refute the way vulnerable groups fall between clear-cut sociocultural conventions and categories. Residents position themselves as people who are part and parcel of the neighbourhood instead of being attributed to the lowest step of its social hierarchy. What therefore emerges is a practice that is guided by the hypothesis that all people are equal and that all people can be involved in changing or reconsidering the boundaries of what constitutes a community (Depraetere et al. 2018:110).

It will thus be important to consider transformation at the collective level, in terms of the extent to which a sense of community (or the collective) that is inclusive of difference emerges, and also whether forms of solidarity or shared identity are reflected within this (Depraetere et al. 2018).

A final point on this relates to the kind of support residents of a neighbourhood might require to develop these bonds of solidarity. Despite the place-based nature of these efforts, Depraetere et al. observe that "close proximity in itself is, however, insufficient to allow practices of solidarity to develop" (2019:98). They highlight the critical role of "the human effort of community workers and organisations" which "plays a necessary and stimulating role in these practices of solidarity," such as organising individual support, group work, mediation, and advocacy, and a "considerable injection of public means" (ibid). They sum up the critical role of this professional labour as follows:

> These observations nuance an all-too-romantic approach to practices of solidarity as spontaneous bottom-up processes and indicate the importance of a material and social infrastructure in which place-based forms of solidarity in super-diversity can flourish (Depraetere et al. 2019:110).

This demonstrates the importance of considering the kind of support structures that help to foster solidarity among diverse residents, which, in relation to this research, refers to the housing organisations and other key actors.

Finally, when considering relations at the collective level, it is important not to overlook the operation of power among these relations and implications this has for a notion of collective empowerment, or collective agency. As Nancy Hartsock observes:

> Understanding how power works in oppressive societies is important. But if we are to construct a new society, we need to be assured that some systematic knowledge about our world and ourselves is possible (1989:171).

A lens of possibility calls for more emancipatory forms of power than those framed solely in terms of power-over, or in terms of domination and oppression, and a number of feminist scholars have sought to move away from such conceptions of power (Miller 1992; Held 1993; Hartsock 1989). For example, Jean Baker Miller theorises power more broadly as "the capacity to produce a change" (1992:241). These thinkers also emphasise how power can be willfully directed towards enhancing, rather than diminishing, the power of others (Miller 1992; Held 1993). Drawing on the example of mothering and caretaking, Miller writers how power can be channeled to "foster the growth of others," to empower them and to increase their agency (1992:247-248), just as Held (1993) describes the capacity to help foster transformative growth in others.

Power can also be conceived as a kind of agency that multiplies through the collective. Drawing on the thinking of Mary Parker Follet (1942), who approaches what she calls "power-with" as a collective ability that is enabled through relationships of reciprocity among members of a group, Scott Pratt describes a vision of power that "emerges directly from the process of differentiating and uniting individuals" (2011:86). Pratt explicitly contrast Foucault's conception of power-over as a tool to analyse systems of oppression from Follet's vision of fostering agency "as a movement towards power-with" (2011:87). Thus any consideration of collective identity formation and collective agency as an outcome of relations of reciprocity among diverse residents should also consider the role of power and, more specifically, the expression of forms of "power-with," or empowerment.

In conclusion, the potential injustices caused by residential segregation that have been elaborated in this chapter underscore the importance of research efforts that explore housing programs that foster relations of reciprocity through encounters across difference. The literature seems to suggest that efforts to overcome this segregation will require a recognition of social interdependence in consciousness and in practice. Drawing on fieldwork that examines how such relations are conceived within studied housing programs, and how they are enacted and experienced in practice among residents, this research will seek to further elaborate a conception of "relations of reciprocity."

Quoting urban sociologist Robert Park, David Harvey offers the following reflection that underscores the importance of building a vision of the just city that is based upon a robust vision of society:

> The freedom of the city is, therefore, far more than a right of access to what already exists: it is a right to change it more after our heart's desire. But if Park is right—that in remaking the city we remake ourselves—then we must evaluate consciously what we might be making of ourselves as well as others as the urban process evolves (2008:45).

Remaking ourselves, it can be concluded, ought to include remaking the relationships that bind individuals together, and the emergence of relations of reciprocity both require and suggest renewed conceptions of human society.

2.8. Implications of a social ontology of interdependence for housing provision: individual versus community approaches

This section turns to the housing literature to consider the implications of an ontology of social interdependence for models of housing provision. It begins by laying out central debates on the value of place-based approaches to poverty reduction versus individualised approaches, concluding that the former is more coherent with a vision of social interdependence and a relational vision of poverty. It then explores literature on "studentification," to consider how a conception of interdependence at the neighbourhood level—between students and the surrounding residents—can shape approaches to models of student housing.

At the heart of approaches to the provision of low-income housing is an underlying debate about whether housing accessibility and poverty is best addressed through individual or collective, place-based interventions. One of the main rationale for place-based approaches to the provision of affordable housing is grounded in an understanding of disadvantage as being structured in space and place. According to Scott Baum and Brendan Gleeson, policies that, in contrast, aim to support individuals "to exercise market choices" are based on an assumption of a "spatially indifferent world of individuals" (2010:154). Place-based approaches can direct investment towards important local services and facilities—support for housing alone can be insufficient to reduce locational disadvantage stemming from the broader urban environment (Wiesel et al. 2018).

Another rationale for place-based approaches is that the model of housing provided embodies and reinforces a particular vision of social relations. In a neoliberal vision of society, there is a certain logic to an individualised approach to poverty reduction, targeting individuals who are disconnected not only from their social and physical environments, but also from one another. Poverty, from the neoliberal perspective, is an individual problem, and addressing it means supporting individuals to find solutions to ameliorate their conditions, without necessarily asking profound questions about the underlying causes of these conditions, nor what it might have to do with anyone else in the city. As Jeffrey Popke writes, "One of the hallmarks of neoliberal discourse has been the enshrinement of the autonomous individual subject as the site of responsibility" (2010:249).

Conceiving of social relations as being reciprocal, reflecting the interconnectedness of humanity, frames the problem differently. Poverty is not an individual problem, but a problem that affects one part of a collective, as Farias (2016) finds in her work on Buenos Aires's *Popular Assemblies*. From this perspective, individual approaches to addressing poverty potentially deny people the chance to participate in the redistribution of wealth and to have choices beyond "inaction," which fits in with "the prevailing norms of socio-economic life" (Cloke 2002:598). Place-based approaches, in contrast, can place resources behind the collective capacity of communities to improve their own conditions by investing in local services and supporting local initiatives and opportunities.

Writing in the Australian context, Louise Crabtree analyses how narratives on the home as privately-owned property dominate discourse, so that other arrangements—renting, public housing, or more collective and cooperative ways of living—"are perceived as inferior, or, not at all" (2016:173). This, she writes, not only overlooks the viability of these alternative models of housing, but also the valuable contributions that residents of such places make to their neighbourhoods and to society. Drawing on case studies that include public policy promotion of home ownership on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands, Crabtree also finds that this approach fails to take into account the relational nature of tenure, and that "for many communities, land tenure is a nexus of community and cultural obligation, responsibility and reciprocity" (2016:180). The housing programs studied in this research program clearly fit into the scheme of place-based approaches to poverty and housing provision. Implications of this model vis-à-vis more individualised forms of housing provision will be considered in the analysis.

Within this larger panorama of housing models, student accommodation takes on various forms. As one of the case studies being researched in this thesis brings largely middle-class university students into low-income neighbourhoods, it is worth taking a moment to consider this specific form of housing provision.

A significant body of research is accumulating in the United Kingdom on the notion of "studentification" (Allinson 2006; Hubbard 2009; Chatterton 2010; Macintyre 2003). This literature examines how large pockets of students come to be concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, including by occupying newly constructed purpose-built student accommodation, and with what effects (Smith 2005; Smith and Holt 2007; Sage et al. 2012a; Sage et al. 2012b). The presence of student residences in low-income areas engenders a form of social mix by default, given the relatively affluent backgrounds of most British university students, and particularly those who can afford to live away from home (Hubbard 2009; Chatterton 2010; Sage et al. 2012a).

The British literature outlines how social divisions have been created between groups of students and local, existing populations. According to Darren Smith, in some contexts, an unplanned influx of students "reduces opportunities for positive and mutually beneficial interactions between groups and fuels the segregation of groups based on lifestyles and life-course cleavages, as well as differing levels of economic capital" (2008:2546). There are documented perceptions of students having "no interest in connecting with those next door," or a feeling that they have nothing in common (Hubbard 2009:333). Much of the perceived challenge hinges upon certain preconceptions of incompatible student "lifestyles" (Allinson 2006; Sage et al. 2012a) and the "othering" of students as a marginal group "whose values and lifestyles do not accord with the moral codes ascribed by the majority" (Hubbard 2009:332).

The literature considers whether students are in effect learning to become "apprentice gentrifiers" (Smith 2005; Hubbard 2009; Sage et al. 2012a). Some authors suggest that an increase in private, purpose-built student developments effectively segregate these young people into "student ghettos" (Allinson 2006; Smith 2008; Hubbard 2009; Sage et al. 2012a).

Phil Hubbard writes, "It appears that students are increasingly involved in a form of urban gentrification underpinned by the same logics of social withdrawal and search for cultural exclusivity that help to explain the rise of middle-class gated communities" (2009:1920).

Notwithstanding, many authors urge caution about concentrating only on perceived challenges of students moving into deprived communities and stress the need for a more balanced perspective (Allinson 2006; Smith 2008; Sage et al. 2012a). They cite instances where students have sought to integrate with the existing community (Allinson 2006) and also note their potential role in revitalising the local area (Allinson 2006; Macintyre 2003; Sage et al. 2012a). In particular, students volunteering in community engagement initiatives, coordinated by universities (for example, activities with elderly people and people with disabilities, victim and refugee support), has been found to improve social relations by helping to integrate disparate groups and building a more cohesive social fabric (Allinson 2006; Macintyre 2003; Sage et al. 2012a).

Some authors call for the expansion of student housing to be integrated into urban policy, which should conceive of students as an integral part of the local community (Smith 2008; Macintyre 2003); for an adequate reflection on the appropriate scale, style and placement of student housing within the physical environment (Macintyre 2010); for models of student living that encourage student communities to work together with existing residents to take responsibility for the area (Allinson 2006); for approaches that promote empathy for local residents among students, and a student-friendly ethos among local residents (Hubbard 2009); and for better documentation of the contributions students make to the local economy and society (Hubbard 2009). Against this backdrop, it will be important to consider the way that the AFEV student solidarity scheme fits into this narrative and potentially how it offers approaches that distinctly avoid "studentification" tendencies.

2.9. Conclusion

Within the broader housing landscape outlined above, a variety of non-state, not-for-profit actors are experimenting with alternative housing models, based on more reciprocal visions of social relations: in Victoria, Australia, not-for-profit community housing providers can bid in competitive rounds for government funding to construct new social and affordable housing (Victoria State Government 2017). In the Ile-de-France region of France, local governments are working hand in hand with not-for-profit associations who are using innovative approaches that bring offers of affordable housing in close proximity to more affluent households and areas. In Queensland, Australia, acute housing needs for those seeking asylum have given rise to a more radical approach that mobilises the spare rooms of people willing to relationally participate in addressing the production and reproduction of poverty.

This research will empirically examine such cases to investigate the premise that relations of reciprocity are fundamental to encounters across difference in housing programs that promote redistribution, recognition, the development of capabilities and collective transformation.

Embedded in an ontology of social interdependence, reciprocity is conceived as a relation that flows across a web of interconnected individuals, that can stretch back into history and forward into the future. It is being explored as a way of framing relations of care or hospitality—to cite two examples—in ways that are more symmetrical.

Pursuing a politics of possibility, the thesis will seek out and study existing examples of housing programs that aim to facilitate relations of reciprocity among diverse residents. In doing so, it is hoped that these relations—as they are conceived and practised in the everyday—can be rendered more visible, contributing to theory development on social relations and justice, and to learning about the conditions and approaches that make housing programs more just.

Chapter Three: A Methodology of Possibility

3.1. An epistemology of possibility

This chapter begins by outlining how a politics of possibility (J.K. Gibson-Graham's 2006; 2008) shapes the epistemology of this research, as does Fincher and Iveson's (2012) approach to bringing broad justice norms into conversation with practice. It goes on to define both the conceptual and analytical frameworks that will be used to investigate the three research questions, including an overview of how the analytical framework has been elaborated. The chapter then describes the approach to the comparison of the four case studies as "thinking the urban elsewhere" (Robinson 2016). It presents the four case studies in more depth and provides an overview of the empirical data collection process and the approach to data analysis. From here, it turns to two ethical considerations: an effort to foreground the voices and perspectives of the housing program residents in the empirical data findings and discussions; and exploring how reciprocity applies to the research process itself.

Chapter two introduces J.K. Gibson-Graham's (2006; 2008) "politics of possibility" as a core component of the theoretical framework guiding this research. It is through the lens of possibility that reciprocity is identified as a hopeful and insightful theoretical concept for framing social relations in ways that can further justice.

This lens of possibility also guides the epistemological approach to this research. By recognising the performative potential of knowledge production, Gibson-Graham suggests that scholars have a responsibility to contemplate questions such as: "How can our work open up possibilities? What kind of world do we want to participate in building?" (2008:215).

The answers to these questions have multiple implications for epistemology and for methodology more broadly. At a fundamental level, selecting an object of study is making a judgment call about what aspects of our social world merit scrutiny and attention. Miriam Williams describes a politics of possibility as being "attuned to progressive worlds" and as "amplifying and making these worlds visible" (2020:3). In this way, Gibson-Graham notes, they can become "visible potential objects of policy and politics" (Gibson-Graham 2008:619-620).

This epistemological lens influences not just the research questions deemed worthy of asking but also what comes into focus when investigating them. My research seeks out relations of reciprocity, based on the premise that the knowledge generated can inform efforts to build more just housing. This approach is particularly pertinent when juxtaposed against an epistemological practice that Eve Sedgwick (2003) terms the "paranoid stance," which looks for and focuses on the sinister in observations of our social world. From this stance, studies into social relations often assume that self-interest must always be lurking in the shadows.

Of course, an overly romantic posture would equally fail to produce the kind of knowledge needed to learn about building justice in contemporary diverse cities. What is perhaps called for, rather, is an epistemological approach that combines a language of critique with a language of possibility. Since the former tends to be so pervasive in academia, seeking out possibility requires a more conscious effort.

In my approach, I do not adopt the post-structuralist framework to which Gibson-Graham subscribe. As chapter two makes clear, my inquiry is guided by normative principles. However, I draw inspiration from Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson's framing of the epistemological relationship between the justice norms of political philosophy—norms such as redistribution and recognition—and the documentation of justice and injustice in "actual circumstances and contexts" (2012:232). Fincher and Iveson write:

> From this perspective, then, it is the nature of the dialogue between foundational norms and analysis of situations and actions in the world, not the priority of one over the other, that matters most for analyses maintaining an explicit focus on justice and injustice. This might still involve the specification of justice norms in advance of analysis, but in a manner that is more tentative and suggestive rather than dogmatic and final (2012:237).

Based on the above, and the authors' view that "practice and place" can be "the real sites of conceptualisations of justice," (2012:223), my methodology and analysis seek to bring justice norms into conversation with practice. I attempt to apply their view that doing so does not mean these norms are static, whereby practices on the ground are positively evaluated as "just" or "unjust" by these standards. Rather, I approach these norms of justice and the associated philosophical theories that advance them as insights into reality. Insights have the tentative quality that Fincher and Iveson propose. In the space and time of the urban world, they can be tested and elaborated, their implications explored in new contexts, contributing to greater understanding of how they apply to concrete challenges and opportunities. As the authors note:

> Certainly, the most useful norms are those that have been interpreted 'on the ground', providing a view of what justice does actually look like, in some policy and practice detail, in the situations of injustice being observed and the ways that justice-seeking practitioners and activists are working within and against them (2012:240).

In this way, my approach assumes a dynamic interplay between theory and practice. Like the authors' own experience, this does not lead to relativism—ultimately, these norms still provide a standard by which I can ask the questions: does reciprocity lead to more just outcomes for these residents? How should housing be provided to overcome residential segregation in a just way?

My explicit search for justice—as opposed to injustice, although there was plenty of it—also aligns with Fincher and Iveson's view that it is worthwhile to look for "examples in times and places in which justice is being achieved, offsetting injustices and able to be interpreted usefully in terms of the broader norms" (2012:240).

Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the overall framework guiding this research that includes its ontological, epistemological and theoretical foundations. As outlined in the previous chapter, my research aims to make a theoretical contribution to the concept of "relations of reciprocity." At the same time, the potential impacts of relations of reciprocity on tenants' lives are being theorised according to the norms of redistribution, recognition and building capabilities. The diagram shows a fourth facet of justice that has been added, which emerged from the empirical findings of this research, that of collective transformation.

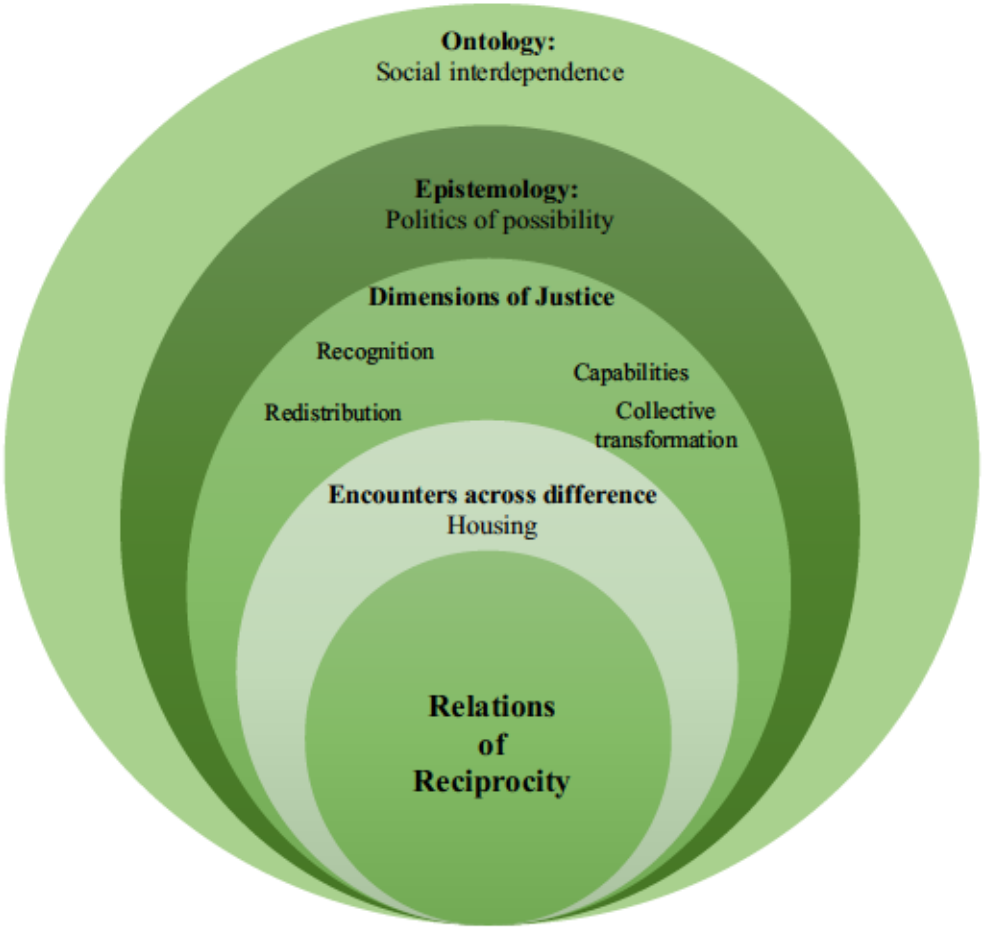


Figure 1: Research conceptual framework

3.2. Thinking and doing reciprocity: research questions and analytical framework

As explored in the previous section, an epistemology of possibility informs the content and framing of questions that guide a research enquiry. This research is guided by three core questions, which have the objective of seeking out relations of reciprocity in housing programs:

- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted within the premises and practices of the organisations providing the housing programs?

- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted in social relations between residents?
- How are residents' lives impacted by relations of reciprocity?

To examine the first and second research questions, an analytical framework, illustrated in Figure 2, was developed to consider how various conditions derived from the literature and empirical data could potentially shape how encounters of reciprocity are conceived and enacted.

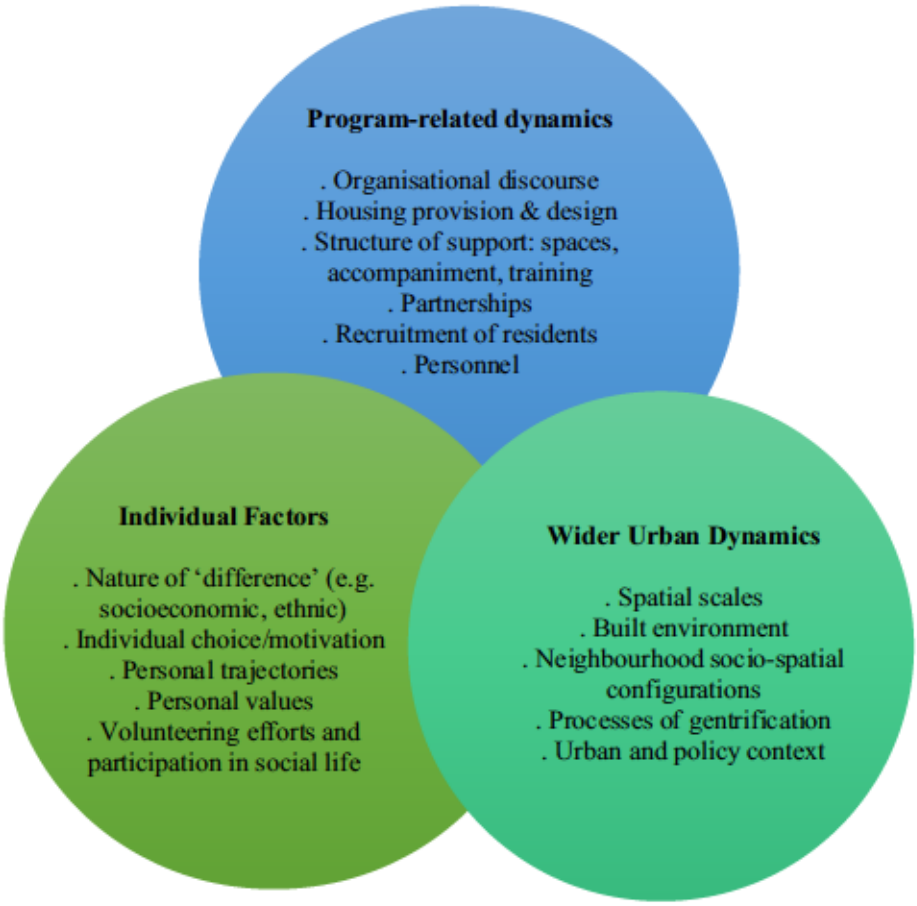


Figure 2: Analytical Framework: Research Questions 1 & 2

In relation to the first question, I consider how conceptions of reciprocity are framed in the discourses of each organisation, and how these conceptions are operationalised in their practices to facilitate and shape encounters of reciprocity and with what limitations. I also consider how approaches to housing premised on reciprocity depart from social mix approaches and the role model theories that underpin them.

The second and third questions foreground the voices of those low-income residents whose place in the city is in question in my thesis, as well as the residents who are, at least in principle, voluntarily encountering them across difference. From the perspective of their lived

experience, do these programs premised on reciprocity open opportunities for latent expressions of reciprocity to be enacted, or for new relations of reciprocity to emerge? And if so, what is being reciprocated in the everyday, among whom, and with what limitations? How does a social ontology of interdependence affect the spatial and temporal nature of flows of reciprocity? Finally, how do these everyday experiences help elaborate the concept of reciprocity as potential framing for more just social relations?

To examine the third research question, and building on the theoretical background outlined in chapter two, I developed the analytical framework illustrated in Figure 3. The purpose of the framework is to consider potential impacts on residents' lives, employing the norms of redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and collective transformation.

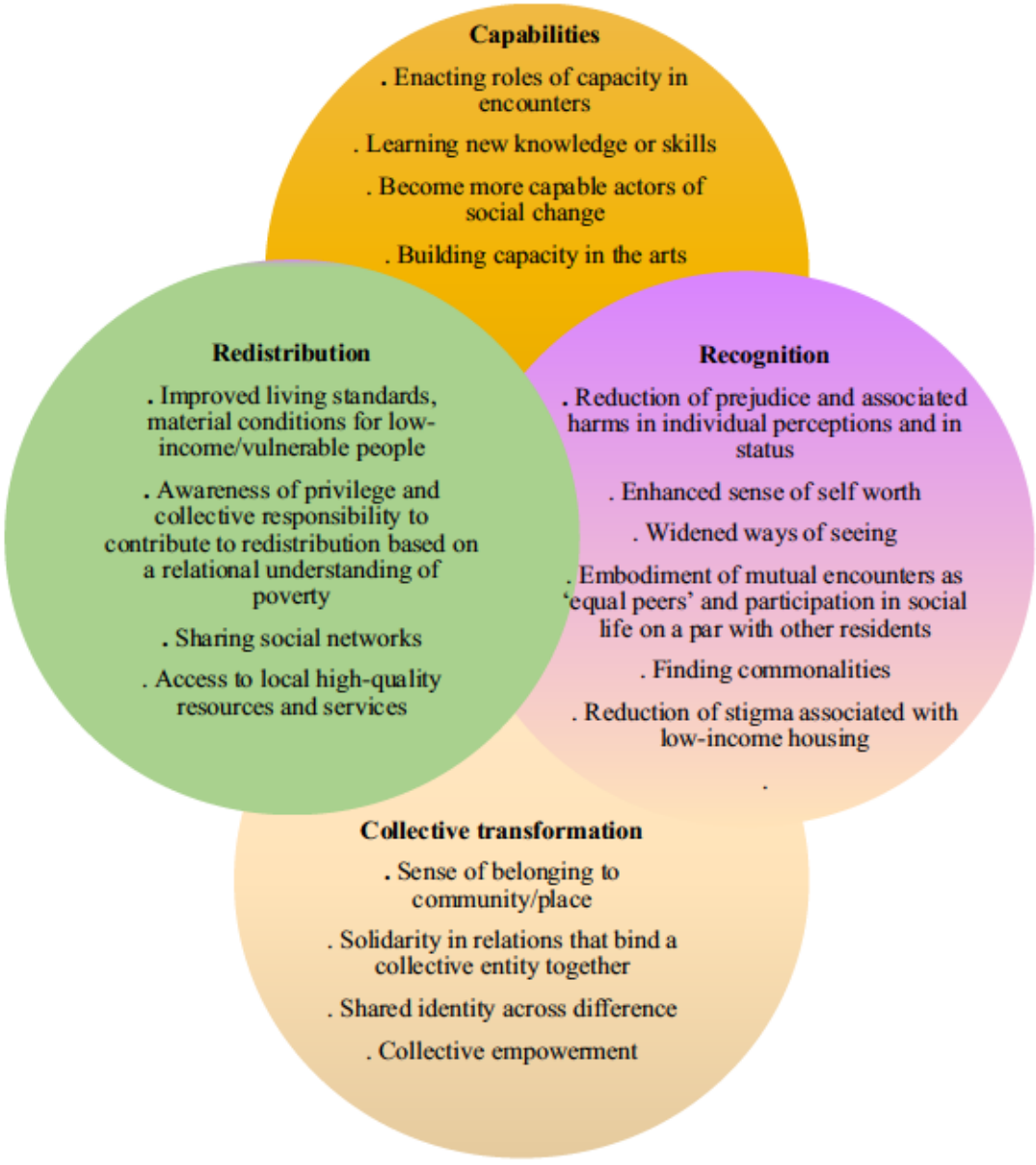


Figure 3: Analytical framework: research question 3

The framework was initially developed on the basis of more habitually employed, theoretically-grounded conceptions of justice as redistribution and recognition—as employed by Nancy Fraser (2000; 2003) and others. As outlined in chapter two, within the practice of urban planning, redistribution can be conceived as an improvement in the material conditions of people's lives by reducing inequalities resulting from unjust social structures (Fincher and Iveson 2008). Thus, from the perspective of redistribution, some of the questions to be examined via this framework include: do relations of reciprocity across difference contribute to an improvement in living standards and material conditions for lower income residents? Do other residents become more conscious of the reality of poverty, including its relational nature, as well as their own relative privilege? Does such awareness give rise to a sense of shared responsibility to reduce poverty? (Young 2002; Campbell 2006; Farias 2016; Midgely 2016).

Questions generated as a means to explore potential outcomes of recognition have been informed by considerations of both the identity and status models of recognition (Fraser 2003; Honneth 2003). This dual approach is employed to allow a wider observation of how outcomes are perceived from the perspective of the housing organisations being researched, and to consider what kinds of outcomes actually take place as a result of relations of reciprocity. Including both models in the framework thus allows for consideration of outcomes both in terms of individual perceptions as well as structural change. Thus, from the perspective of the former, questions to be considered include, is there a reduction in prejudice and discrimination and its associated harms among residents? Do residents feel a greater sense of dignity and self-worth, as a result of their encounters of reciprocity? Do residents enlarge their thought or their way of seeing, as a result of interpersonal exchanges of reciprocity, as per Young's (1994) conception?

From the perspective of a status model of recognition, questions to be explored include whether residents see one another, and indeed participate, as "equal peers" in urban life, as an affirmative outcome ameliorating the results of systemic misrecognition (Fraser 1998; 2000; 2003; Ward 2015)? The research will also consider whether reciprocity reduces the stigma associated with low-income housing and its residents at the local level, as an example of a transformative recognition remedy. Finally, also in line with the status model, it will consider the extent to which diversity is more greatly valued, or a common, dignified humanity is recognised in lieu of a sense of otherness, depending on the nature of the misrecognition at hand (Fraser 2003). In other words, is there a capacity to accept and embrace difference while also forging a shared identity?

The latter two analytical categories—capabilities and collective transformation—were refined through an iterative process relating to two different dimensions emerging from an analysis of the empirical results of the research. A first-level analysis of the just outcomes that the four housing organisations envisaged their programs to potentially advance made it clear that these could not be sufficiently captured by the concepts of redistribution and recognition, nor by the aspired parity of participation to which this could lead. As outlined in section 5.7, organisations were also envisaging various capabilities that could be enhanced as a result of relations of

reciprocity among diverse residents, in the sense of what residents are "actually able to do and be" (Nussbaum 2002:131).

In parallel, in the analysis of the outcomes of encounters of reciprocity among diverse residents—gleaned both through their own descriptions of these outcomes and through my observations as a researcher—clear instances emerged where residents acquired new capabilities or enhanced existing ones. Thus it became necessary to further develop this framework, to generate additional questions and to provide a means to theorise and analyse these envisaged and actual outcomes of relations of reciprocity. Nussbaum's capability model captured this well while also establishing a clear connection to justice, and has thus been integrated into the initial framework. Questions generated from the perspective of capabilities include, what do residents learn from one another in their reciprocal encounters across difference? Are capabilities enhanced in ways that promote personal growth and development? Are capabilities for participation in justice building in urban life enhanced?

While using Nussbaum's broad framing, I am not strictly following her core list of capabilities, and it is worth noting that the list is elaborate enough that it covers relationships of mutual recognition under the capability "affiliation" (2011). Rather I will draw on the idea of capabilities in conjunction with redistribution and recognition, as a means to analyse how what residents are *able to do* is enhanced through relations of reciprocity.

Through a similar process, a fourth type of outcome emerged, that was also discernable both in the conceptions of potential transformation envisaged by housing organisations as well as the lived experiences of residents participating in the research, which is captured through the broad term, collective transformation. This encompasses collective outcomes theorised in terms of new solidarities formed through practice in shared places (Oosterlynck et al. 2016; Ooosterlynck 2018; Depraetere et al. 2018; Depraetere et al. 2019); notions of shared identity (Depraetere et al. 2018; Depraetere et al. 2019; Sandercock 1998); and forms of collective empowerment, as envisaged through a lens of possibility (Pratt 2011). Questions thus consider the development of a sense of community and shared belonging to place, in other words, whether encounters give rise to a collective entity or collective identity. They also consider the extent to which new solidarities are formed among diverse residents.

At their heart, these last two dimensions of the analytical framework are concerned with enhanced agency. Outcomes theorised in terms of capabilities treats agency at the individual level, while outcomes theorised in terms of collective transformation consider forms of agency that emerge through collective entities formed on the basis of relations of reciprocity.

Before concluding this section, it is relevant to address why Fraser's more recent (2007; in Dahl et al. 2004) addition of "representation," alongside redistribution and recognition as key dimensions of justice, is not included in this analytical framework. Fraser (2007) describes "representation" as a "meta injustice" that addresses the "frame" through which justice is pursued. Questions of representation establish the criteria of political membership, or in other words, get at "who should count as a member and which is the relevant community" of those

entitled to just redistribution and reciprocal recognition (2007:254). Fraser (2006) acknowledges that her former approach took for granted that those who should count as members are the "national citizenry" (2007:253).

Fraser qualifies that unlike the other two dimensions, the "political" nature of the representation dimension refers to the "political in a more specific, constitutive sense, which concerns the constitutions of the state's jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation" (2007:256). While the housing programs themselves may well contribute to broadening the community of members who are literally and figuratively able to make claims to redistribution and recognition, this is not an envisaged outcome that is explicitly stated in the discourse of the housing organisations. Furthermore, given the nature of this dimension, it does not operate as a direct outcome of relations of reciprocity, and thus is less directly relevant to the research question at hand.

Thus, with these four core dimensions of this analytical framework defined—redistribution, recognition, capabilities and collective transformation—the framework will be utilised to generate insights into the broad question of how residents' lives are impacted by reciprocity. At a more fundamental level, it will contribute to the theoretical elaboration of reciprocity as a concept, by generating understanding on the extent to which relations of reciprocity are a conduit to justice, and in what ways such relations are actually more just, particularly for those urban dwellers who bear the brunt of injustice in the city.

3.3. Comparison as thinking the urban elsewhere

My research is based on four case studies in Paris, France, and Melbourne and Brisbane, Australia, outlined in detail in section 3.4. In my approach to examining these cases, I draw inspiration from Jennifer Robinson's (2016a) innovative approach to urban comparison. Robinson proposes that we "reimagine comparison as involving the broad practice of thinking cities/the urban through elsewhere" (2016a:22). This approach, she proposes, can assist researchers to better understand outcomes, to contribute to broader theorisations, and to enable wider conversations about the urban. In proposing this way forward, Robinson seeks to "develop a new vocabulary and methodological grounding for doing urban comparisons" (2016a:5).

Robinson develops this approach in response to what she sees as an overly restrictive comparative methodology that considers most urban contexts as incommensurable:

> What underpins the relative dearth of comparative research is the often-unarticulated assumption that no comparison is possible across cities that are regarded as substantially differentiated not only by their levels of development, but also by cultural or policy context, economic system or political environment. The working assumption is that in many cases urban experiences vary too much across these criteria to warrant co-investigation. In formal terms this implies that few aspects of urban life are common across these different contexts, and that the

> causal processes shaping cities are so different that comparative analysis is unlikely to bear any fruit (Robinson 2011:4-5).

In seeking to broaden the urban comparative lens, Robinson highlights the value of the case study as a "useful comparative tactic" when brought into conversation with "theoretical debates" and with "other cases" (2014:64). As part of her effort to "refit" comparative methods in support of a more global urban analytical project, Robinson proposes that even what we might consider a 'case' "needs to be redefined" (2014:57). Robinson suggests there is merit in comparing specific *elements* or *processes* in cities, or the connections which shape cities, "thus rendering urban experiences comparable across a much wider range of contexts" (Ibid). Examples of such processes include architecture and design, technologies of management, and policies and political programs, which Robinson notes, "could be considered comparable in their own right across very different urban contexts and thus be the units of comparison" (Robinson 2011:15). From this perspective, she argues, a case study could be understood as a city, as a specific urban phenomenon or form, or as a wider urban process.

This aligns with Jane M Jacob's approach of *thinking across* case studies, as an alternative to more traditional, formal comparison methods. Jacobs asks, "When one conducts research through multiple cases, is one necessarily doing it in the name of a formal comparative method?" (2012:904). Jacobs traces how her own research projects, though "routinely organized around two case studies conducted simultaneously," are rarely reported on "in a formally comparative mode" (Ibid). In her own work, Jacobs conceives of multiple cases as "distinct expressions of a common process," and notes how this approach can provide insight into the "meaning of similar processes occurring again and again," such as gated communities, social polarisation or the experiences of youth (2012:907, 909). Jacobs notes that part of the value of approaching comparison in this way lies in challenging "place-centrism." That is, in comparing something like the experiences of youth, one is not only considering "the difference the different cities make" but the impact of "a plethora of diversifying circumstances," that could include culture or time of day, among other factors (2012:911).

Robinson also considers the connection between case studies as comparison and concept development. On the one hand, she writes that "at stake in reframing comparative methods are the conceptual challenges associated with working across specific observations to develop concepts which can communicate beyond a single case" and to wider theoretical conversations (2016a:6, 7). On the other hand, she describes the opportunities this approach opens for processes of conceptualisation, by bringing concepts derived in one urban context into conversation with concepts elsewhere. Across a wider field of 'the urban,' she states:

> The spatiality of theorizing the urban experience, of thinking cities in a world of cities, maps well onto the core elements of a comparative imagination – thinking across different 'cases' to produce conceptualizations which contribute to wider understandings of the processes being analysed, and which might then, in turn, be considered in relation to other contexts or cases (2014:57).

For Robinson, her analysis gives rise to considerable practical implications: "In my mind," she writes, "we have permission to walk away from many of the strictures of framing methodologies which have shaped comparative investigations of the urban these last decades" (2014:23). Her approach, she argues in an earlier paper, recasts the "methodological foundations of a comparative approach to urban studies, particularly inherited assumptions about causality and what constitutes a unit of analysis" (2011:2).

Building on this thinking, the case studies in this research—the units of analysis—are mixed-income housing programs based on reciprocity. While my analysis does take contextual differences into account, I do not adopt an orthodox comparative methodological approach using strictly defined variables. Rather, I consider what these various cases reveal about processes of residential segregation and desegregation; how they contribute to developing a conceptualisation of reciprocity—which can be deepened by learning about its application in various contexts, settings and cultures; and how reciprocity in turn can contribute to "wider understandings of the processes being analysed," which, in this case, is residential desegregation (Robinson 2014:57).

As suggested by Jacobs (2012), my analysis considers a broader set of factors that influence how reciprocity is shaped beyond the urban and national context (though these of course do inform the analysis to some degree). Thus, in addition to bringing each case into conversation with the literature (Jacobs 2012; Robinson 2011), I explore each case to learn about how encounters across difference and relations of reciprocity are enacted across a range of contexts, conditions and approaches and take this into account in my analysis and efforts to build theory on just relations in the city (Robinson 2016b).

I consider the limitations of reciprocity, as well as the different and potentially ambiguous ways it is understood and employed, while recognising the located nature of any insights drawn from each case (Robinson 2016b). I am also mindful of documenting similarities that span across contexts, to see how the premise of reciprocity takes meaning in different programs and different cities, not only to highlight differences, but to identify common threads. If reciprocity is being proposed as a more just framing of social relations, it should have meaning in one place as in another. The study of these questions across four cases also assists to get a sense "of the different ways" justice norms "might be achieved in different urban contexts" as well as "the injustices that are preventing" their achievement (Fincher and Iveson 2012), which can also vary from case to case.

While Robinson's approach opens opportunities for comparison across varied urban contexts, my choice to focus on both France and Australia was initially a very practical one: as an Australian citizen and French resident, I have a foot in both countries and am studying via a cotutelle arrangement between an Australian and a French university. However, despite the practical reasoning, there were also compelling analytical justifications for this choice. Firstly, while approaches to housing policy and patterns of spatial segregation vary between each country, both have experience implanting social mix policies. Furthermore, despite some of the significant differences that became apparent—including very low rates of social housing in

Australia compared to France (OECD 2020) and different approaches and terms for thinking about diversity (Lelévrier et al. 2017; Fincher and Iveson 2008)—the emergence of housing programs that share similar premises and approaches despite these differences can help point to elements that may be effective in spite of varied contexts.

The choice of the urban settings was in large part case-dependent but also informed by practical considerations. Given the specificity of these programs, there were very few organisations identified that fit within the required criteria. Habitat et Humanisme's experience in *Habitat Participatif* was, at the time of the research, only taking place in the suburbs of Paris. AFEV has programs all over France but as I am based in Paris and was already conducting fieldwork there, it was practical to select a case in the same city. The same plan was made for Melbourne, where my Australian university was based, but it was challenging to find a second case study, after HousingFirst, that was based in Melbourne, and identifying Refugees Welcome Australia moved the last case study site to Brisbane. Just as these urban contexts are different, the specific programs also feature many differences. Their existence reflects to different degrees the various policy and social contexts of these cities, as will be explored in chapter four and throughout the thesis.

One of the challenges that arose from the varied types of housing categories across the programs relates to terminology. I adopt the term "low-income" housing to denote housing intended to be affordable for residents on low incomes, predominantly social housing but not exclusively. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that this term does not adequately capture the diversity of the new housing models I examine.

3.4. Housing for reciprocity: an overview of the four case studies

As outlined in section 3.3., my approach to case studies is shaped by the thinking put forward by Jennifer Robinson and Jane M. Jacobs. This means that unlike a more orthodox formal comparative research design, where I would have been mindful about selecting cases with less variables (for example, selecting organisations of the same size or housing programs that offer the same tenure or models of housing), I was able to take more liberties in this respect. Thus, as outlined in the following paragraphs, my main consideration was identifying housing programs, as the unit of comparison, which responded to similar processes (residential segregation) and shared conceptual foundations (reciprocity).

Given the problem at the heart of this research concerns how housing programs can overcome residential segregation, one imperative for selecting case studies was to find housing programs that provide housing for low-income residents within mixed-income residential settings. The selected programs create or maintain low-income housing in well-resourced areas, as an approach that is distinct to social mix desegregation models.

A second, equally critical imperative was that organisations have some conception of reciprocity in their discourse that they try to operationalise into their practices. In this way, a

lens of possibility directly shapes the criteria for selecting case studies. Another element of their programs is that residents are voluntarily choosing to engage in encounters across difference—in contrast to the imposed nature of social mix (Lelévrier 2013).

Apart from these unifying factors, reciprocity being the central one, there are quite a number of differences between the four cases, such as the housing models, the scale of the housing, and the and the urban and policy contexts, as captured in table 1.

In light of these criteria, the French cases were suggested by my French thesis supervisor, Professor Christine Lelévrier, who had conducted previous research on the AFEV KAPS program (Driant et al. 2013a; Driant et al. 2013b) and on Habitat et Humanisme's housing (Lelévrier 2018). Professor Lelévrier served as the Scientific Chairperson of Habitat et Humanisme's Observatory on Social Mix, and the organisation had expressed interest in their experimental approaches to housing being evaluated. This existing partnership facilitated access to personnel interviewees.

In Australia, HousingFirst's Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project was identified after looking into various housing associations suggested by one of my Australian thesis supervisors, Associate Professor Ilan Wiesel, who was able to suggest a contact point whom he had previously interviewed. The second case, Refugees Welcome Australia, was identified through an online search.

All four cases are initiated by non-governmental organisations. Each one conceives and implements housing programs that provide affordable housing. Further insight into the context of each case will be explored in chapter four. In this section, a brief overview of each case is provided.

3.4.1. HousingFirst: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project, Ashwood, Melbourne

The Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project is a community (social) housing development that includes one block of private tenured apartments (Figure 4). It is located in Ashwood, a suburb of Melbourne, and is provided by Victorian housing association HousingFirst. The organisation manages over 1200 community housing units for people of low to moderate incomes across seven municipalities.

Completed in 2013, the Ashwood estate is made up of three blocks of medium-density apartments (210 units) and one block of private apartments (27 units), that are architecturally indistinguishable. One community housing building is dedicated to senior people (over 55s), while the other two comprise a mixture of affordable rental properties for people on low to moderate incomes. Approximately half of tenants are key workers, and a significant proportion of tenants have a form of disability (across HousingFirst's whole portfolio, 19 per cent receive disability support). In this way, encounters are intended to take place among diverse tenants,

as well as between tenants and residents of the private block and the broader surrounding neighborhood.



Figure 4: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project. Photo: Peter Clarke, 2017.

The Ashwood development includes design features and integrated spaces for encounter (such as a common room and on-site café) and the program provides opportunities for residents to volunteer and participate in social and capacity building events. HousingFirst frames diversity as a contribution to the neighbourhood and highlights how much its tenants give to their local community.

3.4.2. Refugees Welcome Australia: Homestay program in Brisbane, Australia

Refugees Welcome Australia (RWA) provides a homestay program that connects people with a spare room to people seeking asylum in need of accommodation (Figure 5). Rooms are offered free of charge and are intended to be transitional. Hosts are asked to commit to a minimum of three months, though some placements have lasted up to two or three years.

RWA is a registered charity that launched its operations in 2017 in Brisbane. The organisation is predominantly run by young volunteers who match guests and hosts and provide support as needed. At the time of fieldwork (September 2018), approximately fifty placements had been made in Brisbane.

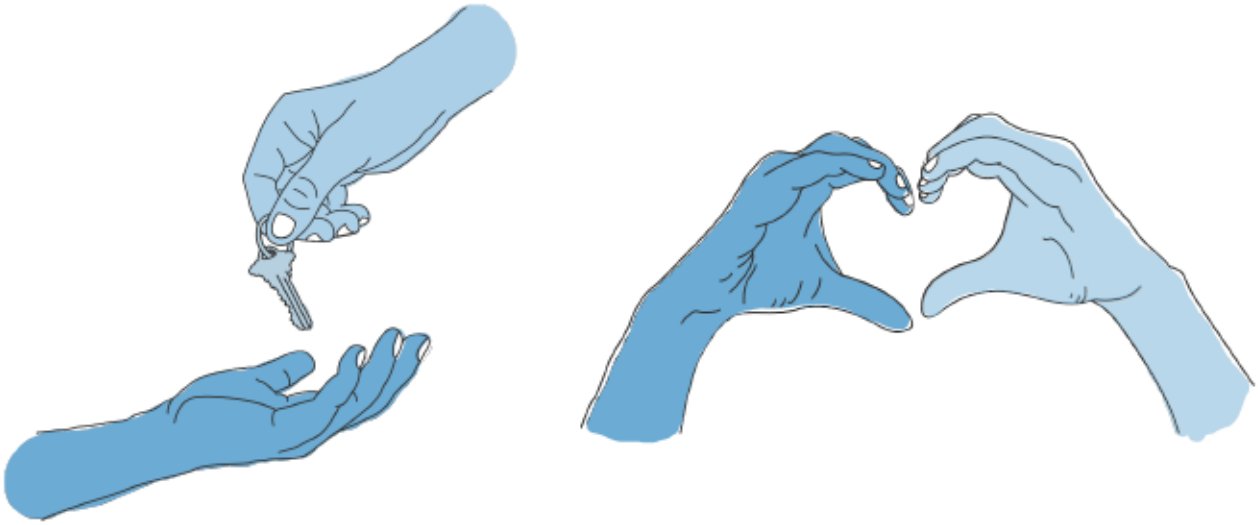


Figure 5: RWA promotional material. RWA, 2020

RWA emphasises the "mutual benefits" that both hosts and guests engaged in the program receive, including learning from one another, and tries to help foster a relational reciprocity among residents.

3.4.3. AFEV: Home-sharing solidarity project

Association de la Fondation Etudiante pour la Ville's (AFEV) program is *Kolocations à Projet Solidaire* (KAPS), or Home-Sharing Solidarity Project (Figure 6). It provides affordable accommodation to university students within low-income neighbourhoods that are classified as "priority" under France's national City Policy (*Politique de la Ville)* (AFEV 2021). Each year, around 8000 students are mobilised through AFEV's programs across 350 neighbours in France, supported by around 200 staff (Ibid).

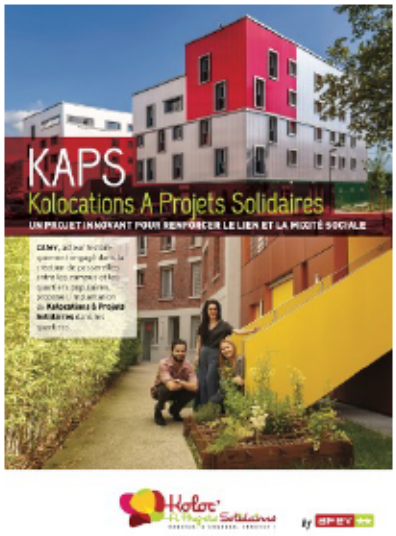


Figure 6: : AFEV promotional material. AFEV, 2017

Students who apply for accommodation commit to organising "solidarity" actions with their social housing neighbours. "KAPS" students live together in shared apartments as teams of five or six, who also undertake solidarity actions in an assigned neighbourhood together. The case study site is in Paris's 18th district. Students reside in a purpose-built student residence located near to the social estate (Figure 7).



Figure 7: KAPS student residence, interior, Paris 18th district. Photo: AB Engineering, 2015.

Through these solidarity actions, the program seeks to promote an "everyday" social mix. AFEV's vision is that both students and residents learn from each other through encounters across difference, with students expected to gain capacity to engage in response to social issues. Examples of solidarity actions include shared gardens, community service-swapping schemes, or street festivals.

While previous research has been undertaken on the KAPS program (see for example, Driant et al. 2013a; Driant et al. 2013b), the specific site of this study has not been previously researched, nor has previous research examined the program from the perspective of reciprocity.

3.4.4. Habitat et Humanisme: Habitat participatif (Co-housing) at *Jardin Divers*

Jardin Divers ("Diverse Garden") is a *habitat participatif* project, located in Montreuil, an Eastern suburb of Paris (Figure 8). *Habitat participatif* corresponds closely to what in English-speaking contexts has been referred to as *co-housing* (Lang et al. 2020). *Jardin Divers* was opened in 2017, and comprises 26 units, most of which are owned by individual homeowners,

with 3 of these owned by association *Habitat et Humanisme* and provided as social housing. The inclusion of social housing intends to overcome a tendency of social homogeneity in *habitat participatif* models.



Figure 8: Jardin Divers, exterior. Photo: CPA-CPS, 2017.

Habitat et Humanisme pursues social mix by providing social housing within more affluent and well-resourced central areas. Reciprocity is a central concern of the organisation and its core partner, CPA-CPS, and it is envisaged that residents mutually contribute to the co-living environment, on equal footing.

One third of *Jardin Divers'* residents were involved in the design and construction of their living space and residents now co-manage every aspect of the building, including maintenance, cleaning and garbage disposal. In addition to formal monthly resident meetings, more informal, voluntary "commissions" meet around topics including gardening, communication and cleaning. The co-management of the building is intended to foster a sense of a collective project, of residents participating together in the life of their home rather than it merely serving as a place to live. The architecture and landscape of the residence has been conceived purposefully to create common spaces and to promote organic interactions (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Jardin Divers, interior. Photo: NZI Architecture, 2017.

3.4.5. Looking across the four cases

Table 1 summarises some core aspects of each program, which are considered in more depth in chapter four.

Table 1: Core components of each case study program

Program	**HousingFirst** Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project	**Refugees Welcome Australia** Homestay model	**AFEV** Home-Sharing Solidarity Project	**Habitat et Humanisme** Habitat Participatif
City	Ashwood, Southeastern suburb of Melbourne	Brisbane (various suburbs)	Paris 18th district	Montreuil, Northeastern suburb of Paris
Vision of reciprocity	Diverse residents enact roles of capacity to mutually contribute to the residence and broader community	Hosts and guests mutually benefit from interpersonal exchange, recognising an inner dignity and equality	Students & residents mutually learn through co-created "solidarity" projects	Residents co-manage a residence with common spaces on "equal footing"
Concept of difference	Socioeconomic Cultural/ethnic Disability Religious	Cultural/ethnic Political status Religious Socioeconomic	Socioeconomic Cultural/ethnic Age	Socioeconomic Ethnic
Scale	Group of four building + neighbourhood	Shared house or apartment	Neighbourhood	Shared residence

Housing configuration and shared spaces	237 units On-site café, common room, shared balconies, outdoor seating	Each tenant has a private room and shares common spaces with hosts	KAPS residence: 10 flats (5-6 students per flat), with a common room. Blémont neighbourhood: 760 units, shared courtyard	Jardin Divers: 26 units Common room, two rooftop gardens, shared walkways and garden area, shared workshop

3.5. Empirical data collection

My data was primarily collected using ethnographic methods throughout the course of 2018. The time devoted to each case study is summarised in Table 2, ranging from 3-5 months per case. As the two French cases were both in the Paris region, they were studied in parallel over a longer duration.

Table 2: Timetable for data collection

Program	**HousingFirst** Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project	**Refugees Welcome Australia** Homestay model	**AFEV** Home-Sharing Solidarity Project	**Habitat et Humanisme** Habitat Participatif
Data Collection Period (2018)	February-April	July-September	May-June September-November	June September-December
Total months	3 months	3 months	5 months	5 months

Data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews as well as observation of organisations' practices or (predominantly) spaces where residents encountered one another across difference. I also collected data via official documents and communications of each organisation, including websites, annual reports, internal reports, and newsletters. Table 3 summarises the number and types of participants I interviewed per case.

Table 3: Interview participants

Program	**HousingFirst** Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project	**Refugees Welcome Australia** Homestay model	**AFEV** Home-Sharing Solidarity Project	**Habitat et Humanisme** Habitat Participatif	***Total***
Organisation employees (Management & Implementation)	4 (1/3)	10 (3/7)	2 (1/1)	4 (2/2)	**20** **(7/13)**
Partner organisation employees	11	4	7	2	**24**
Residents of low-income housing participating in programs	17	5 (Guests)	5	4	**31**
Other residents participating in housing programs	4	5 (Hosts)	4 (KAPS students)	7	**20**
Others		2 (Former buddies)	1 (Former KAPS student)		**3**
Total	**36**	**26**	**19**	**17**	**98**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all participants, allowing certain themes or experiences pertinent to the research questions to be explored in more depth. Interviews with personnel included managers, who could provide more strategic insights, but were predominantly with those who worked directly with residents, in roles that aimed to facilitate or support encounters of reciprocity. Interviews with organisations' personnel and their key partners were intended to provide insight into how reciprocity is conceived and operationalised within the housing program and in social relations between residents.

Resident participants included tenants of the case study organisations and other residents they encountered in their housing site, meaning participants were from across the socioeconomic spectrum. This allowed me to hear perspectives from across the traditional social-mix income divide.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all resident participants to gain an in-depth understanding of their encounters across difference. Interview questions were framed through the lens of possibility. While the term reciprocity was not used explicitly, participants were asked to share examples of different ways they and other residents contributed to one another's lives, to paint a picture of potentially reciprocal exchanges in various kinds of encounters. In

this approach, I sought to gain insight into the multiple meanings and implications of 'reciprocity' across different participant subjectivities (McDowell 2010). Some questions also related to specific impacts participants might have felt, such as material improvements to their lives, or in relation to their perceptions of others or others' perceptions of them. This represents an effort to try to gain insight into how broad justice norms could be connected to the trajectories of their lives, those of their neighbours, and the community at large, as detailed in the analytical framework in Figure 3.

On a practical note, the names of all residents and volunteers have been changed to protect the confidentiality of their participation and their reflections. The positions and first names of organisation personnel have been retained.

Interviewees were generally selected through purposive sampling. For most cases, personnel were identified with an initial contact from the organisation, based on whose roles were relevant to my research questions. While initially I had not planned to interview partner organisations (i.e. organisations that partnered with case study organisations to create opportunities for encounters), during fieldwork at the first site, HousingFirst in Ashwood, it became clear that these partner organisations played a key role in facilitating encounters across difference. Most partner organisations were identified with the main case study organisations. However, for the HousingFirst and AFEV cases, there were so many partner organisations present in spaces of encounters as well as in more formal meetings I attended that I was able to approach some partner organisations directly. In both approaches, their role in facilitating encounters across difference was a key consideration.

For all cases apart from RWA and, to some extent, AFEV, which are discussed separately below, residents were identified through my participation in spaces and activities of encounter, and I approached them directly to invite them for an interview. This included tenants of the housing organisations as well as their neighbours—i.e. other residents that were encountering these tenants across difference. This method of identifying and inviting residents for interviewees is coherent with a purposive approach, as my research questions and the frame of possibility led me to converse with those who were already engaging in encounters across difference to learn about the nature and effects of these encounters.

Because of the nature of the program, the RWA Housing Coordinator selected and invited hosts and guests for my interviews. Hosts and guests invited were largely those where the placement had been functioning for some time, though there were also some brand-new placements. The context was slightly different here as by default, all residents were engaged in encounters across difference, at the very least in their household as part of the routine of shared daily life. While this selection process could inhibit insights into limits to reciprocity, several hosts and guests were able to describe previous experiences of placements that had broken down and this was therefore included in my dataset.

For the KAPS case, initially, all six teams engaging across the 18th district were invited via e-mail to participate in the research. Two teams who had large-scale projects underway (a street

party and collective fresco respectively) responded positively. Research was initiated with both these teams but continued into a second year with the team that was intervening in the Blémont neighbourood, as three of the original five students signed up for a second school year, providing continuity. The other four teams had either already undertaken their core action for the year or had ceased to function well, while one team did not respond at all. Furthermore, only four of the five original students in the Blémont team agreed to find a time to be interviewed, reflecting motivation dynamics within the team. As such, the interview selection process of KAPS students favors teams that are functioning well and students that are motivated, meaning it provides insights into the possibilities of the KAPS model when this motivation in students actually exists. It does not purport to represent the varied experiences of all KAPS students in the 18th—and nor do the other cases make this claim for all residents in those programs.

I undertook many hours of observation across all cases. Table 4 summarises the spaces I observed during my fieldwork across each case study, many on multiple occasions.

Table 4: Overview of observation sites

HousingFirst **Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project**	**Refugees Welcome Australia** **Homestay model**	**AFEV** **Home-Sharing Solidarity Project**	**Habitat et Humanisme** **Habitat Participatif**
"Pocket Park," fortnightly tenant-led food market	International meeting of RWI national groups	Fortnightly coffee and tea stand in courtyard of Blémont estate	Monthly resident meetings in common room
"Friday Fun" monthly workshop/dinner in on-site café	RWA "Office hours" twice weekly	Meetings of collective of local organisations	Habitat et Humanisme meeting with residents
Café Ed, on-site café	Romero Centre	Neighbourhood Street Festival, in Blémont neighbourhood	Preparation for housewarming party and party itself
HousingFirst annual tenant art exhibition at Gasworks gallery	Interviews conducted by RWA staff for recruiting volunteers	Orientation tour of neighbourhood with local partners	Visit and tours of housing residence
Art therapy sessions weekly in common room	RWA presentation at Logan Asylum Seeker Support Group Meeting	Annual training for KAPS students	Gardening workshop
Tenant Advisory Group workshop	Introductory meeting between potential host and guest	KAPS student team meetings	Habitat et Humanisme staff and volunteer training
Fortnightly bus-trip visits to the market	Home visit to a potential host with RWA staff member	Christmas lunch, organised by KAPS student in nearby cafe	Visit of residence with architecture students
Party on Power Annual street festival In Park across from Ashwood Estate	PRSM meeting for Brisbane-based organisations working on Asylum Seeker issues	Visits to student residence	Meeting between Habitat et Humanisme and CPA-CPS

Neighbourhood house	BRASS Network meeting Network for organisations working on asylum seeker issues	Accompanying KAPS students to visit Blémont residents (in lobby)	Residents' Christmas Party, in common room
HousingFirst on-site local office	RWA stand and craft activity at a multi-cultural festival		Visits to residence around interviews
Park across the street from Ashwood estate			
Berengarra Hub Local Services			
Boulder wall Neighbourhood space			
Monthly shared dinner in common room			
Public Tenants group meeting			
Time spent in common room			

My participation in these various spaces comprised simple observation or, where appropriate, participating in convivial activities or helping set up. Given the diversity of spaces, I was able to observe dynamics between personnel; organisations' approaches to pedagogy and training; personnel approaches to accompaniment; the use of space and architecture; and, most significantly, encounters and relations between diverse residents.

3.6. Data analysis: facilitating a dialogue between justice norms and justice in practice

Interviews were transcribed in full, and the first level of analysis was conducted as a "within-case" analysis, through which I sought to identify significant statements and ideas within each interview (Nowell et al. 2006). Using NVIVO software, an initial set of codes were developed based on my analytical framework. New codes were created in light of themes that emerged from within the data, through a process of open coding (Watson and Till 2016).

In relation to my third research question, which considers the impacts of relations of reciprocity on residents' lives, I began by coding examples of outcomes identified by participants using the broad first-level codes of redistribution and recognition. A second level of coding allowed me to explore at a more granular level what these outcomes looked like, adding depth and nuance to how these norms operate in practice in these programs. This analysis also enabled me to closely consider the ways in which difficulty arose in the effort to apply these norms on the ground, to gain insight into the challenges of the process of building justice "in actual circumstances and contexts" (Fincher and Iveson 2012:232). This same approach also allowed for the emergence of new categories of outcomes, framed as "capabilities" and "collective transformation."

Similarly, data that had been coded at the first level as examples of "encounters of reciprocity" were then reanalysed and assigned a second-level code (such as welcome, exchanging gifts, care), and through several iterations these second-level codes became the themes that organised empirical results in chapter seven.

A "cross-case synthesis" allowed pertinent themes to be identified across participants and across cases, though powerful singular experiences were not excluded on the basis of not being common. The fact that they were singular experiences, or represented just a few experiences, were included as part of the analysis. Furthermore, this approach was also shaped by the "thinking the urban elsewhere" (Robinson 2016a) approach to comparison: the idea was not to strictly draw out comparisons (or lack of), but also to explore the rich variety of experiences across cases and how these revealed different dimensions to relations of reciprocity. At the same time, pertinence was also determined by what emerged from the data as inter-subjective agreement and reasoning among participants (Denzin and Lincoln 2011) as well as interesting contrasts that arose. French-language data was coded in French and translated during the writing phase. I undertook the translations myself, using Deepl software as a first step but then making significant adjustments to improve the quality of the translation.

I also coded field notes, which were written for all four cases, and key documents from organisations, using the same method. Finally, while possibility framed the way data was analysed, it was not a filter. A first-level code "limits to reciprocity" was created and then a second-level analysis allowed these limits to be classified into common categories of limits, using an open coding method (Watson and Till 2016). The use of verbatim quotes throughout the analysis and in chapters five to seven of the thesis is intended to support these stories of encounters being recounted in the voices of the residents.

3.7. Voices from the margins

The inclusion of resident participants in interviews—and in particular low-income residents—sought to ensure that these stories were not only told from the perspectives of the organisations trying to facilitate them but from the residents doing the encountering. In part, this has a methodological reason, as their perspectives are necessary to gain insight into the second and third research questions—namely, to understand how reciprocity is enacted in the everyday and with what effects. While recognising all the groundwork laid by these organisations, including many tireless acts of patience and love on the part of their personnel, ultimately, these are residents' stories to tell, about the relations they are cultivating, and about the acts of care, of hospitality, of generosity that they are extending and receiving. Meanings behind gestures and shifts in perceptions towards others are highly subjective experiences.

But more than that, privileging the voices of more marginalised residents within these places was important from an ethical standpoint. We need more stories about sites of low-income housing told from the perspectives of the residents living there. These perspectives need to shape (and reshape) our understanding of this population and the places within which they

reside. The lens of possibility and the concept of reciprocity help to recast them as not only sites of suffering, of deficit, of conflict or deprivation, but as sites of potential and capability, where new ways of being together can be fostered and patterns of social relations that tend towards justice are slowly being knitted together.

This is not to deny the various challenges these residents face, both in their personal lives, in their relationships with one another and, in some cases, with the housing organisations. But that is not the only story. Residents share their aspirations, their hopes, their optimism and their joy, alongside their challenges and suffering, and seeking out these stories of possibility are essential to building a knowledge base that can foster more just cities.

These voices are complemented by the perspectives of residents who are in relatively more privileged social and economic positions, as my research also seeks to gain insight into how a premise of reciprocity in housing programs can shape the way these residents approach encounters and relations with their more marginalised neighbours, to learn about whether reciprocity is a more just framing of these relations than role model thinking. The voices of those who have chosen not to live at a distance from the people society marginalises, but to encounter them with reciprocity, are thus also important contributions to potentially recasting a vision of what relations are possible between diverse urban dwellers.

Finally, in my efforts to describe residents from different socioeconomic, cultural and other backgrounds, and in trying to learn about how housing for reciprocity can facilitate encounters across such difference, I employ binary categories for the purpose of description and analysis, to help illustrate when encounters are occurring across such differences. For example, for some cases, I describe residents in terms of the binary of social housing tenants and private tenants or homeowners, and others using the binary of guest and host, or students and social tenants. More generally, I tend to distinguish affluent and lower-income residents.

The purpose of employing such categories, which according to the literature have historically formed the basis for social separation and distance, and which are also bundled up with the way each organisation defines its mission, is to be able to analyse and discuss whether residents do encounter one another across difference. Or whether, as has tended to unfold in traditional social mix approaches, residents limit most interactions to people of the same backgrounds, living in parallel to those who exist (figuratively but also materially) on the other side of that binary.

It is important to underscore the risk of over-emphasising or even reifying these categories, using them in ways that even residents themselves do not identify. In employing them, then, I do so cautiously and hope not to over-emphasise them, but rather to explore the potential for reciprocity across such categories, and as such, to give less weight to their fixed nature, to illustrate how they ought not to define people, nor be used to predict with whom they would reciprocate or relate.

3.8. Reciprocity in the research process

Throughout the research process, the application of reciprocity to the process itself was often in my mind. In relating to the case study organisations, my hope was that this research would also be helpful to their own efforts to provide housing in more just ways. I adopted the attitude that we could learn together, and in this spirit of reciprocity, I offered to include questions they were interested in learning about in my research.

Some partner organisations invited me to speak to share findings and I also undertook to provide a summary of findings to each organisation. The conversations throughout the research with these organisations was a means to strengthen the reciprocity of this process. Habitat et Humanisme invited me to an internal space with partner CPA-CPS to discuss together what was being learnt about the new housing model and I was able to contribute to this discussion. RWA board members and personnel shared that, as a new organisation, they appreciated having space to articulate and think through the mission and practices that define their work. In particular, the housing coordinator planned to integrate some of the questions we explored together into her initial orienting conversations with hosts. Furthermore, many of my interviews with personnel took place after there had been interviews with residents, and this provided an opportunity to share initial findings and to seek their insights. I appreciate that these are individuals who give so much already to their work and to the individuals that their programs serve, and I hope that, however imperfectly, this research flows in the same direction as their aspirations.

Among residents, I hope there was some reciprocity in our exchanges, that comes from the value of being able to create spaces of hope and to appreciate the relations that are constructive in their place of living. While in spaces together, I tried to help out as much as I could. Of course, I am not claiming that these exchanges were equitable, but then, that is not the approach to reciprocity that this thesis develops.

In drafting this section, the words of Gibson-Graham, referring to the thinking of Hannah Arendt, caught my attention. They write:

> What we most need is an open and hospitable orientation toward the objects of our thought. We need to foster a "love of the world," as Arendt says, rather than masterful knowledge, or melancholy or moralistic detachment. To do this, perhaps we need to draw on the pleasures of friendliness, trust, conviviality, and companionable connection (2008:619).

I certainly experienced this research as a means to strengthen my "love of the world." At an interpersonal level, I appreciated the bonds of friendship that were created with many residents as well as personnel, having spent so much time among them, in spaces of conviviality, spaces of capacity, spaces of sharing talents, spaces of care and kindness, and through the many, many reflections they shared about their lives, experiences, and, especially, about their aspirations.

In sharing these moments, hearing people's stories, filled my heart with a "love of the world" that Arendt describes, and I hope that love is also what is conveyed in the pages that follow.

Not only a love for the beauty that can be found in human relations when observed through the lens of possibility, but also a love for the possibility of what *could be*. For as one comes to observe how both justice and *injustice* co-exist in these places, it is a sense of "love of the world" that pushes one to consider, in earnest, how things could be better, how they *should* be better, for justice to be advanced. Buoyed by the hope for what can be, and some faint glimpses into how to get there, rather than despair for what is not yet.

3.9. Conclusion

As this chapter outlines, through a lens of possibility, the epistemological approach of this research aims to bring broad justice norms into conversation with the "practice and place" of the four cases study housing programs as "sites of conceptualisations of justice" (2012:223). A theoretical framework anchored in an ontology of social interdependence will be used to consider how encounters of reciprocity across difference are conceived and operationalised by housing organisations, and how they are enacted by residents participating in the programs. It will also examine whether these encounters give rise to justice outcomes, conceptualised according to four dimensions: redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and collective transformation. It will consider how these outcomes shed light on the nature of each of these dimensions of justice, as well as the relationship between them.

By drawing on the four case studies as a tool for "thinking the urban elsewhere" (Robinson 2016), I look across the cases to elaborate a conceptualisation of how reciprocity and justice norms "might be achieved in different urban contexts" as well as "the injustices that are preventing" their achievement (Fincher and Iveson 2012). Finally, the thesis will make room for the telling of the stories of the lives of the residents of these programs, notably those who reside in low-income housing, whose voices are seldom heard in discussions about the housing programs designed for them.

Chapter Four: A History and Context of Housing Programs for Reciprocity

4.1. Introduction: the seeds of possibility

This chapter traces the evolution of each organisation and housing program, outlining how the diverse contexts within which they were conceived and have developed have shaped their operations from then until the present.

This chapter outlines notable differences in national and urban policies and other contextual factors, as well as points of convergence. One point of convergence is that all four case studies are managed by non-governmental organisations whose programs are embedded in national (and State) policies, operating in a context of large cities characterised by tense housing markets. Another lies in the origin stories of each case study organisation. Most importantly, the chapter shows how their founders' senses were "pricked" by the sting of injustice, while they also harboured a hopeful vision of a fairer, more equal, more inclusive city—planting the seeds for the sense of possibility that shapes their missions today.

4.2. HousingFirst: Turning the gentrification tide in suburban Melbourne

The genesis of HousingFirst stretches back to 1985 in the beach-side Melbourne suburb of St Kilda. At that time, roughly half of St Kilda's population had been born overseas, a reflection in part of its low rents and property values. However, the cost of housing was rapidly soaring amid a government-led process of gentrification and displacement of the existing community (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016).

What came to be founded as the St Kilda Housing Association (SKHA) emerged as the fruit of collective activism that sought to counter this development process, based on a strong moral stance about the contribution that the so-called "marginalised" make to city life and their right to stay in place. HousingFirst's founding CEO Karen Barnett was active in the "Turn the Tide" political movement that "brought together elements of a new middle class, the traditional working class and residents without a strong voice" (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016:179).

When the movement's members won seats on the local council, affordable housing became a key political priority. The council established SKHA in 1985, giving institutional expression to "the passion for housing and social justice that drove Turn The Tide's formation" (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016:84). Barnett remained at the helm of the organisation for thirty years, during which the organisation continued to foreground its activist roots:

> It should be no surprise that a 'bunch of activists' who believed in decent affordable housing for all would give rise to an Association that valued its tenants, the quality of their homes, and the partnerships that helped deliver them. The only surprise is the rarity of such a successful

> transition from civic impulse to practical outcomes; that evolution is a lasting legacy of [HousingFirst] and an example of what is possible (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016: 179).

The association underwent two name changes, becoming Port Phillip Housing Association (PPHA) in 2001 and finally HousingFirst in 2018, in both instances to reflect an expanded housing portfolio that reached beyond the geography of its former name. To this day, its mission continues to try and turn the tide on gentrification by providing affordable, high-quality housing to "offer low-income earners with strong ties to the area a choice about staying or leaving as more stock became unattainable through gentrification" and to preserve diversity in the areas in which it operates (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016:180).

This mission takes on particular pertinence in the context of what Hal Pawson and Shanaka Herath describe as a "particularly vigorous" process of gentrification across Australia that pushes poverty further and further out from city centres (2015:73). Important post-industrial transformations within Australian cities, compounded by the restructuring of the welfare state, have led to a spatialised form of inequality, whereby the "rich and poor concentrate respectively in rich and poor environments in terms of the resources of collective consumption, housing, mobility and access to jobs" (Kestleloot 1998 quoted in Baum and Gleeson 2010:136-137).

HousingFirst is a registered housing association that develops and manages community housing across metropolitan Melbourne. In Australia, community housing is affordable, long-term social housing managed by not-for-profit organisations, and targeted towards people with low-incomes or special needs. Table 5 provides more detail on the characteristics of community housing in Australia.

Table 5: Overview of community housing in the Australian context

Community housing	
Nature of housing	Affordable, long-term social housing
Provider	Managed by not-for-profit organisations
Eligibility of tenants	Low to moderate income households: under a maximum income threshold
Government policies and support	National Rental Affordability Scheme: A ten-year tax offset is provided for every dwelling that meets the above criteria

The emergence of such organisations can be understood in the context of the residualisation of social housing in Australia, and the withdrawal of the State from the direct provision of public housing. Described as reflecting a "prevailing neoliberal orthodoxy" (Stonehouse et al. 2015:39; Beer et al. 2007), Australia's public housing—managed at the State level—comprises just 4 per cent of its overall housing stock (OECD 2020), compared to 14 per cent in France (OECD 2020). The little social housing introduced following the Second World War in the 1950s and 1960s, including high-rise estates in since-gentrified inner suburbs of Melbourne, was intended not as permanent homes, but rather as a "springboard to home purchase" for low-income households (Wiesel and Pawson, 2015:298). Government support has typically focused on policies promoting private residence, such as direct grants for home buyers or subsidies for

private rentals. As a result, the very notion of social housing in Australia is marred by stigma and attached to narratives of a 'dependency culture' (Wiesel and Pawson 2015).

As in most Western countries, since the 1990s, government-led social mix interventions have led to the demolition of parts of old housing stock, replaced by new, privately owned residences (Arthurson, 2012). Wide-scale social mix programs are not as prevalent in Australia as they are in France, though there have been diverse redevelopment projects of existing public housing sites: some introduce social-mix and tenure mix while retaining social housing, while other sites have been sold off to private hands (Arthurson et al. 2015; Morris 2018). The shift towards non-governmental management of social housing has been characterised by some as a form of privatisation, but this is the subject of debate (Arthurson et al. 2015; Morris 2018). The creation of the Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project resulted from the sale of public land which had previously held public housing. In a departure from many redevelopment models that introduce social mix, the Ashwood project significantly increased, rather than decreased, the number of social housing units on the site.

4.2.1. Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project

HousingFirst won a competitive tender to redevelop an aged public housing estate comprising walk-up flats, under the Victorian Government's Strategy for Growth in Affordable Housing for Low Income Victorians, which in addition to making the land available, provided AUD70 million in Government funding (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project, front of build. Photo: HousingFirst, 2014.

While both the location and the scale of the project represented a "great leap outwards" (Tuohey and Lintermans 2016:148), HousingFirst continued to focus on housing people who had links to the local area. The development fulfilled its tenanting objectives, detailed in Table 6.

Table 6: Tenanting composition, HousingFirst Ashwood

Tenant characteristics	% of tenants
In employment	50
Receiving pension (retirement, unemployment, disability)	50
Disability or mental illness	70-80*

Source: PPHA 2014
*Staff estimation

HousingFirst personnel note that the organisation's Ashwood tenants come from a range of ethnic backgrounds, including large groups of Chinese and Russian speakers.

Ashwood is an eastern Melbourne suburb, located 14 kilometres from its central business district, with a population of 7154 (2021 census) (ABS 2021a) (Figure 11). The ACGP site is a five-minute walk from a railway station providing direct access to the city as well as being near to a TAFE (Technical and Further Education) vocational training facility (Figure 12). Table 7 shows the population and average income in Ashwood and compared to the whole of Victoria. It shows that despite the community and other forms of public housing provided in Ashwood, median income remains higher than the Victorian average.

Table 7: Population and demography of Ashwood

	Ashwood	Victoria
Population	7,154	6,500,000
Median income (per family per week)	AUD 2,548	AUD 2,136

Source: ABS 2021

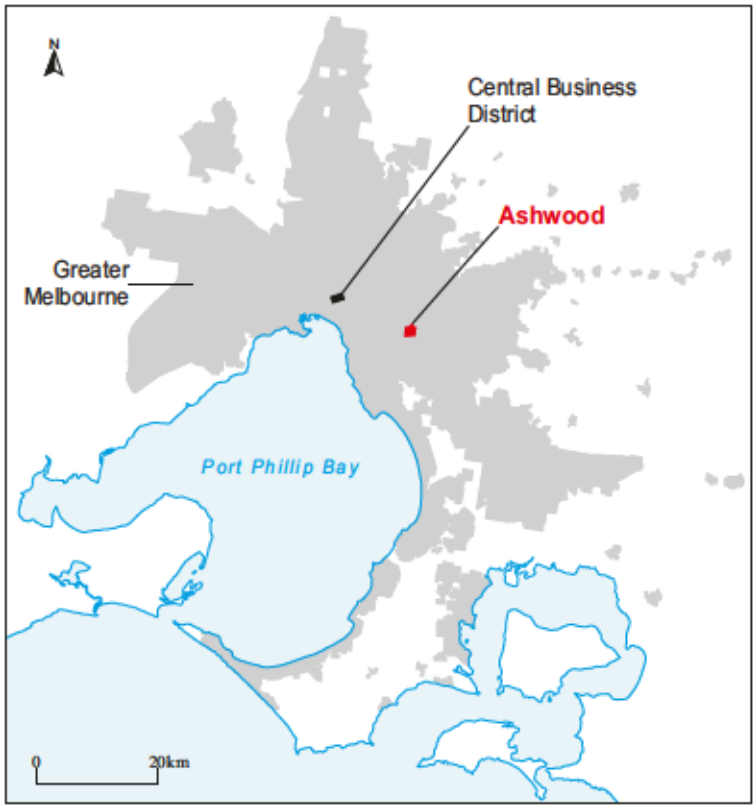


Figure 11: Location of Ashwood within Greater Melbourne. Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020.



Figure 12: Location of Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project within the suburb of Ashwood. Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020.

Across the broader Ashwood and Chadstone area, there are increasing extremes of wealth, with fifteen percent of residents considered "high-income" and 25 per cent "low-income" (City of Monash 2016).

The suburb has historically featured high proportions of public and now social housing—from 1954 to 1969, the location of the Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project was a site of Nissen huts housing migrants (Touhey and Lintermans 2016). There are currently approximately 400 public housing properties throughout the broader Aswhood and Chadstone area. Half of homes in the area are owner-occupied, either outright (29.2%) or through a mortgage (31.2%) (ABS 2021a).

As illustrated by the figures in Table 8, almost 57 per cent of Ashwood residents were born in Australia, compared to 65 percent across all of Victoria, showing a relatively higher level of foreign-born people living in Ashwood (ABS 2021a). Table 8 also shows that there is significant diversity among foreign-born residents, with the second-highest percentage of residents born in China at 9.7 per cent (compared to just 2.6 across Victoria). Four of the top five foreign-born residents come from Asia.

Table 8: Top six country of birth of residents in Ashwood compared to Victoria as a whole

Country of birth	No. of people	% of population (Ashwood)	No. of people	% of population (Victoria)
Australia	4,062	56.8	4,228,667	65.0
China	693	9.7	171,447	2.6
India	219	3.1	258,193	4.0
England	178	2.5	174,552	2.7
Malaysia	161	2.3	62,662	1.0
Sri Lanka	153	2.1	68,066	1.0

Source: ABS 2021a

These statistics help demonstrate the nature of socioeconomic and ethnic difference that characterises the fabric of Ashwood itself, in addition to the diversity within the HousingFirst estate.

4.3. Refugees Welcome Australia: Building a culture of welcome in Brisbane

Australia's shores were considerably distant from the masses of people seeking asylum that struggled to find their way into Europe in what has been hailed (though not uncritically) as the 2015 refugee crisis. And yet the public reaction of hospitality and welcome that was ignited in response within Europe (albeit alongside waves of xenophobia and fear) more easily traversed the globe and awoke a small but growing movement that sought to respond to what had become a gradually worsening situation for people seeking asylum in Australia, even if many of them had actually already been on shore for years.

Coined in media reports at the time as the "Airbnb for refugees," the Refugees Welcome International (RWI) network—operating across 15 countries—was founded in 2014 in Germany after a couple was moved to make a spare room in their flat available for a refugee and, encouraged by their experience, built a simple website to help connect others that immediately took off. The motivation behind what unexpectedly became the launch of RWI was to contribute to justice building in a practical sense. Co-founder Marina explains during an interview how the act of renting her room felt like a small act of hope, to assert that despite the growing injustice towards refugee populations, individuals were not powerless to act.

Cut to 2015 in Australia, where the country was experiencing an influx of people applying for refugee and humanitarian visas amid what had become an increasingly hostile policy and media environment. Since 2013, "Operation Sovereign Borders," a military-led border security operation, aimed to defer people who did not have a pre-approved visa from attempting to enter the country to seek asylum (Dickson 2015). Boats carrying people seeking asylum were intercepted and re-routed, with many passengers detained and processed offshore, in detention centres established in Manus Island, Papua New Guinea, and in Nauru (Dickson 2015; Australian Research Council 2017). In addition to what many—including RWA core volunteers—have qualified as a major human rights violation, both off-shore and on-shore detention effectively served to segregate those seeking asylum from the rest of the Australian population, to "forever install partitions between us and them" (Gregory 2004:253).

The Australian media is accused of reinforcing this separation, spreading misinformation about the asylum-seeking process by employing terms such as "illegals" and "queue jumpers" and effectively criminalising and othering those seeking protection within Australia's borders (Hodge 2015; Van Kooy et al. 2001). According to researcher Claire Higgins (2017), Australians are largely unaware that seeking asylum is legal and that Australia has voluntarily committed to abide by international refugee law through the 1951 Refugee Convention.

Those who had made it onto Australia's shores were subject to particularly harsh treatment if they had arrived by boat between 2012-14. Forming part of the "legacy caseload," as it came to be known, they were subject to measures including no right to work. This understandably had knock-on effects for housing: without access to work, people could not afford housing, a situation compounded by the dearth of social housing within Australia more generally.

Convinced that these conditions represented an injustice, Refugees Welcome Australia (RWA) sought "to offer an alternative to the community that may provoke some kind of change," states founder Susan. In explaining her and the other cofounders' motivation to establish RWA, she states:

> We felt there was an injustice being done to a particular group of humans who we considered to be equal to us. And so, we felt that in a more fortunate position, that we had the duty, to some degree, to address that (Susan, Founder, RWA Brisbane).

And so the homestay program was born. Board member Sabini comments in an interview, "the fact that they can now be on a path towards full community integration and live as a full-time human, means that that's the pinnacle of justice for RWA."

While the organisation itself is only a few years old, it is being framed as but the latest in a history of homestay arrangements that have been rolled out in Australia. Most of these efforts have been informally organised at the grassroots through church or diaspora networks. According to Susan, while a young organisation, RWA sees its program as providing a "new banner" to this existing experience (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Early RWA promotional material. RWA, 2017.

4.3.1. Establishing a homestay program in Brisbane

RWA's first placement was made in May 2017 in Brisbane. Housing Coordinator Divya describes the city as a landing point for many asylum seekers, most of whom are on bridging visas which may or may not grant working rights. Many cannot access basic support, such as a welfare payments or childcare support.

At the time of research (September 2018), approximately fifty placements had been made in Brisbane in suburbs spread around the city, as listed in Table 9 and mapped in Figure 15.



Figure 14: RWA Brisbane announcement of 50th match. RWA, 2018.

It is worth noting that a number of the hosts' suburbs are relatively affluent. For example, several people have been hosted in Ashgrove, one of Brisbane's most affluent suburbs (the weekly median household income in Ashgrove is AUD 2873 compared to AUD 1849 for Greater Brisbane overall (ABS 2021b; 2021c). This context is pertinent to appreciating the socioeconomic difference that this represents between guests and their host family as well as the broader neighbourhood, in addition to cultural difference.

Table 9: List of suburbs of homestays by household (May 2017-December 2018) (RWA)

Suburb	**Number of placement households**
Bald Hills	5
Sunnybank Hills	1
Wynnum	1
Indooroopilly	3
Aspley	1
Yeronga	2
Camphill	3
Ipswich	2
Milton	1
Oxley	1
Corinda	3
Pullenvale	3
Morayfield	1
Gordon Park	1
Ashgrove	2
Bulimba	1
The Gap	2
Coorparoo	1
Fairfield	1
Total	**35**[1]

[1] The number of placements in Table 9 refers to the number of households that have hosted people seeking asylum. It does not account for multiple homestays within the same host's home, hence why the total is only 35, not 50.

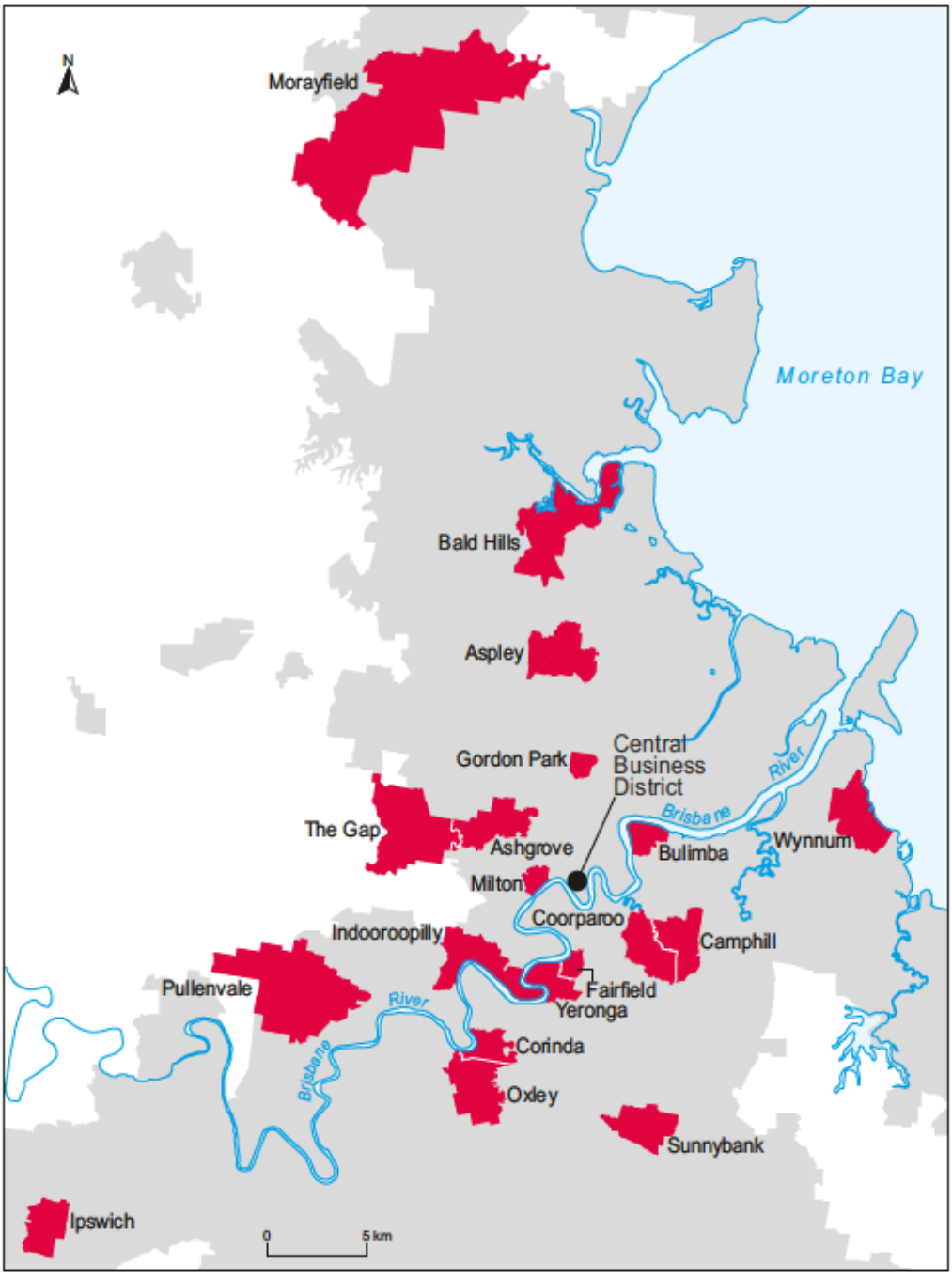


Figure 15: Location of host suburbs in Brisbane, 2017-2018. Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020

4.4. AFEV: Bringing university students back to the city and into Parisian housing estates

In the wake of France's so-called "hot summer" in the early eighties, amid a fresh wave of youth-led urban violence a decade later across the suburbs of France's cities in protest against their social conditions (Dikec 2006), three university students were stirred by what they had come to see as injustice being experienced by the young residents of France's increasingly marginalised neighbourhoods.

The marginalisation of youth had come to the fore of French public consciousness with the publication of a government commissioned report in 1981, in response to high rates of youth unemployment, school failure, and encounters with the justice system. The Schwartz report proposed that institutions be brought into closer proximity to youth.

Christopher Borgel, who in 1991 co-founded *Association de la Fondation pour la Ville* (AFEV) (Association of Student Foundation for the City) in the Paris region, describes how he and his friends decided to mobilise in response to the social inequality and exclusion being experienced by youth in neighbourhoods that concentrated poverty—albeit through a starkly different approach—based on the conviction that "we need to create an urban citizenship" (in Boissière 1996:45). What Christopher and his friends saw in these acts of desperation was not a vision of youth as deviant or as alienating themselves from society: on the contrary, the young students were spurred by a vision of youth that are "looking for meaning," "eager for solidarity," and "want to invest in society as long as they have the space to do so" (AFEV 2020:8).

Of particular concern were significant discrepancies in school completion rates and learning outcomes among children and youth. Thus, Christopher and his friends began recruiting fellow university students to volunteer their time to provide exposure to reading, books, and mentoring to children within these neighbourhoods, "labouring to ensure that school success is not reserved for privileged social categories" (Boissière 1996:47).

This spatial dimension of their approach was shaped by a complex urban policy environment. The urban unrest of the past decade had given rise to the progressive elaboration of France's national City Policy (Boissière 1996). During this period, in the early 1980s, the "spatialization of social policies" became crystallised through the passing of the City Policy and the establishment of the *Social Development of Neighbourhoods* experimental program, which designated "sensitive neighbourhoods" for intervention (Dikec 2006; Droste et al. 2014).

Activists and organisers were instrumental to the accompanying shift towards the social development of neighbourhoods, animated by political ideas such as "the right to the city," and advocating for increased dialogue with local populations and authorities in lieu of top-down, State driven approaches (Dikec 2006; Tissot 2008). As part of this shift, the City Policy defined a lack of social ties as the key challenge to address, as opposed to broader economic structural factors (Dikec 2006). Sylvie Tissot describes this overall shift as follows:

> Not only would the neighbourhood be the locus of urgent social problems, but also, even more importantly, it became the relevant level for addressing those problems, via a focus on "social ties." This diagnosis of the social ills of the banlieues provided the theoretical basis for programs designed to strengthen social ties, promote community groups and enhance civic participation. Urban policy would be administered by local agents, private actors and associations in order to promote civic participation and social diversity (rather than social justice and equality), now imagined to be the appropriate remedies for the 'banlieues.' (2008:6).

For Tissot, the shift to a focus on social ties is "to the detriment of attention to systemic economic problems" (2008:6).

These developments opened up space for an association like AFEV to respond to the imperative to strengthen social ties as an administrator of urban policy. AFEV (2021) itself states that it was set up following the creation in 1991 of France's Department for Urban Policy which had a mandate to improve disadvantaged urban areas and to reduce inequality between neighbourhoods within the city. Social mix was progressively integrated into laws and policies around this time (Bacqué and Fol 2008). The Besson Law (1990), which set out to render social housing more accessible to disadvantaged populations, fixed the objective of "social balance", while the so called "anti-ghetto" law of 1991 imposed "diversity" in housing by fixing minimum social housing rates in large municipalities (Bacqué and Fol 2008).

Against this backdrop, AFEV's approach seeks to promote social mix by facilitating encounters across spatially and socially separated populations, to enable university students "to engage in concrete action that brings them into contact with the individuals, families and social spaces from which they are mostly distant" (Brody and Brougère 2010:109). Director-General Christophe Paris reiterates that its founders conceived of AFEV's actions as a "bridge allowing the creation of solidarity bonds between two groups of youth who rarely meet" (Paris 2014:123). In this way, it is clear how AFEV emerges within the political and activist thinking of the time.

AFEV makes explicit its attempts to operate and receive impetus from within this burgeoning policy framework, rather than positioning itself as being in opposition to local policies and as striving to gain power to shape them, as was the case in Melbourne, or as strategically sidestepping what had become an overtly political and divisive national issue, as in Brisbane. Paris explains that "for its founders, AFEV was to be a tool to facilitate citizen engagement in public policy" (2014:123). On its website, the association describes this posture in the following way:

> AFEV is an organisation recognised as being in the public interest, which acts in collaboration with local and national public policies in service of the areas, with complete political independence (AFEV 2021).

Like the other organisations studied in this thesis, AFEV was founded upon ideals of possibility, most notably a conviction that its young founders had about the potentiality of youth to actively engage in response to perceived social injustice, and to see the nurturing and

practise of this aspiration as being part and parcel of an educational process. Paris describes the impetus behind the creation of AFEV as follows:

> Its creation was the fruit of both a refusal to see certain neighbourhoods progressively relegated, and also a conviction: the certitude that students desire to take concrete action against inequalities, far from the cliché of a youth population who was purely individualistic (2014:123).

Specifically, students intervene in "priority" neighbourhoods designated as such by France's City Policy which, since its 2014 iteration, devised a list of 1514 neighbourhoods based on a single criterion: the proportion of the population with an income less than 11,250 Euros per year (937.5 euros per month) (Ministère de la Cohésion des territoires et des Relations avec les collectivités territoriales 2019).

4.4.1. Home-sharing Solidarity Project

AFEV's experience in housing is relatively recent. In the early 2000s, once again against a backdrop of urban unrest—most notably the infamous 2005 riots in the suburbs of Paris and beyond—AFEV sought to become more integrated into the neighbourhoods in which it worked (Albert 2017). As such, a new core activity—the home-sharing solidarity project—was launched.

Having drawn inspiration from the Belgian *Kots-à-projets* model of student community housing, AFEV brought the proposed model directly to actors working within the framework of France's City Policy, including elected officials and public social landlords, who together adapted the model to French regulations and to the City Policy's objectives (Driant et al. 2013a:54). This in turn opened up channels of funding from City Policy actors (Albert 2017).

AFEV launched the program in three cities: Paris, Toulouse and Poitiers at the beginning of the 2010-11 academic year (Driant et al. 2013a). By the 2018-19 school year, when this fieldwork was carried out, the project had been rolled out in 28 cities mobilising 730 Kapseurs who carried out more than 330 solidarity actions reaching 12,500 residents (AFEV 2019).

The program provides affordable, home-share accommodation to students in or near low-income, social housing estates within neighbourhoods classified as "priority" under France's national City Policy (*Politique de la Ville*), where urban renewal policies operate. Students commit for a minimum of one year, devoting a few hours every week. By living in the neighbourhood, solidarity actions are intended to not just serve as a weekend activity, rather youth can "engage daily in the creation of social bonds and in the fight against inequalities" (AFEV 2021). In this way, the program seeks to promote an "everyday" social mix to strengthen bonds between residents of varied socio-economic backgrounds, which was often synonymous with ethnic diversity.

As the KAPS approach is rooted in AFEV's founding conception of youth as wanting to feel useful to society, social action is not framed as a condition of their rental agreements, nor is affordable accommodation conceived as an incentive to mobilise youth as volunteer labour. Rather, as Paris coordinator Caroline explains, the affordable accommodation is intended to free up the time of students who are already motivated to engage locally, so that they can devote this time to the local space:

> For the Kapseurs, we talk about reconciling housing and engagement. The basic objectives of the project are to enable students to engage, as they might not necessarily be able to do so if they have to pay high rents and work on the side. It's to enable the possibility of engagement by offering housing at a lower rate (Caroline, Local Development Officer, AFEV, Paris 18th district).

In the 2017-18 school year, the average rent for an apartment through the KAPS project across France was 216 euros per month (AFEV 2018). University students under 30 years of age and enrolled in any field of study are eligible to apply.

AFEV co-founder and former Secretary-General Nicolas Delesque connects the establishment of KAPS to broader considerations about where universities are located in France and how students can be brought into, rather than distanced and separated from, working class neighborhoods.

> Questioning the geographical location of universities within France is not new and responses have often been dictated by considerations external to universities themselves. After May 1968, central authorities developed a doctrine based on the idea that, *the further students are from city centres, the more peaceful France will be.* They thus decided to establish the large, peripheral campuses that we know today (Delesque 2011).

Bringing university buildings and accommodation within or close to so-called "disadvantaged" or "difficult" areas has been broached as a way of furthering equal access to quality education. However, Delesque (2011) points out that merely addressing the question of geographical proximity and failing to integrate such projects into those of local authorities tends to reinforce gaps between university students and residents of these neighbourhoods, including youth. This observation supports the findings of the "studentification" literature from the UK context described in chapter two.

4.4.2. The 18th district and the Blémont neighbourhood

In their early evaluation of the KAPS program across several sites in France, Driant et al. (2013a) note the relevance of the local context to the implementation and effects of the program. Paris's 18th district has hosted KAPS students since the program's launch in 2010, with the pilot *La Chapelle* neighbourhood being the first of what has since grown to six neighbourhoods targeted through the program. The 18th district of Paris is relatively diverse,

with its famous, ultra-gentrified and tourist-heavy "Montmartre" area, as well as pockets of more "popular" (working class) areas that host large immigrant populations while undergoing a process of gentrification.

Across the 18th district as a whole, 22.4 percent of the housing stock is social housing (APUR 2021, based on 2020 figures). This is marginally higher than the average across Paris's twenty districts (Paris intra-muros) at 21.8 percent, but this figure masks significant variation from district to district, which can reach as high as 42.5 percent (19th district) and as low as 2.2 percent (7th district) (Ibid).

La Chapelle, connected to one of Paris's main train stations, retains its "working class" character and composition. In addition to being a neighbourhood site in and of itself, it is the location of centralised, purpose-built share-housing for all *Kapseurs* intervening in the 18th district. The building, which was inaugurated in September 2018, houses ten teams of *Kapseurs* in ten share-apartments, totalling 60 students in all (Figure 16). The housing itself is managed by CROUS, the public provider of student housing in France.



Figure 16: KAPS student residence, front, Paris 18th district. Photo: AB Engineering, 2015.

The *Blémont* area refers specifically to eight blocks of public housing, located on either side of a small street and square, each building opening out onto shared courtyards (Figures 18 and 19). Taken together, the buildings comprise 760 units, housing 2260 tenants (INSEE 2022a, based on 2018 census data). The estate is managed by public social landlord, Paris Habitat.

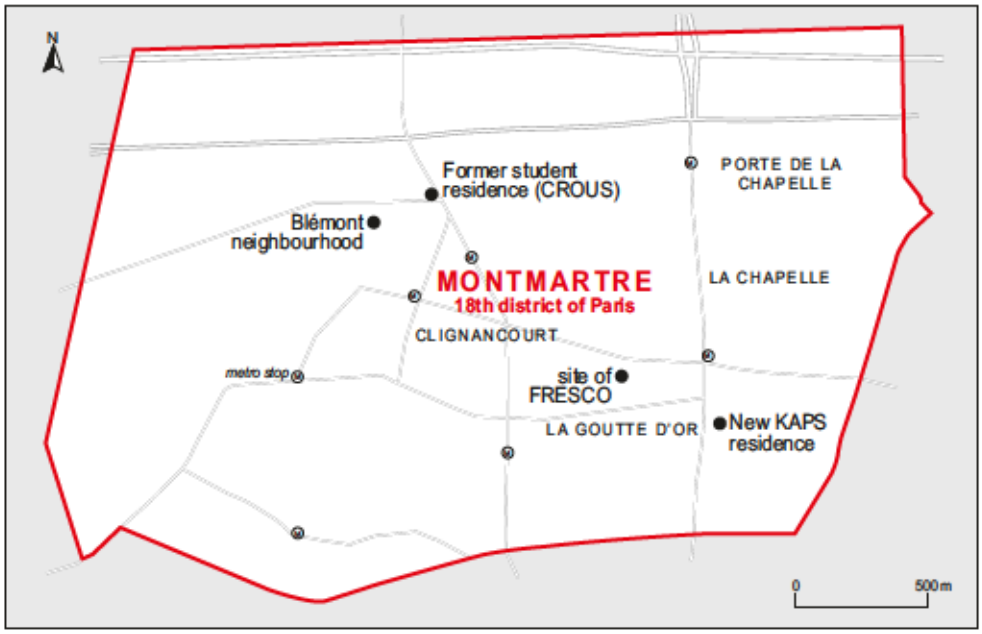


Figure 17: Map of Paris's 18th district and location of Blémont neighbourhood and former/new KAPS residence.

Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020.

As indicated on Figure 17, Blémont is a small neighbourhood located in the North of the 18th district, nestled between dynamic, diverse Porte de Clignancourt to the North, bustling but gentrifying La Goutte d'Or to the East, and utltra-gentrified Sacre Coeur/Montmarte area to the South—though extreme differences in neighbourhood demographics and commerce begin just one street over as one walks towards the 18th City Hall (Hotel de Ville), a mere five-minute stroll from Blémont. It is thus located in a semi-gentrifying neighbourhood, and is described by a local official as an "island" of low-income social housing within a more affluent, largely privately-tenured area, known for the extremes of wealth and poverty that separate residents of the Paris Habitat social housing.



Figure 18: Birds eye view of Blémont estate, taken during a street festival. Photo: Village de Clignancourt, 2018



Figure 19: Buildings in the Blémont estate courtyard the KAPS student focused on. Photo: Author, 2018

Table 10 provides data on the Blémont neighbourhood, which is predominantly the housing estate, compared to the broader 18th district and Paris.

Table 10: Demographic information on Blémont neighbourhood

	Blémont	**18th district**	**Paris**
Population[2]	2260	192,468[3]	2,165,423[4]
Median income (euros/month)[5]	1200	1994[6]	2399[7]
% residents living in poverty[8]	32.7%	21%[9]	15.4%[10]
Employment rates[11]	58.7%	69.3%	69.3%[12]
Immigrants[13] % of population[14]	28%	23%[15]	20%[16]

The median income is significantly lower in Blémont, even in comparison to the 18th district as a whole. Nevertheless, employment rates within Blémont are not significantly lower, suggesting differences lie primarily in the nature of the work undertaken and the remuneration such work accrues (INSEE 2022c; 2022b).

Blémont was listed as a *priority neighbourhood* under France's *City Policy* in 2015—not a result of a significant change of the social profile of the population, but rather a reform to the policy itself, which, as a departure from previous criteria to designate priority neighbourhoods, now used average income as the sole, objective determinant for identifying and targeting areas for urban renewal. Once a neighbourhood falls under the policy, national funding is made available and space thus opens for a host of neighbourhood associations, many of them implementing local government-led agendas. Given Blémont's relatively recent entry into this category, local associations, while present, remain few and are in the early stages of development.

As indicated, the percentage of immigrants living in the Blémont estate is slightly higher than the rate across the 18th district and across Paris (INSEE 2017; 2022d; 2022e). The Blémont district is dense, developed and lively, home to a variety of commerce including bars, restaurants, bakeries, supermarkets, with easy access to Paris's metro system and well serviced by local schools.

[2] INSEE 2022a (2018 data)
[3] INSEE 2023a (2019 data)
[4] INSEE 2022b (2019 data)
[5] INSEE 2023b (2019 data)
[6] INSEE 2023a (2020 data)
[7] INSEE 2022b (2020 data)
[8] INSEE 2023b (2019 data)
[9] INSEE 2023a (2020 data)
[10] INSEE 2022b (2020 data)
[11] INSEE 2022c (2018 census data)
[12] INSEE 2022b (2020 data)
[13] The French government does not collect statistics on ethnicity, the category "immigrants" refers to people who are born overseas and without French nationality (even if they have since acquired it) (INSEE 2016a).
[14] INSEE 2017
[15] INSEE 2022d (2019 data)
[16] INSEE 2022e (2019 data)

4.5. Habitat et Humanisme: Rebuilding a place in the city centre for those relegated to its margins

Habitat et Humanisme was founded by real estate professional and Catholic priest Bernard Devert in 1985 in Lyon, France, emerging just a few years before AFEV and thus influenced by similar discursive and policy evolutions. Habitat et Humanisme (2012a) describes its establishment as a "movement of resistance" in the context of an economic and housing crisis, spurred by "an entrepreneurial spirit" and "a thirst for justice."

Habitat et Humanisme founder Devert (2021) relays how, as his career in real estate and property development advanced—leading him to establish his own property development company—he grew increasingly unsettled by what he observed as the consequences of urban renovation within city centres, displacing the urban poor to what were widely conceived as emerging "ghetto" neighbourhoods located on the periphery of the city.

This discourse of urban displacement and ghettoisation that came to define the founding mission of Habitat et Humanisme had been gaining prominence in France in both political and public spheres throughout the 1980s. The thirty-year post-war period of economic growth had given rise to the large-scale construction of high-rise social housing estates in the suburbs of major cities such as Paris and Lyon, accommodating migrants and those who had been poorly housed or living in slums in the inner city (Lelévrier and Melic 2018; Lelévrier 2021; Damon 2001). Initially symbols of modernity, these estates gradually mutated into "the symbol of a bleak urban environment, deviant youth and segregated minorities" as middle-class residents moved out, seizing policy initiatives that facilitated access to homeownership, while unemployment rates among those who remained climbed as local factories were significantly downsized (Tissot 2008:1).

The violent incidents in the suburbs of Paris and Lyon during the summer of 1981 further fuelled narratives of a rising ghetto, etched into policy through the creation of France's first City Policy (*Politique de la Ville*) in 1983 and the "sensitive neighbourhood" category, referring to those areas most affected by the economic crisis, located on the peripheries of large cities (Dikec 2006). Attention was now focused on "the fact that people are relegated to specific neighbourhoods: 'quartiers,' 'banlieues,' 'ghettos'" (Tourraine 1991 in Tissot 2008:5).

Against these developments and the accompanying political and discursive shifts, Devert (2021) describes how the intersection between his professional experience and his burgeoning religious faith gave rise to the volition to work for a more just approach to housing. Habitat et Humanisme was born after a personal experience, where he met a woman who had attempted suicide as a result of being displaced by a luxury building he was developing. Devert (2021) describes how the experience led to him to recognise "a reality that effectively leads to the exile of poor people."

Once France passed the *Besson Law*[17] in 1990, defining the right to housing as a "duty of solidarity for the entire nation" and granting associations the ability to act as property developers, Habitat et Humanisme became operational. The organisation was founded on the conviction that "the city must be marked by difference," and that the separation of different segments of the population is an injustice in its own right (Habitat et Humanisme 2021). Devert describes his objection to urban segregation in terms of it leading to "the most disadvantaged populations being relegated as far as possible from the centre" (Devert et al. 2013:26).

Like the other organisations included in this research, beyond identifying and critiquing injustice, Habitat et Humanisme's founding mission is based on possibility:

> It is not just a matter of saying no, of being in opposition, but of looking for concrete measures to become builders of another kind of housing. Here, we are at the heart of the Habitat et Humanisme adventure, which remains a modest laboratory within which we find solidarity seekers. A utopia…but so what? Isn't it a call to bring into being places that don't yet exist, to create openings within our dark landscapes towards another way? (Devert 2006:50).

In practical terms, a large proportion of the housing provided by Habitat et Humanisme is spread out across the city, in centrally located places.

Habitat et Humanisme has grown considerably since its establishment and it now operates as a Federation comprising 54 local associations, including Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France. Created in 1992, it manages 1,500 units and is served by 69 staff and 600 volunteers (Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France 2021). Almost half (43 per cent) of its housing units are "temporary" housing, a strategy that allows the organisation to ensure a constant flow of residents for whom it can provide accommodation as well as accompaniment towards independent living (Ibid).

There is an undersupply of social housing across the Ile-de-France department. In 2018, only 1 in 10 requests for social housing were met, and as of 2019, a waiting list of 720,000 households had an average wait time of 33 months (AORIF 2019). As French social housing is allocated for life, there is a low mobility rate among tenants (6.4 percent) (Ibid). This is combined with a high eligibility rate (45 per cent of households in Ile-de-France are technically eligible for social housing, equating to 2.3 million households), due to France's universalist, rather than residual, approach to social housing (Ibid). Hence Habitat et Humanisme's temporary housing stock aims to meet the needs of some of the most vulnerable members of society.

[17] Besson Law, No. 90-449, 31 May 1990, which set out the right to housing for the "most disadvantaged people."

4.5.1. Habitat participatif: *Jardin Divers*

Jardin Divers ('diverse garden') is Habitat et Humanisme's second habitat participatif project, located in Montreuil, an Eastern suburb of Paris (Figure 20). While the *habitat participatif* movement has its roots in the self-managed housing projects of the late 1970s in France, the term, in its current usage, refers to a collection of projects that emerged in the early 2000s, spurred by the basic tenet that "living differently is possible" (D'Orzaio 2017:37). In most cases, a collective of residents forms to design, produce and manage a shared housing project (Deveaux 2013; Carriou and D'Orazio 2015). Those involved tend to coalesce around shared values, such as sustainable development, ecology and solidarity-based economics (D'Orazio 2017; Albert 2015).

Jardin Divers was launched in 2013 and opened in 2017, with Habitat et Humanisme's tenants moving in around April 2017. The residence comprises 26 units, and three of these are owned by Habitat et Humanisme and provided as social housing.



Figure 20: Jardin Divers, interior. Photo: CPA-CPS, 2017.

Habitat et Humanisme has three different models of housing in Jardin Divers: a standard permanent social housing unit; a temporary social housing unit (approximately two years in duration), designed for residents with particular needs, and for which Habitat et Humanisme provides accompaniment to support an eventual transition into permanent housing; and a

temporary intergenerational home-share, accommodating three individuals, which is also intended to assist residents to transition into permanent housing.

Montreuil is in the Eastern suburbs of Paris, bordering with Paris's 20th district (and just 6.6 km from the centre of Paris) (Figure 22). It is the fifth most populous suburb of Paris. *Jardin Divers* is located in the Paul Signac neighbourhood. Demographic information of the area is presented in tables 11 and 12.

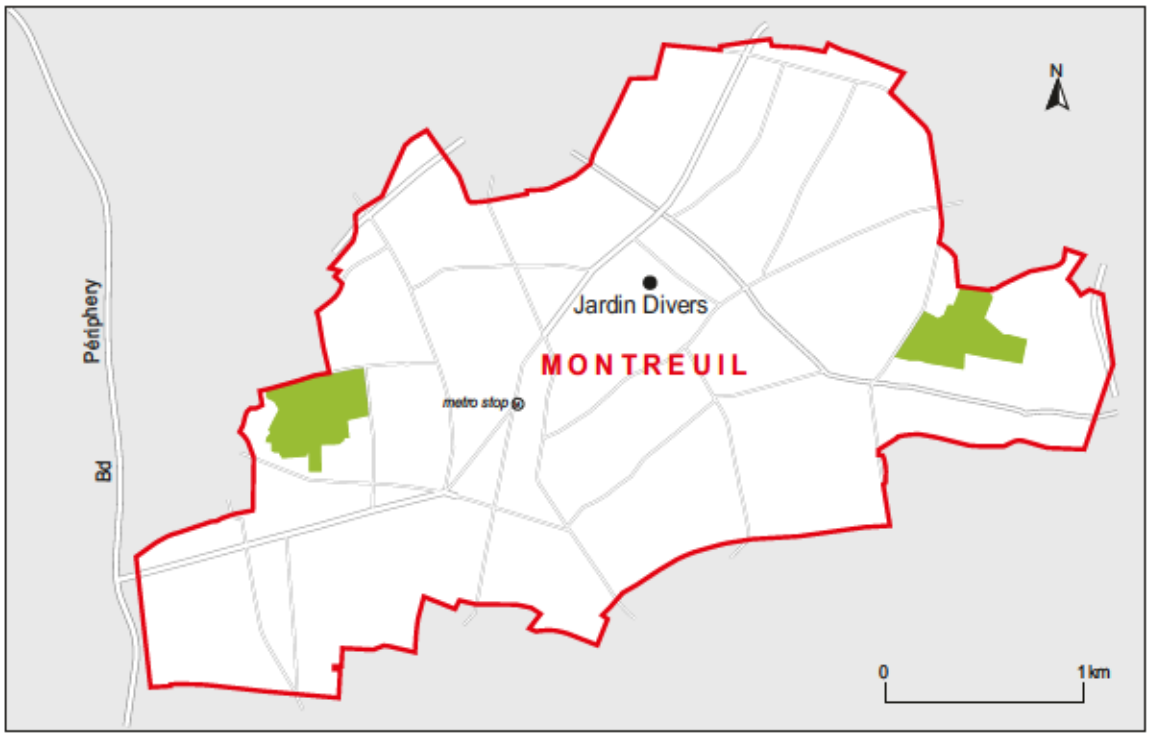


Figure 21: Location of Jardin Divers residence on map of Montreuil.

Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020.

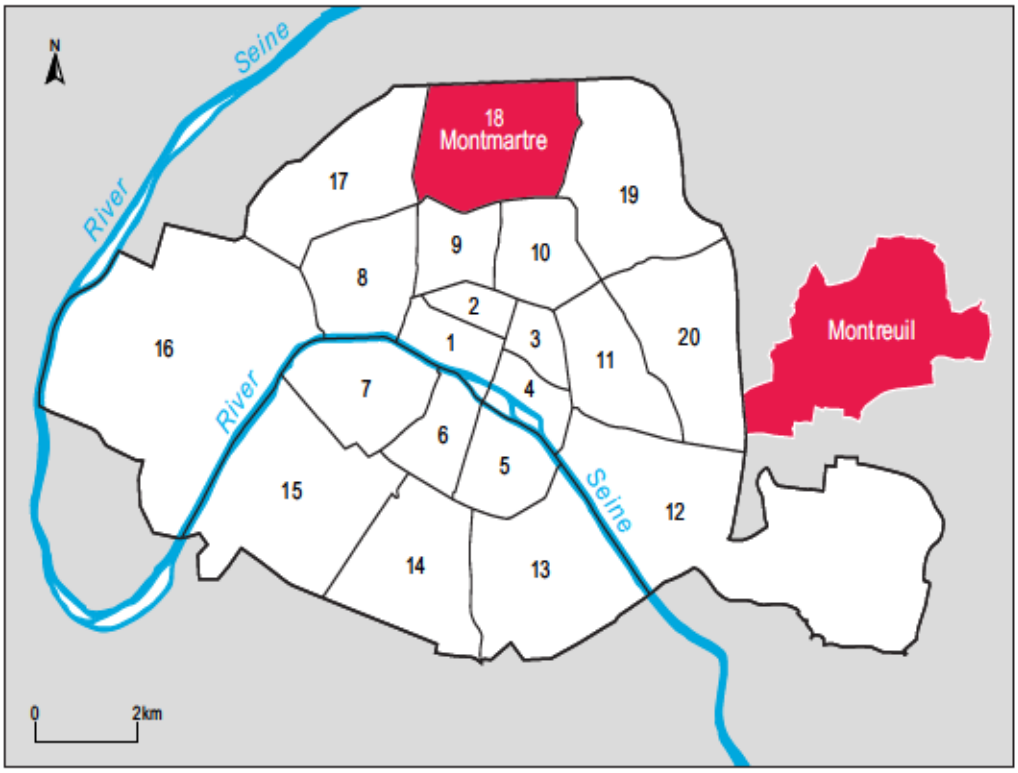


Figure 22: Map of Paris: Location of Paris 18th district and Montreuil

Map by Chandra Jayasuriya, 2020.

Table 11: Demographic Information of Paul Signac neighbourhood and Montreuil

	Paul Signac	**Montreuil**	**Ile-de-France**
Population	12,394[18]	111,240[19]	12,262,544[20]
Median income (euros/month)[21]	1492	1693[22]	2040[23]
Unemployment rate[24]	15.9%	13.3%[25]	12.2%[26]
Percentage of population living in poverty[27]	-	25%[28]	15.5%[29]
Immigrants[30]	24%	25%[31]	20%[32]

[18] Ville de Montreuil 2019
[19] INSEE 2023c (2019 data)
[20] INSEE 2023d (2019 data)
[21] Ville de Montreul 2019
[22] INSEE 2023c (2019 data)
[23] INSEE 2023d (2019 data)
[24] Montreuil Data 2021
[25] INSEE 2023c (2019 data)
[26] INSEE 2023d (2019 data)
[27] Ibid
[28] INSEE 2023c (2020 data)
[29] INSEE 2023d (2020 data)
[30] Ville de Montreuil 2019
[31] INSEE 2022f (2019 data)
[32] INSEE 2022g (2019 data)

Table 12: Immigrant country of origin in Montreuil[33]

Region of origin	% of population
Maghreb region	32%
Sub-Saharan Africa	28%
Europe	24%
Rest of world	16%

Unlike Blémont, the Paul Signac neighbourhood is not a *priority* neighbourhood under the national City Policy. The area is undergoing a process of gentrification, with the suburb's town hall, metro station and newly constructed entertainment hub located a ten-minute walk from *Jardin Divers* (Figure 21). Almost 33 percent of the housing stock in Montreuil is social housing (2019 data, INSEE 2023c). This is higher than the proportion of social housing across Ile-de-France as a whole, which 2019 data states as 26.3 percent (AORIF 2019). Like Montreuil as a whole, around a quarter of the neighbourhood is made up of immigrants (Table 11). While data on poverty rates within the neighbourhood is not available, it is worth noting that poverty rates in Montreuil as a whole is 25 percent (compared to only 15 percent across all Ile-de-France) (table 11).

4.6. Conclusion

Despite significantly different national and urban contexts, varied target groups and divergent housing models and institutional frameworks, this chapter demonstrates that there is a common point in the origin stories of all four programs: all began as movements of possibility sparked by injustice.

In all four cases, small groups of individuals felt stirred to take concrete, constructive action to actually build justice—simple gestures that evolved into more elaborate movements with more complex organisational forms over time. The histories of these organisations, the connection between their founding ideals and their present-day missions offer insight into how a sharp recognition of injustice—that deep, uneasy feeling of *that ain't right*—is given practical expression through movements and organisations working for social change, from the grassroots up. They breathe life into Edward Soja's observation that "the search for justice has become a powerful rallying cry and mobilizing force for new social movements and coalition-building," around which diverse people can come together to work for social change (2009:4).

Building on the past two chapters, these histories thus reaffirm the relevance of the concept of justice for determining more befitting models for our urban worlds, and more organic patterns for the social relations that connect their populations. They support David Harvey's affirmation that "We cannot do without the concept of justice for the simple reason that the sense of

[33] Ville de Montreuil 2019

injustice has historically been one of the most potent seedbeds of all to animate the quest for social change" (Harvey and Potter 2009:41).

When observing efforts to build justice in the here and now, if you dig a little deeper, there is almost certainly injustice as its roots. What is particularly potent about the responses of these organisations is that they did not just arise to fight against injustice: they arose to construct an alternative in its place. It was also possibility—a vision of justice—that mobilised them all. A vision that every resident belongs and contributes to a place; a vision of a community that welcomes; a vision of altruistic youth who desire to arise for social change; and a vision of a city with no divisions.

As elaborated over the past few chapters, another common thread between all four programs is the basic premise of reciprocity as an ethic that can more justly frame social relations between residents. The chapters that follow will explore the power of this concept for framing social relations and for operationalising novel, progressive policies and programs *in spite of* the number of elements that distinguish them: centralised housing and urban policy under France's strong central state as opposed to Australia's predominantly decentralised, State-led management; the longstanding effects of the neoliberal project on Australia's housing market and provision versus France's post-welfare state and its government's continued commitment to large-scale provision of public housing and territorial equality; the varied maturity of each organisation, from the start-up phase to entities with over thirty years of experience; and the articulation of missions and values in two different languages, namely English and French.

They will show that ultimately, the stories of these organisations are stories with people squarely at their centre. People relating to one another, animated by the cause of justice, some as volunteers, some as staff, some as partners, but most as everyday residents, practising and learning about everyday expressions of reciprocity and justice in the urban. The ways in which reciprocity shapes their discourse and operations, as briefly addressed in chapter three, is the content of the empirical chapters that follow.

Chapter Five: Conceptions of Reciprocity in Organisations' Missions

5.1. Introduction

All four organisations describe their housing programs in ways that evoke a conception of reciprocity, where encounters among diverse residents are seen to provide mutual and collective benefits. Their discourse stands in stark contrast to prevalent thinking that underpins mainstream approaches to residential desegregation, such as social mix. As discussed in chapter two, social mix policies are premised upon the idea that the values and behaviours of middle-class role models can have an ameliorating effect on their low-income neighbours (Arthurson 2012; Rose et al. 2013). By pursuing reciprocity, these alternative approaches to residential desegregation move away from portraying low-income residents through the lens of deficit and as a drain on a locality. Rather, they offer a narrative that highlights how these residents contribute to the lives of others and to the places in which they reside.

Given the power of these conceptions to shape housing programs and relations among residents, this chapter gives attention to how each case study organisation conceives of reciprocity in the encounters and relations of the diverse residents of their housing programs. It considers how each organisation's conception is shaped by a specific context while also highlighting significant points of convergence. It also examines how each organisation envisages that relations of reciprocity among diverse residents can positively impact their lives.

5.2. HousingFirst: Reciprocity through diversity

A conception of reciprocity is reflected in HousingFirst's institutional discourse on the place of social housing in the local community. This discourse incorporates a place-based vision of community, framing the local community as an entity in and of itself.

While being located in areas that are well-resourced and well-connected to the city centre has tangible benefits for HousingFirst's tenants, in its official communications and the vision developed among its staff, the organisation takes care to articulate a counter-narrative to the idea that social housing is only receiving (or in certain conceptions *draining*) resources from the local community. HousingFirst alternatively frames its housing as bringing something positive to the community, its most fundamental contribution being diversity itself, within the context of neighbourhoods that are gentrifying and consequently homogenising. HousingFirst's community development coordinator, Helen, describes this as follows:

> We're a benefit to the community because having diversity makes the community a stronger place. There's a real pressure to homogenise communities and just make them all like me. But actually, the benefit is in the diversity and having the range of people come along, and our tenants are very engaged in the community (Helen, Community Development Coordinator, HousingFirst).

HousingFirst strives to promote diversity as a strength in its internal communications, celebrating that its tenants speak 26 languages and hail from 82 countries—though this diversity is framed more widely than tenants' socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. HousingFirst tenant manager, Andrea, comments:

> You've got everyone from single parent families to couples and elderly people, disabilities, people from different countries. People who may have come over as asylum seekers, some have had trauma in their lives. I think you just get every piece of society living here (Andrea, HousingFirst Tenant Manager).

Yet while HousingFirst presents "diversity" as a contribution of low-income housing, care is taken to avoid magnifying difference and to highlight commonalities across all residents within a local community, despite their tenure or personal circumstances. One notable example is the inclusion of the following quote from former Port Phillip counsellor, Darren Ray, in HousingFirst's official account of its own history:

> The rich and the poor need to understand each other; they have a lot more in common than they think … These people—on the lowest incomes—are ordinary people often battling odds imposed on them through unemployment, relationship breakdown, illness and disability—or the need to support family members. These same issues can affect anyone. It's just that without buffers, you come off worse (In Tuohey and Liternman, 2016. p. 135).

By highlighting the *ordinariness* of community housing residents, this account—as well as the language of its personnel—attempts to avoid the othering and stigmatisation of HousingFirst's tenants. Furthermore, by framing tenants' situations as a result of circumstances and structural inequality, this narrative departs from some of the assumptions that underpin role model thinking, by removing the blame for poverty away from the individual afflicted by it.

Beyond bringing diversity to the area, tenants are portrayed as people who give to others and who help others thrive. This calls to mind the vision of reciprocity elaborated in chapter two, whereby every individual, irrespective of their circumstances, is seen to give and receive within a mutually beneficial web of interconnections.

For example, HousingFirst brings attention to the ways its tenants contribute to the local community by engaging in it, both as local volunteers and as workers in essential services. HousingFirst's former Operations Manager, Tanya, points out that many of HousingFirst's tenants are key workers that are in high demand in the Ashwood area, which has become unaffordable for most people doing this kind of work. Providing housing close to their workplace is framed as yielding reciprocal benefits, as it supports their tenants to access employment while meeting this broader need. This responds to concerns that denser dwellings and a subsequent population increase threatens the adequate supply of local resources, as it frames tenants as *suppliers* as well as users of these resources.

Staff provide examples of tenants who volunteer in thrift stores, leadership programs, with

elderly people, and as school crossing guards. In their quarterly newsletters, space is dedicated to recognising the contributions tenants are making to their communities. One such description states:

> All of our nominated tenants went above and beyond and were great examples of individuals who have made an outstanding voluntary contribution to their community. Our nominees have generously and selflessly helped those around them to thrive and have actively participated in shaping and building their communities (HousingFirst 2019).

The language chosen to describe these efforts departs significantly from the needy recipient of social housing captured in popular Australian imagination. Furthermore, by describing their social tenants as "examples" to the community, HousingFirst's discourse flips role model theory assumptions about who can serve as models in encounters across difference.

HousingFirst situates itself as a local actor which contributes to the community, by providing housing to locals and through partnering with others as "a good member of the community that contributes to local growth and development," according to HousingFirst's former General Manager, Tanya. She adds, "Our role is helping the tenants to become a part of that."

HousingFirst's vision of reciprocity through diversity is developed as a response to the stigma and narratives of dependency culture attached to social housing in Australia (Wiesel and Pawson 2015). Community Development Coordinator Helen affirms that the organisation actively seeks to counter "a bit of a culture in Australia of seeing poor people as just a deficit," whereby "it's all about what you don't have, not what you bring."

In contrast to the narrative of a dependency culture, which is framed through the neoliberal ideology of the independent (rather than interdependent) individual, HousingFirst's approach to the provision of affordable housing is based on a more interdependent framing of human relations. It sees the wellbeing of the community as being dependent on the culmination of individual contributions, in which all residents—regardless of socioeconomic or tenure status—have a role to play. This vision is articulated in the organisation's use of the maxim "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (Port Phillip Housing Association 2011).

Finally, while in many accounts, personnel offer a sobering reading of Australian society and of the deep-seeded prejudices and discrimination they perceive within it, they also demonstrate a profound hope and faith that change is possible, and that the housing program, the spaces it creates, and the encounters of reciprocity it tries to foster, can contribute to a transformation in the ways its tenants are perceived. Tenant manager Andrea describes how despite "pre-conceptions" within the local community about "the type of people" HousingFirst would bring to the neighbourhood, after the development was completed, "a lot of people changed their minds." This conviction shapes the way the organisation seeks to operationalise these ideals, notably through the deliberate creation of spaces to foster encounters of reciprocity and to create spaces for its tenants to contribute to the community.

5.3. Refugees Welcome Australia: Relational reciprocity

Reciprocity is a term used explicitly by Refugees Welcome Australia (RWA) to frame the nature of the relationship the organisation hopes to help cultivate between homestay "hosts" (those opening their homes) and "guests" (people seeking asylum who are being hosted). Founder Susan, who is originally from the Netherlands, describes RWA as "one of the agents to try and build [reciprocity] according to both these parties."

Similar language used to describe encounters between guests and hosts includes "mutual exchange," "mutual interaction" and "mutually beneficial." Such language is used in RWA's official communications, in its written and verbal guidance to hosts and guests, and in the ways its volunteers describe the program. For example, in its 2018-19 annual report, the RWA Board writes:

> In our approach to connect people willing to open their homes and those in need of free-of-charge or low-contribution accommodation, we bring focus to the mutual benefit of a shared living arrangement, and the message this communicates to surrounding community (2019:2).

RWA's approach to reciprocity is in part shaped by an intent to move away from a "charity" mindset, which frames hosts as the ones who give, and guests as recipients of that giving. Susan reflects, "I think the charity tactics of many years has almost created this mindset of what charity's supposed to look like, and I think we could almost take part in the changing of that narrative." She continues, "If all parties could look through these eyes of reciprocity, I think for this kind of program, that would be a success story. That would be the ingredient that is essential."

To problematise this charity mindset, RWA articulates intended benefits of the homestay arrangement for both guests and hosts. Intended benefits for guests are stated explicitly in RWA's mission, including access to a safe and decent home and exposure to local culture, language and community to facilitate integration.

In its descriptions of the way both hosts and guests are recipients of these encounters, RWA's discourse emphasises the giving and receiving of something more intangible—"not in these material ways, but in this sort of interpersonal way," Susan explains. For example, RWA volunteers describe a mutual exchange of human qualities such as kindness, respect, understanding, and support that takes place during the homestay arrangement.

RWA sees mutual learning as another dimension of this interpersonal exchange. Its guidelines for hosts state, "During your guest's stay with you, you will both be on a journey to learn from each other" (2018a:3). Susan describes her understanding of how this operates in practice:

> I think there's also a reciprocity that is almost invisible. It's an exchange that happens all the time. You and I are now having an exchange and there's some reciprocity there. I'm sure I'm learning something from you here, but I may not be aware of it quite yet (Susan, Founder and Board Member, RWA).

Volunteers describe the educational experience of the host in more detail. Board member Sabini, who grew up in Australia with Bangladeshi parents, states:

> You probably gain more than what you lose in terms of materialistic things when sharing your home, such as your finances or household items that you have to share. We kind of have this ethos of you gain more not just during that time of sharing your home but for the rest of your life, because your perspective has changed on how welcoming society can be (Sabini, RWA Board Member).

Housing Coordinator Divya, who moved to Australia from India, emphasises the rich life experience that guests bring, which is often very distant to the social reality of those who open their homes:

> There is inequality of resources, like we said. But then, there is inequality of life experience. Most of our hosts have had at least a middle-class life. A privileged life. They just have seen pictures of people seeking asylum, of offshore visas read in the media. They've never lived a day like that (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

Volunteer Pilar, who came to Australia as a student from Colombia, emphasises the homestay as an opportunity for hosts to better understand key issues within their country, while Events Coordinator Sacha, originally from Finland, believes that by learning from non-Western perspectives and knowledge, hosts can come to recognise the limitations of an individualistic way of life that characterises relations to one another and to nature in Western societies. She reflects, "I think by having these kinds of programs, and accepting refugees and people seeking asylum into our community, I think we are doing ourselves a favour."

Brisbane manager Michelle, who is from Singapore, extends these benefits to the local community, where the act of welcoming can help a community learn how to support others:

> It may assist the community in terms of learning how to—I don't know if this makes sense, but in a way, learning how to be human (laughs). I just feel that…refugees and people seeking asylum are also humans. They are humans that need some assistance for the time being. And why can't we learn how to assist another human being? (Michelle, Manager, RWA Brisbane)

RWA's discourse also emphasises what hosts gain from the act of volunteering, framing it as intrinsically reciprocal, in a way that converges with Jonathan Darling's observation of volunteering "as a process of giving and gaining" (2011:411). RWA was founded on the assumption that human beings can (and seek to be) generous, and Housing Coordinator Divya describes how the program provides hosts "an *opportunity* to open up their homes to people in need." Divya recounts that some hosts describe this opportunity as acting on a sense of responsibility that stems from a recognised place of privilege in society—to give back what some hosts feel they have been fortunate to receive within the context of a considerably uneven playing field. This goes one step further than Monica Farias's findings that volunteering across difference can assist people to "learn privilege": here it is framed as a way to *enact* a privilege one is already conscious of possessing (2016:180).

However, placing emphasis on what hosts gain through reciprocal homestays, as a means to move away from an asymmetrical, charity-like model of the host as giver and the guest as recipient, has not been unproblematic. Some of RWA's partners have raised concern that reciprocity might place too high an expectation on guests who are vulnerable due to their financial and visa situations and in many cases past trauma. Might "reciprocity" weigh guests down with the burden of feeling a need to "pay back" their host's hospitality? Might the narrative of hosts who gain something out of the exchange place too much emphasis on the host's wellbeing at the expense of the needs of a person seeking asylum? And might "reciprocity" promote the distorted notion that guests are expected to become posterchild "refugees" in their local communities in order to rehabilitate the stigmatised image of "the refugee" that pervades the popular Australian psyche, an image not of their own making? In other words, does RWA's foregrounding of the mutual richness of encounters across difference instrumentalise or place undue expectations on the guest, who is often undergoing an experience of vulnerability?

Carolina, who works as a Community Engagement Adviser at the Australian Senate and has been a close collaborator of RWA in Brisbane since its inception grapples with some of these questions. She states:

> When we talk about reciprocity, what do you mean? Do we want people to crawl on their knees and say thank you so much for giving me a house? No, we never want that to happen. Do we want to expect that people are going to become great advocates and champions for refugee rights in affluent neighbourhoods? No, because people are living in these affluent neighbourhoods, or else they're homeless. So, they're at a catastrophic time of their lives. Seriously, they probably have never reached further bottom than at the time of their placement through an organisation like Refugees Welcome. They don't have anything to give in most cases. Because their life is in crisis […] I think we have to be mindful that if we are expecting—if the point of this kind of solidarity base and cooperative base schemes is that people give back the same amount that they're given, then we have to be careful when we're working with vulnerable communities, with vulnerable people. Because if someone is in a very vulnerable situation, they won't be able to give back (Carolina, Community Engagement Adviser, Australian Senate and collaborator with RWA).

Carolina's comments seek to temper expectations placed on guests and to ensure that the lens of reciprocity does not overburden nor instrumentalise them to remedy broader social challenges. RWA volunteer Pilar refers to this tension, describing how a one-dimensional view of guests could instrumentalise refugees for the pleasure and personal growth of their hosts:

> That that person will always be a blessing, that person will always be the person teaching them how to cook a foreign dish, or that will tell them about their culture talking about how beautiful their country is, or they are bringing a new philosophy to their life (Pilar, volunteer, RWA Brisbane).

These reflections demonstrate a potential pitfall of adopting a narrative of reciprocity to counter the asymmetry inherent in charity models. While recognising the benefits that flow to hosts demonstrates that people seeking asylum are not only recipients but are contributing to a

reciprocal exchange, care is needed to ensure that the host's experience is not over-emphasised in a way that places undue burden on guests. This is a challenge that both RWA and AFEV face in particular, as both organisations directly accompany residents who are coming from the more privileged side of the encounter.

RWA's discourse seeks to avoid this misbalance in several ways. In its guidelines to hosts, it cautions against the risk of guests feeling indebted and reframes gratitude as a reciprocal sentiment:

> People who are in need of support can feel indebted. This may make it difficult for people to express concerns or say no. Keep this in mind in your interaction with your guest. What may help is letting your guest know you are as grateful for the experience as they are (RWA 2018a:5).

In their discourse with hosts, RWA volunteers take care to avoid framing reciprocity in terms of material labour, such as anticipating household chores as compensation for free board. At the same time, they don't discourage guests from helping out with housework or gardening if it is of their own volition. This relates to a second major idea shaping RWA's approach to reciprocity: the view that practising reciprocity is an expression of an inherent dignity. Housing Coordinator Divya states:

> Being grateful is being dignified, according to me. Cleaning somebody's floors to say thank you, I think it's dignity. It's got nothing to do with power imbalance (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

From a similar angle, Susan states:

> There are simply people who desire to provide this, what they conceive as reciprocity, in material ways, for their own value, to uphold their own dignity perhaps (Susan, Founder and Board Member, RWA).

This emphasis on guests' capacity to *choose* to reciprocate reflects RWA's efforts to employ a discourse and foster conditions that respect the individual agency of a person seeking asylum—to ensure that the worth of a guest is equally valued to that of a host. Thus, in RWA's approach to reciprocity, guests and hosts are mutually receiving and contributing *not in equal measures* but *as equals*, in terms of their inner worth and embodied agency. As Susan articulates, equality from this perspective entails "the host seeing the guest as an equal human being, at a very basic level."

An inherent component of this equality is the notion of a dignity inherent to all. Foregrounding dignity reflects a broader objective to humanise people seeking asylum, in the context of a media and political discourse within Australia that is dehumanising and othering (Hodge 2015; Van Kooy et al. 2001). Just as HousingFirst's approach to reciprocity as diversity was partly shaped in response to stigma attached to social housing in Australian society, dignity as a basis for reciprocity responds to this perceived dehumanisation.

An emphasis on inner dignity also serves as a protection from another extreme that Carolina's comments seem to overlook—that being in a position of vulnerability for a time does not reduce people to a bundle of needs, who cannot practice reciprocity and contribute in meaningful ways. In its guideline to hosts, the organisation writes:

> Do not assume that all people seeking asylum have significant needs or vulnerabilities. The people you will host may be very resilient and eager to learn and connect with the wider community. They may feel positive about the future (RWA 2018a:3).

Susan continues, "Because it's more than simply providing someone a room of course, it's about establishing a relationship." She also states, "If a host was to provide a room simply because he or she feels sorry for that person […] then it becomes this sort of stigmatisation that I think then just translates outside of the home as well." Thus, reciprocity in this context is framed as an expression of inner dignity and allows for a broader range of both material and immaterial practices.

Perhaps most significantly, RWA reframes reciprocity not in terms of a give-and-take relationship between two people at a singular point in time, but rather as a way of conceptualising a multidirectional flow of relations among a growing web of people that crosses spatial and temporal bounds. Susan captures this idea:

> The last three years has taught me that reciprocity is not bidirectional but rather multidirectional. We are all guests or migrants or refugees at some point in life and can only hope for the kindness and care of others then (RWA 2018b).

Divya expresses a similar sentiment, noting that everyone has had moments when they have needed assistance from others and that those who are experiencing temporary hardship—such as people seeking asylum—will be able to reciprocate in the future:

> I believe the ones who are generous they will have a time for them to sit back and enjoy the rewards and the ones who have been at the other end and have received, will have a way to pay it forward too. And I always say that to my guests. Now, don't feel bad. Because you will definitely give this to somebody else (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

RWA's Events Coordinator, Sacha, adds that within a community, reciprocity need not imply that people help each other "in the same way, it can be in multiple different ways." She explains, "One day I'll help you and the next day you'll help me. And then there is no question about it, it's very equal."

Taken together, the vision of RWA and its volunteers appears to frame reciprocity within a conception of social interdependence, where all people contribute to the welfare of others while benefiting from these same connections, not as part of a calculated, barter exchange based on mutual self-interest, but rather as a model for how a healthy society functions. This vision resembles the ontology of interdependence put forward by Heather Campbell (2006) and

suggests its usefulness to capture how flows of reciprocity traverse distance and time.

Sacha uses the image of a forest, and the interdependence of its trees, to illustrate how the wellbeing of each individual is dependent on the wellbeing of the whole.

> When I look at community development, I use a framework that is focused on a forest. I think about it like a tree is as healthy as a forest. So that's the same in a community. One community member is as healthy as the rest of the community. And if there is a weak member, then the whole community suffers (Sacha, Events Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

In a quote on RWA's Facebook page, she adds:

> When working in the community I like to think that I am in a forest, which is being nurtured through the work I do along with other community organisers as well as the members of the community themselves. Trees use different ways to transmit nutrients and keep one another healthy and safe and grow as a group, in particular older and more powerful trees feed nutrients to the smaller ones and allow them to grow safely. I use the tree metaphor for the community members and use my practise as a way of facilitating the transmission of nutrients (knowledge, friendships, arts, and way of living to name a few) between the established community members and people seeking asylum and other minority groups in order to build healthy and sustainable communities where every voice is heard (RWA 2018c).

Thus, reciprocity is not framed as occurring between individual "trees" who help one another across their independence. Rather, as Sacha frames it, an interdependent community is only as strong as the whole. From this perspective, a homogenous community that is injected with diversity benefits the community as well as each of its members. Greater compassion in a community benefits all. The effects that injustice to a few has on the whole may be less apparent, but arguably all suffer in different ways from being part of a community that perpetuates injustice and oppression to others, to which many members may contribute, even inadvertently. This vision of interdependence avoids pitting individual needs against the collective and could have significant implications for how decisions about resource allocation in the local community are made—including the volume and location of low-income housing.

RWA's conception of reciprocity thus seeks to foreground the mutual benefits of interpersonal exchange that flow to both guests and hosts to move away from one-sided charity models. It also portrays practising reciprocity as an expression of an inherent dignity that all people seeking asylum possess regardless of their vulnerability. This narrative counters the dehumanising expressions of refugees prevalent in political and media portrayals of this population. A broader vision of reciprocity anchored in social interdependence frames both hosts and guests as part of an interconnected flow of relations that stretches across space and time. In this way, reciprocity does not burden guests with the need to repay their hosts in the here and now, though they may choose to do so as an expression of dignity. Rather, it recognises that they have been, and will continue to be, reciprocating at different points in their lives, across manifold relations with others. Flows of reciprocity envisaged as such are not only two-directional, but multi-directional.

5.4. AFEV: Reciprocity as mutual learning

While the word "reciprocity" is not used explicitly by AFEV, the concept permeates the organisation's discourse on its ethos and specifically on the KAPS program. Like RWA, AFEV frames the benefits of encounters between its student volunteers and the social housing residents with whom they interact as mutual.

The organisation adopts an *Education Populaire* ("Popular Education") approach, describing the role of its student volunteers in the solidarity actions they undertake with their neighbours not in terms of them imparting knowledge, but fundamentally of being there to learn. AFEV's Local Development Officer for Paris, Caroline, explains:

> In this idea of popular education, we are not bringing knowledge to residents. We don't really refer to "beneficiaries" in our conception of projects […] The beneficiaries are on both sides. It's the same for all AFEV's actions, the idea is that firstly, it's useful for the students, that it enriches their personal point of view to get to know other social milieus, other cultures. These are neighbourhoods with great cultural mix. So that it brings them something in terms of discovering engagement, solidarity, learning, some job skills too, teamwork, things like that. And above all, to feel useful. (Caroline, Local Development Officer, AFEV, Paris 18th district).

This vision of building capacity in youth to engage in social change is rooted in the organisation's fundamental mission, which Caroline specifies that, in addition to fighting against inequalities between neighbourhoods, centres on strengthening youth engagement. "All of AFEV's actions," she stresses, "pursue these two objectives in parallel." The organisation describes a vision of youth as a population that longs to feel useful, is willing to undertake selfless acts on behalf of others and holds potential as actors of social change in response to perceived social injustice. Caroline elaborates, "The organisation was created by students who wanted to show that youth have a desire to engage."

Like RWA and its hosts, AFEV personnel describe what they hope students learn through these encounters. One is knowledge of "priority" neighbourhoods, as classified though French national urban policy. Caroline describes this as something she believes that social residents transmit to the students:

> It is through contact with the residents that they come to understand the neighbourhood issues. There is that which we will transmit to them, that which the political actors of the city will transmit to them, from a theoretical standpoint. But, the everyday experience, it's what the residents say to them that will make up their vision of the neighbourhood (Caroline, Local Development Officer, AFEV, Paris 18th district).

Caroline also describes the hope that these encounters broaden students' horizons and "open their mind and their capacity to critique, to analyse." This includes fostering open-mindedness to the potential that lies within working-class neighbourhoods and to dismantling stereotypes they may have encountered about these places. Lucille, who is based at AFEV's national headquarters and develops the KAPS program, explains:

> There is also the fact of living in a working-class neighbourhood. How do I enter a neighbourhood, in an environment, that I don't know very well, how do I learn to live in this environment, to discover how to deconstruct the stereotypes that one can have about working-class neighbourhoods? (Lucille, KAPS Developer, AFEV National Headquarters).

It is hoped that this first-hand knowledge of the neighbourhood and its residents can help forge a sense of belonging among youth volunteers, to "not just be visitors," as Caroline explains, "but to really be actors in their neighbourhood, to bring more mix, to make the life of the neighbourhood more enriching." Lucille adds that part of AFEV's aim is to help youth to see that these places are "just like any other neighbourhood where they would normally live."

Underpinning this conviction that the students have something to learn from encounters with their social housing neighbours is an assumption that the residents of social housing have something to offer. Apart from knowledge of the neighbourhood they reside in, as mentioned above, AFEV's discourse is less specific about *what* KAPS students learn from social tenants. Refining this area of its discourse could potentially assist youth to perceive other forms of knowledge gleaned through their encounters with tenants.

Most significantly, AFEV aspires that the experience of the KAPS program assists students to develop capabilities to become engaged social citizens of the places in which they live in collaboration with others. By bringing university students into these neighbourhoods through a program that seeks to work with residents to define local needs and to collectively respond to them, AFEV promotes a discourse that social housing residents have a role to play in their neighbourhoods, and that youth benefit from becoming familiar with their aspirations, visions, and experiences. This is most clearly seen in the way AFEV frames solidarity actions as taken *with* (and not for) residents. On its website, AFEV (2021) states that children, youth and families should not be seen as "consumers" of its programs, but as "active participants." The role of KAPS students, Caroline explains, is to include residents in the conception, preparation and implementation of these actions, such as community gardens or street festivals. Lucille adds, "the idea is to come together to the table, reflect, and to find solutions together." Through these actions, encounters of reciprocity between students and social residents are seen to lead to their mutual mobilisation.

One potential limitation to this vision is that the program is premised upon a need for outsiders (university students), youth with considerable social capital, to come into the neighbourhood to strengthen bonds between residents and to stimulate their participation. While their actions do indeed facilitate bonds between some tenants, as detailed in the coming chapters, it is perhaps important to acknowledge the well-documented social bonds that tend to already exist in such neighbourhoods (Authier et al. 2007).

While the role of local youth (many of whom do not attend university) and their potential role contributing to change within their neighbourhoods is less central to AFEV's discourse, they do participate in spaces of encounter facilitated by the KAPS students in Blémont and

contribute to a street festival the KAPS students organise, with support from other local organisations. This suggests an opportunity for AFEV to explicitly incorporate the potential role of young social tenants as actors in their neighbourhoods into its discourse, particularly given the high aspirations it has for youth more generally. Doing so could potentially help to challenge connotations often associated with *"les jeunes"* (the youth) of social estates like Blémont—a term used to refer to disadvantaged young male residents with migrant backgrounds, who tend to be portrayed as "dangerous roles models for the neighbourhood children" (Lelévrier et al. 2017:75).

Despite these limitations, there is a clear intent in AFEV's discourse to frame the encounters between KAPS students and social housing residents through the lens of reciprocity. In its discourse, reciprocity expresses itself most concretely in the notion of mutual learning, whereby these encounters, expressed through the planning and participation of solidarity actions, expand the visions, develop the capacities, and strengthen the engagement of all involved. Students are encouraged to see their role as helping to open space for other residents to bring their ideas and contributions.

5.5. Habitat et Humanisme: Reciprocity as being on equal footing

From its founder's declarations to the discourse of its personnel to the messages conveyed to its staff and volunteers through training, reconceptualising relations among residents is at the heart of the Habitat et Humanisme model. It frames the relations it hopes to foster between its own tenants and their more affluent neighbours in terms of reciprocity, where people see and treat one another as equals, and where the act of exchange is considered mutually enriching.

Habitat et Humanisme describes the housing it provides as socially mixed. Its rationale for providing social housing in mixed-income settings is based on maintaining such housing in central, well-resourced areas, as well as a conviction about the value of the diversity that social mix enables. Director-General of its Ile-de-France branch, Olivier, describes the vision that social mix "enriches" housing as "one of the founding intuitions of our organisation." The organisation describes its model as a means to build "bridges in the city, in society," to counteract "the temptation to turn inwards" (Habitat et Humanisme 2013). This diversity is seen to be important for all of society. Olivier qualifies that for the organisation, "mix is not about looking after the poor," but rather responds to its conviction that "the absence of social mix is something harmful."

Habitat et Humanisme's discourse directly pushes back on the role model theory that underpins mainstream approaches to social mix. Olivier affirms that the organisation's rationale for social mix rejects the role model theory, and uses the concept of reciprocity as an alternative. Referring to the majority homeowner residents at *Jardin Divers*, he describes a hope that encounters with Habitat et Humanisme tenants:

> …Will enrich their vision of the world, break down some cliches and stereotypes. They will reflect a little about what it means to live with different people next door. The idea is not that our tenants will be [positively] influenced by the success [of the middle-class neighbours] that surrounds them. It's not that. The idea is that there is a form of reciprocity. That in the end, we work on how we live together collectively. It's a notion that is a bit overused, but it's still this idea that the precondition for living together is not to all be the same (Olivier, Director-General, Habitat et Humanisme, Ile-de-France).

The idea of symmetry underpins Habitat et Humanisme's vision of reciprocity, particularly because its programs facilitate encounters between people whose economic resources vary significantly. In such circumstances, the organisation puts forward that an inequality of resources need not give rise to asymmetrical relations, and as explicated above, that those with less resources can ultimately contribute to a more expansive worldview. Olivier explains:

> You have someone who has money, who is integrated, etc., and then someone who doesn't. The power to act is not the same. But there is a principle of symmetry, which is that we try to respect the integrity of individuals and families. To respect their autonomy and to try and help them go further. But also, that if it doesn't change the way we look at things, if it doesn't allow others to change their perspective of the person and—let's be grand—the world, then it's not enough (Olivier, Director-General, Habitat et Humanisme, Ile-de-France).

Olivier alludes to another assumption underpinning Habitat et Humanisme's approach to encounters of reciprocity—that such encounters can shift mindsets. He shares the organisation's belief that "the experience of otherness is enriching" and that the "culture shock" resulting from different cultures residing alongside one another "allows everyone to make progress." For Olivier, homeowners at *Jardin Divers* should view their exchanges with their social housing neighbours as being "about receiving as well as giving."

Along these lines, Xavier, who founded CPA-CPS, the developer of *Jardin Divers* and close partner of Habitat et Humanisme, shares that "One of the most interesting aspects of these projects is that it shakes up our habits in France." For example, having observed a tendency for adults in *Jardin Divers* to feel a sense of responsibility for all the children living in the residence—not just their own—Xavier credits this to residents choosing to adopt the values of some of their immigrant neighbours. "For someone from an Indian or African culture, it's completely normal" he continues, referring to the origins of the social tenants at *Jardin Divers*. "There are certain things in other cultures that are interesting." Again, this example of social tenants modelling behaviours to their homeowner counterparts challenges the role model thinking of mainstream social mix, echoing the findings of Camina and Wood (2009).

This discourse suggests that in this program, reciprocity in cross-cultural encounters encourages residents to step away from the vantagepoint of seeing one's own culture (in this case, middle-class French culture) as the standard against which to measure others, while simultaneously recognising the value of becoming more acquainted with the norms, values and ways of seeing embedded in cultures other than one's own. This aspiration is shared with RWA, who also frames encounters across cultural difference as holding potential to shift mindsets in

this way.

Like RWA, Habitat et Humanisme seeks to shift its approach to volunteering away from a traditional "charity" mindset, which it characterises as asymmetrical. Olivier explains that reciprocity is encouraged in the attitude of the organisation's volunteers, to overcome a view of their role as charity—the idea, Olivier describes, that "I'll take my basket of oranges to the poor." Olivier continues, "In Habitat et Humanisme's charter, it is clearly stated that we are in a spirit of exchange and symmetry." Pierre, Habitat et Humanisme's manager of the South-East region of Paris (where *Jardin Divers* is located), shares the challenges the organisation faces reaching this ideal. Referring to some of its personnel and volunteers, he states, "We are very much in the idea of the expert who *knows*. I am a social worker, I know. I am a volunteer, I know."

Like AFEV, Habitat et Humanisme seeks to move away from a model of those who impart knowledge to others, to a vision of mutual exchange and learning, which Olivier connects to the *education populaire* movement. He states that looking for the potential in each tenant means looking more deeply into who a person is and what they are truly capable of beyond cultural stereotypes such as cooking a cultural speciality.

Habitat et Humanisme personnel emphasise the importance of seeking out the talents and capacities inherent in its tenants that ought to be recognised and tapped into. Social worker Cassandra, who accompanies *Jardin Divers* tenants, describes this as seeking out the more "invisible" forms of exchange that tend to be overlooked because of societal values:

> One of the things I try to do is to look beyond what we think. We tend to value certain things, like if I helped the guy get a job, but there may be other things that are also exchanges but a little bit invisible (Cassandra, Social Worker, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

Personnel are able to provide concrete examples of these often "invisible" forms of exchange. Cassandra describes an exchange of services and "mutual aid" among residents, such as minding one another's children, or sharing food, and comments that the *habitat participatif* model is intended to promote this way of "being good neighbours." Other personnel portray tenants as capable and as having certain skills and know-how to share. For example, tenant manager Bergesse imagines how one of their tenants might help children of the residence with their English lessons. "He doesn't really know French," she notes, "but he masters something else." Pierre identifies another example:

> Some tenants go shopping in Barbès, they are six, they spend €200 on food shopping each month, while you live all alone, you spend €400 on shopping. They can teach you a lot about budget management, they freeze things, they cook, they are already acting ecologically, they are already into healthy eating, it's cheaper than buying ready-made stuff (Pierre, Manager South-East Paris Region, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

This discourse alone challenges the assumptions of role model theory—by being able to

articulate to its volunteers and to residents the kinds of "invisible" ways social tenants contribute (or could potentially contribute), personnel can assist them to perceive these sometimes undervalued actions, talents and know-how. The capacity to do so among multiple staff members suggests the organisation takes seriously its mission to cultivate reciprocity as an alternative to role model thinking.

While the term reciprocity is not used as widely across Habitat et Humanisme's staff, their discourse about the nature of the mutual exchanges between residents resembles that of RWA, notably the idea that that which is exchanged need not be equal. Cassandra notes that it is not important to be exchanging "the same things," while Bergesse states:

> When I'm home cooking, I might not notice it, but I'm glad that my neighbour keeps an eye on the kids. I think there is a real exchange, and it goes both ways. The exchange is not necessarily equitable, but that's not really what we're after in the end. Everyone brings what they can bring (Bergesse, Tenant Manager, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

She also shares an example from Jardin Divers:

> After I had a lady sign for her temporary housing, when we visited the place together, she was already marvelling at the fact that she could garden. She loved gardening; she could see herself creating a vegetable patch. For me, exchange is already taking place at that scale, that is to say, I dare to believe that there is already an exchange. We won't be able to gauge or measure such exchanges because otherwise, for sure there would be an imbalance (Bergesse, Tenant Manager, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

This is particularly important because as Xavier points out, the *Jardin Divers* model is based on the idea that each person contributes to the collective living arrangement based on their individual talents and skills, so some might be engineers, others might be good at gardening. Recognising some of these more "invisible" contributions can help portray tenants as contributing to collective life alongside and on a par with homeowners.

Personnel's capacity to identify multiple examples of these kinds of contributions, which move far away from the one-sided exchanges of role model theory, can be further explained by two contextual factors. Firstly, their tenants are the low-income residents, and like HousingFirst, they have a closer relationship to them and can learn first-hand how they contribute to the residence. This differs to AFEV and RWA who work more closely with resident-volunteers in the form of students and hosts. Secondly, Habitat et Humanisme defines its work as social mix, though its model departs from mainstream mix approaches by proposing social housing in more affluent areas. The organisation is thus more aware of the tenets of mainstream social mix and is more consciously providing an alternative to role model thinking in its conceptions of relations of reciprocity among "socially mixed" neighbours.

At same time, the organisation's discourse acknowledges benefits more traditionally associated with social mix, such as allowing social hosing tenants to access the social networks of their more connected and established neighbours. Cassandra explains how at *Jardin Divers* "you're

not just in a social housing tower where everyone is in the same situation, where everyone is struggling. It really allows you to open your networks." She adds:

> I would say that this is a real plus because it's people they would never have met or with whom they would never have spoken […] we often say that socialisation happens through the family, through school, but if you didn't finish school, if you don't work, your circle of friends is often limited. This allows you to open other doors (Cassandra, Social Worker, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

Cassandra goes on to provide an example of a youth looking for an internship. "Am I going to do my internship with mum or dad, or do I know that my neighbour works in such and such a place, that's what interests me." She describes such opportunities as "a real asset that could help break down certain inequalities." She continues, "It's these little things that allows us to try and reduce [inequalities), it's just a drop in the ocean but it's already something." This element of discourse comes back to one of the core reasons behind Habitat et Humanisme's approach to housing, that sits alongside the value it places on diversity: to overcome the negative effects of physical and social segregation on low-income residents.

As with the other organisations, Habitat et Humanisme's vision of reciprocity rests upon a conviction of an inherent dignity and basic equality of all human beings, which is an explicit value of the organisation. For example, in its official communications, the organisation describes "successful integration" as being "where each human being is considered in all his or her dignity" to "find his or her place in society" (Habitat et Humanisme 2021b).

Finally, similar to the social interdependence underpinning RWA's conception of reciprocity, the organisation's founder Bernard Devert suggests a framework of interdependence by explicating a vision where the misfortune of some people in society is seen to afflict all, and where building a more inclusive society is considered to be of "general interest":

> Together, are we not harmed by the fact that the poorest people have the most difficulty in accessing social housing, that those who have had to leave their territory because of poverty, wars or climatic deserts do not find hospitality, and that the most fragile because of dependence, isolation and lack of resources do not benefit from suitable housing (Devert 2018).

This supports the idea that the meaning of reciprocity is shaped by a certain conception of social interdependence. The equal relations promoted by Habitat et Humanisme are framed by an underlying vision of human beings connected through a web of relations, where acts of giving and receiving flow in both directions, regardless of the quantity or social value placed upon what is being gifted. Part of the organisation's mission then, as explored in the next chapter, is to train its personnel and volunteers to perceive *what* is being exchanged, even when such phenomena are not always socially valued or easily discernible.

Furthermore, Devert's assertion that all are "harmed" by the plight of others recalls the trees and forest analogy shared by RWA volunteer Sacha. It suggests a vision that the *benefits* of

reciprocal encounters are not only accrued to individuals because of *individual* gains—even when those gains are seemingly selfless such as a feeling of fulfilment from helping others—but also that the *collective* gains. Whether communities or entire societies, the implication is that collective entities benefit by becoming more equitable, more just, and more cognisant of the dignity and capabilities inherent to all, a vision that can help nudge communities away from zero-sum thinking where individual interests exist in opposition to one another.

5.6. Conceptions of reciprocity across the four cases

While each organisation presents a nuanced conception of reciprocity, there is a significant amount of overlap. Some of the nuances can be contextualised within urban and national settings. In the Australian context, both organisations' discourses are shaped by contexts of stigma and prejudice towards the populations their housing serves. HousingFirst seeks to lift some of the stigma around social housing and its residents by bringing to light the multiple ways social tenants contribute to the areas in which they live, with diversity highlighted as a core contribution. For Refugees Welcome Australia, applying a lens of reciprocity to interpersonal relations between guests and hosts is intended to overcome the saviour-victim dynamic of traditional charity models. Recognising the dignity and agency inherent to all "humans," a term RWA emphasises, responds to the dehumanisation of people seeking asylum in Australia.

In the French context, both AFEV and Habitat et Humanisme use the term *education populaire* to denote a reciprocal learning process. AFEV's solidarity actions are the means through which reciprocity is practised, with social tenants portrayed as protagonists in these actions. AFEV suggests that this collaboration can lead to the mutual mobilisation of the youth and of the tenants. For Habitat et Humanisme, that common project is management of the residence itself.

Both organisations' approaches to reciprocity challenge role model thinking, though only Habitat et Humanisme does so explicitly in defining its approach to social mix. Drawing on reciprocity as an alternative framing, the organisation encourages its volunteers and other residents to seek out talents and capacities in its tenants, examples of which they can articulate with more precision than AFEV personnel who are further removed from the social tenants that the KAPS students encounter.

The use of the term social mix by personnel in both the French cases demonstrates the prevalence of this framing of housing desegregation in France where it is embedded in policy and law, compared to Australia. Thus, even though these models depart significantly from traditional demolition-reconstruction approaches to social mix, organisations continue to conceive of their actions in these terms.

Another discernible difference is that organisations providing housing at a smaller scale have developed more elaborate conceptions of reciprocity. This was most evident in the RWA case, where the intimate living arrangements as well as the vulnerability of people seeking asylum

had pushed the organisation to deeply consider the vision of reciprocity in social relations it sought to promote. Similarly, given Habitat et Humanisme's tenants tend to be placed within the same buildings as more affluent residents, they have encountered challenges over the years and the organisation's more refined discourse is a result of that—those working in management tended to refer to past experiences when explaining why the organisation approaches social relations of reciprocity in a particular way.

While all four organisations share an aspiration to improve the lives of those who are marginalised and discriminated against according to their housing tenure or socioeconomic or political status, RWA and AFEV place more emphasis on the "reciprocal" benefits that flow to their own residents, who tend to represent the more privileged side of the encounter. As noted, these organisations have a delicate balancing act, to bring attention to the way encounters across difference provide benefits to all residents without neglecting the more acute needs of people accessing low-income housing nor overburdening them. Grounding reciprocity in an expression of dignity, as RWA tries to do, appears to be a helpful way to avoid distorting its meaning and to emphasise that *what* is exchanged and *how much* is less important than the notion of exchange itself.

Perhaps what is most striking, however, is that despite these varied contexts and models, the basic premise of reciprocity is shared across organisations—that the benefits of encounters across socioeconomic and other forms of difference flow in both and even multiple directions. All organisations, to different levels of detail, portray how low-income housing residents—who in mainstream social mix approaches are considered the recipients of encounters—contribute to their places of living.

Finally, their discourses challenge a few core assumptions that underpin mainstream social mix thinking. One assumption challenged is that only some (i.e. "poor") people need to grow and change. The organisations' respective discourses of reciprocity assume that transformation in the mindsets and structures that perpetuate inequality is needed at all levels. Many personnel across the cases detail how they envisage that more affluent residents can grow and learn from encounters across difference. This calls to mind Young's (1998) belief that humility is an important condition for interpersonal reciprocity, whereby each party is genuinely open to listening to and learning from their counterpart. From the perspective of these organisations, part of this growth and change entails recognising the inherent worth and dignity of all—particularly those who are often denied it. Some personnel also included the ability to step back and question one's own unchallenged ways of seeing and being in the world as an important element of personal growth and transformation.

Another assumption challenged is that people relate to one another as independent beings. The alternative conception of relations of *interdependence* puts forward the premise that all individuals are organically dependent on one another. According to such a conception, a well-functioning society is one in which people are in a constant relation of giving and receiving, irrespective of the nature or scope of what is being exchanged. This relation may not always be evident on the surface, in part because certain contributions (such as financial contributions)

have tended to be more socially valued and documented. To borrow from the RWA analogy, it is only when scientists carefully studied the deep and intricate underground root systems of certain trees in forests that their interdependence became manifest. This underscores the value of seeking out and documenting less visible forms of exchange. This vision also implies that everyone—even in their most vulnerable moments—has a contribution to make, and that this capacity to contribute, or this agency, is part of what it means to be a dignified, equal human being.

Yet another assumption that these approaches reshape is the nature of a "benefit." The reciprocal benefits of encounters of reciprocity described by these organisations are not presented as mutual self-interest. Rather the kinds of benefits described—potentially transformative benefits—are vast and include learning and capabilities, personal growth, mutual support, broadened perceptions, solidified community bonds, or access to opportunities to participate in social life—the intangible as well as the tangible. These approaches remove the expectation that what is exchanged needs to be equal in value—rather, they promote the act of exchanging *as equals*.

In these ways, the organisations' discourses on reciprocity provide a much more complex and a more just narrative than the simplistic role model theory and sets their housing desegregation models apart from social mix, philosophically as well as practically.

5.7. Relations of reciprocity as a means to further social justice

All four organisations frame their efforts to facilitate encounters of reciprocity across difference as a means to produce more just outcomes for individual residents and for the broader neighbourhood or community. This multi-layered approach to housing provision considers access to more just housing solutions as a significant outcome in its own right, and as a pathway to wider transformative opportunities for residents. In this way, it provides insight into their conceptions of how relations of reciprocity are more just. The transformative outcomes that each organisation aims to work towards can be categorised according to four broad categories, which represent different dimensions of furthering justice.

5.7.1. Improving the material conditions of people's lives

One dimension of the outcomes envisaged for tenants can be described as "redistribution." As noted in chapter two, Fincher and Iveson (2008) describe redistribution as an effort to improve the material conditions of people's lives by reducing urban inequalities—or remedying a "maldistribution of resources"—stemming from unjust social structures.

For the case study organisations, the transformative potential of living in well-resourced areas for the material conditions of their tenants' lives is unequivocal, given the empirical evidence

of "locational disadvantage" that has been documented in both national contexts (Wiesel et al. 2018; Bacqué et al. 2014).

An explicit dimension of Habitat et Humanisme's approach, for example, is to provide social housing within the city centre to counter the trend of the urban poor being displaced to the periphery of cities. In a co-authored article, Habitat et Humanisme founder Bernard Devert argues that such distancing "leads to the most disadvantaged populations being relegated as far as possible from the centre and from dynamic and attractive areas" (Devert et al. 2013:216). This aligns with Young's (2002) assertion that residential segregation can reinforce structures of privilege and disadvantage by trapping households in situations of disadvantage in poorly resourced areas, in addition to the empirical evidence cited above.

HousingFirst similarly emphasises that social housing be provided in neighbourhoods that are well-resourced and well-connected to employment opportunities. For RWA, the material offer of a spare room is framed as having the potential to transform the life of someone seeking asylum in a context where the refugee support sector has not been able to keep up with the demand for housing. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, those who can afford to provide a spare room free of charge tend to live in well-resourced areas.

These organisations all envisage material resources that can flow to tenants by being able to live and thrive in such areas. Yet, their experience demonstrates that housing provided for low-income people in wealthier areas is often not welcomed by residents of those areas—even when it is primarily to allow those already living in the local area to remain there amid rising housing costs, as is the case in Ashwood. HousingFirst openly describes the local community's initial active resistance to the project. Community Development Coordinator Helen recounts:

> Look, some of our tenants have problems. But we're not bringing this massive disadvantage and disenfranchised people to this particular area. Which is how they see it. They see it as the crimes are going to go up, my property value is going to go down (Helen, Community Development Coordinator, HousingFirst).

Habitat et Humanisme brings social housing into the same buildings of more affluent city dwellers, creating "atypical situations of cohabitation," as Director-General Olivier describes it, where residents of lower and higher socioeconomic levels are usually living side by for the first time in their lives. In some places, tenancies have had to be ended when more affluent neighbours objected to the presence of social housing residents in their building.

The discourse of these organisations posits that cultivating relations of reciprocity across difference is an important strategy for countering such resistance, making the introduction of social housing into more affluent areas more viable—whether as single apartments in a building or entire complexes in a wealthy suburb. These organisations see a clear interdependence between the social relations they are helping to foster, and the locations in which they develop their housing—locations which they see as contributing to the material transformation of the lives of their tenants. For Habitat et Humanisme, the choice to venture

out to a *habitat participatif* model is based on its anticipation that landlords would be more open and welcoming to its tenants, relations of reciprocity more readily established, and, it is hoped, the tenancies more sustainable.

The stakes are arguably even higher in Refugees Welcome Australia's model where, in the intimate and intense space of the home, an absence of reciprocity can contribute to the breakdown of relationships and the end of the placement. Indeed, placements often end in large part because of a lack of perceived reciprocity, generally on the part of the host.

While there is less of a straight line between AFEV's interventions and the provision of social housing in the dynamic and well-serviced *Blémont* neighbourhood, the vision of AFEV and its core partners is that relations of reciprocity between the social residents and the surrounding neighbourhood can reduce isolation and better connect those residents to existing services and resources.

Finally, while relations of reciprocity are being approached as a means to more just material ends for the urban disenfranchised, a conception of social interdependence also serves to reframe the nature of economic redistribution. Transformative outcomes are envisaged not only for those residents who lives are eased and given momentum through the provision of housing in well-resourced areas but also for those who, even in small ways, are given access to the opportunity to practice generosity and hospitality, and to contribute to a more just and equal world through whatever possibilities are open to them.

5.7.2. Mutual recognition

Another aspired outcome can be described as mutual recognition across difference. Building on certain strands of the theories of Iris Marion Young, Nancy Fraser and Seyla Benhabib, this approach to recognition seeks to remedy inequalities that stem from the misrecognition of people based on different identifying characteristics. Misrecognition obscures an inherent dignity in all people and denies their status as equal participants in social life (Fraser 2000).

The stigma associated to different tenure types and social categories in both national contexts has already been outlined in section 5.6. Against this backdrop, case study organisations seek to reframe diversity as a strength and to encourage mutual respect across difference. Organisations posit that repeated encounters of reciprocity have the potential to reshape perceptions of others and to overcome prejudice. Across all organisations, this is based on a conviction that prejudice and discrimination rooted in beliefs about people's worth and what they are capable of—that they are somehow *less than* equal peers in social participation, to draw on the language of Nancy Fraser (1998)—are a form of injustice, with psychological, social and material impacts on individuals and on the collective.

For example, RWA hopes that encountering the human face of a person seeking asylum can reshape prevalent perceptions of refugees and reduce sentiments of fear that has been attached

to this population as a result of dehumanising popular media representations that stoke prejudice. Former RWA Buddy coordinator, Lua, explains the vision:

> Streets are small, communities are small, people talk, and they would know that [hosting] was happening. With any luck, other people in the street will think about it, or maybe they'll say—if they're sceptical of refugees in general, they'll say—we've got a refugee living on our street. Maybe they think that's a potential danger, but with no incidences or anything, then they say, look, I actually had a conversation with them today and they were really lovely, they waved and maybe a really small interaction can change someone's perception (Lua, Former RWA Buddy Coordinator, RWA).

Some volunteers underscore that encounters of reciprocity can give rise to increased empathy across difference, through getting to know a person seeking asylum and becoming more familiar with their situation.

At Habitat et Humanisme, one of the hoped-for shifts in perception that encounters of reciprocity can achieve is overcoming harmful stereotypes about low-income residents and recognising them in their full humanity. Regional Manager Pierre shares how homeowner Philippe at *Jardin Divers* confided that after confronting a social tenant following an incident, he realised that "they're people just like anyone else, they're people like us" and that he felt "really disturbed to acknowledge that I was stereotyping him." Pierre comments, "It helps people to grow."

HousingFirst conceives that providing opportunities for people to enact roles of capacity during these encounters, and to witness one another doing so, can shift perceptions and foster mutual recognition. This is based on a belief in the inherent capabilities of marginalised populations and a mission to create opportunities for residents to harness these capabilities through concrete action. Community Development Coordinator Helen states, "If we are never given the opportunity to show what we can do, then we don't know what we can do." Recognition is thus tied up with opportunities to participate more equally and fully in community life.

Similarly, AFEV expects that encounters of reciprocity between students and social residents leads to their mutual mobilisation, with particular emphasis placed on the importance of mobilising social housing residents. It also envisages that youth will be able to deconstruct stereotyped conceptions of public housing estates and the people that live there.

One of the tensions in the discourse of these organisations is the extent to which it is hoped that residents will "blend in" like any other resident, and whether this can lead to reducing prejudice associated with certain social categories. RWA's close collaborator Carolina describes how one hoped-for outcome of the organisation's homestay program is that guests "blend in." She explains:

> You'll never know—*oh, there's a refugee!* People go to the supermarket, they walk the dog, and they go and sit in the park on a sunny summer afternoon (Carolina, Community Engagement Adviser, Australian Senate and collaborator with RWA).

While there are clear benefits to being able to live one's life free from the label of "refugee," one shortcoming is that it does not further RWA's objective of revalorising that concept and impacting how all refugees are viewed and treated. Helen from HousingFirst also sees encounters of reciprocity across difference as a way of demonstrating the "ordinariness" of their tenants to the broader community, though without necessarily "blending in":

> I guess what I've tried to do is provide opportunities for them to meet people that they've got these judgments about, who are cooking a barbecue at the Ashwood Family Fun Day. A couple of years ago, we had about ten tenants cook a barbecue. And they got to see people who lived in that housing and saw that they were just normal people, like you and me. They don't have two heads. They're just a very diverse range of people. And yeah, some of them might be unwell, some of them might have disabilities, some of them might be very frail, and some of them might not speak English. But they're just people. They're not freaky, scary people. They're just people (Helen, Community Development Coordinator, HousingFirst).

Finally, some organisations express a hope that by reshaping people's perceptions through encounters of reciprocity, they can become more conscious actors of social change. This frames overcoming prejudice as an important outcome not only for those who are at the receiving end of such prejudices, but also for those who are harbouring them. For example, RWA's Events Coordinator, Sacha, describes how the program "might change the minds of the people who are directly in contact in the street, or in the city, and who then might change who they vote for or be more supportive of policies that are more progressive." More broadly, RWA hopes that encounters facilitated by the homestay program can encourage people to take an active part in promoting the welfare of refugees and people seeking asylum. This appears to respond to another of Young's (1992) characterisations of the injustice of segregation—that by literally insulating the city's more affluent residents (who tend to have more power to define the use of economic resources) from "encounters with those who are less well-off," their "sense of justice" might not be "pricked" and they can "withdraw from the problems of interdependent urban life" (2002:215).

Thus, relations of reciprocity are framed as a means to shift perceptions and overcome prejudice to ensure residents have an equal claim to participate in social life, as a manifestation of justice as recognition.

5.7.3. Building capabilities

Another category of anticipated outcomes common to all four organisations can be theorised in terms of residents developing capabilities. Martha Nussbaum's capabilities approach (2000; 2002), as discussed in chapter two, provides a helpful framing for this projected outcome. Nussbaum writes of the importance of providing opportunities for all people to develop capabilities, which she argues give rise to the powers of human action and expression.

Developing capabilities furthers justice because it allows individuals to develop their inherent potentialities, reflecting an inner human dignity. This approach, she argues, asks us to consider what a person is "actually able to do and be" (2002:131).

Although broad in scope and nature, in different ways, the discourses of all four organisations articulate the aim of supporting residents to develop various capabilities. Habitat et Humanisme Regional Manager, Pierre, uses the term "empowerment" to describe this process of developing capabilities through encounters of reciprocity at *Jardin Divers*:

> Okay, they don't want to come to the [resident] meetings, but maybe one of them is a chess champion and can organise a chess game […] our mission is to accompany the tenant, to be a citizen, to one day wish to become a member of a tenants' committee, to be able to tell his landlord that the elevator is out of order, that he would like a beautiful garden (Pierre, Manager South-East Paris Region, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

While there is merit in this approach of recognising and enhancing a broad range of capabilities, further thought could perhaps be given to learning about the nature of a resident meeting space that is more inclusive. Consideration could also be given to enhancing those capabilities that would allow tenants to participate more actively, given so many decisions about collective life are made in these meetings.

AFEV explicitly seeks to provide opportunities and accompaniment to build capabilities in youth to contribute to social change. The potentially transformative outcomes of reshaping how university students see themselves in relation to poorer parts of their cities and how they relate to the residents of these places are significant when contextualised in the literature on studentification (Smith 2005; Hubbard 2009; Sage et al. 2012). As detailed in chapter two, this literature posits that certain approaches to student housing can create micro-segregations, which Phil Hubbard describes as "a form of urban gentrification underpinned by the same logics of social withdrawal and search for cultural exclusivity that help to explain the rise of middle-class gated communities" (2009:1920). Thus, rather than training university students as "apprentice gentrifiers" that could reinforce residential segregation (Smith 2005; Hubbard 2009; Sage et al. 2012), AFEV seeks a starkly different outcome: to build capacity in students to go towards socioeconomic difference with a posture of curiosity and humility, and to develop a habit of defining local needs with existing residents, not in competition to them. Indeed, AFEV's discourse seems to respond to a call to encourage student communities to work with the local populations of the areas in which they reside, to collectively take responsibility for place and to promote mutual empathy (Allinson 2006; Hubbard 2008).

It is thus productive to consider how the capabilities being developed in KAPS students may take them down a different path. AFEV's emphasis on building capabilities in students as socially engaged citizens suggests that relations of reciprocity between relatively privileged university students and their social housing neighbours could impact their life choices and trajectories. An external evaluation commissioned by AFEV (Bordet and Carollo 2018) finds that the experience assists participating students to "open up to the world and to engagement,

in order to feel like actors in the world."

This discourse raises certain questions that are developed further in the coming chapters. For example, how does this experience shape students' future choices about where to live and how to relate to all strata of society—both in their neighbourhoods but also in the opportunities afforded to them to contribute to social change in their professions? Will they welcome social housing into their neighbourhoods? Will they see these neighbours through the lens of reciprocity and recognise their contribution to the local area? How will they view and treat these populations in the policies they are potentially helping to develop or in the housing or commercial developments they are managing or in the classrooms in which they are shaping young minds?

A further anticipated result of these encounters is that the strengthening of bonds among social housing residents assists them to mobilise, to "stimulate initiatives among the residents to act in their neighbourhood, to motivate them to undertake actions on their own," as AFEV's Local Development Officer, Caroline explains. In an evaluation commissioned by AFEV, the vision is described as one where "the neighbourhood residents need to take ownership of these projects to ensure their sustainability" (Bordet and Carollo 2018).

Finally, HousingFirst describes the many spaces it creates to build capabilities in its tenants—to take on roles of leadership, to strengthen their artistic expression, to be able to participate and have a say in their communities, to serve as mentors, to name but a few examples. These and the above-mentioned approaches thus illustrate perspectives that one of the ways relations of reciprocity can further justice is by strengthening the capabilities of participating residents.

5.7.4. Collective transformation

All four organisations envisage outcomes of relations of reciprocity that take place not only in the individual lives of their residents, but at the collective level. This is envisaged in terms of the strengthening of a collective entity known as the "community" in the Australian context and is described in terms of strengthening belonging to a geographical place in the French context, as either the "neighbourhood" or the "residence."

Organisations also envisage certain characteristics of the relations among these collectives that are strengthened through reciprocity. In Australia, "inclusivity" and "welcome" are the privileged terms for this community, while French organisations emphasise the term "solidarity." Indeed, so central are these ideas, that "welcome" is featured in the name of *Refugees Welcome Australia,* and "solidarity" is included in the name of the KAPS program, the home-sharing solidarity project.

As discussed in chapter two, Depraetere et al. give particular attention to "new forms of solidarity" that can emerge from the "shared care" of shared places (2018:89, 108). Solidarity

is a concept that resonates for Habitat et Humanisme. General Manager Olivier describes his vision of how encounters of reciprocity can build solidarity among diverse residents:

> I'd like to say community spirit, active solidarity, and emancipation. These are kind of dirty words today (laughs). It's a bit unconventional, a bit old-fashioned. But that's what we're trying to promote and it's in the spirit of our association […] Our motto is "builder of bonds." That is to say, the idea is that we don't just provide shelter. We're not just a project manager. We work on the collective dimension of housing (Olivier, Director-General, Habitat et Humanisme, Ile-de-France).

Perhaps what is particularly transformative about the vision of the collective entity that each organisation is seeking to build is that it seeks to transcend typical intergroup relationships and, in the context of residential mix, to create a collective entity inclusive of difference, with a shared space called home that brings people together. This vision aligns with the transformative potential of solidarities rooted in place that Depraetere et al. describe as having "the power to blur or even refute the way vulnerable groups fall between clear-cut sociocultural conventions and categories" by transforming social structures and relationships (2018:110). Xavier of CPA-CPS shares an aspiration along these lines:

> Beyond building a house, it is about inventing a new way of living together in a building, but also in the city. *Habitat Participatif* is often criticised for its "bourgeois", culture, of people who keep to themselves. Our ambition is to create mixed groups of residents, and not only in the social sense of the term. And that's what our partnership with Habitat et Humanisme is all about (In Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France 2017b:21).

While organisations' visions fall short of describing a shared sense of identity that emerges among residents, chapter seven will explore the extent to which such a sense of identity does take root among some residents.

The assertion that diverse residents can form a community or give rise to new forms of solidarity challenges some of the dominant ways of thinking about togetherness in difference and identity. For example, Young (1992) rejects the idea that "community" can exist in any way that departs from uniformity and limits a sense of shared identity to the level of groups. Sandercock's vision that there is a common aspect to being human that can form the basis of a community is perhaps more relevant. By introducing the role of place, within which shared identities can be rooted, Depraetere et al. (2018) suggest that this can act as a glue that can hold diverse residents together, as these organisations envisage.

Finally, all organisations describe in different ways a sense of collective agency that they hope will emerge. This is most prominent in RWA's discourse, where the "community" is posited as an actor of change in its own right. RWA Board member Sabini describes the importance of "turning up" for community. The homestay model, she states, is a way for the community to offer concrete support. "It makes it more tangible," she explains, "for community to connect with something that they can provide."

These select examples of the discourses of the case study organisations provide insight into how fostering relations of reciprocity across difference is expected to actually build justice in the lives of residents individually and, as this last section has addressed, as a collective.

5.8. Chapter conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that reciprocity is indeed a meaningful concept for all four case study organisations, whether or not they use the word explicitly. It profoundly shapes the way they describe the people their programs serve, the purpose of the housing they provide and the relations they hope to foster through encounters across difference. More than just a word inserted into a long list of values in an annual report, or a slogan splashed across their website, their respective discourses suggest that this concept is central to their core business and shapes the way they conceive and plan their housing interventions.

As demonstrated in section 5.7, all programs also conceive of these encounters of reciprocity as a means towards transformative ends, which can be organised into four broad categories of outcomes: redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and collective transformation. Their visions support this thesis's proposal that reciprocity is useful both as a theorical concept and as a premise for housing, for the purposes of advancing justice. Reciprocity can be considered a more just way to structure social relations because, these organisations propose, relations of reciprocity among residents contribute to more just outcomes for their lives.

Finally, this chapter has contributed to elaborating the concept of reciprocity itself. Limitations to reciprocity identified through the chapter stem from a reductive vision that frames it as akin to a barter exchange between two independent, self-interested individuals. Through this lens, reciprocity can be a way to exert power, to ensure that those who receive any goodwill or support feel a sense of duty to pay it back through labour or civic duty. By this logic, every act of giving opens an invisible tab to be settled.

Pivoting away from this, the discourses of these organisations suggest that for reciprocity to shape relations in a way that furthers justice, it needs to be rooted in a conception of social interdependence, where the "benefits" of reciprocity flow in multiple directions, at different points in time. Being part of a reciprocal encounter, from this perspective, is not a simple transactional exchange. Rather, it becomes a way of relating to others that assumes a shared social existence, where all are shaping and being shaped by the words and deeds of one another. It also broadens notions of *what* is being reciprocated, prescribing value not only to the exchange of material things, but to the exchange of ideas, of values, of knowledge, of worldviews, of time, of a listening ear—to name but a few examples—which are further explored in chapter seven. This provides more weight to the proposition that approaches to housing models premised upon an ontology of social interdependence—to which relations of reciprocity give expression—has potential to contribute to residential desegregation.

Of course, if the notion of reciprocity were to remain at the level of the discourses of these organisations, it would have little impact on the encounters that take place between residents, let alone contribute to transformation in their individual and collective lives. Role model theory is powerful because it can shape the narrative residents are told about their place in a mixed residential setting and it can influence how organisations interact with their tenants and the broader community (Rose et al. 2013). Reciprocity, then, as an alternative premise, is meaningful insofar as it has the power to reshape these narratives and interactions. Chapter six will examine how these organisations attempt to translate these lofty conceptions of reciprocity embedded in their discourses into their practices and operations.

Chapter seven will then examine the effects of these premises and practices on the actual lives of residents. Do encounters of reciprocity actually take place? What is being reciprocated and by whom? And with what outcomes? Taken together, this thesis examines how conceptions of reciprocity in the discourse and practices of a housing organisation shape the encounters that take place between residents and explores the outcomes of these encounters for those involved. From here, it considers practical and critical implications for housing approaches to desegregation based on social interdependence.

In doing so, it demonstrates that conceptions about who we are individually and collectively, and how we ought to relate to one another are not just existential questions. These conceptions have tangible implications for the societies we build and for the social relations woven through them.

Chapter Six: Operationalising Reciprocity in the Practices of Housing Organisations

6.1. Introduction

All four case study organisations have implemented various practices that seek to operationalise their aspirations to facilitate relations of reciprocity between residents and other community members. This chapter considers how the organisations and their core partners approach recruitment, capacity building, partnerships, accompaniment of residents and architecture to foster encounters of reciprocity among residents. It also considers how these practices are designed and implemented with a view to contributing to the anticipated outcomes each organisation envisages for its residents, theorised in terms of material outcomes, mutual recognition, strengthening capabilities and collective transformation.

6.2. Recruitment of personnel and volunteers

This section outlines how the case study organisations recruit personnel and volunteers to promote their vision of relations of reciprocity among diverse residents. It provides an overview of the staff roles created with responsibilities that directly contribute to fostering encounters of reciprocity. It also examines how organisations hire staff who share their missions and values, such as empathy; seeing worth and capacity in others; community or solidarity; and a commitment to social justice.

With the exception of Refugees Welcome Australia, three of the case study organisations have grown from small grassroots movements to large State and National level organisations. One question this raises is how a strong sense of mission and purpose animating a group of motivated founders can be maintained over time, at a larger scale, among a wider range of personnel and volunteers. All four organisations align their recruitment and assignment of personnel and volunteers with a broader strategy to promote their vision of reciprocity. This section considers the core personnel roles that each organisation has created with responsibilities that directly contribute to fostering encounters of reciprocity among residents. Table 13 summarises these roles.

Table 13: Core roles created to help foster encounters of reciprocity among residents

HousingFirst	RWA	AFEV	Habitat et Humanisme
Community Development Coordinator Promotes the benefits of social housing to the community Helps build social connections among HousingFirst tenants and with the broader community Creates programs and spaces that support tenants to discover their talents and contribute to their communities Forges partnerships with other organisations to offer joint programs and events that bring diverse community residents together	***Housing Coordinator*** Matches hosts and guests, including organising a preparatory orientation meeting Accompanies both host and guest to try and help foster a relationship based on reciprocity Supports hosts throughout the placement, including being on call for any problems that might arise – often extends support to guests also Screens hosts for suitability for hosting, including attitudes that can foster reciprocity	***Local Development Officer*** Accompanies student teams to co-design and implement "solidarity" projects with their neighbours Undertakes the recruitment process, to identify students who are motivated by the solidarity dimensions of the project Establishes partnerships with local organisations, who collaborate with students to offer joint events to bring residents together	***Social worker*** Accompanies tenants to move in and to helps them integrate into residence On call for any challenges that arise
Tenant participation officer Supports Ashwood's Tenant Advisory Group and relations fostered, help builds capability of committee to consult and contribute to the progress of their residence Manages a collective of tenant artists and builds capabilities to develop and exhibit their art for the broader community	***Events coordinator*** Conceives, promotes and runs events for the broader community, to raise awareness about the social issues faced by refugees and to help build bonds among diverse community members		***Social and volunteers manager*** Helps manage the relationship with other residents (i.e. those who are not Habitat et Humanisme's tenants), to strengthen the living arrangement and promote relations of reciprocity

Most organisations recruit personnel who work at the frontlines with tenants from a social work background. HousingFirst's former Operations Manager, Tanya, describes how in her experience, social workers more readily display empathy towards people with a history of trauma or other complex challenges faced by many of their tenants, compared to staff recruited

from real estate backgrounds. This applies even to those who fill more typical roles of housing organisations, such as tenancy managers. Tanya elaborates:

> Sometimes we recruited people who have had a real estate background and they could do the tenancy management very well, but there was that disconnect when it came to tenants who misbehave because they've had a traumatic background or their drug or alcohol problem or whatever—they didn't have the level of empathy required to sustain a tenancy for someone who is not necessarily meeting the terms of their tenancy (Tanya, former Operations Manager, HousingFirst).

Furthermore, organisations place importance on hiring staff who share the mission and values of the organisation. Many staff members interviewed do identify with their organisation's values, including reciprocity. For example, Cassandra of Habitat et Humanisme describes her personal view that any relationship requires the active involvement of two people, that whenever one gives to a relationship, one is always simultaneously receiving.

Empathy is a word in the vocabulary of personnel across all organisations, as well as a trait manifested by many employees and volunteers. An ability to find common ground and ways to relate to tenants, to humanise them and to be able to perceive the progress they make, is one of the capabilities that the four organisations seek to find and cultivate in personnel they hire. This supports the fostering of relations of reciprocity because when personnel speak about and treat residents with dignity and respect, this can influence the way these residents are perceived more broadly. It also helps in the establishment of spaces and environments that encourage tenants to apply and develop their talents and capacities.

Often, this empathy comes from finding a way to relate to a tenant through one's personal experience. For example, HousingFirst Community Development Coordinator Helen describes how her previous job as a cleaner makes her "really conscious" of peoples' attitudes towards others based on their jobs or social status. Tenancy manager Andrea describes how being a former tenant of community housing due to a period of instability helps her appreciate that "We're all vulnerable to anything, we can all find ourselves homeless or in a housing crisis." She adds, "I never expected to be in that situation myself."

Similarly, while RWA does not target migrant volunteers, most volunteers do have a migrant background, and several describe how the migrant experience strengthens empathy towards those who are coming to Australia seeking protection under more difficult circumstances. Board member and co-founder Ramesh, who is from Singapore, remarks, "I think to some degree, we all feel that we are guests." He describes feeling "empathy around knowing that it's not quite easy to pick up your entire life and plonk yourself in another part of the world," especially "if the circumstances are not voluntary." Empathy is a quality that RWA appears to seek out and try to cultivate in its volunteers. In one example, during an interview for an advertised volunteer position, interviewer Michelle asks potential volunteers to put themselves in the shoes of the guest, asking how they would feel if their landlord told them they had two weeks to move out.

A closely related trait the organisations seek out in personnel is seeing worth and capacity in others and acting on this. This capability is foundational to efforts to foster relations of reciprocity, as it enables staff to resist harbouring a deficit view of the low-income residents promulgated in the role model theory and other approaches to social housing.

For HousingFirst's Tenancy Manager Andrea, this manifests itself as believing that all people are generally well intentioned. Armed with this conviction, she is able to see the potential in the tenants with whom she interacts, to see past the manifestation of their problems and to support them to show another side of themselves through HousingFirst's community engagement efforts:

> I know that at the end of the day, people are good. I think when you talk to the average housing officer, they can be quite negative. Because a lot of what we deal with are problems. So, I guess your perspective is slightly skewed of what's really happening because you're only dealing with the problems, you only hear about the problems. I think a lot of the community engagement activity counterbalances that. So, we do see a lot of the good that's happening (Andrea, Tenancy Manager, HousingFirst).

She notes the importance of investing in relationships to be able to perceive this worth in the form of strength and resilience, adding, "You have those connections with people, you know their stories and you know what they've been through. You know what they've overcome."

Throughout her career, her colleague Helen has consciously strived to challenge deficit views of people with disabilities as well as cultural minorities, to highlight "the benefit that that person brings with their experience and their understanding, that diversity enriches." Her commitment to recognise worth and to challenge "preconceived judgements" about people, now channelled to those who are low-income and homeless, is manifested in her approach to community development and the kinds of activities she organises as well as her discourse with the broader community.

This trait also encourages staff to seek out ways to channel and nurture that capacity. Indeed, former Operations Manager Tanya explains that HousingFirst hired Helen as their Community Development Coordinator because she was capable of "seeing capacity in others." Helen shares her conviction that appears to underpin the ambition of the programs set up in Ashwood that "When you give people opportunities to step out and step into something, and particularly around leadership, then people can really shine."

In other examples, Pierre, a Regional Manager from Habitat et Humanisme believes strongly in the importance of tenants identifying and using their talents in collective spaces with their neighbours, while RWA's Housing Coordinator Divya constantly perceives and describes ways that people seeking asylum are able to thrive and show resilience, to maintain "a zest for life, in spite of not knowing where they'll be tomorrow."

Personnel also tend to value a sense of community in the Australian context and solidarity in the French context—both in terms of helping build community but also being part of one. This too reinforces the organisations' respective missions to create opportunities for encounters of reciprocity. For example, at HousingFirst, Helen describes a strong desire "to bring people together," while Andrea values being part of what she describes as the Ashwood community. "We're humans, and I think we need to feel connected, and we need to feel a part of something." A sense of camaraderie is evident in observing her interactions with tenants, as they chat and share photos of their dogs. Like HousingFirst's Andrea, RWA's Brisbane Manager Michelle values the community that her volunteering role has enabled her to be a part of. She describes becoming part of a purposeful community as "one of the things that made me want to stay."

Personnel from all four organisations manifest a commitment to social justice. One thing that stands out from attending events at Ashwood at which HousingFirst personnel are present is a deep commitment to social justice and a firm conviction in the critical role that access to housing plays in achieving it. HousingFirst Tenancy Manager Andrea affirms her belief in "basic human rights of having access to shelter" and describes how the "injustice" of this situation motivates her to dedicate herself to housing. Other staff describe a fortnightly fresh food stall at below market costs as a form of "food security."

A strong commitment to justice is what brings most of RWA's volunteers together. Founder and Board Member Susan describes how "Individual frustration with Australian policy at the time" formed the genesis of RWA. Its cofounders "felt that in a more fortunate position, that we had the duty, to some degree, to address that." Similarly, Housing Coordinator Divya shares that "the gap motivates me, the lack of resources motivates me. Not that I can afford to be without a full-fledged salary," but she adds, "you can't just give up, walk away from it, when you know that the needs are increasing, and the resources are the same."

Thus, a vision of relations of reciprocity between their residents and the broader community is reflected in the approach these organisations take to recruiting personnel who see the potential of residents through this lens. This motivates them to go the extra mile to offer support and to provide opportunities for residents to enact roles of capacity and to accompany encounters of reciprocity.

6.3. Building capacity in personnel

While consideration is given to the recruitment of personnel, including their professional background and experience as well as their values and qualities, efforts are also made to enhance the understanding and disposition of staff towards reciprocity through training, supervision and peer mentoring. This section delves into some examples of how organisations seek to enhance a vision of reciprocity and capacities to operationalise it through formal training for staff and volunteers.

For example, one element of the culture at RWA is that its volunteers—often recruited with little experience working with refugees and people seeking asylum—are encouraged to embark on a learning process. Brisbane Manager Michelle adopts a nurturing approach in her efforts to support new (often younger) coordinators. During their office hours, it is not uncommon to hear her encouraging new coordinators to ask questions, to take online courses, to get to know other volunteers and their responsibilities, while also coaching and providing advice. Shadowing is another strategy the organisation employs so that its volunteers can learn about other areas of the organisation's work, particularly that of Housing Coordinator Divya who deals directly with guests and hosts and seeks to foster relations of reciprocity between them. Another element of the learning culture is that there is a strong sense of team and mutual support, with volunteers saying the organisations feels like "one big family" and describing a shared sense of dedication.

Table 14 outlines some of the recent training offered to staff in each organisation that relate to fostering relations of reciprocity.

Table 14: Training related to fostering relations of reciprocity for personnel and volunteers

HousingFirst	RWA	AFEV	Habitat et Humanisme
Diversity and awareness	Refugees: what is a refugee, where do they come from, what are their needs	Urban issues	Accompaniment
Managing difficult conversations	Mental health for people with multicultural and refugee backgrounds	Approaches to education	Living by whose model? (A cultural awareness training)
Auslan		The role of families at AFEV: from recipients to actors of change	
Community leadership		Towards a society of solidarity and welcome	
		Team spirit, respect and listening	

A few specific training programs are worth highlighting when considering each organisation's efforts to operationalise reciprocity through the discourse, attitudes and actions of its personnel

and volunteers. In RWA, for example, training programs encourage personnel to think about their relationships with residents from refugee backgrounds through the lens of reciprocity (Figure 23). For example, the training encourages volunteers to respond to "gratitude" from people seeking asylum with the response, "You would do the same for me if the tables had turned and I had sought safety in your country." By suggesting a vision of hospitality and generosity as something that flows in multiple directions at different moments in time, volunteers are encouraged to create more equal relationships. Similarly, care is taken to overcome a deficit narrative of people seeking asylum, portraying them instead as equal participants in social life. The training content articulates the strengths of this population, such as their life experience, as well as their "praiseworthy character traits," listed as resourcefulness, street smarts, making a place feel like a home, curiosity, patience with bad luck, willingness to make it work, and humility.



No person is illegal. Graffiti in Berlin. Photo by my friend Ting

Figure 23: Slide from the training offered to RWA volunteers. Mothers 4 Refugees, 2017.

AFEV's courses are primarily offered during an intensive summer school program for its staff, administrators and civil service volunteers. Personnel taking these courses encounter the organisation's approach to reciprocity in sessions on education, in light of the *Education Populaire* model to which it subscribes. Capacity is also built in personnel to see the families in the neighbourhoods the program serves through the eyes of reciprocity, for instance in a session titled "The role of families at AFEV: from recipients to actors of change."

Training is so central to the operations of Habitat et Humanisme that in 2012 it established a training school for its personnel and volunteers. Staff are educated about themes such as accompaniment and welcome, as well as social movements, refugees, and the nature of the human relations that the organisation seeks to foster.

Its training on accompaniment problematises and redefines this concept through the lens of reciprocity. Pierre, who manages personnel and volunteers in Paris's South-eastern suburbs where *Jardin Divers* is located, describes how the training is intended to address a tendency the organisation has observed among some personnel and volunteers to see themselves as people with knowledge to impart on the tenants they are accompanying, who by implication are considered ignorant. While such attitudes do sometimes lead the organisation to part with volunteers, this training is an attempt to shape an alternative perspective on the nature of this work and on the relations they establish. In one exercise, which uses symbolic images to inspire participants' descriptions of how they see accompaniment (see examples at Figure 24), reciprocity is worked into participants' understanding of the concept, evoking terms such as "an exchange" and being "equal to equal," where "both people bring something." When such ideas are shared, the trainer affirms them, emphasising a notion of "equal to equal exchanges" and the conviction that "no gift is uniquely in one direction."

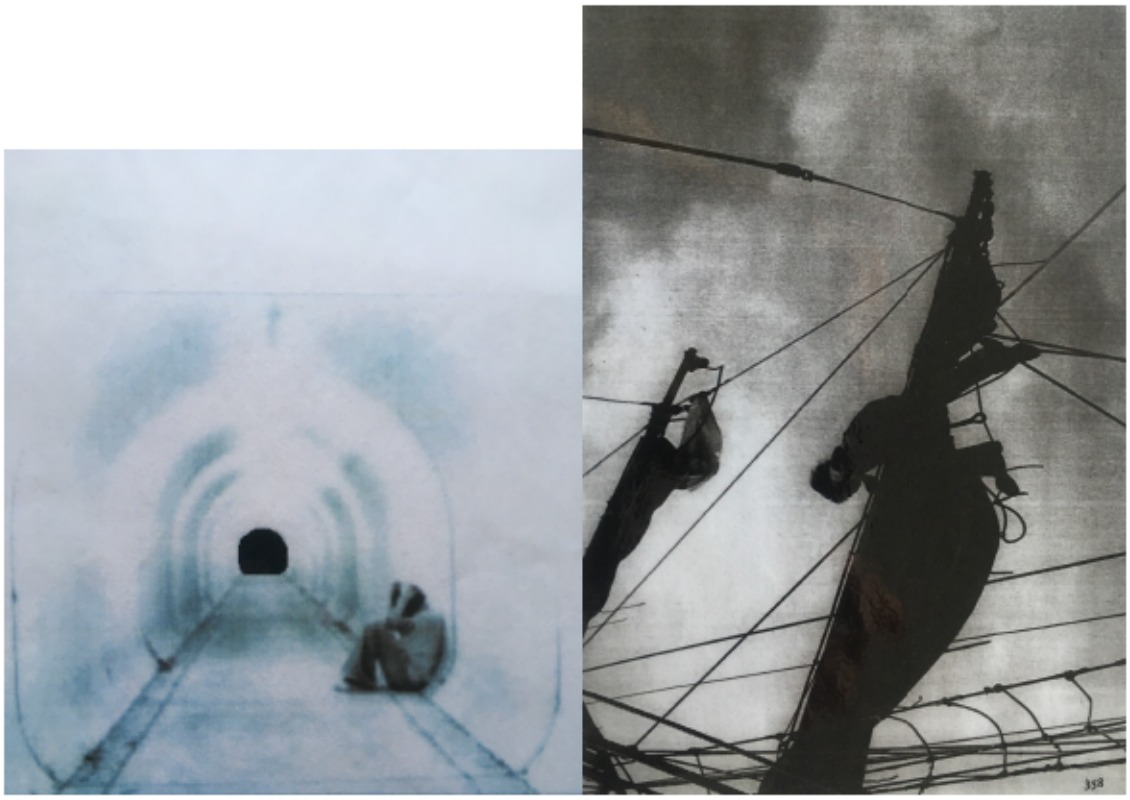


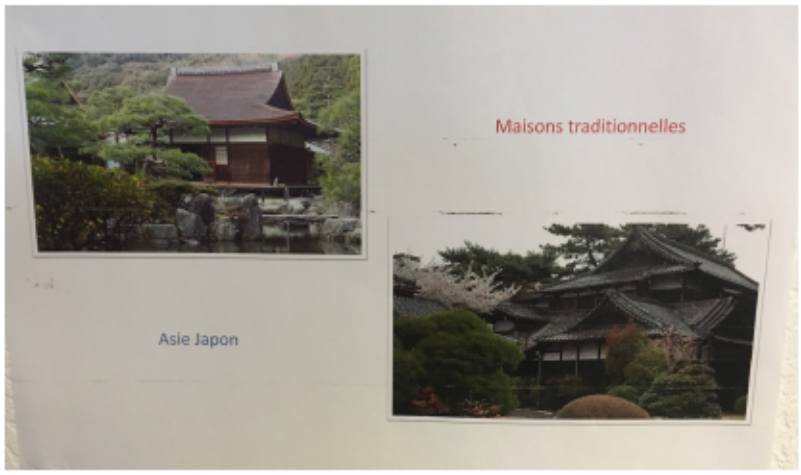
Figure 24: Examples of symbolic images used during the training on accompaniment. Photos: Author, 2018

The training also aims to render these ideas concrete, pressing participants to explain *what* it is they get out of these "two-way" exchanges. Participant responses include gaining knowledge

of others, becoming more connected to society, mutual support and personal satisfaction. One of RWA's training programs also asks volunteers to articulate how they benefit from exchanges across difference, demonstrating this same effort to go beyond a theoretical conception of reciprocity to be able to connect it to their practice.

Another theme Habitat et Humanisme introduces into this training through a film is seeing tenants "as people that exist with talent and skills." This assists participants to further enrich their understanding that seeing others as equals entails recognising their capacities. Prompted in this way, participants discuss how only focusing on the needs and problems of those they are accompanying is a form of "violence."

Habitat et Humanisme's *Living by whose model?* training was established in response to the realisation that some staff and volunteers accompanying tenants from different cultures would regard and judge how they lived against the standard of their own cultural norms. The trainer stresses, "*We* are not the reference point," the "we" referring to *us French,* "and we can't say that they need to live like us." The training encourages staff and volunteers to accept and value that there are multiple ways of living and being. Regional Manager Pierre describes the training as "working on this relationship of accepting the other, accepting different customs, cooking smells." This training then tries to operationalise in its staff and volunteers the recognition that exchanges across difference can be enriching and educational if one has an open-mind and is able to appreciate that the taken-for-granted norms and values of one's own culture are not the standard nor the only valid way of approaching the world. The attitude the organisation tries to foster in its staff and personnel could be compared to Iris Marion Young's notion of a "respectful stance of wonder," which encourages an "openness" to learning from the perspectives of others across cultural difference (1997:56).



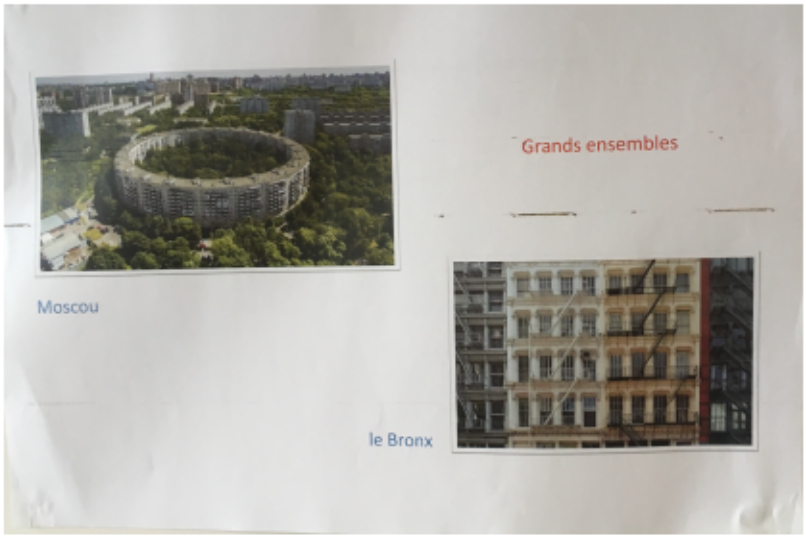


Figure 25: Pictures of culturally diverse forms of housing were placed on the wall during the training.

Here, traditional homes in Japan and high-rise social housing in Moscow and the Bronx. Photos: Author, 2018

These examples provide insight into how formal training is employed to enhance the capacity of staff and volunteers to speak and act in ways that align with their organisations' conceptions of reciprocity.

6.4. Reciprocal partnerships between organisations

Another way reciprocity is expressed in the practices of each organisation is through its partnerships with other organisations to deliver the respective housing programs and to foster collective spaces of encounter for residents. This section begins by outlining an example of a core partnership for each organisation, describing the nature of the partnership, and detailing how each organisation supports one another's mission in a reciprocal manner. It explores in further depth how housing organisations can facilitate place-based social interventions for their partners. From here, a significant portion of this section is dedicated to examining examples of partner organisations collaborating to create opportunities for encounters across difference, based upon a set of shared values, as well as a counterexample of a partnership that did not take root because organisations' values were not aligned. It then provides two examples of how a network of organisations work together to create opportunities for encounters of reciprocity, including the challenges this can entail. Finally, the section briefly touches on the prevalence of constructive partnerships with government at the local level, and considers how the nature of these partnerships vary across the French and Australian contexts.

Reciprocity as a just way to structure social relations is both a principle shared by many of these partner organisations as well as a characteristic of the very partnerships established between them. In this sense, in most cases, opportunities for residents to encounter one another across difference are facilitated through the efforts of a network of organisations characterised

by reciprocal partnerships. Table 15 illustrates one of the core partnerships of each organisation.

Table 15: Selected examples of partnerships with other organisations

HousingFirst and Berengarra School		
Partnership	**How partner organisation supports**	**How partner organisation is supported**
Berengarra is a school for students who struggle to fit into mainstream settings based on social or emotional diagnoses. Students' accreditation requires industry-related skills. The school-run social enterprise café, Café Ed, which serves as a training space for its students, is located on the ground floor of an apartment block within HousingFirst's Ashwood estate.	HousingFirst purpose built the space as a social enterprise cafe to facilitate encounters among tenants and the broader community. The school's financial model renders this project viable—given its purpose is to train rather than turn a profit it can sell coffee at an affordable price ($2) for HousingFirst's tenants. As students need customers to learn, the school markets the café to the broader community, better integrating the housing development into the surrounding neighbourhood. HousingFirst tenants have an opportunity to serve as mentors for students (through students volunteering in a fortnightly on-site market). The school provides fruit and vegetables to HousingFirst's fortnightly market as rent-in-kind, allowing tenants to access healthy food at a low cost, and caters a monthly event on-site that brings diverse residents together.	The school has access to an affordable location within the vicinity of its Chadstone campus. The café provides an opportunity for students with special needs to gain practical experience in a nurturing environment. HousingFirst tenants are ready-made clients that assist students to develop their social skills and overcome social phobias in a safe environment. Students volunteer at the fortnightly market as another opportunity for social interaction and work experience.

RWA and Romero Centre		
Partnership	**How partner organisation supports**	**How partner organisation is supported**
Romero Centre is a refugee centre that supports people seeking asylum, coordinating their cases and responding to urgent needs. It is a community-based Catholic agency staffed by social workers. Romero Centre refers suitable clients in need of housing to RWA.	As all RWA's guests are referred by the Romero Centre, RWA does not need to find its guests. Romero also undertakes pre-assessments of their accommodation needs and suitability to homestay housing, which is beyond RWA's current capacity. The partnership provides legitimacy to RWA's efforts within the refugee support sector, given RWA is such a new organisation (and RC is very established). Romero Centre provides mentoring to RWA and hosts them in their office. Case workers co-facilitate orientation meetings between the guest and the host and provide ongoing case work support to the guest. RC provides support for food, transport and other needs, which can take pressure off the host and help the placement run more smoothly.	RWA provides housing for RC clients. RWA recruits, screens and accompanies hosts, which improves the quality of homestays for RC clients. RWA also manages the matching process. RWA offers continued support to hosts to ensure this housing option remains viable and guests remain housed. This support is also extended to guests (RC clients) after hours, covering for RC case workers when they are not available. RWA offers a buddy to provide additional support to guests, taking some strain off RC case workers. RWA program helps RC clients integrate into Australian life.
AFEV and Paris Habitat		
Partnership	**How partner organisation supports**	**How partner organisation is supported**
Paris Habitat is a public social landlord, which manages the *Blémont* social housing estate. Its community development arm supports local projects by tenants to strengthen social bonds in "priority" neighbourhoods, as part of its role in implementing the national City Policy. Paris Habitat co-conceived the KAPS solidarity project with AFEV and the City Council Development Team. The partners co-define themes/orientation for solidarity projects.	Paris Habitat provides KAPS students access to its social housing residence and tenants and helps promote their actions. A staff member helps orient students in the neighbourhood PH provides funding for KAPS solidarity actions.	The KAPS program is seen to bring social mix to the neighbourhood and to bring benefits to PH tenants, e.g., conviviality, helping to strengthen social bonds. As a recently established "priority" neighbourhood, KAPS students contribute as local actors and can meet and identify "resource people" among tenants that Paris Habitat can work with. They can also support the efforts of other local organisations. KAPS students can relay the voices of social housing residents, so Paris Habitat can ensure local projects respond to their needs

Habitat et Humanisme and CPA-CPS		
Partnership	**How partner organisation supports**	**How partner organisation is supported**
CPA-CPS is a *habitat participatif* developer. It operates as a classic property developer but also recruits and accompanies homeowners who participate in the construction and management of the residence. CPA-CPS's model includes a social housing component. Habitat et Humanisme has collaborated with CPA-CPS on two projects, buying social housing units in both. The two organisations work together to define the social mix of the residences.	The Jardin Divers project aligns with Habitat et Humanisme's mission to focus on building connections and the collective dimension of housing. The intentional socially mixed nature of the project aligns with Habitat et Humanisme's core objectives and potentially avoids challenges of neighbours rejecting mix – Habitat et Humanisme was seeking to learn about social mix in the context of *habitat participatif* for this reason.	Habitat et Humanisme operationalises a central conceptual element of CPA-CPS's project – that it would be socially mixed and incorporate social housing. Habitat et Humanisme accompanies the social tenants, providing more support for their integration into the project. CPA-CPS considers Habitat et Humanisme to be an experienced and partner. The purchase of three apartments and additional support for five prospective homeowners to access a mortgage helped render the project more viable among a group of committed residents. Habitat et Humanisme could also acquire the left-over apartment stock that was not sold.

Reciprocity is central to the way the case study organisations approach their partnerships with other organisations. They see themselves and their partners as mutually supporting one another's missions, which includes fostering opportunities for residents to encounter one another across difference, among other objectives.

One way that organisations support their partners' missions is by facilitating place-based social interventions. Because HousingFirst houses a large number of tenants in a defined geographical space, it provides access to the population its core partners are also targeting. Such place-based interventions are "mutually supportive", as described by Health promotion worker, Louisa, from Link Health and Community (one of HousingFirst's core partners).

Similarly, KAPS students also benefit from having access to residents of the Blémont social housing estate, with whom they jointly carry out solidarity actions, thanks to AFEV's partnership with social landlord Paris Habitat. In turn, AFEV sees one of its core contributions as channeling students towards existing local initiatives and organisations to give them a "boost."

Most significantly, partner organisations collaborate to create opportunities for encounters across difference, based upon a set of shared values. These encounters—the spaces proposed,

and the environments fostered—are one of the means through which relations of reciprocity are cultivated among residents.

HousingFirst's partnership with Berengarra school is instrumental to its initiative of opening a café as an on-site place of meeting for its tenants and the broader community. As well as being a place where tenants gather, the café integrates the Ashwood estate into the surrounding neighbourhood. The café attracts clientele from the surrounding area who would otherwise have no reason to venture into a community housing estate, providing an opportunity to facilitate encounters. Former Operations Manager Tanya outlines the challenge HousingFirst faced getting the project off the ground and how the reciprocal nature of the partnership helped overcome early obstacles:

> I think we underestimated the viability of running a cafe there—the financial viability because all the people we talked to just said there's not enough people around to sustain a business. Even though we were offering free rent. And so, with the school, it was a win-win really, because they didn't need the business to sustain it because they were funded by government to deliver the program for young people. […] Just having that café there as a central place for people to gather—and that does happen. That was always the vision, that that's what its function would be as well as the added-on benefit of getting employment or mentoring or whatever it may be—benefits back for the tenants (Tanya, former Operations Manager, HousingFirst).

Berengarra School employee Kat, who set up the café, explains how the partnership also responded to the school's needs. She describes how the café allows its students "to learn face to face," interacting with customers to help them "deal with some of their social phobias of being able to talk to people," while being trained by "caring staff who are employed by the school." Matthew, who manages the café and mentors Berengarra's students, expands upon the nature of this symbiotic relationship, noting how the more the café fulfils the vision of a place of meeting, the more the students learn. He shares, "It makes my job so much easier if we're busy, because I come in and go, right, we're going to get this and this done, rather than trying to make stuff up."

Berengarra school also provides fruit and vegetable produce as in-kind rent. This allows HousingFirst to offer the fortnightly fruit and vegetable "Pocket Park" market to its tenants, fulfilling multiple objectives: the market serves as a space of encounter in its own right, as tenants catch up and mingle in the line; it provides an opportunity for its tenants to develop and demonstrate their capacity through volunteering and mentoring roles; and it strengthens food security, given the local area is considered a food desert and tenants had indicated a need for more convenient and cheaper access to fresh produce. In turn, Berengarra students gain further experience volunteering at the market.

Refugees Welcome Australia shares the same kind of reciprocal partnership with its core partner, Romero Centre. This partnership is so foundational that is has shaped the way RWA approaches its work. For example, its "guests" in Brisbane are all people seeking asylum, rather than those who have already been granted refugee status, because this is the population that

Romero Centre serves. Housing Coordinator Divya expresses gratitude for the valuable support received from Romero Centre as RWA establishes itself, while also explaining how RWA supports the Centre:

> I think we wouldn't have been where we are right now if Romero had not taken us under their wing. Because Romero is very well known for their work. So, we are under their umbrella, almost like we are mentored by Romero, the mothership (laughs) […] I think that gave us a lot of acceptance. And of course, all the referrals we take are only from Romero. And Romero did struggle too—because, finding hosts and doing the hosting, the intake process itself is quite an arduous task […] And that's how we support Romero, we come in and take that load from them (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

Romero Centre's case worker, Menefer, affirms this. "We don't have any housing on hand, it's just in the hands of the community. Our job is to wait until the right person comes and raises their hand, *I'm here to support.* So, for that matter, RWA is the perfect partner to the Romero Centre […] they cover for us, and that makes things very easy."

The partnership and the values underpinning it are written into the organisations' Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), where one of the joint objectives is "to endeavour to make reasonable efforts in creating an environment where Guest(s) feel welcome, secure and independent." Similarly, the MoU stipulates that one of RWA's responsibilities is to "ensure that the home is a place of dignity and is a well-maintained space" and "to the best of their ability, ensure that the Host has the correct intentions and expectations." Thus, from the outset, the two organisations have a joint framework that seeks to foster conditions in which reciprocity can be cultivated.

In practice, this partnership involves the two organisations co-facilitating the initial meeting between the host and guest, where there is an effort to ensure expectations are clearly set out and that there is a good feeling between guest and host. It also continues into the hosting arrangement, with each organisation supporting the host and guest respectively, helping to talk through challenges that arise in an effort to sustain a given placement, in large part by strengthening perspectives and approaches that reinforce relations of reciprocity. If a placement breaks down, they work together to relocate guests.

Like RWA, AFEV shares core values with its close partners. It works in a triangular partnership with the development team of the local council of the 18th district, and social housing landlord Paris Habitat. AFEV contributes to the goal of both the development team and Paris Habitat to implement France's City Policy in the *Blémont* priority neighbourhood. AFEV's Local Development Officer, Caroline, affirms, "Our work relates to the City Policy, that's where we have common concerns, to improve residents' lives in these neighbourhoods." Marie, a Local Development Officer from Paris Habitat, describes the value of the partnership: "We bring together our visions, our objectives, our strengths."

Beyond the dictates of the City Policy, there are common values that bring these organisations

together. Bacary, who works in the council's local development team for the *Blémont* neighbourhood, describes a vision of the importance of social housing in the city in a way that resonates with AFEV's values:

> The city is not made only for people who have the means. We must give all citizens the power to live there, and to do that, we need to build social housing in the city […] Poor people also contribute something to the city: they participate in the life of the city (Bacary, Local Development Officer, Paris 18th District Council).

Both Bacary and Marie stress the importance of desegregation and encounter across difference. For example, Marie shares her organisation's vision:

> I think we need to create opportunities to talk about breaking down walls as much as possible. Small things in a society that allows us to maintain connections with one another and to participate in the making of society. To exchange, to be in relation, to see each other, to do things in common, to sometimes be in the same place (Marie, Local Development Officer, Paris Habitat).

The three organisations work together—with the support of a collective of local organisations—to establish a street festival intended to serve as a space for encounters of reciprocity among Blémont tenants and with residents from the wealthier surrounding streets. Marie sees the encounters the festival can facilitate as an opportunity to "break down certain myths" that residents might have about its tenants. Bacary shares a similar view and believes that the festival can build bonds of trust and foster participation. The first street festival, realised through this partnership, is deemed a success by these partners (with examples of encounters during the festival discussed in chapter seven).

At the scale of the *Jardin Divers* residence, Habitat et Humanisme and CPA-CPS work hand in hand for the viability of the project. Habitat et Humanisme Director-General Olivier shares how the organisations "immediately clicked" in their values and objectives:

> We work on the collective dimension of housing. Even if we work with a fragile population, the idea is that there are good people, average citizens who get together to say that we would like to live a little differently, to co-design our home, to pool together some of our resources. What made us take the plunge was when Xavier [of CPA-CPS] told us, "We're working with a group of first-time homeowners, and they want the project to incorporate rental housing—if possible, social housing—to avoid homogeneity". So, that convinced us (Olivier, Director-General, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France),

Xavier of CPA-CPS shares what he sees as reciprocal in their partnership:

> We opened the doors to *habitat participatif,* to a lot of things, to a way of working that I think brought them quite a lot. And they also brought this generosity, to say we trust you, take us somewhere where we don't know what to do, we're ready (Xavier, Founder, CPA-CPS).

Furthermore, CPA-CPS's approach to social mix aligns with the conception of reciprocity enshrined in Habitat et Humanisme's perspective. Xavier describes how the housing model tries to consciously reverse the assumption that in encounters across socioeconomic lines, it is only "the rich who can bring something to the poor." He elaborates:

> We see it almost more in the other direction. How at a given time, people who are more disadvantaged but who have another vision of the world, who are sometimes more perceptive about certain things, or about the more essential things … how this can lead those who are more comfortable to question their own perspectives (Xavier, Founder, CPA-CPS).

As illustrated through these various examples, the reciprocity of these partnerships is based on a bedrock of common values. Values such as reciprocity, diversity, building capabilities and participation enable different organisations to pool their strengths and align their actions to deliver results that represent more than the sum of their parts. Approaching these partnerships through the lens of reciprocity appears to be a pre-condition to being able to in turn foster opportunities for residents to come together in reciprocal ways—though the extent to which these encounters take place, and insight into what is being exchanged, will be taken up in the next chapter.

To extend this point, it is worth briefly considering an example of a partnership that did not take root because of a clash of values. Refugees Welcome Australia was approached by AirBnB to partner. RWA did initially take AirBnB up on its offer and a couple of emergency short-term placements were made. However, ultimately, values and approaches diverged not just with the platform itself but with the motivations of the hosts it attracted. As hosts used the platform to receive additional income, they were more inclined to offer short-term stays for refugees to fill gaps in their planning rather than to commit to hosting people for longer periods.

Finally, in some cases, reciprocity flows throughout a network of organisations that are mutually reinforcing one another's work. This goes even further to demonstrate that opportunities for residents to enact relations of reciprocity across difference are not the result of any single organisation, but rather emerge from the concerted, reciprocal efforts of an eco-system of organisations, enacting various roles in support of this.

In Ashwood, HousingFirst was able to slot into an existing initiative that brings the leaders of local organisations together. This includes the local council's placemaking team, HousingFirst, Link Health and Community, neighbourhood houses, and several local church leaders, as well as other major service providers. They come together regularly to share what they are doing, to access information, and to work together to advocate for community needs or to co-organise events and projects. They also try to coordinate and support one another's efforts. HousingFirst Coordinator Helen describes the value of having a forum where "we all support each other in the work that we do," while Rachel, who leads the public tenants' association, reflects, "we feed off each other, what our community needs."

The meetings are characterised by a friendly, warm and respectful spirit of consultation. Those who participate appear to "care really deeply for the community," as described by Alex from Link Health and Community. This care also extends to one another—in one meeting, a participant enquires concernedly after the health of another participant's husband.

However, the partnerships do not always function seamlessly or reciprocally. During an interview, one of their local partners expressed disappointment over feeling that HousingFirst let them down on certain occasions when they were meant to cooperate on community projects. Similar challenges were experienced in Blémont. A partnership of local organisations forms the backbone of the successful street festival organised with the KAPS students in Blémont, though as a nascent network it operates on more shaky footing than its Ashwood counterpart. The collective comprises AFEV and local actors including "street educators," a local youth space, social services, a local musician's associative, and a volunteer association, *Village Clignancourt*, made up of residents from the more affluent neighbouring streets. The street festival brings together families from all cross-sections of the area and, as will be examined in the next chapter, manages to shift some mindsets residents have of one another. Nevertheless, the partnership managing it was not without its challenges.

One challenge was what was felt to be diverging values among the organisations, and different views about what the festival should look like and how it should be organised. For example, the date of the street party was the subject of a long debate. After an initial date had been set during the Ramadan, those who worked closely with families from the Blémont estate (including the KAPS students) knew the importance of avoiding this period when many of these families would be fasting. Some members of the resident's association were reluctant to change the date. KAPS student Samira surmises, "They wanted to model their type of party in Blémont," while Mathilde, who works for the local Youth Space, described a concern that the festival would not "resemble the neighbourhood."

There was also a mismatch of ideals—the students brought hope and aspiration, particularly in the capacity of the Blémont residents, while many others approached things through the lens of pragmatism. However, perhaps the greatest challenge was differing expectations of one another. It was challenging for full-time professionals to appreciate the rhythm of student life, and there was also a misguided view that the students were effectively being paid for labour through the currency of affordable housing, which notably contrasts with AFEV's own approach, that frames the solidarity actions as a value add to the housing. Though these complaints were levelled by several actors, there was in parallel an appreciation for the "spontaneity" the KAPS students brought, the bonds they built with Blémont residents, and their capacity to perceive possibility and create new openings.

It is also important to underscore that this moment represents the birth of the collective. Until this point, organisations had been working in parallel and local actors did not know one another. The collective built bridges between diverse actors, not just the well-intentioned leaders who are dedicating their lives to these communities. In the end, by working together—though painfully, at times—the festival met what was set as a relatively high expectation, to bring

people from across the neighbourhood who had never interacted together and for it to feel like a festival intended for all of them. Each organisation brought various contributions, with AFEV's framing of tenants as being participants rather than recipients of actions a key contribution, however imperfectly this ideal was executed. AFEV's preparatory efforts in the months leading up to the festival—to be regularly present in the Blémont courtyard, to get to know tenants and to create a space for them to better get to know one another—also allowed for more repeated, everyday encounters.

Finally, while there is no scope in the thesis to explore partnerships with government in depth, their prevalence, particularly at the local level—where organisations collaborated with them constructively—warrants a mention: with placemaking officers in Ashwood, local development officers in Blémont, the City of Montreuil for Jardin Divers or the Greens local office in Brisbane. From a national perspective, however, questions sometimes arose about how to ensure reciprocity is not leveraged in a way that relieves institutions of their responsibilities and overburdens individuals and communities. This concern was mostly raised by RWA volunteers, given the extent to which they and their hosts are shouldering the responsibility of housing people seeking asylum. At the same time, this can come into tension with the value organisations place on volunteering as a laudable channel for practising reciprocity.

The situation varies in the two national contexts. For example, in France the question is more about the extent to which AFEV students are implementing a largely government-driven agenda and functioning as a quasi-extension of the State. It, along with many other local organisations, receives government funding in pursuit of shared goals defined by national policy. Furthermore, both AFEV and Habitat et Humanisme were created in response to new policies that defined a scope of action within which they operate, even if they are proposing to do things differently. In contrast, HousingFirst and RWA were established *in response to* government policies and practices deemed unjust. RWA avoids adversarial tactics and does not attack government—it tries to offer constructive, pragmatic solutions at the grassroots—but this dynamic significantly complicates its relationship to government. It resolutely does not want to take on the role of a government service provider, particularly given its moral reprehension of policies on refugees and people seeking asylum and a desire to avoid helping to perpetuate them. At the same time, most of its funding comes from government grants (at the Federal as well as local level) and it is walking a line to avoid having its actions stymied by the terms of that funding, especially given it currently houses people who have not yet been granted refugee status.

6.5. Recruitment of socially motivated residents

This section examines the approaches that case study organisations adopt to recruit socially motivated residents, with a particular focus on the more elaborate processes employed by Refugees Welcome Australia and AFEV. Having examined these processes, it raises a critical

question about the asymmetry of choice—or social motivation—among diverse types of residents.

The objective of fostering relations of reciprocity shapes the process through which case study organisations recruit and select residents. An important part of most of their models is that there is a voluntary component to the mixed income living arrangement and, by extension, a receptivity among residents to participate in reciprocal encounters across difference. In contrast to mainstream approaches to social mix, which tend to be imposed from above (Lelévrier 2013; Costarelli and Melic 2022), residents opt in to living arrangements which facilitate encounters with diverse residents.

The recruitment and selection processes of Refugees Welcome Australia and AFEV are the most elaborate, as both organisations are essentially recruiting resident-volunteers. Both put in place a screening process that aims to ensure that prospective program participants are motivated by the respective programs' missions. This motivation, along with insights gleaned into attitudes and worldviews, are considered important ingredients to the fostering of relations of reciprocity among neighbours. This motivation is further nurtured and channelled through the organisations' accompaniment of residents, which is the theme of the next section.

Due to the intimate nature of the shared living quarters, the vulnerable nature of guests and a duty of care to minimise the risk of exploitation, RWA exercises particular caution in its communications to prospective hosts (see examples at Figures 26, 27, 28), as well as in the selection process. RWA avoids depictions of people seeking asylum that could reinforce a saviour/victim duality, such as "really tragic clips and videos of people suffering," as explained by Board Member Ramesh. Its language instead aims to reflect "a level of agency" and recognise the resilience of those seeking asylum, clearly stating from the outset, "this is not a charity case." Brisbane manager Michelle elaborates, "We do let [hosts] know that at the end of the day, it's really being a friend to the guests." In parallel, the organisation prefers to reach new hosts through its networks, rather than placing "an advertisement in a major newspaper just after there's been a tragedy in the ocean" even though "there would be thousands" of applicants, as explained by Founder Susan. Thus, fewer hosts that are motivated by the right reasons is preferable to a greater number of homestays that are less conducive to reciprocity.



Figure 26: Example of promotional materials (RWA Facebook page), RWA, 2020.



Figure 27: Example of promotional materials for potential hosts (RWA Facebook page). RWA, 2018.



Figure 28: Examples of promotional materials for potential hosts (RWA Facebook page). RWA, 2018, 2019.

While initial applications are generally made via RWA's website, it is through follow up conversations and visits to a potential host's home that much of the preparation and screening takes place. In selecting hosts, RWA seeks to "ensure that the home is a place of dignity and is a well-maintained space," which includes privacy and cleanliness (RWA 2018d).

In screening potential hosts' intentions and expectations, Manager Michelle describes the need to listen carefully to ensure that prospective hosts do not hold undue expectations of their guests which could become exploitative, such as mindsets like "We are providing lodging so you should be like a slave to us." She once turned down a prospective host who expected the guest to take care of the backyard in exchange for accommodation, which she differentiates from a situation where a guest, of his or her own initiative and volition, offers to do. Michelle acknowledges that making such judgment calls is not always so straightforward.

RWA also tries to avoid recruiting hosts who approach the placement as an act of charity, which could foster asymmetrical relations. Detecting these attitudes requires careful judgment. Susan notes that they are often conveyed in "invisible ways" in their conversations with hosts. Ramesh stresses the importance of listening carefully to how hosts describe their motivations. "You get a sense of the sincerity around why this cause calls out to them. I think you can generally tell if the position from where they're coming is from that saviour mentality." Like Michelle, Ramesh acknowledges that this is not a perfect science and at some level relies on a "gut feeling." Given the acute need for housing, the organisation does grapple with this process. He shares, "We've actually reflected sometimes, who are we to be playing God?" But after a very problematic experience with a host in Sydney, the organisation concluded it may need to "draw harder lines in the sand about who to say no to."

RWA puts in place a three-week trial period to ensure things are going smoothly before asking hosts to commit to a minimum of three months. Guests are granted the agency to say no, and

another placement will be sought out. Though as explored in more depth below, this is easier in theory and more challenging in practice if there are no other options available.

Like RWA, AFEV has a well-defined selection process. For AFEV, the underlying purpose of the program relies upon the social motivation of the KAPS students and their attitude towards social housing and its residents. There is such demand for the program that the recruitment process is more about who gets into the program, as opposed to merely who is kept out.

Local Development Officer Caroline recruits KAPS students for the 18th district, which is organised in two phases. Collective meetings function as an opportunity to observe applicants' capacity to exchange and work in a team, partly through playing games. Individual interviews "dig a little deeper" into their motivations, in Caroline's words. She asks youth questions about their vision of working-class neighbourhoods and tries to get a sense of their values, to see if they align with those of the organisation. This includes:

> being aware of inequalities between neighbourhoods, residents for whom things are more difficult than others: to see their feeling about that, their tolerance, their desire for solidarity as well as the energy they have to put into it, to see if we can count on them over time […] those who enter the KAPS program already have a certain level of analysis of quite a few problems that exist in society and a real open mind (Caroline, Local Development Officer, AFEV, Paris 18th district).

While this process also seeks to ensure that youth are not *only* motivated by affordable housing, AFEV personnel are careful not to dismiss that motivation as being illegitimate or contradictory, provided it coexists alongside a commitment to the social aims of the project.

At Jardin Divers, CPA-CPS does not screen homeowners but does communicate the project's aims to prospective homeowners. The project began with a "nucleus" of 10-12 residents, who were involved in the decision to incorporate social housing into the residence, and were supportive of social mix, as Founder Xavier explains:

> There are a lot of people for whom buying an apartment when they knew there was social housing next door could be a problem. A very cynical thing—my apartment is going to be worth less money because I am next to social housing, I'm going to be next to people I don't know, who will be from a different social category to me. Many people would have asked themselves these questions. Here, at no point was the fact that there would be social housing next to them an issue […] some even said that they were happy about it. For some, it was one of the reasons that they found the project interesting (Xavier, Founder, CPA-CPS).

HousingFirst's context is a little different—people willingly bought apartments in the private building adjacent to community housing aware that they were doing so and thus implicitly accepting to live next to—or at least invest next to—social housing, but social motivation was not explicitly part of the acquisition process. Social motivation operates more at the level of residents opting in to events and activities organised for and with HousingFirst residents (of which private tenured residents have indicated via a HousingFirst survey that they would like

to be more involved), but less explicitly in the residential choice.

In these ways, organisations operationalise their conceptions of reciprocity into practice through a filtering process in recruitment, trying to ensure the program reaches residents who are motivated not just by the idea of mix but are also receptive to their conceptions of reciprocity. In this way, residents—though middle-class residents in particular—are voluntarily choosing not just to live with social mix, but to live it in a particular way—through the eyes of reciprocity. This is a departure from the social mix policies being rolled out in city after city which, despite some exceptions (see for example Lelévrier 2014), are largely *doing mix to populations*, rather than facilitating a way of living for the willing. It suggests that even when the will is there, there is a role for such organisations to create settings that enable residents to translate that will into action.

Yet, this gives rise to a critical question: *which* residents have the luxury of this choice? The case study organisations acknowledge that while they do their best to provide choice for guests or tenants, their social circumstances mean that there are few to no other options available to them. Would-be residents are escaping danger and other vulnerabilities, they come with few means and their need for housing is acute. Habitat et Humanisme Director-General Olivier explains, "We do ask our tenants to adhere to what we are proposing. But when you've lived in a hotel for five years, you adhere." Similarly, both RWA and its core partner Romero Centre do their best to ensure guests have *some* choice, but it is more a choice to *opt out* rather than opt in, and generally applies to irreconcilable situations. Thus, whether last-resort measures such as homestay arrangements or philosophical lifestyle choices like Jardin Divers, the more socially privileged residents are the ones who really have a choice, and equally their motivations are the ones that are most scrutinised. In addition to efforts to recruit residents who are already socially motivated, each organisation continues to build capabilities for encounters of reciprocity among residents, as detailed in the next section.

6.6. Building capabilities for encounters of reciprocity among residents through orientation and training

This section examines the ways housing organisations build capabilities within residents to enact encounters of reciprocity. It begins by exploring the orientation provided to residents before they move in, as a means to help shape their perceptions of fellow residents and to frame their role as being that of an equal. Some organisations complement orientation with formal training that pursues this same objective. The section also considers some of the challenges that organisations are grappling with as they learn about this area of their operations.

Table 16 outlines various approaches of each case study organisation to building capacity among residents to enact encounters of reciprocity.

Table 16: Selected examples of how organisations build capacity among residents to enact encounters of reciprocity

HousingFirst	RWA	AFEV	Habitat et Humanisme
HousingFirst tends to adopt an approach whereby capabilities are built and strengthened by residents volunteering in various spaces in which they encounter others	Orientation meetings between hosts and guests are used to share core concepts and set shared expectations	Formal training for KAPS students address themes such as city policy, migration, racism, communications, project methodology, public speaking, improvisation	CPA-CPS provides training and workshops for residents to accompany them in living the "participative" dimensions of their housing.
	Training for hosts and buddies (a need that is not always met): cultural training, training about perceptions of refugees and people seeking asylum, sensitivities around trauma	Orientation tours of the neighbourhood with key partners (Council, social landlord), including an explanation of urban policy and social housing	Habitat et Humanisme meets with homeowners in advance of them moving in to set expectations and address questions.
	Written volunteer induction packs and guidelines for hosts are provided	KAPS teams are introduced to local actors	Social workers prepare social tenants about what to expect, encourage them to assume their place as equal residents.
		AFEV helps to structure KAPS team meetings, planning and evaluation	

In addition to recruiting residents who are already socially motivated, each organisation continues to build capabilities for encounters of reciprocity among residents through preparatory conversations, formal training, and mentoring. Refugees Welcome Australia, AFEV and Habitat et Humanisme all place importance on providing orientation for residents. For RWA, this takes place through a first exchange organised between guests and their potential hosts, in the presence of RWA's Housing Coordinator, Divya, and a Romero Centre case worker. Divya stresses the importance of agreeing on practical points—such as security, visitors and cleaning—to try and avoid future tensions that can weaken relations of reciprocity. AFEV organises an orientation space for KAPS students along with core partners from the local council and from Paris Habitat, the social housing landlord, which includes a walking tour of the neighbourhood they are acting within. Habitat et Humanisme held multiple spaces with prospective homeowners early in the process to answer their questions, most of which demonstrated a desire for support in their efforts to build meaningful bonds with their *Habitat et Humanisme* neighbours.

One thing that all organisations grapple with is how to use these orientation spaces to shape perceptions of so-called vulnerable residents through the eyes of reciprocity. This requires a

balancing act, where care must be taken to make sure that the reality of the vulnerabilities certain residents face is not glossed-over nor romanticised, while also ensuring their inner dignity, strength and capacity is conveyed so that they are not reduced to these vulnerabilities and so that other residents can actually perceive their capacities. This also fulfils part of the organisations' missions to educate people about the social conditions of their countries—whether it be the treatment of refugees or the social inequalities of their cities.

During RWA's orientations, Divya makes a point to emphasise that "guests are coming with this wealth of strength and resilience," noting that "some of our hosts, in their enthusiasm of helping people, they forget that." RWA's written guidelines to hosts describe the possibility that guests may be impacted by traumatic experiences, while also imploring hosts to "not assume that all people seeking asylum have significant needs or vulnerabilities," stating that they may be "eager to learn and connect with the wider community" (RWA 2018a:3-4).

During the orientation for KAPS students, Bacary from the local council's development team tries to straddle these two, coexisting realities within the Blémont neighbourhood. His account seeks to raise the students' awareness of the difficulties people in the neighbourhood face, with the hope that this could help them to define a pertinent scope of action. For example, he describes the Blémont neighbourhood as being inflicted by "problems" such as poverty and high levels of school failure and unemployment. He notes that while the estate's 1920s-style architecture is beautiful, they shouldn't forget the hardships people face inside these walls. At the same time, he takes care to emphasise the "competencies" of residents, describing it as a "creative" neighbourhood with "a lot of hidden initiatives." His words have an influence on the youth, with one of them later emphasising what he states about bringing the "wealth" of the neighbourhood "to the fore", while another adds that while the place is quite beautiful, they shouldn't forget that people living there lead difficult lives.

Habitat et Humanisme appear to have struggled to find this balance due to what seems to be a divergence in the discourses of various personnel. Olivier describes using the orientation space to emphasise that *Jardin Divers* homeowners should see *Habitat et Humanisme* tenants as being just like any other neighbour, and that there is no instruction manual for how to be their neighbours. He recounts what he conveyed to them:

> Think of them as your neighbours—no more, no less. What I say to the people at *Jardin Divers* is to listen, get to know them […] don't overthink it. I don't know if this message was heard but, in any case, we refuse to tell them, this is how you should talk, this is what you should do or not do. And in any case, we don't have this manual! I mean, *if only* I knew. It's not about letting them have their own experiences so that they will reach the same conclusions as me, as us. We don't know. We were curious to see how it would go. But in any case, it was to say, relax. The common ground you are going to find—we can't define that for you in advance. They're also not all the same. They come from very different backgrounds. There are youth, there are elderly people. I can't tell you anything universal. All I can tell you is this is where they come from, this is how we work, and this is the help we can provide if needed (Olivier, General-Manager, Habitat et Humanisme Ile-de-France).

CPA-CPS Founder Xavier recalls how in their first project together, a residence called *CUB,* residents asked whether the social tenants go through police checks. He recounts Olivier's response that "It's the same for any of your neighbours, you don't ask your neighbour for his criminal record, even though you never know, you could have been living next to neighbours who were psychopaths, paedophiles […] there's no more probability that you will live next to someone dangerous in social housing."

These recollections suggest that Habitat et Humanisme place more emphasis on casting social housing residents as being just like any other residents. However, one homeowner reports being shocked by the discourse of one of Habitat et Humanisme's personnel, with whom they interacted during one meeting, and who was no longer working for the organisation. Homeowner Jérémy describes how "They drew attention to the differences," and conveyed "an image of people who were in great difficulty […] almost as though Habitat et Humanisme had saved them." He elaborates:

> One thing I remember that I found abhorrent on Habitat et Humanisme's part, was that they told us: be careful not to invite them over to your homes too much. Be careful of this, careful of that, lots of warnings to be careful, you are different, they are poor. Basically, that's what they told us. They don't have much money, you'll see they won't have much at their places, don't have them over to your places too much…I don't think that it is at all coherent with the will to integrate social housing [Jérémy, homeowner, Habitat et Humanisme].

He describes this discourse as forming a "barrier to exchanges." Olivier himself was surprised by Jérémy's recollection, which he describes as "absurd" given how much the organisation tries to insist residents be natural. This suggests that perhaps there was a discrepancy in the discourse that existed among personnel. At a more profound level, it can reflect the challenge of conveying a nuanced relationship between two ideas that appear to be contradictory on the surface: that people can be both vulnerable and strong, both oppressed by social injustice and resilient, both in possession of inherent capabilities and deprived of sufficient opportunities to fully develop those capabilities, and both recipients and contributors in their relations with other people.

What these efforts demonstrate is that reciprocity in the representation of vulnerable populations requires a nuanced discourse, where the often-harsh reality of their life circumstances—the harsh reality of social injustice—is not glossed over. And yet, that describing this reality doesn't reduce people to their vulnerabilities, nor cast those encountering them from relatively more privileged social positions as their models or saviours. This nuance then also requires bringing people's inner resources and potential to the fore, which though potentially hampered to some degree by the difficult conditions of their lives, remain a core part of who they are and who they can be. Accompaniment in the day-to-day as well as in the creation and facilitation of opportunities for encounter—as explored in the next two sections—represent efforts to provide channels of expression for this inherent capacity through relations of reciprocity.

RWA and AFEV complement spaces of orientation with formal training, though RWA laments the lack of resources to provide this training consistently for its hosts. Housing Coordinator Divya reflects, "Most of the hosts who come on board think that they have the heart and that they understand the situation, but they don't get the gravity of whole thing." She sees the need for heightening awareness about potential challenges. A case worker from Romero Centre emphasises the need for more cultural training, as misinterpretation related to different cultural norms is often at the heart of tensions that arise, while Founder Susan would see such a training as a space to "unpack" the idea of "charity-giving" to build an "equal power relation" between hosts and guests.

CPA-CPS provides training for homeowners, the broad aim being to "enable people to participate" in the *habitat participatif* model, as explained by Founder Xavier, and ultimately to identify with the project and carry it themselves. This entails conveying a "story" about the still under construction residence, which includes an effort to transmit a "richer narrative" of social mix, as "not simply between the quote-unquote poor and rich who we put together in a single pot and see how it goes."

AFEV provides formal training for new and continuing KAPS students. Certain parts, such as a session on French urban policy, managed to convey AFEV's core convictions that underpin its approach to reciprocity, such as the importance of maintaining social housing in cities and the need for greater equality between urban neighborhoods. At the same time, in other ways, the training struggled to adequately elevate KAPS students' visions of their social housing neighbours as equal actors with whom they would conceive and implement solidarity projects.

For example, during a theatre improvisation workshop that sought to enhance capacity for conflict resolution, students were asked to enact a scenario in the neighbourood, where social tenants demanded to know who they were. However, as the results demonstrated, asking students to portray tenants they have never met can lead them to rely on the very stereotypes of these populations that AFEV hopes the KAPS experience will dismantle. In this case, the students stage an argument between imagined tenants, while another student—playing the role of the KAPS student—comes in as the peacekeeper. An AFEV staff member running the workshop does intervene—asking students to reflect on whether it is their role to mediate a conflict (implying that it is not)—while also explaining the valid reasons people might have for questioning who they are. However, the use of theatre in this way merits careful consideration, both in terms of the scenario suggested and in terms of who is being represented. This is particularly noteworthy because in other parts of the training, KAPS students did demonstrate a capacity to analyse in terms of guiding principles, to reflect on residents without prejudice, and an open-mindedness to learning about their own role, suggesting that the framework provided by AFEV strongly shapes what students take away.

KAPS student Samira recounts how she experienced this training as an opportunity to "profoundly question what we are doing, and the real goal of this year," including "the ideology we are adhering to." Approaches to these questions during the training suggest that there is room for AFEV to go further in helping KAPS students think about their role in a way that

fosters reciprocity with social tenants. For example, when students are asked about the value of their presence in these neighbourhoods without accompanying questions that bring the role of their social housing neighbours to the fore, it could be more challenging for them to recognise how they can draw from the resources already existing within these neighbourhoods, or to recognise what they can learn from the populations living there—values promoted by an *education populaire* ideology. These experiences seem to suggest that refining pedagogical methods that reflect the lofty aims of an organisation—and in particular that further reciprocity—is a learning path that organisations themselves are treading.

6.7 Providing day-to-day support

Another aspect of the accompaniment these organisations extend to residents is day-to-day support, which—though it varies from organisation to organisation—from a practical standpoint, means that residents have someone to turn to. This section details selected examples of their interventions, which often take the form of encouragement and practical advice and appear to support residents to feel comfortable taking a first step in enacting encounters of reciprocity and to persevere when challenges arise. Table 17 outlines some of the way this day-to-day support is provided by organisations.

Table 17: Selected examples of day-to-day support

HousingFirst	RWA	AFEV	Habitat et Humanisme
There is an on-site office at Ashwood staffed during regular office hours: tenants can come by when needed, allowing more informal exchanges between staff and tenants.	The Housing Coordinator is "on call" at any time for hosts and, outside of office hours, guests, and can also bring them together for conversations.	AFEV coordinator occasionally joins youth for meetings and during solidarity actions, to analyse how things are going and to define next steps together.	Social workers are in regular communication with social tenants, and can be contacted if problems arise.
Encounters are described and encouraged via a quarterly tenant newsletter, and tenant accomplishments are praised.	RWA and Romero Centre meet with hosts and guests every three months.	AFEV coordinator is in regular touch (daily or weekly) on group chats via social media, providing encouragement and moral as well as practical support.	Habitat et Humanisme has a reference person among the homeowners with whom to communicate, any issues can be signaled at any time in either direction
Link staff member accompanies tenants on fortnightly bus rides to the market, getting to know them through casual conversation.	RWA provides "buddies" for guests, in some cases buddies can help with "cultural translation" between guests and hosts. They tend to meet on a weekly basis.	AFEV coordinator supports youth with administration, e.g. funding requests to local council, on an as-needed basis.	Habitat et Humanisme personnel attend resident meetings annually, as an opportunity to exchange with residents on how things are going.

Providing hands on support in the day to day is a core part of RWA and AFEV's respective approaches to accompaniment. This commonality also relates to the particularity of their housing programs, and the fact that both organisations work with resident-volunteers, roles that require additional support. One dimension of RWA Housing Coordinator Divya's day to day support is to ensure the "pressures" of hosting "don't build up." This includes providing material support to take the financial pressure off hosts, as well as calling to check in, to try and address any potential challenges promptly. Hosts confirm that this hands-on support contributes to their sense of security in opening their homes. For example, host Heather states, "It's nice to have somebody just still thinking about us. Like, we just haven't been left floundering on our own." Host Melanie found herself calling on Divya when things "got a little messy" between two people seeking asylum that she was hosting at the same time. She remarks, "Any time I call Divya, even if it's just a little thing, she's on it," describing how in this situation, Divya sat down with everyone to work it through.

Divya also provides support to guests, helping them settle in and being on call if challenges arise. This includes encouraging guests to seek out support for transport or food, to try and remove any shame attached to doing so. This too aims to ensure that hosts are not overwhelmed, once again as a means to preserve the "dynamics in the relationship," as Divya states. RWA also ensures guests are protected. Brisbane Manager Michelle notes that when guests raise concerns, RWA gives careful thought about when and how to intervene. She explains, "We try not to butt our heads in all the time, but if there is anything that doesn't seem right, I think it's appropriate for us to step in."

In the support she offers residents, Divya is mindful about enhancing relations of reciprocity in the everyday. This includes, for example, helping build empathy and understanding between residents. In one example, Heather phoned her concerned that her guest, Fay, who was nursing her baby at the time, was not eating. By empathising with Fay and relating to her situation, Divya relays sharing the following advice:

> Because I have gone through it, I said it could be cultural. And she was getting a bit of a payment, so I put myself into these people's shoes, it just becomes easier for me, also as a migrant from a different culture. So, I said, if she offers to buy sweet potatoes, because she loves sweet potatoes, just let her buy some, because it's not expensive […] let her buy and let her cook for the family. *Oh yeah, I hadn't thought about that,* she said […] Because my thought was, probably she's not helping herself, because probably she feels obliged because of the accommodation she's getting, she doesn't want to help herself to the food of the host too. It's just a natural thing, isn't it? Just like you and me, if we are offered something, a safe, secure place to stay, we don't want to burden them with anything more (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

As this example demonstrates, in her conversations with hosts and with guests, Divya finds small, encouraging ways to permit guests to maintain their dignity, in situations of extreme hardship, during a moment in their life where they might be almost entirely dependent on

others. Creating such opportunities to reciprocate helps to maintain the dignity of guests while also protecting hosts from harbouring attitudes of pity.



Figure 29: : RWA Facebook post after initially placing Fay, who was pregnant at the time. RWA, 2017.

Divya's day-to-day accompaniment of guests is also infused by the idea that relations of reciprocity flow among a web of people across time. She describes how she uses her conversations with guests to emphasise the mutual nature of the homestay arrangement, by stressing the point that "sometimes you are a more of a receiver than a giver" but that "you will have a way to pay it forward too." Divya describes an example where this vision of reciprocity across time and space transpired in the life of a guest she had accompanied:

> I remember just recently, a few months back, a lady guest who had never taken public transport. So I took her, after she started the placement I took her to the train station, I showed her how things work, I show her how the [transport] card works, I showed her everything. And she kept thanking me and hugging me. I actually have a picture of her hugging, she was just so overwhelmed by what I was doing. And I said, people have done the same for me when I was a stranger in other lands. And you will get an opportunity to do this for somebody, just how I am giving it to you. Now *she* is bringing people to the Romero Centre. *Oh, I'm here, because she doesn't know how to take the train* […] I said, see? You remember? (Laughs). How quickly times change (Divya, Housing Coordinator, RWA Brisbane).

This temporal frame of reciprocity aligns with Power's (2019) thinking on how receiving care at a given moment in time can be viewed as creating conditions and building capacity for future practice of care.

RWA also provides a "buddy" volunteer where possible, which is a non-resident volunteer who offers support and friendship to the guest. While there has been limited experience with buddies, it seems that playing the role of a bridge or cultural translator was felt to be an important contribution to the homestay. For example, former buddy Sophie describes how the guest she accompanied felt comfortable asking her practical questions about cultural norms in Australia that could help her to navigate an Australian household. Having a buddy that speaks

the same language as the guests was seen as helpful by hosts who live with guests with a low level of English.

At AFEV, Local Development Officer Caroline accompanies KAPS students "in the field on a day-to-day basis," she states. While she does offer pedagogical support, a key part of her role is providing encouragement and boosting morale. Lucille, who develops the KAPS program in its national headquarters, also sees this accompaniment as helping youth feel comfortable to interact in neighbourhoods that are often unfamiliar to them. "We are also there to accompany and to reassure and to say that it's possible. And the fact that we are present, it creates the desire and the confidence to go and live there." Former KAPS Student Morgane shares of her experience, "I think it's good to have someone you can refer to, to say, *I have this problem here, what do I do?*"

Caroline explains that students can struggle to remain motivated given the relatively small reach of the solidarity projects they undertake vis-à-vis their aspirations. The KAPS project assumes that youth want to feel useful to society, but their capacity to often reach just a few residents at a time can lead them to question the utility of what they are doing. Caroline elaborates:

> Often, they do small things, social connections in day-to-day life, they find it difficult to say whether it has worked, often they will point out that only three people came. My role in this is to value their commitment and what they do, to tell them that what we did was good because it's already very useful for these three people (Caroline, Local Development Officer, AFEV, Paris 18th district).

Nicolas shares how when one or two students in the team were not motivated or were too busy to make time early on, this affected the spirit of the group. Sometimes he "felt like everyone kind of wanted to avoid making themselves available," which led to the feeling that "I also didn't want to commit too much." He continues, "There was a feeling that it was going to be pointless, we don't have any means, we organise tea and coffee stands but the weather's bad, people don't turn up, they tell us you are really nice, but we don't believe in it."

Encouragement from both Caroline and Bacary, of the Local Development Team of the 18th district Council, seems to have made an impact on their appreciation for how the day-to-day actions they take in the neighbourhood can contribute to something more significant over time. In a conversation with the students, Bacary shares an image where "We lay down the threads until gradually a large cloth is woven," noting that while this can be a years-long process "everyone brings a little something." Even one coffee, with one old person, he encourages them, can uplift that one person, or pass on valuable information, like how to get to the doctors. This discourse appears to have made a mark on Samira who later shares:

> We think that it's pointless but there are still things that are happening. It's true that it's not very gratifying when you manage to get two people to your meeting, but in the end, it's still two people, they'll speak to one or two other people. At the scale of a building, it's still something (Samira, KAPS students, Blémont team).

As with RWA, this encouragement is strengthened by the tone and nature of the support received. Caroline is often in contact in informal ways, through a Facebook messenger group, with lots of exclamation marks and smiley faces bringing a friendly tone to her messages. When the students run into challenges, she provides encouragement and acknowledges how they feel. This attitude is generally appreciated by the students. KAPS student Romain comments, "She wasn't our boss at all, she was a friend, she was a colleague, someone who was on the same level as us, and that was really nice," while also acknowledging that frequent contact with her "allowed us to keep focused on the values of AFEV and on our mission."

One concern raised in relation to AFEV's day to day support, by one of its core partners, is the perception that the KAPS students' experience and feelings were given too much primacy in consultations about this joint endeavour, and that they were "over-protected" at the expense of outcomes for social tenants. Maintaining a 'balance' of support can be understood as another aspect of AFEV's approach to reciprocity. AFEV seeks to ensure that the project is encouraging and motivating for KAPS students, particularly given it tends to represent their first efforts reaching out into society and trying to contribute. However, supporting students to deal with setbacks, to appreciate that building something takes time and that results are often not visible in the short-term could be seen as an essential part of what it means to build capacity in youth as actors of change, and not as something in contradiction to the meaning or encouraging nature of this experience.

Finally, Habitat et Humanisme provide ongoing accompaniment to its tenants and, to a lesser degree, to homeowners. Its tenant managers and social workers remain in regular contact with tenants. Social Worker Cassandra explains, "if they run into difficulty, they know where to turn. That's our role." While the organisation tries not to intervene too much—"we start from the principle that if things are going well, we won't stick our noses in too much"—they do get more involved to ensure "everyone feels comfortable" if things are not working so well. If tenants are being subjected to discrimination and harassment, they would remove a family from that housing. Director-General Olivier notes, "We can't, in the name of our convictions, impose that on a family." Habitat et Humanisme also mediated when an incident occurred between two of its tenants at *Jardin Divers.* They spoke to each person involved individually, and tenants expressed gratitude that the situation was taken seriously. Despite this approach of being on-call, homeowners Félix and Jérémy describe how "it was us neighbours who noticed that [social tenant] Claire's heating wasn't working, she was sleeping with her sweaters on."

Accompaniment of homeowners takes place through annual participation in their resident meetings, where Habitat et Humanisme's personnel continue to encourage encounters of reciprocity. At one meeting, homeowner residents expressed their uncertainty about how to "do it right," and Regional Manager Pierre's response to their question is informed by the organisation's approach to reciprocity, by trying to encourage residents to look for their neighbours' capacities. He asks, "Do you know what their capacities are? We often look at these families as having problems, but they also have talents and capacities." Habitat et

Humanisme personnel perceived residents as having more empowering descriptions of their neighbours after one year of living together.

A final point is that despite the broad recognition of the value of this kind of day-to-day accompaniment, by all accounts, AFEV was too stretched in terms of capacity to fulfill this need. Several KAPS students describe a frustration that Local Development Officer Caroline was not more present, as do AFEV's core partners, describing a lack of supervision. This lack of time and attention also affects the quality of the accompaniment. KAPS students Samira and Clémence both felt that too much emphasis was placed on ensuring they met their quota of holding a monthly event (evaluation criteria imposed by AFEV's partners as part of their funding requirements). In parallel, they felt that not enough time was devoted to the more arduous task of learning—to reflecting together and to receiving advice to improve their approach. Indeed, Caroline herself seemed to acknowledge the under-resourcing of the work when she explained her decision to resign from the role, in part because "we are always very busy and very much in demand because there are a lot of projects, a lot of partners, a lot of youth who request a lot of help."

Another side of this lack of capacity is housing organisations deeming that residents expect too much from them and do not respect the boundaries of their role as a housing provider, as expressed by both HousingFirst and Habitat et Humanisme. For example, Ashwood's on-site office is intended to make its personnel accessible. On the one hand, according to Tenancy Manager Andrea, this is "really nice, because you build up relationships, and you know about their personal lives." However, according to HousingFirst personnel, it can also mean that tenants expect the office to mediate every problem that arises among them. When these carry criminal connotations—e.g. accusing tenants of intimidation or of selling drugs—the organisation stresses that tenants need to inform the police, that they can't act directly on such matters without police investigations. In other cases, staff stress that certain challenges are matters to be resolved between residents, like one would with any other neighbour.

Director-General Olivier shares an experience from the CUB residence, the first *habitat participatif* that Habitat et Humanisme ventured into with CPA-CPS. He recounts how a homeowner once called Habitat et Humanisme asking it to intervene when one of its tenants had left some personal items in the common space. "As if we are one hundred percent accountable for their behaviour, like an after-sales service: you brought these people in, so you are accountable for everything they do! Well, no. There is a relationship that needs to be built."

The last examples suggest that while these organisations play a very hands-on role in the accompaniment of residents as a means to support the emergence of encounters of reciprocity, there are also boundaries to that role and too much intervention can impede organic neighbour-to-neighbour interactions. It raises a broader question about the extent to which organisations can channel and facilitate such encounters without intervening and potentially stifling them. For if after all reciprocity represents a way of relating that reflects an assumed underlying social interdependence, then it is important to avoid an approach that is overly engineered. As chapter seven will go on to explore, many encounters of reciprocity take place away from

organisations, in different spaces, during more intimate human to human moments, suggesting that the seeds of reciprocity are planted by organisations, but don't rely exclusively on their cultivation to bear fruits.

6.8. Creating and facilitating opportunities for encounters of reciprocity

A major dimension of the way case study organisations accompany residents includes initiating and facilitating opportunities for encounters across difference. While, as noted, many encounters of reciprocity take place in informal spaces and settings, a particular culture and environment is fostered when these are formally organised by case study organisations and their partners. At a minimum, there is an attempt to create an environment that is welcoming and inclusive, but in some cases, personnel are actively facilitating these events and as such quite directly shaping the spaces within which relations of reciprocity flow.

This section examines how organisations intentionally create and facilitate opportunities for diverse residents to engage in encounters of reciprocity. Section 6.8.1. explores the different spaces organisations initiate and in some cases facilitate. This includes spaces in which residents can use and display their talents and capacities, as well as spaces intended to bring residents together across difference through a shared project. Section 6.8.2. considers how organisations seek to foster environments that promote reciprocity, by reinforcing norms such as residents treating one another as equals, listening openly and respectfully to the views of others, and seeing themselves as building something together. Finally, Section 6.8.3. explores how organisations approach the spatial configuration of places, giving attention to how the layout of a space can encourage encounters among residents who might otherwise not interact, as well as the nature of proposed activities intended to bring people together.

6.8.1. Creating spaces for residents to enact roles of capacity

Some of the opportunities for encounter initiated by these organisations and their partners are intended to create space for residents to use and display their talents and capacities. As noted in chapter four, HousingFirst strives to provide opportunities for people to enact roles of capacity during encounters and to witness one another doing so, as a means to help transform perceptions across difference.

Community Development Coordinator, Helen, recounts with joy a story about how a tenant-led cooking class revealed a "natural born facilitator" in a tenant who facilitated a pasta-making workshop. Run by Link Health and Community following a proposal by a HousingFirst tenant, residents came together every two weeks, taking turns doing demonstrations or teaching a cooking class to one another. Helen recounts:

> When Philippa had said to me, he's going to do this pasta thing, I thought, *Oh God*. Because he's really, he's a bit all over the shop, and I thought, is he even going to remember, is he even

> going to turn up? So, I saw him about two days before the workshop, I just happened to pass him going up the stairs, and I said, *Oh remember?* And he's like, *Yeah! I've been practising doughs*. I thought, oh God, he's taking it really seriously. So, Philippa went along, and she said it was the most amazing experience […] He actually had created like a prototype pasta dough that he got everyone to touch, so that they knew when they mixed up their dough what it was meant to feel like […] Philippa said, Helen, this guy is a born facilitator, he's a born teacher. And he loved holding the group and showing them how to make the pasta. And they made this incredible pasta.
>
> And she said it was an amazing experience because this guy, if you met him and the way that I knew him, I would never have known that about him. I would never have known that he would be an amazing teacher. And I think, for him, it was an opportunity to show that he could be something other than the perceptions people had of him. Because there was a pretty negative perception of him and what he could do. And it really showed me that when you give people opportunities to step out and step into something, particularly around leadership, then people can really shine (Helen, Community Development Coordinator, HousingFirst).

In another example, Chinese tenants with limited English facilitated a dumpling making workshop, enabling them to share their know-how despite language constraints that in other contexts can limit the means through which they can contribute. In these ways, encounters across difference facilitated through the cooking class provided opportunities to apply and develop capabilities as a contribution to others in the community. As Helen's comments reflect, encounters of this nature can break down alienation and prejudice, cast individuals in a more dignifying light, and reset relationships to a more equal footing. This ties into HousingFirst's discourse on reciprocity, and the idea that all residents have the potential to contribute to their communities, just as all should be able to benefit from them.

Another space of encounter initiated by HousingFirst is a collective of artists and an annual art exhibition. Tenant Participation Officer Philippa, who manages the collective, points out that many artists live in social housing. The collective brings them together throughout the year, allowing them to forge connections and to further hone their craft. In response to their interest, this year HousingFirst offered a ceramics workshops.

The annual exhibition is an opportunity for each artist to show and sell their work in a gallery, including the ceramics pieces they created. It is attended by tenants and people from the broader community (Figures 30, 31). The quality of the curation and the professionalism of the gallery reflect the high esteem with which HousingFirst holds the work of the collective of artists. In her opening speech, HousingFirst's Chief Executive Officer, Haleh Homaei, praises the talents and capacity of "our artists." When she mentions that people can buy the art pieces, she specifies that this should not be seen as an act of "charity," but as an expression of the ability to connect with others on a "human to human" level through their art. The way she frames the act of buying art (and the exhibition itself) operationalises this same conception of reciprocity, although this time it is artistic talent and expression that is being contributed. In parallel, residents are not only encountering one another at the gallery but, perhaps more importantly, they are encountering the artistic expression of one another. Furthermore, the act of creating

and sharing one's art is a reciprocal one, for the opportunity it provides to the artists to create and share their creations, and for the capacity to uplift and stir the hearts of members of the public interacting with their art.



Figure 30: Tenant art works at the 2018 "The Space Within" exhibition. Photos: HousingFirst, 2018, p.2.



Figure 31: Ceramic works produced by a HousingFirst tenant at 2018 "The Space Within" exhibition. Photo: Author, 2018..

At Blémont, AFEV encourages students to see the neighbourhood street festival as something organised *with* their social housing neighbours, on the basis that these residents have capacities that they can contribute to the event. Community Development Coordinator Caroline explains

the role of KAPS students as being "to include residents in the preparation, in the organisation." Together, they decide that every fortnight, the KAPS students will set up a stand offering tea and coffee in the apartment complex's courtyard to facilitate encounters with the residents of social housing. During such encounters, KAPS students tell residents about the festival and ask if they would like to contribute, for example by animating a workshop. Offers by tenants include holding a dance workshop and a crafts workshop making toys with recycled materials. In this way, Blémont residents can enact roles of capacity in service of their fellow residents. The street educators who form part of the collective organising the festival create space for local youth from Blémont to volunteer at a stand selling drinks and sausages, providing another image of who they are and who can they be, beyond a group of youth hanging around outside the building all day. Bacary, of the 18th district Council's Local Development Team reflects on the potential impact of including them in this way, noting that "a neighbourhood festival gradually involves young people in the life of their city."

The *habitat participatif* model at Jardin Divers includes monthly meetings where residents come together to co-manage their residence, to address a variety of issues including organising social and other collective events or dealing with building and maintenance questions. While Habitat et Humanisme does not structure these meetings, it does try to support its tenants to attend. However, Habitat et Humanisme's personnel are vocal in stressing that participation in formal meetings shouldn't be the benchmark for participation. Not all residents are comfortable participating in formal meetings and many of the topics discussed don't directly concern them as tenants. Social Worker Cassandra shares, "What can sometimes be tricky is if they don't feel included in the project, or they don't feel affected by the issues that are discussed at the meetings." The organisation thus tries to encourage opportunities for tenants to tap into their potential to participate in other ways. Regional Manager Pierre explains, "Okay, they don't want to come to the meetings, but maybe one of them is a chess champion and can organise a chess tournament."

6.8.2. Fostering environments of reciprocity

As well as creating spaces of encounter that offer opportunities for residents to perform roles of capacity, some of the case study organisations give attention to how the environments of these spaces can be fostered in ways that promote reciprocity. This includes giving attention to residents treating one another as equals, to listening openly and respectfully to the views of others, and to seeing themselves as building something together.

One example is HousingFirst's Tenant Advisory Group (TAG) at Ashwood. Tenant Participation Officer Philippa, who manages the group, describes it as being "about tenants having a voice and having input into where they live," to exchange information and help people in the building.

Philippa outlines how she strives to create an inclusive and tolerant environment during TAG meetings. Like other activities created by HousingFirst, the TAG allows people to perform

roles of capacity. For example, Philippa encourages residents with intellectual disabilities to join the TAG. When some members question their place in the group, Philippa affirms the importance of their presence, emphasising the value of their perspectives in contributing to understanding the multiple dimensions of various issues. She adds that their presence in the TAG gives people a chance to "see that people can participate, and it's changing people's perceptions of disability a little bit." Maggie, who has an intellectual disability, participates actively in TAG meetings. In line with the environment that Philippa strives to foster, other members listen and value her contributions.

In another example, Philippa ensures that comments reflecting prejudiced views are not tolerated. She shares examples of when she has addressed racists comments within the group, emphasising the harm of making generalisations about people based on their race or ethnicity. As co-chair of the group, she plays a steering role in their discussions, bringing conceptual clarity, and intervening in ways that are gentle and understanding, but also firm. She explains how she tries "to make sure that everyone feels that they are being heard, that they are being respected."

The environment of TAG meetings is also the subject of various workshops that HousingFirst runs for its members, with the support of outside facilitators. In one workshop, residents are asked to consult about what makes a good meeting and to explore strategies to reinforce this. The ideas that emerge from the group stress the importance of a supportive, nurturing and inclusive environment, where people listen and avoid speaking in derogatory ways. Other points raised are the importance of practising empathy, to put themselves in the place of others to better understand their perspective, and to avoid polarising issues into for and against positions. During the discussion, Philippa chimes in to underline certain ideas. For example, she emphasises the importance of creating a "loving" atmosphere, as well as the centrality of basic respect. "Disrespect is poisonous," she shares.

Another dimension of fostering relations of reciprocity—where residents feel empowered to both give and receive—entails creating environments based on hope and possibility that elicit participation. Alex, a facilitator from Link Health and Community's *Open Doors* program—a community leadership program—helps the TAG make a plan for a community garden. He describes how he uses a technique called appreciative enquiry to encourage residents to focus on the strengths of their community:

> There's two models of community you can look at: there's the needs-based one where it's homelessness, delinquency, youth, crimes, bla bla bla. Then the other one is neighbourhood houses, community gardens, friendships, education (Alex, Facilitator, Link Health and Community Open Doors Program).

The group then explores questions such as, "Tell me about a time when you felt really connected to this community?", reflecting Alex's view that "the questions we ask play a huge role in determining the outcomes." Alex sees importance in "giving people space and time to appreciate what's good and what's working." He also appreciates how the group has been able

to construct a shared vision, stating, "I thought it was so rare to see a group like that, so united and clear on what they wanted and their purpose." He continues:

> I know there's been some shitty things that have happened at [Ashwood] over the past couple of years. But that wasn't reflected in what they were saying at all […] I reckon there's something about a group of people coming together voluntarily. They were all just there because they cared and they wanted to make the community a better place (Alex, Facilitator, Link Health and Community Open Doors Program).

This example demonstrates how another way to operationalise reciprocity is to create environments that elicit contributions through fostering hope and mutual relations.

6.8.3. Configuring spaces and activities for reciprocity

In addition to giving thought to the environment of particular spaces, organisations pay attention to how these spaces can be conceived, laid out and facilitated in ways that counter separation as the norm, encouraging instead encounters among residents who might otherwise not meet or interact.

In one example, the configuration and environment of Café Ed, a social enterprise café run by Berrengerra School and located in HousingFirst's Ashwood estate, is approached with the goal of making it a "social hub" for HousingFirst tenants and other residents.

One approach the school has taken is to avoid markers of gentrification or exclusivity. This is a conscious reaction against the more prevalent symbol of the coffee shop serving as the marker of the arrival of gentrification. In addition to fixing very low, affordable prices, the uncool, unfussy, brightly coloured décor is designed in a way that intentionally sets itself apart from the exclusive "hipster" interiors of cafes like those found in Melbourne's Brunswick suburb (Figure 32). Kat, an employee of Berengarra School explains, "We wanted to make it obviously bright, welcoming […] something that was comfortable feeling and not threatening at all." She adds that it was important that the space "wasn't just going to suit a particular class of community." Café Manager Matthew reiterates this, stressing that Café Ed is "no Brunswick café." He adds, "It's a funny old joint, it's a bit daggy, its light and we keep it clean and try and to provide a consistently friendly environment for people to come into."



Figure 32: Cafe Ed, interior. Photo: Restaurant Guru, 2023.

At the same time, the café (and the HousingFirst building it sits within) is modern and attractive and avoids typical markers of social housing in Australia, meaning that it is also able to attract a more affluent clientele, facilitating encounters across difference that otherwise might not take place (Figure 33). Manager Matthew addresses this point:

> This development clearly is modern and smart in its ability to exist fairly solidly in the environment. It is not an eighteen-story public housing block that looks intimating and scary at all. So, I think that helps, the way it's been built, the architecture, the consideration to the environment. So, it's not scary in that sense. I think that plays a huge part in people's decision to give us a go. Because if it was tucked away at the bottom of one of the buildings we see in Collingwood or in Richmond, it would be harder for us, without a doubt. But it's modern, bright, light, the buildings have been pretty well designed insofar as how they look and how they integrate into this environment. So, I think that helps us significantly (Matthew, Manager, Café Ed).



Figure 33: Cafe Ed, exterior. Photo: Berengarra School, 2017.

Inside the café, tables are set relatively close together, articles being glanced at in free newspapers provided often form the basis of casual conversation (Figure 34). The cheer that Matthew and his staff add to the place contributes to an environment where people feel comfortable speaking across tables. The affordability of the café means that there are a lot of regulars—he estimates eighty per cent of their clients—which he describes as giving rise to "a real understanding and warmth that's developed between those people."



Figure 34: Cafe Ed, interior. Photo: Menu Spot, 2023.

Link Health and Community organises monthly activities in the café, which are selected for their capacity to bring together diverse residents who may not otherwise participate in shared experiences. Known as Friday Fun, part of Link's approach is to ensure the environment is welcoming and inclusive. HousingFirst Tenancy Manager, Andrea, describes how Louisa from Link has "set the tone of the culture." She notes how treating people with respect and in non-judgmental ways has a "subtle" but "powerful effect" on a space, stating,"if you model that behaviour, people pick it up quite quickly." She adds that when everyone is included, when their participation "is recognised and acknowledged and validated" […] "I think that then empowers them to be involved in their community." This suggests that certain requisite conditions lend themselves to participants feeling confident enough to enact relations of reciprocity within their communities.

Link Health Promotion Officer, Louisa, likens her approach to hosting to as if she were hosting a party. "I keep an eye out and make sure that people are having fun or that they've got someone to talk to." She explains that the decision to hold collective activities—such as drumming or dancing workshops—facilitates a "shared experience," rather than attendees just sitting with people they already know, as was the case when the activities were more unstructured. This is especially important because, as Louisa notes, the event tends to attract a "mishmash" of residents, in terms of culture, age, cognition and mobility—people who "wouldn't normally be meeting."

In addition to providing interpreters, by ensuring activities proposed are accessible to a broad range of participants, the shared experience can bypass barriers that could normally inhibit encounters, such as language barriers or deafness. Thus, in a communal drumming workshop, reciprocity was enacted through each participant contributing to the music while also being inspired by it. Deaf participants contributed to the workshop, allowing them to take part in the encounter through which reciprocity flowed across an entire group, while also reshaping perceptions about the capabilities of a deaf person to enjoy and play music. Community Development Coordinator Helen elaborates on this point:

> It breaks down their own prejudices and their own preconceived notions about what a deaf person can and can't do. It's like drumming. Oh well we can't invite someone because they're deaf. Well actually, deaf people engage in music. Deaf people dance. Deaf people do stuff (Helen, Community Development Coordinator, HousingFirst).



Figure 35: Promotional material for Friday Fun event. Photo: Author, 2018.

The collective of organisations that AFEV helped initiate in Blémont also give thought to how the configuration of space within the confines of the street festival could strongly determine the extent to which residents from different parts of the neighbourhood would interact. This reflection came to the fore in relation to the positioning of two different food stands, each catering to a different population within the neighbourhood (Figures 36, 37, 38, 39). Mathilde, who works at the local youth space, explains:

> There was the *Village Clignancourt* stand which had alcohol, pork, cold cuts and all that, while our stand had a halal barbecue with canned drinks. And the idea was that we would be next to each other. We didn't want two separate spaces. We placed ourselves next to each other, and we intentionally put the tables where people would eat right in the middle. To have a little bit of mix. We were afraid that it would be divided (Mathilde, Youth Space, Blémont neighbourhood).

Alexi, who works in the local development arm of Social Services provides more detail on how this played out:

> We had the [street] educators who proposed something with youth and the local mothers, who are in contact with many families of Muslim faith. Next to that, Village Clignancourt said: we're coming with pâté, wine. Things like that. And I said to them, "They absolutely have to be next to each other." Because if we have two spaces, that's going to be an issue—each space on different sides, we might divide people (Alexi, Local Development, CAF Social Services).

Operationalising reciprocity thus has implications not only for what spaces are organised but for how they are configured in ways that bring people together in exchange—in this case for a shared meal—across difference.


Village
Village
Village



Figure 38: Blémont street festival. The Village Clignancourt stand is the white canopy to the left, the street educators and youth stand is the middle white canopy. Photo: Author, 2018.

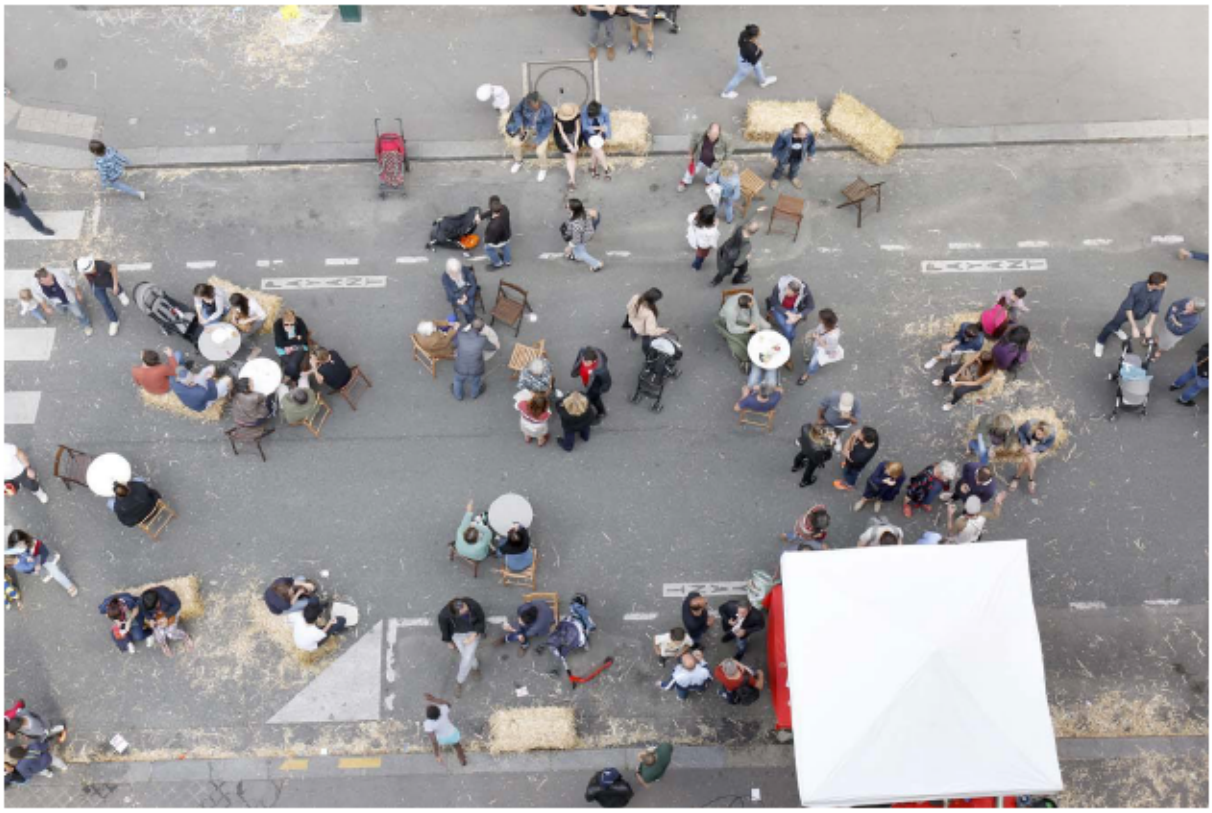


Figure 39: Blémont street festival. The tables arranged between the two food stands. Photo: Village Clignancourt, 2018.

Finally, Refugees Welcome Australia create community spaces that bring people together over craft activities, to facilitate conversation about themes such as immigration, refugees and passports (Figures 40, 41). RWA Events Coordinator, Sacha, explains how she finds that organising crafts around encounters help people to open up. "When there is some kind of creative component," she explains, "people relax, and it is a bit easier to have conversations with people. And I think that the fact that people don't have to look one another in the eye, it kind of breaks the ice."



Figure 40: RWA "make your own passport" craft workshop. Photo: RWA, 2018.

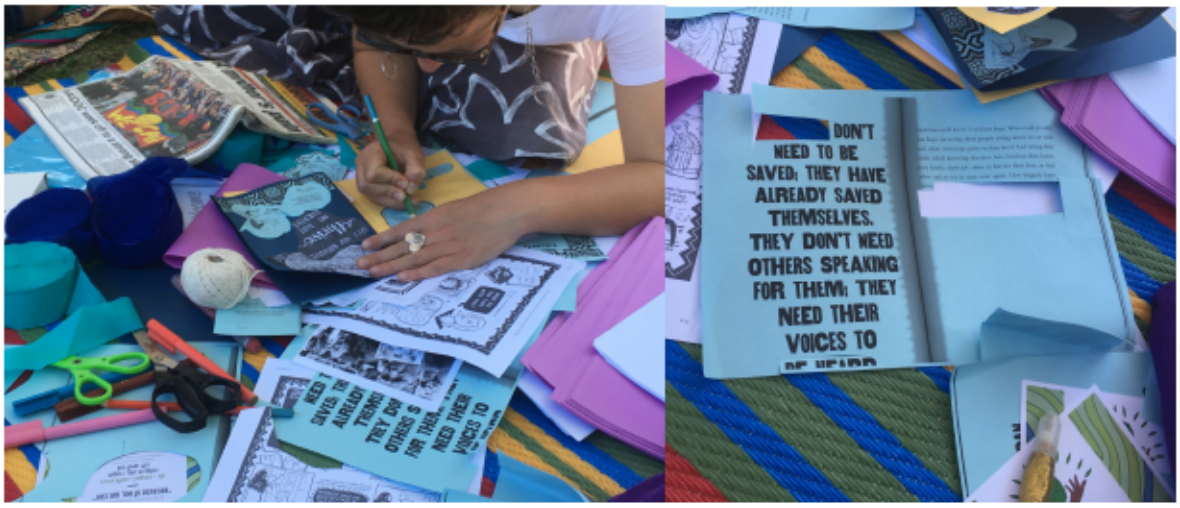


Figure 41: RWA hosts a "Zine" workshop. Photo: Author, 2018.

These opportunities demonstrate how these organisations operate in accordance with their convictions and go considerably further than just offering the bricks and mortar of a home in a mixed-income location. They demonstrate a vision that within the housing setting, proximity alone can be insufficient for people to encounter one another across difference, let alone for those encounters to be reciprocal in nature. The thought given to what activities are initiated, how they enable residents to enact capacity, how the environments of spaces are conducive to reciprocity, how spaces are configured to promote encounters, and what people are doing when they encounter one another demonstrates a willingness to experiment to try and translate their conceptions of reciprocity into reality. Chapter seven will consider the fruits of these efforts: to what extent are residents encountering one another in a reciprocal manner and what is being reciprocated through these exchanges?

What that chapter will also show is that the actual practice of encounters of reciprocity does not rely exclusively on these more formal settings. Encounters also happen across the everyday beats of life, while people are enjoying leisure activities or running errands, but also while they are more intentionally acting upon their conceptions of what it means to be a good neighbour. The next section on architecture will consider the role of the physical space in facilitating these more spontaneous enactments of reciprocity, but as chapter seven will explore, much of the impulsion for these encounters comes from the people doing the encountering, from their own values and aspirations. This raises a core point that will be revisited in the final concluding chapter, which is the distinction between engineering reciprocity and encouraging it. The latter interpretation suggests that the latent potential for reciprocity already exists, that it is not a concept merely invented by these organisations, an engineered model for human relations, but that it says something about the way human beings ought to relate to one another for the world to inch decisively further towards justice.

6.9. Designing architecture for reciprocity

In different ways, all four organisations operationalise conceptions of reciprocity into the architecture of the housing provided. Section 6.9.1 describes the organisations' approaches to providing quality housing as a means to respect the dignity of residents. It explores how this intends to avoid the stigma associated with low-income housing. Section 6.9.2. examines how the programs avoid markers of difference between the architecture of private and social tenured housing, while section 6.9.3. considers how homes are intentionally designed in ways that promote everyday encounters as a natural part of the routine of the day.

6.9.1. Quality housing that reflects the dignity of residents

At the basis of each organisation's conception of reciprocity is the premise that people possess an inherent dignity irrespective of their social circumstances. This premise underpins the view that low-income housing is not a drain on a city but a contribution to it. By extension, the case study organisations endeavor to provide quality housing, based on the notion that low-income housing does not need to be low in quality. For example, HousingFirst challenges popular assumptions that community housing residents are somehow undeserving of quality community housing, as Tenancy Manager Andrea posits, "Why should people in affordable housing be forced to live in poorly designed housing?"

HousingFirst stresses the importance of residents taking pride in where they live. The Ashwood apartments are new, spacious and comfortable, and the complex is designed to be integrated into the neighborhood (Figure 42). Being seen as a development that improves the overall landscape—not as a blight of the neighbourhood that brings down the look and feel of the place—contributed to the once-contested housing project being accepted by the broader community. And while it can seem superficial to attribute the fact that the quality of the development meant that it did not (as some residents feared) bring down property prices, this too arguably sends an important message about the value—economically but also socially—of social housing. For if one were to adopt the ethos of these organisations, why *should* social housing bring property prices down? What does this say about the worth and perception of social housing? Conversely, by leading to the opposite outcome, the Ashwood development sends a powerful message that unroots harmful assumptions about the consequences of building social housing in more affluent areas.



Figure 42: Front of Ashwood development. Photo: Peter Clarke, 2017.

Former operations manager Tanya, who oversaw the Ashwood development, comments on the organisation's reaction to the final product: "I think on the whole, we were just as blown away as everyone about how it came out, it's a pretty amazing development." Particularly notable are the large balconies (Figures 43, 44). "It's worth fighting for things like that," Tanya adds. She also describes how certain design elements were incorporated into the housing, "things like the wider hallways and carpet for noise and breaking down that institutional feel of social housing historically. Making it more of a home" (Figure 45).



Figure 43: Balconies in one of the apartment buildings. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 44: View from one of the balconies. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 45: The lobby of one of the buildings. Photo: Peter Clarke, 2017

Habitat et Humanisme also places importance on the quality of the housing it is providing. Its official communications expressly state an intention to overcome dehumanising substandard living conditions. Like the Ashwood residence, the quality of the architecture of the building is apparent (Figures 46, 47). Director-General Olivier describes it as "beautiful" and like Tanya, Social Worker Cassandra recalls how she reacted to first seeing the apartments:

> I remember when I saw the finished project, I went to see my manager and I told him, honestly, we can be proud of what we've done. Decades ago, when we did social housing, it was all big towers, we virtually had no respect for people. Today, when we see the apartments, we tell ourselves, this is social housing, at this, price, I think we can be proud (Cassandra, Social Worker, Habitat et Humanisme).



Figure 46: Jardin Divers, Exterior. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017



Figure 47: Jardin Divers, interior. Photo: NIZ Architects, 2017.

The context for RWA's housing is different in that it is not designing housing, but a similar posture towards ensuring the decency of a person seeking asylum's living conditions reflects the same guiding principle. Like for the other organisations, making sure guests have their own private furnished room with a window and that the housing is clean and orderly, is intended to reflect the dignity of their guests and their right to decent housing. The fact that accommodation is offered free of charge does not mean RWA is willing to accept anything. As Brisbane Manager Michelle shares, "At the end of the day, we still want to uphold the dignity of a person."

Similarly, for AFEV, their partnership with public student housing provider CROUS means that students—many of whom are not from Paris—are able to access decent, affordable housing, which is not a given for a student in that city.

While access to decent housing is an important outcome in its own right, if equality is an important basis for fostering relations of reciprocity, then the quality of these homes sends a powerful message about the dignity that residents are asked to see in those who live there. At the scale of the neighbourhood, not only can this contribute to strengthening a sense of belonging, but it also sends the message that residents of these places are as deserving of being there as anyone else. Practically, it influences who ventures into these places, such as at Ashwood, and who residents live next to, such as at *Jardin Diverse*.

6.9.2. Architecture that removes markers of difference between housing tenures

A related feature of the architectural approach is that in addition to being of high quality in design and function, there is an effort to avoid design that marks low-income housing as being different to neighbouring housing. This has implications for the extent to which low-income housing—in the context of mixed-income housing—blends into the overall landscape and as such contributes to everyday, banal encounters across difference. Similarly, it also sends a message about the underlying parity that all residents, regardless of means or tenure, have equal claims to living in the city, and are as much a part of it as one another.

HousingFirst puts forward that its social housing stock avoids "tell-tale signs" of social housing, based on the conviction that this tenure does not have low cultural and social value. Former Operations Manager Tanya expands on how this approach was operationalised in the Ashwood development, which included both social and private housing that is "indistinguishable from the street about who lived where. So, there wasn't that stigma." Thus, from the outside, both the design and the quality of the differently tenured buildings are intentionally indistinguishable (Figure 48).



Figure 48: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project. Both the social and private housing can be seen in this picture and are indistinguishable in style. Photo: Peter Clarke, 2017.

This is particularly important in the Australian context, where, as already described, social housing and its residents tend to be stigmatised (Wiesel et al. 2018). Tenancy Manager Andrea reflects on the traditional design of social housing in the Australian context. "From what I've seen, just because of the physical property and the way it's been designed, it's almost doomed to have that stigma." Andrea calls to mind Melbourne's emblematic post World-War two

brutalist style high rise social housing blocks, as well as Australia's traditional "walk-up" public housing units. "They stand out like a sore thumb. It's horrible to think, but you would naturally think, well, I'm not going to walk through them, because that's a ghetto, or that's where public housing is." She contrasts the Ashwood development. "You don't come through here and think—oh, that's social housing, or that's affordable housing. That's one thing I love about [HousingFirst], is the quality of properties, because that's a private building and it's no different to this building." The café is an illustrative example. Built into the ground floor of a social housing block, most people from outside the complex frequent it unaware that it is social housing. "It is irrelevant," Andrea observes. "So many people walk through here and they have no idea this is community housing […] why should they?" In the absence of architectural markers of social housing, the café becomes just another café in the neighbourhood.

A similar shift in the architectural design of social housing is also present in France, and like HousingFirst, Habitat et Humanisme operates within this context. At a basic level, integrating social housing units into mixed-tenure buildings—the so-called salt-and-pepper approach (Levin et al. 2014)—is perhaps the most seamless form of integration. All residents enter through the same front gate, share the same common spaces and walk down the same walkways that are intentionally designed to promote encounters rather than separation. Social housing residents' apartments are dispersed throughout the residence, tenants share entryways with the homeowners, rather than being placed together in one section of the residence (Figure 49). Beyond this, Habitat et Humanisme more generally seeks to avoid traditional markers of social housing in the design of its buildings. Social Worker Cassandra states, "It doesn't look like the idea we have of social housing."



Figure 49: Jardin Divers interior. Three social housing units are integrated into both sides of the building. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017.

Like the quality of the lodgings, the lack of distinction between social housing and other tenure types is seen as a way of facilitating encounters, by people coming into these places or interacting with its residents without the barriers that traditional markers of social housing might provoke. The value of "blending in," as promoted by architecture, seems to be that people can move through the city like any other residents, encountering others free from the stigmatising label of "social housing resident." It also influences who ventures into these places.

This does however seem to limit the possibility of rehabilitating the very idea of social housing. People must know that a building and its residents are social housing for stigma to be detached from that label, so that if plans are made to construct it in their neighbourood, they can resist adopting NIMBYist mindsets, opposing it out of principle. There thus seems to be some value in people entering a place, intermingling with its residents *despite* it being social housing, not only because they are oblivious to it. In this sense, 'blending in' represents a spatial approach to overcoming stigma, which does not necessarily resolve the underlying social dimension of this stigma (see for example Bordeuil 1997). Doing so would require a more transformative approach to overcoming miscrecognition (Fraser 2003).

In AFEV's model, students either live within empty apartments within social housing buildings or live in stand-alone purpose-built student residences in the vicinity of the social housing estates. The former model leads to more spontaneous and informal everyday encounters—what a formal evaluation commissioned by AFEV describes as "immersion" in the neighbourhood (Bordet and Carollo 2018). In Blémont, students live within a student residence, which does create an extra layer of separation between students and their neighbours, and which is distinguishable from the social housing neighbourhood. This configuration calls to mind the often-separated student housing blocks described in the studentification literature (Allinson 2006; Hubbard 2009; Chatterton 2010; Macintyre 2010). However, in this instance, it is in their attitudes and actions, rather than in the design of their housing, that students are encouraged to integrate with their local neighbourhood. Despite the marked difference, ultimately the choice of model comes down to the constraints of a given place. In Paris, where there are long waiting lists for social housing, there is a lack of empty social apartments to attribute to youth. Purpose-built residences fit into the broader plans of AFEV's partner CROUS, and generally guarantee them student tenants who are responsible about their tenancies and access to a partner organisation if issues arise.

6.9.3. Designing for encounter

A final dimension of the architecture of housing that contributes to operationalising organisations' conceptions of reciprocity is the extent to which housing is designed in ways that aim to promote encounters.

As an intentionally designed *habitat participatif* residence, the architecture of *Jardin Divers* was conceived to promote encounters in several ways. Shared spaces include a large common room and two rooftop gardens (Figures 50, 51, 52). CPA-CPS Founder Xavier shares about the decision to, "put gardens on the roofs, which are really places where things will happen, where trees and fruit will be cultivated, it's a real place of life."



Figure 50: Jardin Diverse. The larger of the two rooftop gardens. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017.



Figure 51: Jardin Divers, rooftop garden. One side is used as a plot to grow food, the other side is for entertainment. Photos: Left: NZI Architecture, 2017. Right: Author, 2018.



Figure 52: Jardin Divers common room. The large room is used for formal resident meetings, collective social events and is also used informally day to day. Photo: Author, 2017.

People walk past one another's homes via shared external passageways that look out over a large yard between the two buildings that face one another (Figure 53). They use open stairwells rather than elevators, all so that they can cross one another's paths as they go about their day. There is a big entryway that is in itself a place of meeting (Figure 54). Homeowner Jérémy remarks, "If you go outside your home, you have to pass in front of others." People speak to one another from window to window or call down from their balconies to neighbours in the shared garden it overlooks, or both, all at once (Figure 55).



Figure 53: Jardin Divers. A shared passageway through which residents access their homes. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017.



Figure 54: Jardin Divers. Residents enter through a large, shared entryway. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017.



Figure 55: Jardin Divers. Residents speak to one another from their balconies to neighbours in the shared garden it overlooks. Photo: NZI Architects, 2017.

HousingFirst also includes similar design features. In addition to the café already discussed, the building for over 55 year-olds has a common room open to all residents (Figure 56). Other buildings have shared balconies (Figure 57). There is an outdoor space with benches decorated with commissioned public art representing the history of the site (Figures 58, 59). Former Operations Manager Tanya describes these architectural choices as an investment in community building. Being situated across from a park that was recently upgraded is also significant, many encounters between tenants but also with the broader community take place in that space that the apartments overlook (Figure 60).



Figure 56: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project. Common room in building for over-55s. Photo: HousingFirst, 2021a.



Figure 57: Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project. Shared balcony in another social building. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 58: Commissioned public art represents the history of the site. Photo: Port Phillip Housing Association, 2013.



Figure 59: Commissioned public art represents the history of the site. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 60: The Ashwood Chadstone Gateway Project overlooks a recently upgraded public park. Photo: Port Phillip Housing Association, 2017.

Residences for KAPS students feature a common room which is intended to facilitate their own meetings as well as serving as a space for their actions with social residents (Figures 61, 62). Lucille from AFEV's headquarters explains, "That's something we advocate for in the projects, in the new builds, to say, we need a space where the KAPS students can carry out their actions," and that these rooms are visible and accessible to others. However, given the building in which the students serving the Blémont neighbourhood houses ten teams that serve different neighbourhoods within Paris's 18th district, the residence is not proximate enough to all social housing estates to serve this purpose for all of them.



Figure 61: The CROUS KAPS student residence in the 18th district has a common room. Photo: AFEV, 2023.



Figure 62: Exterior garden of the common room of the 18th district KAPS residence. Photo: Chez PhiPhi, 2021.

Finally, RWA evidently doesn't shape the architecture of the places where guests are hosted, but common spaces are intended to be a feature of any home, and guests are expected to have access to them. Brisbane Manager Michelle affirms the importance of common spaces, "where both are able to share and interact with one another."

Thus, while reciprocity is brought in more directly in other ways, the architecture shapes to a large degree the extent to which encounters are happening in the first place, without which reciprocity cannot be practised. This collective housing design represents a shift away from housing design that gives primacy to privacy and individualism.

All organisations thus seek to operationalise their conceptions of reciprocity in the architecture of a place, whether that be to ensure that the quality of lodgings reflect the dignity of each resident; to ensure lodgings are indistinguishable from other tenures of housing; and as much as possible, to use the physical space as a way to promote encounters.

6.10. Chapter conclusion

As this chapter demonstrates, reciprocity is not merely recorded as a value in case study organisations' mission statements and annual reports. On the contrary, this value is embedded in their *doing* at every step of the way.

Despite significant divergences in terms of national and local contexts, in the nature of the programs themselves and the populations they target, in all four housing programs the premise of reciprocity is expressed in the organisations' approaches to recruitment, capacity building, partnerships, accompaniment and architecture.

Personnel and volunteers are recruited on the basis of their ability to see residents through the lens of reciprocity, and once employed capacity is built to further align their approach to housing with their organisation's conception of reciprocity. Organisations recognise that they cannot pursue these aspirations in isolation and build partnerships with likeminded entities. Reciprocity comes to define not only a shared mission but the very partnership itself, whereby organisations recognise the ways in which their combined efforts are mutually supportive and, in cases of networks of organisations, enable them to culminate to more than the sum of their parts.

Residents are recruited on the basis of their adherence to the housing project, though not all residents have the luxury of choice—of *opting in* to the program voluntarily. The most comprehensive expression of these organisations' commitment to operate according to their values is their approach to accompaniment, which in and of itself demonstrates a recognition that organisations cannot just come in and create situations of social mix, and then walk away. The thought, attention and energy they devote to accompaniment demonstrates a sense of responsibility to walk alongside residents on the bumpy path of figuring out how to build

mutually enriching relations with their diverse neighbours. It suggests a recognition, as described by Ruth Fincher, of the need for "ongoing effort" and "hard work as well as competence, persistence and tact" to go into encountering across difference (2019:72).

Their efforts include building capacity though orientation and formal training; being on call in the day-to-day to provide advice, moral support and encouragement; and creating opportunities for residents to enact roles of capacity as a contribution to the collective, in inclusive, welcoming and uplifting environments.

Finally, the nuts and bolts of housing—the way it is built—is not overlooked. High quality housing reflects the inner dignity attributed to all tenants, no matter the price of their rent; architecture that avoids markers of difference between diverse housing tenures aims to send a powerful message about the insignificance of this distinction when it comes to each individual's place and contribution to a neighbourhood; and designing against individualist approaches to housing, casts the home not as a place of privacy and isolation, but as a place of encounter, where relations between neighbours are framed almost as an extended family.

Different organisations place more or less emphasis on these various features. Of course, none of them are executed with reciprocity perfectly mastered—each organisation is walking its own path of learning which includes some trial and error, but it is a conscious, reflexive path. Nevertheless, these efforts demonstrate the myriad implications of even one or two core tenets about social existence, and by extension the power of foundational assumptions. They demonstrate the complexity of housing and the ways in which housing as a concept extends significantly beyond the bricks and mortar of a building, especially when organisations house entire communities. And they suggest a vast potential for housing as a site of encounter and as a site of intervention for cultivating more just outcomes for residents, particularly for more disadvantaged residents of the city. Yet the extent to which these measures, no matter how conscientious and comprehensive, actually translate into encounters of reciprocity, and actually give rise to transformative outcomes among residents, requires its own investigation. This is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven: Encounters of Reciprocity

7.1. Introduction

Chapters five and six demonstrated how subtly different conceptions of reciprocity shape the practices and spaces of mixed-income housing programs, as well as the limitations to reciprocity that these programs encounter. This chapter examines how residents in those programs experience their housing and most importantly the relations forged with one another. It considers the ways reciprocity becomes a feature of everyday encounters among residents and explores what this reveals about the theoretical concept of reciprocity as a just framing of social relations across difference. The chapter considers how residents understand the meaning and effects of such encounters, and the extent to which such encounters are facilitated by the housing organisations' practices and spaces (described in the previous chapter) or emerge from within the everyday relations of residents.

Specifically, the chapter provides a catalogue of *what* is being reciprocally exchanged and by *whom*. The analysis broadens notions of reciprocity from a two-way exchange of material goods to a more expansive exchange of both the material and the immaterial throughout a web of relations among people, that span across space and time. This analysis also gives some consideration to how these forms of reciprocity give rise to transformative outcomes for individual residents and for communities.

Each section in the chapter is focused on a particular category of things that are being reciprocally exchanged, as identified in interviews across the four housing programs. Each section includes a table that catalogues specific examples of that category, followed by analysis of selected examples.

The choice to document and catalogue these encounters of reciprocity so extensively and with such a depth of evidence aims to demonstrate the breadth of *what* is being reciprocally exchanged. This serves to illustrate how reciprocity can serve as a just framing for innumerable encounters across difference—encounters of care, of hospitality, of kindness, of cultural exchange, to name but a few examples. In detailing such a range of encounters, it is possible to demonstrate the extent to which diverse residents are agents of reciprocity, both giving and receiving within an interdependent web of relations, and in particular social housing tenants, whose contributions to shared urban life are often overlooked.

The specific categories included in this section were empirically generated. They represent an attempt to understand reciprocity as it happens practically in the world, in the specific cases of these four housing programs. While these categories were thus not theorised in advance of the empirical research, they were defined through an iterative process, where theory came into play in the analysis, such as in the examples of care, conviviality, and volunteering.

Finally, the thick nature of description contained in this chapter reflects a desire to dedicate a significant portion of this thesis to telling these residents' stories. As described in chapter three, this thesis is grounded in the ethical standpoint that research involving low-income residents, whose perspectives and voices are often marginalised from the narratives of their own lives, ought to be privileged in the account of these places and the relations formed within them. In this way, the potential and capability residing within these places and within these people can be captured from their own perspective as much as possible.

7.2. Sharing art

Many residents share a variety of artforms with one another and even participate together in artistic forms of expression. Table 18 summarises selected examples of how residents share art.

Table 18: Selected examples of residents sharing art

Examples	Program
Tenants participating in annual art exhibition create, display and sell works of art they have created to HousingFirst residents and members of the public.	*HousingFirst*
A tenant paints in the common room, other residents watch, and they enter into conversation about his art.	*HousingFirst*
A tenant exposes his paintings in the courtyard of a social housing estate to share with fellow residents, with support from KAPS students.	*AFEV*
A guest knits and cross-stiches decorations used to decorate the home in which she is being hosted.	*RWA*
A social housing tenant raps at a neighbourhood street party attended by residents from the broader neighbourhood.	*AFEV*
A social housing tenant plays drums at a homeowner's home, who in turn plays the piano in a joint jamming session.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Two social housing tenants perform music together at the on-site social enterprise café, accompanied by musicians from the broader neighbourhood.	*HousingFirst*
Deaf tenants participate in a collective drumming workshop at *Fun Friday* at Café Ed	*HousingFirst*
A social housing tenant shares African music and dancing with other residents and their guests at a housewarming party.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A social tenant plans to host a dance workshop at a street party attended by residents from the broader neighbourhood.	*AFEV*

The exchange of artistic talents and expression is a particularly interesting form of exchange because of its ability to employ a language that can transcend difference, whether that pertains to cultural difference, language, or differences in intellectual capacity, to cite a few examples. It is also particular because its transmission is inherently reciprocal. Resident artists describe the value for them in being able to discover, develop and share their talents while those viewing or interacting with these creations also receive upliftment and stimulation.

Some tenants are mindful of how their art can be a gift to others and a force for change. For example, after performing during a *Fun Friday* at Café Ed, HousingFirst tenant Adi, who

originally hails from Indonesia, describes how he sees sharing his musical talent with others as a means to make a change in the community:

> I've only got music to offer. I don't have money or fast cars (laughs). The only thing I have, not even looks, is music. Because music touches everyone right in the spot […] In this work, you do care about people and community […] Music, it's a tool, hopefully it not just changes people, it brings people back. To move forward, you need to look back. That's how I try to make change (Adi, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

In Blémont, social tenant and professional dancer Hoda planned to perform a dance on the side of her social housing building to contribute to the street festival, and to inspire residents to "see the building differently."

On the other hand, artists describe how creating and sharing their art is a gift in itself. In an example from RWA, buddy Sara describes how the knitting and cross stitching of Mona, the guest from Iran that she befriended, would decorate the home Mona was living in. There is a reciprocity inherent in this act, as in addition to beautifying the host's home, Sara describes how it renders the house more "homely" for Mona, so "she could feel she had a place in that space," in Sara's words.

Other examples in table 18 demonstrate the inherently reciprocal nature of collective expression. For example, in musical jam sessions or dance workshops, musicians and dancers come together in an interdependent creative realisation, to which they are simultaneously giving expression and drawing inspiration.

In yet another example, tenants whose work is displayed in the HousingFirst annual art exhibition describe the meaning and joy that accompanies the act of creating art for display. Ashwood tenant Lisa, who has an intellectual disability, discovered a love for ceramics while participating in a workshop organised by HousingFirst as part of the exhibition. She describes feeling "great" that people are coming along to look at her creations, and marvels at selling all four pieces of her art on display (Figure 63). Similarly, fellow tenant Giovanni describes the joy of displaying his paintings, inviting his family and close friends along to the exhibition (Figure 64). "It's the thrill, the kick, someone appreciating your art."



Figure 63: Lisa's three ceramic plates that sold at the HousingFirst tenants' art exhibition. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 64: One of Giovanni's paintings on display at the art show. Photo: Author, 2018.

The art exhibition is a pertinent example because the encounters of reciprocity to which it gives rise engender multiple outcomes of justice for participants involved. The process of producing art as part of a collective engaged in workshops and practice accompanied by a HousingFirst staff member enhances residents' capabilities for artistic expression and craft. The formation of the collective itself is also an outcome, where diverse residents come together based on their shared love for and practice of the arts, sharing their work and their thoughts about the motivations driving it, and attending galleries together. As tenant artist Giovanni notes, "you got one thing in common, which is the arts," suggesting that the practice of arts as a human activity is a means to bring people together across diverse cultures and abilities.

The exhibition also gives rise to outcomes of redistribution, as all the works of art on display are for sale. Many are sold during the opening night itself, reflecting what HousingFirst's Chief Executive Officer Haleh Homeh describes in her opening remarks as "an expression of the ability to connect with others on a human-to-human level through their art" – or in other words, as the result of an encounter. Perhaps however the most important outcome in this example is that of recognition, of social tenant artists being recognised by their peers and the wider public for their work, curated and displayed in a beautiful gallery for public exhibition. As per the identity model of recognition (Honneth 2004), at an individual level, it boosts the esteem of the participating artists. Giovanni notes, "We are artists, and so the biggest thrill is not the money, it's that someone will want to buy what you've made." From the status model perspective (Fraser 2000), the public nature of the gallery and the professionalism of the exhibition which explicitly features the art of social tenants is contributing to reshaping entrenched discourses about the worth and capacity of these tenants. As members of the public encounter and appreciate their art, these tenants can participate on a par with other artists in the production and showcasing of their work, despite not having lived a life that has afforded them many other opportunities to do so.

7.3. Sharing and gaining skills

Many residents share their skills for the benefit of others. Like the previous example of the arts, residents describe a reciprocal act whereby utilising these skills for the benefit of others is intrinsically rewarding. Table 19 outlines selected examples of skills shared and gained by residents.

Table 19: Selected examples of skills shared and gained by residents

Examples	Program
Volunteer residents share recipes and cooking skills during formal cooking classes and informally in the queue to the *Pocket Park* on-site fortnightly fruit and vegetable market.	*HousingFirst*
One guest looks after the garden of an elderly couple living downstairs, while another guest improves the garden of her host family and shares knowledge about gardening.	*RWA*
Tenants and homeowners learn about gardening through weekly collective workshops.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A HousingFirst tenant learns about gardening from an Ashwood resident while volunteering at a local neighbourhood house.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant helps make furniture for collective spaces at *Jardin Divers* during a group workshop organised among residents.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A social tenant runs a workshop at a neighbourhood street festival teaching children to make games and toys out of recycled materials, while raising awareness about upcycling.	*AFEV*
A guest teaches her buddy some of her painting and cross-stitching techniques.	*RWA*
A social tenant facilitates craft workshops for the broader community in a local neighbourhood house.	*HousingFirst*
Teenage boys learn how to look after a guest's baby in their home.	*RWA*
Ashwood social tenants mentor students from Berengarra school to serve customers and run the market, while the students improve their social skills in various settings.	*HousingFirst*
A homeowner uses his professional skills to check on residents' heating systems, and helps a social tenant to get her heating repaired.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A social tenant referees football matches during a neighbourhood street party.	*AFEV*
A host gives a guest driving lessons.	*RWA*

At HousingFirst, an organised cooking class allowed a number of tenants to help one another learn new recipes. HousingFirst tenant Kasem, a young sous chef, describes how he was motivated to provide a pasta-making workshop because he believes everyone should know how to cook, and he saw this as a means to "give back" to a community he had received so much from. As noted in chapter 6, this act was an opportunity for Kasem "to show that he could be something other than the perceptions people had of him," in the words of Community Development Coordinator Helen. She explained that among other tenants, there had been a negative perception of him and of what he could do. However, in this space, Kasem revealed himself to be a "natural born facilitator." In this sense, other tenants' perceptions of him could evolve, as an outcome of recognition. Additionally, these classes were an opportunity to enhance the capabilities of those facilitating, but perhaps most importantly they were an opportunity to strengthen solidarity between residents. Food and food preparation is a basis for common ground among diverse people, and the "here and now" of the specific practice of the cooking workshop demonstrates "shared care for these places" and for one another, from which solidarity can emerge (Depraetere et al. 2018:89, 108).

Sharing and utilising one's gardening skills and knowledge is another example that cuts across case studies. A number of Refugees Welcome Australia's guests come from Papua New Guinea and bring with them knowledge in agriculture and subsistence farming. Former buddy Sophie describes how the guest she befriended, Emma, did the gardening for an elderly couple that lived downstairs with whom she had "bonded", because she "wanted to feel like she was giving back," something Sophie describes as being "really important for her own self esteem."

Similarly, Host Heather expresses gratitude for Fay's efforts in the garden, and for teaching her more about gardening. Heather takes comfort from her observations that gardening clearly brings Fay joy, sharing:

> She's so kind in the garden. Because she has a lot of experience gardening—she's come from a subsistence living environment. So, she feels very happy and comfortable out there. At first, she started to rake. And then she said, *oh, maybe I'll just do some weeding*. And I was like, you've got a new baby, you don't need to go out there. And she said, it makes her feel really happy. And I would hear her singing, humming out there. So, I thought, mm. Someone doesn't hum if they're really unhappy. So that reassured me that she liked to be out there. So, yeah. We are both very interested in gardening so we just go out there and we think, oh maybe we'll move that plant, or we might put something there. What should we do with this bit here? So, she is very kind to us in that way (Heather, Host, RWA program).

Fay's plans to continue to come and help Heather to garden even when her situation becomes more stable and she has a place of her own is an example of how reciprocity can stretch forward across time:

> When I have my visa, my Australian visa, then I look for house, and then wherever I live, I need to come here and do my gardening, help. I'm gonna do this, because I really like family. I'm gonna help Heather still keep on growing her garden, because it's too big (Fay, Guest, RWA program).

For HousingFirst tenant Tracey, her recently initiated volunteering in the garden at Power Neighbourhood House is something that she finds "empowering". Tracey doesn't have experience gardening but is learning from one of the Neighbourhood House's volunteers, Dorothy. Aged eighty and wheelchair-bound, Dorothy's ability to be physically active in the garden is limited, and so Tracey assists in this way, but as Dorothy comes from a family of farmers, she is able to impart her knowledge to Tracey.

In Blémont, social tenant Gauthier describes how he decided to volunteer to conduct a workshop where children learn to make toys out of recycled goods during the neighbourhood street festival because it makes him happy to elicit participation and to draw on these skills again. "I have some knowledge in fixing things, so I wanted to enable others to participate and discover" (Figures 65, 66). Gauthier adds, "These days I'm doing other work, so it allows me to get back into an activity that I enjoy." He also hopes, he shares, that participating in the festival can help him and his neighbours to "mutually" see one another in a different context, to overcome fear of the other and to change perceptions, as an example of an outcome of recognition.



Figure 65: Blémont street party. Tenant Gauthier teaches children to make toys from recycled objects. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 66: Blémont street party. Tenant Gauthier teaches children to make toys from recycled objects. Photo: Author, 2018.

At *Jardin Divers*, homeowner Jérémy considers that all residents should draw on their skills to contribute to the collective living project. He states, "I consider that we are all here to provide skills at the right place, the right time. One day it's something this person will do, another day, another." After discovering that social tenant Claire had no heating in her apartment during his rounds to visit all the residents, he explains, "I saw the heater on the floor, her daughter shivering in bed with a blanket," and he immediately escalated the problem and bought her two electric heaters. This "shared care" for place, and for one another, is also a sign of a burgeoning

form of solidarity among Jardin Divers residents, which sees all residents as "part and parcel" of the residence (Depraetere et al 2018:108).

7.4. Conviviality

Residents reciprocate moments of conviviality together in a variety of settings, contributing to and partaking in shared actions. Table 20 provides an overview of some of these moments of conviviality.

Table 20: Selected examples of activities of conviviality

Examples	Program
A family from the *Blémont* residence buys Christmas decorations to decorate the tree in the courtyard with the KAPS students.	*AFEV*
Residents celebrate Halloween together, dressing up and distributing candy to children.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A social tenant organises an Elvis-themed night in the common room for other tenants.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant invites the residents to a New Year's Eve party in the common room, offering to cook for everyone.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Social tenants organise barbecues in the park across the road and encourage other tenants to come.	*HousingFirst*
The KAPS students offer free tea/coffee and cakes in the courtyard of Blémont so residents can get to know each other .	*AFEV*
Local mothers help paint the faces of children attending a neighbourhood street festival.	*AFEV*
Two social tenants participate in a football match with the other *Jardin Divers* residents.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A host takes the guest in their home to concerts, to sports games and kayaking.	*RWA*
A social and private tenant go bowling together.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A host invites a guest to go salsa dancing with her.	*RWA*

As Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson describe, conviviality is "the purposeful sharing of activities by individuals who may not necessarily be known to each other" (2015:24). Examples in Table 20 show how conviviality sparks spontaneous expressions of reciprocity, that emerge from the joy of the moment.

In one example, the KAPS students in Blémont were touched when their own offering of a moment of shared conviviality with their neighbours—adorning the fir tree in the courtyard of the Blémont estate with Christmas decorations tenants could fabricate themselves—was amplified by an Ivorian family who joined them. KAPS student Romain explains:

> They stopped and they were helping us to make decorations, until the father said, *wait, I'll be back*. He left, I don't know where, he bought a ton of Christmas decorations and then came back. And then there were a lot of kids from the neighbourhood that came down, we decorated the Christmas tree, it was really cool […] They gave us a huge gift because with our budget we wouldn't have been able to buy all that (Romain, KAPS student, AFEV program).

Fellow student Clémence adds, "It was really nice, they really invested in it, they stayed outside with us for one and a half hours." Thus, the students' initial contribution—to open a space for residents to bring more festivity to their courtyard—inspired this father to contribute more decorations, which in turn inspired other residents to descend from their apartments, and to brave the cold weather to participate in this convivial moment of decorating the tree. Romain describes this act of generosity as a gift, and this appears to refer not only to the material decorations but to the participation this gesture elicited among residents. It also demonstrates how the KAPS students are seeing themselves as recipients in their exchanges with their social neighbours, and not merely as *contributors* to the neighbourhood, reflecting a posture of reciprocity. KAPS student Samira explains the significance of this event, particularly considering her desire to feel that she is part of the neighbourhood she lives in:

> I think that it was important. We had done lots of things in the courtyard [before], it was always cold, no one came. And then, a whole family came and decorated with us. It was *really* cold, and there were people of all ages, from the young to the elderly, who spent the afternoon decorating the tree with us (Samira, KAPS student, AFEV program).

Clémence experienced a similar pattern of escalating reciprocity during the Blémont street festival, where her efforts to take a first step to offer a moment of conviviality elicited reciprocity. When she became overwhelmed by the number of children coming through the face painting stand she had set up, a group of local mothers spontaneously stepped in to help, in what Clémence described as "one of the great breakthroughs of the day" (Figures 67, 68). Clémence had planned to maintain the stand for three or four hours. "In the end, I think I did it for six hours. Because so many children came, and I didn't have the heart to turn them away." She reflected on how much effort the students had put in, week in and week out, to try and encourage residents to initiate stands or activities at the festival, while here, in the moment, these mothers took the initiative to put themselves forward to participate:

> The day of the neighbourhood festival, the mothers of the families spontaneously came to offer to help me with the face painting, without me asking them […] And it was exactly what we wanted. It was exactly this participation thing, where people create the festival they want to have at home. We didn't want to be there to give them a neighbourhood party. We wanted to be there to instigate some kind of initiative, and a spirit of festivity (Clémence, KAPS student, AFEV program).



Figure 67: Blémont street party. Clémence painting children's faces. Photo: Author 2018.



Figure 68: Blémont street party. A local Mother steps in to help paint faces. Photo: Village de Clignancourt 2018.

Joining in to provide something for children was a motivating force for others too. In another example, after the KAPS students and other members of the collective spent the early hours of the morning laying down many square patches of grass to make a football pitch, Blémont resident Khalifa spent the entire day refereeing the match, even though this was entirely unplanned (Figures 69, 70, 71). Street educator Gilles comments on how this act reshaped perceptions other residents had of Khalifa, "for those who've never seen him do anything but hang around in front of the building." The street festival thus provided an opportunity for people to draw on their talents and enact roles of capacity, to help reshape perceptions about who they can be, as an example of an outcome of recognition. This also aligns with Ilan Wiesel and Christine Bigby's findings that conviviality "provides possibilities for people from minority or excluded groups to become recognised and known within communities" (2016:201). When the festival wrapped up, a number of residents spontaneously helped remove and load the grass strips onto a truck (Figure 72).



Figure 69: KAPS students finish laying grass for the Blémont street festival. Photo: Author, 2018. Author, 2018



Figure 70: Blémont street party. Impromptu refereeing on the makeshift street soccer pitch. Photo: Author, 2018



Figure 71: Blémont street party. Children played soccer all day long on a pitch the KAPS students helped to lay. Left photo, Author, 2018. Right photo, Village de Clignancourt, 2018.



Figure 72: Local organisations and residents help pack and load the grass at the end of the festival. Photo: Village Clignancourt, 2018.

These efforts demonstrate how when people take a first step to provide moments of conviviality—whether that be face painting or laying grass for a makeshift soccer pitch—it can inspire others to reciprocate these efforts, particularly when they are being reciprocated forward to children. Furthermore, in the being together of the moment, as residents of the "Blémont" neighbourhood, it is clear how diverse residents "dwell together in close proximity" that renders difference unremarkable (Gilroy 2006:40). These moments are also significant

because one of the shortcomings of the approach to organising the street party was that more space could have been given to Blémont tenants in its organisation. The fact that on the day itself, these tenants became agents of that space as a result of their own initiative demonstrates their pre-existing commitment to this place and to their neighbours, with the street party serving as a means to channel this disposition.

As demonstrated through the example of Khalifa in Blémont, reciprocal moments of conviviality can bring people together in ways that allow them to see different sides of one another, and to shift perceptions of who they are and who they can be. Following an incident at *Jardin Divers* where social tenant Hassan, who needs to rise early for work, lost his temper with a few residents' children who were being noisy, he became known among the children as the *mechant* ("meanie"). However, as residents came to know Hassan in different contexts, sentiments warmed, and at Halloween, he was the one standing at the door inviting these children in and distributing sweets. One of these children had also brought a gift for him in return—a bag of walnuts. The frequent opportunities for convivial encounters across difference afforded by the *habitat participatif* model thus allowed for a range of encounters in varied contexts that enabled residents to recognise Hassan's humanity, beyond a specific moment that played into stereotypes about his culture.

7.5. Sharing and gaining knowledge

As Table 21 demonstrates, residents share their knowledge and learn from one another in a variety of ways, at an individual level, and collectively through more formal channels. As with the previous examples, knowledge is shared in all directions, with social tenants both benefiting from the knowledge of their fellow residents while also sharing the knowledge they possess with others.

Table 21: Selected examples of knowledge shared and gained among residents

Examples	Program
A social tenant regularly helps interpret for Chinese-speaking tenants at organised events within the Ashwood residence, another tenant volunteers to teach them English classes.	*HousingFirst*
A buddy helps a guest do English exercises to improve her English, while the guest teaches her a few Persian words.	*RWA*
A homeowner helps a social tenant who speaks little French to understand the letters he receives, while another social tenant sends emails for him.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A social tenant shares her knowledge of theatre with KAPS students, showing them texts and poems, teaching them about the surrealist movement.	*AFEV*
A local homeowner better understands some of the challenges faced by lower income residents in the Ashwood area and how the neighbourhood can be improved by listening to their perspectives on their lived experience.	*HousingFirst*
Social tenants on the Tenant Advisory Group contribute to deciding what should go into a tenant welcome back based on their own experiences and what they would have liked to have known as tenants.	*HousingFirst*

A KAPS student better understands the reality of priority neighbourhoods and urban poverty through her interactions with Blémont tenants, which impacts the way she approaches her studies.	*AFEV*
Hosts and buddies assist guests to write their CVs, just as a homeowner assists a Habitat et Humanisme social tenant, a student, to improve his CV.	*RWA, Habitat et Humanisme*
Residents learn about the reality of different places, including the political situation or inequalities faced by these countries, but also the beauty of such places. Places named include Ivory Coast, Iran, and Papua New Guinea.	*All programs*

Sharing one's knowledge of a language is particularly prevalent. At Ashwood, Maureen explains how an encounter at the bus-stop across the street from the apartments led her to volunteer to give English classes to some of her fellow Chinese-speaking tenants in the common room of their over-55s building. Maureen recounts the experience, which began with her complimenting the colour of her neighbour's scarf:

> I said, what a beautiful colour, and I said *blue*. I pointed to the colour blue. *Blue*. *Blue*. We were doing that. Then I don't know what happened, something happened, and they said, could I help them with a bit of English, and I said, yeah. We used to have a bit of fun. We'd do it for about an hour in the afternoon, an hour and a half […] We had lots of laughs because I play act. If you were to say walk, I'd be walking. Running, I'd do a run. […] I'd say that's a cow, *moo*. So, it was a fun day, a fun time, but we were learning too. I think they learnt a bit (Maureen, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

The weekly class attracted other tenants participating as both volunteer teachers and students, with most of the resident volunteers holding previous teaching experience. Most people present were aged 70 or above. After the classes began, Chinese participants reported feeling less anxious and isolated living in a predominantly English-speaking community. The classes also helped them to feel more relaxed and comfortable to speak in English with their neighbours and the wider community (Port Phillip Housing Association 2014). In this sense, these tenants' growing grasp of the English language through their encounters with Maureen and other residents enhanced their capability to access social and cultural experiences within the space of their home and beyond, as well as their capability to forge meaningful connections with their neighbours. In addition, those volunteering to take the class learnt some Chinese words. Link Health employee Louisa describes how other residents began to greet the Chinese tenants in Chinese, in an example of mutual recognition, where English speaking residents took the time to learn and practice a minority language in their residence.

Some residents from more privileged backgrounds report becoming more aware of the reality of poverty, or of other challenging circumstances, as a result of encounters across difference. In such cases, the "knowledge" being shared is the lived experience of their fellow residents, who may experience hardships that they themselves have never encountered. For example, in Ashwood, homeowner and local volunteer Lucie describes how being part of a local network that consults together about improving the neighbourhood enables her to better understand the life experiences of residents who cannot afford or access the same services she can, including HousingFirst tenants:

> Different people can bring different skills and perspectives and experience on things. Because I don't have the experiences that other people have had, I haven't gone through family violence, I haven't gone through poverty. So, at the ACT Network meetings […] there still are people from public housing involved. […] The types of issues some people will bring is different to what I would bring. Actually, I don't really have that many issues. But some people might say, crime and safety. Other people might be, well, we need access to medical services. There's a local GP, they charge a lot of money. And I go. I pay a lot of money. But lots of residents can't afford that, if they don't bulk bill. And then it's services like libraries, or dental services. So, I mean obviously I don't see the need because I've got a car. But it's when other people talk about those needs (Lucie, private homeowner, Ashwood area).

This example echoes Iris Marion Young's observation that one of the injustices of urban segregation is that it reduces "the opportunity to understand the problems and perspectives of others," demonstrating the possibilities opened up when programs seek to desegregate (2002:212). The encounters Lucie has through the network allows her to become aware of the problems and interests of social tenants, so that they can co-operate to make their neighbourhood a 'good neighbourhood':

> You want to contribute to your neighbourhood, and this neighbourhood has a really mixed population socioeconomically, and there's a real mix of public and private. I'm a private resident and I want to contribute and make it a good neighbourhood (Lucie, private homeowner, Ashwood area).

According to Young's view, building on the works of Benhabib and Habermas, the exchanges that take place through the network can in themselves be seen as a form of reciprocity, of "acknowledging and taking into account one another" and recognising that "others have points of view that respectful interaction must consider" (1997:358). For this to happen, Young writes, one needs to adopt a "respectful stance of wonder toward other people […] awaiting new insight about their needs, interests, perceptions or values." Doing so, she writes, demands moral humility and the ability to "suspend my assumptions in order to listen," to learn about something which is "beyond my experience," moving from a "narrowly subjective self-regarding perspective on action" to a "more objective and socially inclusive view" (Ibid). The knowledge Lucie acquires as a result of her posture of reciprocity towards social housing tenants enables her to have a more accurate reading of the social reality of the community that she is a part of. It also demonstrates recognition in action, where the perspectives of others—that have tended to be marginalised from the discourses shaping policy and social action—are treated as equal and worthy of consideration.

This example further elucidates the intertwined nature of recognition and redistribution in practice, as advocated by Fraser (2000; in Dahl et al. 2004), as by recognising the views of its social housing members, the network is able to communicate these resource needs to the local council as a means to inform policy and planning. This reciprocal recognition helps to foster a relational understanding of poverty and a sense of shared responsibility for addressing it, even if the actions at this stage are more affirmative, by advocating for more affordable local medical

services. Such examples demonstrate how "local arrangements of responsibility" described by Midgely (2016) can emerge as an outcome of reciprocal encounters.

While this network is an example of an existing structure that fosters reciprocity without being directly under the influence of HousingFirst's program, the ACT Network Chair is part of the leadership group with Community Development Coordinator Helen, and some of HousingFirst's tenants participate in the network.

Gaining knowledge of another person's lived experience—as important as that is—is qualitatively different from the sharing of *learned* knowledge, whether that be knowledge gleaned from education, professional knowledge, or know-how that one has acquired and can share for the benefit of others. As evidenced in table 21, apart from a social resident who teaches KAPS students about theatre, and a few mutually exchanged words of language, generally it is residents living in low-income housing that are aided by the knowledge of their wealthier neighbours, who in turn learn more about their neighbours' lived realities or their countries of origin. This is less a reflection of the actual existence of knowledge that could be mutually imparted, and perhaps more of the extent to which this is mutually sought out or recognised as such.

In one exception to this, KAPS student Samira describes how her encounters with her neighbours helped her to appreciate how the urban masses who live in poverty ought to be contributing knowledge that can inform policy. Samira studies political science at one of France's most elite establishments. As she got to know her neighbours at Blémont, she realised that the approaches she was learning about at university misunderstood the population they were intended to serve—for example, promoting universal access to culture online though much of the population targeted does not readily have access to information technology.

Samira explains how her approach to her studies and her future profession is now being shaped by this realisation that there are different and perhaps more relevant ways of approaching these issues. This calls to mind Leonie Sandercock's notion of the "disruption of other voices," whereby the "privileged groups" who tend to define policy issues "do not always understand the needs and interests of oppressed groups" (1998:198).

Samira shares her conviction that "our way of seeing things is not the only one that exists." She notes that in political science, there are so many decisions made that affect the lives of low-income people. Samira elaborates:

> I think what outrages me the most is to be in a school where all we do is speak on behalf of others. That's the thing. From time to time, we will take them into consideration. *We need to think about the unemployed!* But it is never envisaged that it could be through their own voice and through them that solutions could be implemented, rather than by people with diplomas, who have lots to say but who have never lived that experience […] I think that's what I always try to keep in mind during my studies. The experience that I don't have. That we need to let people decide solutions for themselves (Samira, KAPS student, AFEV program).

Thus, according to Samira, her school is cultivating among its students a tendency to speak and make decisions on behalf of others, without genuinely taking their views into account. While, like the example of Lucie in Ashwood, part of the knowledge being transmitted is the lived experience of her neighbours, Samira also sees the city's poorer residents as reservoirs of knowledge and active contributors to efforts to further social justice. This suggests a potentially lasting impact of participation in the KAPS program—to bring humility to Samira's approach to learning and generating knowledge, which is arguably an important capability to nurture among young students of political science. It too echoes Young's (1997) conception of reciprocal recognition as requiring moral humility and openness to learning from more marginalised members of our societies.

Elderly resident Julie, who is the Blémont tenant most engaged in the solidarity actions of the KAPS students, senses this humility. Julie undergoes a shift in preconceived notions she had held about university students and more generally people with higher degrees. "I had said to myself, since they are doing advanced studies, they will have big heads, saying, *we are studying, we know, there are lots of things we know that they don't.* I thought they would be judgmental. But it wasn't the case, not at all."

Interestingly, this desire to be connected to a broader perspective on the questions of urban life has also shaped where Samira sees herself living in the city. She describes how the KAPS program has helped make her conscious of the importance of living in a socially mixed place, so that she does not become closed off from the everyday realities of the masses of urban dwellers, and the multitude of perspectives that they hold:

> We're really on the edge of the city of Paris itself. I think it's because I've always lived on the periphery and not in the centre. So, I don't really see myself living in the centre […] because we forget the rest, we don't leave, we don't have a reason to go beyond that which we already know. To go to university or anywhere else I have to cross the city, it forces me to see lots of different things, so at least that enables me to have a small glimpse of everything that exists, more than if I were to stay in the centre […] I think it's really easy to create an "us." The further I advance in my studies, the more I find myself with people who resemble me, culturally, socially, economically, and we always agree on everything. And so, it's really easy to forget that there are other ways to see the world, and other priorities, other ways to believe, to relate to others (Samira, KAPS student, AFEV program).

This finding is significant against the backdrop of literature on "studentification" (Allinson 2006; Hubbard 2009; Chatterton 2010; Macintyre 2010). It highlights the potential role of the KAPS program in strengthening the capabilities of students as engaged actors of social change, though not at a distance, nor by doing things *to* urban dwellers deemed 'disadvantaged.' Rather, capabilities that enable them to act as agents of change with their neighbours, embedded in and committed to a shared sense of place. The neighbourhood, which in the French context denotes both a *place* and the *people* that reside there, becomes the locus point for solidarity and shared identity rather than—as Samira notes— cultural, social or economic semblance, supporting the findings of Depraetere et al. (2018). Samira's sensibility, posture and way of thinking of what

knowledge counts and is needed to be a builder of social justice ties into the next section on cross-cultural exchanges and in particular how residents consider what they have to learn from other cultures.

7.6. Cross-cultural exchange: from food and customs to ways of seeing the world

There is a great deal of cross-cultural exchange among residents, with examples ranging from food recipes to language learning. Table 22 provides an overview of some selected examples of these exchanges.

Table 22: Selected examples of cross-cultural exchange among residents

Examples	Program
A group of Chinese tenants teach other social residents how to make dumplings.	*HousingFirst*
Tenants learn Auslan sign language after being inspired through their encounters with tenants who are deaf.	*HousingFirst*
A guest learns about Western cooking from her host family, the children of the family teach her to bake a cake.	*RWA*
A social tenant teaches a homeowner of the same residence how to prepare Togolese dishes and plans to cook Togolese food for residents to thank them for their help in his job search.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A guest shows her buddy how to make Persian food.	*RWA*
Homeowners learn about Cameroonian food and music by attending a child's birthday party thrown by a social tenant.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Hosts or buddies help guests understand certain norms and values, such as private property, or approaches to time or the notion of paid work.	*RWA*
Guests learn how to navigate and operate modern appliances.	*RWA*
A social tenant asks a KAPS student to share photos of her trip to Algeria, her country of origin.	*AFEV*
A homeowner describes how interacting with residents from different cultures helps her to recognise the limits of individualistic tenets of thought in France and to learn how to be more collective-oriented in one's mindset.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A host describes how she recognises the way being a mother in the West can be isolating, and that there are other approaches to motherhood that draw more on the support of the community.	*RWA*

Exchanging food and recipes across culture could be seen as a valued, albeit potentially superficial exchange. However, RWA Host Heather reflects that the sharing of food across cultures can act as a "starting point" for broadening horizons, while also bringing to light the commonalities that exist across humanity:

> It starts somewhere, and if it starts with food, great. That's an easy way, to share a meal with somebody from a different culture, to make a connection. And then living together, you realise, actually humanity is everything in common (Heather, Host, RWA program).

For Heather, it is thus not just the food itself but the openings the sharing of a meal creates that represents the significance of such an exchange. Heather's perspective highlights the social nature of the act of food sharing. This resonates with the thinking of Anna Davies and David Evans, who in their research into contemporary urban practices of food sharing beyond the family describe how those participating are "acting or using something *together* or experiencing things or feelings *with others*" (2019:155). In this way, they write, this sharing can be a means "for practicing new social relations" (2019:157).

This is also observed at HousingFirst, where a number of personnel and tenants bring up the example of Chinese-speaking tenants teaching other residents to prepare dumplings. Louisa from Link Health and Community describes the scene:

> It was just the most beautiful sight. There were these production lines of people rolling out the dough, we're mixing up the things, everyone had their sleeves rolled up. And the Chinese tenants were somehow instructing everyone what to do when they couldn't speak the same language. It was just this beautiful example of food and food preparation transcending language and culture (Louisa, Health Promotion Officer, Link Health and Community).

It is not the exotic food that is highlighted, but the act of offering it and what it means to the community to be able to see their neighbours—who have been separated by a language barrier—contribute something, and for the community to be able to receive it. Until this act, Chinese-speaking tenants were seen primarily as participants in common spaces—benefiting from the programs organised but unable to contribute much. Their efforts to teach others to make dumplings not only recasts them as residents who are able to contribute to shared activities at an individual level, but also brings to the fore a facet of what their culture has to offer, as opposed to what they lack, suggesting that a key outcome of this encounter is recognition.

At *Jardin Divers,* all the social tenants have either immigrated to France or are the children of immigrants. Many of them take joy in cooking their home dishes for other residents, suggesting this is a meaningful act for those offering as well as those receiving, the feeling of being able to share a part of oneself and one's culture with one's neighbours, in one's new home. Their neighbours also find this diversity "enriching." For example, Jardin Divers homeowner Félix, who is French, describes the value of the diversity injected by social housing tenants—whose backgrounds include Algeria, Cameroon, Togo and India—into the residence as follows:

> What is certain is that they bring cultural diversity and a different social category. Yes, they are less well off than us, that's for sure, they have other worries than us. It brings diversity to our relations, it's wonderful. I love the smells, I love the noises, that there are different smells, I find that great. When Jay was alone he would play Bollywood music, it smelt like curry, it makes you travel, I love all that. I think it's a real plus, we'll tell each other different things, where we come from, it will be enriching I think (Félix, homeowner, Jardin Divers).

Fellow homeowner Philippe converges, stating "When you are faced with diversity, you learn more things, experiences multiply." Similarly, Arthur, from the Village Clignancourt

association in the Blémont neighbourhood, describes how getting to know the Blémont social tenants through the street festival and subsequent encounters "brings a cultural richness, to not live among ourselves, to not close oneself off."

At one level, it seems there is some attraction to or notion of beauty attached to diversity itself, even if its "richness" is often described in vague terms. This can be read as a form of recognition that frames diversity as an asset and a source of richness for humanity in the individual minds and hearts of residents. At the same time, for a more transformative expression of recognition to unfold, this appreciation needs to be coupled with a consciousness of the challenges living with diversity can bring—and a real willingness to labour to overcome them (Fincher 2019).

For example, at *Jardin Divers,* when social tenant Claire requests to use the common room to host family and friends for a New Year's Eve party, she specifies that everyone from the residence is invited. She adds that she and her family would make the food and it would make her happy to share this with the other residents, as was custom in her culture. Claire states, "I am African, so we are very happy to have you come celebrate with us." This offer represents one of the few examples of an initiative taken by a social tenant, that is in line with *her vision* of participation, which is in large part culturally defined. While most residents respond favourably and are grateful for this expression of hospitality, one homeowner, Anne, states that coming to a party where Claire and her family would prepare everything would make her feel "uncomfortable." She would feel more welcome, she explains, if everybody could bring something along rather than her receiving from Claire and her family.

This reaction appears to demonstrate two different interpretations of reciprocity. For Claire, being the "host" that gives food (without expectation for immediate return) is an act of reciprocity that takes place over a longer timeframe, across a wider network of exchanges. However, Anne declines this offer of reciprocity because she feels an expectation for immediate reciprocity.

This example also demonstrates the challenge social tenants can face in being given room to define what participation looks like at *Jardin Divers,* and to ensure that "participation" in a *habitat participatif* reflects diverse cultural expressions and values. The response to Claire's request to use the common room in this way was drawn out, as some residents disagreed on whether this event equated to "private use" of the common room, which was not permitted in their pre-agreed house rules. And yet, ultimately, this opened space for other homeowners to speak up and support Claire's request. The party went ahead, and several homeowners did participate.

This example supports CPA-CPS Founder Xavier's view that the *habitat participatif* housing model, while having the potential to amplify conflicts between neighbours, encourages them to "get around the table" and "find solutions" through "dialogue" in a way that rarely happens in disputes within traditional co-ownership housing models. At the same time, care is needed

to ensure that as residents go through the process of learning to live together across cultural difference, social tenants are not disenfranchised in the process.

Another aspect of cultural exchange that is emphasised in the Refugees Welcome Australia program is the exposure to "Australian culture" that the homestay with a local resident or family offers. This exchange is explicitly mentioned in RWA's official description of the purpose of the program and is often part of the discourse of its personnel. For example, an evaluation conducted by RWA found that this aspect of the homestay program helps people seeking asylum to "ease into Australia" (RWA 2017).

Some guests share how getting to know Australian people and Australian ways helped ease apprehensions they had about the country, such as whether their core values would be shared, and whether they would be accepted. For example, Adila shares how before she stayed with the Australian woman hosting her, "I didn't know anything Australian, about Australia, about who is Australian. But when I met her, I know Australians, and most of them, they are good." Heather's son Christopher, whose family is hosting Fay, shares his experience that Fay "has normal everyday interactions with us, so it's easy for her to have normal interactions with other people." In this way, an initial fear of the other is reduced as points of commonality are highlighted.

Others describe the practical value of getting to know Australian norms and customs. Buddy Sophie gives an everyday example, such as explaining that in Australia, you can't just go pick a flower from a person's garden—"things that are maybe totally fine in different cultures and different scenarios."

There is however the risk that a host or others intending to "familiarise" foreigners with Australian norms hold them up as a standard against which other cultural norms are measured or judged, in a way that reinforces misrecognition rather than overcoming it. In one example, host David was prudent about trying to educate the guest staying with him—Julian, a young Chinese man—about Australian customs, to help him learn what is respectful and to avoid offending others (something David himself was careful of when a visitor in that part of the world). Yet in his effort to do so, he tends to rely on the term "common sense" uncritically, conflating Australian norms with "common sense" and, consequently, anything deviating from these norms being devalued or deemed irrational. While David recognises that coming from another culture, it is possible that Julian has "just never ever been exposed to things that we take for granted," one challenge to reciprocity seems to be overcoming cultural assumptions that posit the "Western" way as being superior and by extension negatively judging other ways of being. In one comment, David relays, "I let him go slurping and slurping and slurping for so long, and in the end, I just had to say something, and he stopped doing it, which is good."

This suggests that while many hosts have a spirit of openness and generosity towards their guests, strong cultural narratives of Western superiority and deep-seated prejudice towards Eastern neighbours within Australia can colour the way hosts see their guests and the purpose of cultural exchange, potentially reducing it as a means to uncritically (and non-reciprocally)

impart Western norms. This also appears to be mixed up with assimilationist approaches to integration, raising questions about the extent to which there is a tolerance for difference in visions of what it means to learn the ways of a country. It also reflects how "an institutionalized pattern of cultural value that constitutes some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior" is perpetuated through individual perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours (Fraser 2000:114). RWA do articulate a need for cultural sensitivity training for hosts, and perhaps this could be a means to address this potential pitfall of reciprocity and to foster consciousness that can advance recognition.

Nevertheless, there are examples where encounters of reciprocity across cultural difference led residents to become more conscious of taken-for-granted elements of their own culture, and to question them. Once such elements of culture are rendered visible, residents are able to ask themselves: is there another way? This aligns with Young's vision that adopting a "respectful stance of wonder" in encounters across difference can lead to "being able to see one's own position, assumptions, perspective as strange, because it has been put into relation to others" (1997:358).

In one example, under the RWA homestay program, guest Fay is shocked to see how much time an exchange student, who is also staying with Heather's family, is spending in front of his computer. Heather describes how it was in seeing Fay's reaction that she became aware that his screen time was problematic and not an inevitable part of the life of a teenage boy. This in turn led Heather to question the role that technology plays in Western life. "I feel like the Western world has gone down a path that is very puzzling to many people who don't live that way."

Growing appreciation for the place of the community in contrast to the individualism of Western cultures was a theme shared by multiple residents. When Heather learned about how the community supported new mothers in Papua New Guinea, it dawned on her that child rearing in the West is quite an isolating experience, that it doesn't have to be this way, and that there is much to learn from places with a strong community life. Heather shares:

> That's something that she's taught me. She said, mothers in Australia have a really hard time. And I said, what do you mean? And she said, well you have to look after the baby all the time. And I said (laughing), well don't you do that? She said: No, when I have a baby in PNG, I'd feed the baby and then I'd just give it to the kids. And they take the baby off. Like the tribe of kids running around. They take the baby away, and then they bring it back when it needs feeding. […] that's a thing that people from other cultures teach us. That the way that we are used to living is not the only way. They show us that. That we might have some benefits. But there are many other advantages, especially in community living. And I think that's what our teenagers and that's what our younger generations need modelled more than anyone else. That power of connection (Heather, Host, RWA program).

Heather's observation aligns with one of the potential outcomes of the homestay program envisaged by RWA Events Coordinator Sacha. Sacha states, "I do think a lot of problems we are facing are the result of the individualistic way of living," stressing that "we" (i.e. the West)

"have got so much to learn" from other cultures. This example also fits into RWA's broader narrative that guests and hosts can mutually learn from one another. It shows the potential of encounters of reciprocity for enabling people to recognise perspectives from other cultures as worthy of attention and contemplation and as potentially valuable sources of knowledge.

Jeanne, a homeowner at *Jardin Divers* becomes more conscious of the individualism embedded in French ways of seeing and being as a result of regular collective consultations among residents, that include social tenant Claire, who is from Cameroon. Jeanne describes that while French society values the ideal of solidarity, in practice, individualism is a much stronger force in residents' efforts to consult and make collective decisions than she had initially expected. Jeanne reflects:

> What I find fascinating is that ultimately, I realise that we are not a very collective culture. In the construction of our country, philosophically, ideologically, our values, the notion of the "collective" is strong in France, it's part of the constitution of human rights, of our long history. However, in our everyday lifestyle, not at all. […] we are more individualistic in our reflexes than we think.
>
> For example, Claire is really African. The idea of the "collective" is in her DNA, she doesn't even think about it. There are questions that we ask, she looks at us with her eyes wide open, she just doesn't get it. One time, we were stuck on a subject for weeks. Then at the end of one meeting, she said: if we come back to this subject yet again next month, I'm not coming. It really woke us up. We said, she's right. We have to get past so many individual barriers before we can reach a collective consensus. It's a learning process that we have to go through (Jeanne, Homeowner, Jardin Divers).

In this example, learning about a culturally different way of approaching collective governance ignites in Jeanne a desire to grow and change, to come closer to living in accordance with the ideals that she believes in. This example also aligns with the outcomes that Habitat et Humanisme hopes will emerge from encounters across difference in its housing programs. General Manager Olivier describes the aspiration that "the experience of otherness is enriching," whereby a "culture shock […] allows everyone to make progress" and to "change their perspective" of the world. CPA-CPS Founder Xavier envisages a similar outcome, where such encounters can "shake up our habits in France," based on the realisation that "there are certain things in other cultures that are interesting."

Both Heather and Jeanne flip the idea of role-model theory on its head: in these examples, it is not the middle-class (and Western-cultured) residents "modelling" behaviour for their poorer, immigrant residents to assimilate, but it is they who see other cultural values and practices as being worthy of emulation. This converges with the findings of Camina and Wood (2009) and further demonstrates the theoretical value of the concept of reciprocity, where the benefits of encounters across difference do not flow in one direction but have the potential to be mutually enriching.

These examples show that reciprocal cultural exchange is conditional on the adoption of a particular posture, whereby one is open to learning from others and to seeing one's own culture through a new lens, reflexively. This allows an exchange to be truly bi-directional, rather than it being about one culture imposed onto another, in contrast to the assumptions that underpin role model thinking. They also show how these reciprocal exchanges, when performed with the above-mentioned posture, are a means to mutually enhance capabilities. This includes gaining depth and perspective in one's outlook on the world, and enhancing the way one relates to the world and to others. It also helps to develop the human qualities of empathy, compassion, and humility, which reciprocal recognition via interpersonal exchange both requires and fosters.

Finally, these examples demonstrate the potential for cultural exchange to happen at more profound levels—if such exchange is restricted to sharing food, music or cultural "facts," perhaps it risks being too superficial and can even reduce the complexity of culture to a few visible practices. This could lead to the exoticisation of such practices, without connecting them to more meaningful expressions of culture that relate to ways of seeing and interpreting the world. These deeper expressions of culture can, on the one hand, be insightful and illuminating, while at the same time point to what humanity has in common, to gain appreciation of the shared "attributes, experiences and goals" that can form the basis of an "enlarged human community" to which all feel they can belong, despite these differences (1998:198-199). This is not to ignore or hide difference, which can be celebrated and drawn on as a rich source of insight. However, to do so, deeper appreciations of the richness of culture need to be acknowledged, as focusing only on its outward practices risks emphasising difference at the expense of togetherness and commonalities.

Yet despite these observations, only very few residents (including Heather and Jeanne) of the so-called "majority" population were able to provide examples of ways in which they had gained knowledge and questioned their own cultural perspectives as a result of encounters across cultural difference. This seems to show just how entrenched the institutionalised patterns of cultural value that hold Western culture as "normative" are, and how challenging this makes it to recognise them as otherwise—though far from impossible (Fraser 2004).

7.7. Everyday acts of care

The significance of "house-as-home" as a "hub of caring relations and practices" is noted by Emma Power (2019). She quotes Joan Tronto to describe care as an activity, moral practice or disposition rooted in "the concerns and needs of the other" (1993:105). Every day, banal examples of care practiced among residents in all four housing programs can be seen as "the kinds of small acts, words and gestures which can instigate and reciprocate/reproduce such care," as observed by Horton and Kraftl (2009:14). Table 23 presents a selection of everyday acts of care among diverse residents.

Table 23: Selected examples of everyday acts of care among residents

Examples	Program
Residents check in on the welfare of one another—e.g., elderly tenants who live alone, particularly during vulnerable times like heatwaves; or hosts check on guests if they don't come home.	*All programs*
Residents prepare meals for other residents who are sick or live alone.	*HousingFirst*
Residents visit one another in hospital, and take family members to see their loved ones in hospital.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant puts up signs in the apartment to help his older flat mate who has begun to suffer from Alzheimer's.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A host offers a pregnant guest the only room in the house with air conditioning.	*RWA*
A KAPS student accompanies an elderly lady from the Blémont estate to an important appointment, as she is worried that she might slip in the snow.	*AFEV*
A youth hugs an elderly resident who is going through a difficult time.	*HousingFirst*
Residents keep an eye on others who they know suffer from addictions, and help them overcome it in some cases.	*HousingFirst*
Residents mind one another's children.	*All programs*
Residents support a social tenant in his effort to find a larger apartment so his wife can join him.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Residents take care of one another's pets when needed.	*HousingFirst*
Family members take care of guest's baby.	*RWA*
Parents at *Jardin Divers* see themselves as being responsible for all children: residents pick up one another's children from school, have them over and feed them, young male social tenants play with and babysit the children, parents look out for and provide education and discipline for one another's children, and they are involved in collective activities such as gardening and composting.	*Habitat et Humanisme*

Reciprocal acts of care are part of the fabric of everyday life across the programs, but they take on particular significance in times of crisis, when neighbours tend to assume the (informal) role of first responder. In the HousingFirst building dedicated to people aged over 55, neighbours look out for one another. Despite the social and ethnic diversity that characterises the building, as well as the presence of many people with disabilities, mutual concern for one another's welfare, notably one another's health, was something mentioned by many residents and staff. Given the elderly population of the residence, hospital stays and death are not uncommon, and residents support the sick and their families as a matter of course. This support can include driving a resident who does not have a car to see their spouse in hospital, pooling time and resources together in the common room to prepare meals for someone who is unwell, or even just knocking on a neighbour's door if they haven't been seen in a little while.

In one instance, a resident, Maureen, was the first responder when a neighbour passed away from a heart attack in her arms. Nadya, a resident from Ukraine who lives alone, describes the culture of mutual care that characterises the building, citing how that death led them to raise funds for a defibrillator:

> People worry about each other. Maureen, she was so upset when her neighbour died because that heart thing wasn't done [in time]. She was so upset. And she organised this group to make that defibrillator available […] It's always [asking for] information, or you looking out for someone in trouble. So, it's make some bonds of course. Five years nearly. So even you don't know name, you know this person, we know each other's illnesses, […] disability. So of course, you feel like you belong to this group or something. Before I was thinking, I'm just alone, isolated, like nobody on island. And now—even though I not agree with a lot of things of my Russian speaking neighbour—she rely on me. She always say, you knock on my door when you can't see me a long time, I say okay (laughs) (Nadya, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Nadya's reflection shows how care can be a practice of communal solidarity, as noted by Power, where a sense of belonging is rooted in trust in one's "capacity to give and receive care" (2019:766). For Nadya, it is not just knowing that she can turn to someone else in times of need, as valuable as that is, but also *being relied upon* that helps her feel like she belongs as part of a community. She reflects, "When you see people in need, of course you will share something. Any concern about help, I will respond of course." In her broader reflections, Nadya comments several times on how limited she feels in Australia because her English is not perfect, and how she sometimes struggles to read the cultural codes of her Australian neighbours. Yet, in her role giving care to others, she takes on a valued social role, as noted by Ward (2015), and finds a means of connection, no longer feeling like she is on an "island."

Tronto's observation that "caring with" is applicable at the social scale "as a communal practice founded in reciprocity and interdependence" and a "practice of communal solidarity" highlights how solidarity emerges through the collective practice of care (2015:37). In this example, diverse residents come together not on the basis of common traits or a shared history, but out of a mutual concern for one another's health and wellbeing.

Another tenant, Maria, describes making chicken soup for her elderly neighbour who was unwell:

> He said that he was going in for surgery. And I love making chicken soup (laughs). I love it. So anyone that gets sick, regardless of whether I know them or I've just met them for the first time, if they're not well, I believe chicken soup is the answer to everything (laughs) […] And it is yummy, the chicken soup that I make (laughs). My grandmother taught me to make it (Maria, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Residents seem to get as much from extending this support as they do from receiving it, as evident in Maria's joy over making chicken soup. This feeling of mutual dependence extends beyond the building itself—Dorothy, an elderly lady who volunteers at the local neighbourhood house, describes feeling like she could call on friends who are HousingFirst tenants in times of need.

A similar spirit of mutual care characterises relations at *Jardin Divers.* Residents were the ones who raised the alarm to Habitat et Humanisme about Yacine's Alzheimer's, leading him to be moved to a specialised care facility. "We were worried about the man," homeowner Lydia

states, "we live with them, we see them every day, when we don't see them anymore, we are worried."

It is also not just the elderly who feel this sense of mutual support. Over in Paris, at the Blémont estate, tenant Mariamme describes how she realised she was part of a community that supports one another when young neighbours testified in support of her character to police:

> I had an unfortunate experience where an ex—he literally assaulted me. And all those people, all the youth, they all came. Even though I didn't really know them, I just know their faces, but I didn't know—and when I saw them speaking to the police, and they were speaking about me saying, she's been here a long time…they knew my whole life. And my neighbour said, here, everyone knows everyone […] and we all want everything to go well (Mariamme, social tenant, Blémont estate).

At HousingFirst, residents are also at times the first responders supporting neighbours who suffer from drug or alcohol addiction. Addiction is a challenge that some residents face in the Ashwood estate, which many other residents complain vocally about. However, what is less spoken about are the quiet ways residents are helping one another to battle their addictions.

Sometimes this means helping a person get home safely if they are stumbling in while in a state of intoxication, as is the case for Adi and his neighbour, who struggles with alcohol use. Adi affirms that he is committed to not giving up on her and he checks in on her regularly, through simple neighbourly gestures, such as going by and saying, "You didn't come and say hello today?"

When a young resident, Kasem, is struggling with drinking, older resident Ken, who works as a fitness trainer, puts gym equipment on his balcony, which helps him cope by giving him something else in his life to focus on. Yet another resident, Sam, overcame a drug addiction in part by finding a purpose volunteering in the fortnightly fruit and vegetable market. Fellow resident Stav believes that he has "changed dramatically in this environment" and in particular through his role as a "helper" at the market. Other volunteers show warmth towards him and he to contributes to the volunteering spirit. Thus, the story of addiction is as much a tragedy and source of conflict as it is a story about neighbourly care and mutual support.

In another example, Nadya finds that by caring for a resident who has an intellectual disability, Maggie, she is able to overcome her own fear and discomfort around people with intellectual disabilities. One day, Nadya accompanies Maggie on a market trip, knowing that she experiences anxiety in crowded areas. Nadya explains how uncomfortable she used to feel interacting with people with intellectual disabilities, as she grew up in a context where the intellectually disabled were not integrated into society. Courses offered by Link Health combined with encounters with Maggie and others helped normalise these interactions:

> In Ukraine we never have people like this. I think we have all people like this locked somewhere. So, I never see them on street. And here, it's like everywhere and especially where they call affordable living now or house commission, it's really concentration of this. So, I

> afraid of this, I don't know how to behave, I don't know what to do, when something happens. So, I try to just avoid and don't know how to behave. And here with Maggie. […] We have some courses about mental disability. So, it left me some information to accept, and I just not such worry anymore like before and I feel like my anxiety and depression and my feelings about Australia, it just was lack of information. So now I have more information and I feel relaxing […] I not scared of them such like before, because I just don't know how to talk with her or something. Now I can talk with her and feel like—just make knowledgeable about this, what to do (Nadya, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Mutual care and dependence within the residence has also had a significant impact on Maggie, who is living independently for the first time in her life:

> I didn't think I'd be able to do it. Cos I've always had people do things for me. I never thought I'd be able to do it by myself. And I think, I mean if I had to show someone else the same ropes that I learnt, I think I'd be able to do it. If that makes sense. Like I could be a role model for them (Maggie, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Maggie's desire to reciprocate the support she received by helping somebody else, calls to mind the idea of reciprocity within an interdependent web of social relations, flowing in all directions and also over time, where people can reciprocate the support they receive through plans to pay it forward to someone else. This resonates with Power's observation that "recognising the historical depth of caring-with means engaging with how relations-past enable acts-of-care-future," whereby care "has roots in time" (2019:767). This example also shows the agency of people with disabilities to care for others through "multiple, overlapping networks of dependence" (Fine and Glendinning 2005:612; Power 2019). Maggie's sense of achievement and esteem around her capacity to now live independently, thanks to the support she receives both institutionally and through the relations of reciprocity established with her neighbours, can be seen as a recognition outcome.

Reciprocity can also flow from the past to the present. Beth, who is now seeking refugee status, in the past held a senior job in her home country and periodically travelled to Australia for work. Beth recalls how in the past she was advocating for the rights of refugees being detained in PNG by the Australian Government:

> Ironically, back in 2014 […] I joined the Refugee Free march in Canberra because of the asylum seeker situation in Manus and Nauru. I was actually campaigning for the asylum seekers the Australian government decided to put on my country, on Manus Island. […] And now I am one of them myself! (laughs). Looking back, *what?* I was marching to free other people, and now I'm in that situation myself! (Beth, Guest, RWA program).

Beth is thus able to see how the support she once showed for the people seeking asylum being detained in her country is now being reciprocated by her host Kelly, whom she describes as warm and encouraging, and her home as "the place I'm meant to be." The stability and support provide space for her to apply for a PhD program. "She's actually encouraging me," she shares,

"Kelly was telling me, even if you make it or you don't make it, you'll have a testimony to say that even in my situation, I did send a proposal."
HousingFirst Tenant Participation Officer Philippa credits HousingFirst's role as a "holistic" landlord as contributing to a dynamic where people look out and care for each other, though she notes it is also something that she finds more prevalent in social housing rather than private housing. She states:

> Maybe there's a sense of shared experience, maybe everyone thinks that they're kind of in the same boat a little bit. It'd be nice to think, and I'm sure [HousingFirst] contributes to that, through being a holistic landlord, through providing programs and encouraging participation (Phillipa, Tenant Participation Officer, HousingFirst).

Other tenants comment on the particularity of the Ashwood residence. Ken shares, "I lived in a house for ten years, I never knew my neighbours." Fellow tenant Mike reflects, "I don't know too many private housing residents that would get together as a building and buy a defibrillator for their building." At the Blémont social housing estate, tenant Hoda also sees this dynamic. "It's nice to exchange something, we can help each other." She adds that being in social housing they receive the help of the state, "but maybe among us, we can also help each other."

These collective models of housing provide more opportunities for residents to establish reciprocal relations of care with people outside the family unit, as the "hub of caring relations and practices" envisaged by Power (2019). Living arrangements that facilitate and support encounters across difference can help nurture this, so that a desire to care can be given expression. While most of these acts of care are reciprocated informally, such as passing food over the doorstep of a neighbour's home or providing solace by the hospital bed of a fellow resident, a culture of mutual care and support is strengthened as neighbours get to know each other in more formal spaces.

But some of these examples also show how a predisposition for reciprocity and care can already be present in individuals and communities and perhaps from that perspective, these programs help to strengthen this disposition and create opportunities to express it. Indeed, this aligns with much literature that shows the bonds of support present in many housing estates in France (Authier et al. 2007), and with findings from the literature on care, such as Horton and Kraftl's observation of simple acts that "signify a disposition for caring" (2009:18). As Horton and Kraftl note in their research on an early childhood centre, it "does not merely provide 'care'," but "collects, and is constituted by, sets of caring practices which are variously orientated around particular affective dispositions" (2009:18). In this same vein, these housing organisations are not *providing* reciprocity, but are creating opportunities for residents to act upon this disposition.

Perhaps one comment that captures this idea comes from tenant Iris who describes how life at HousingFirst means that "I have more opportunities to show people that I'm willing to help them. I can show care to these people." This suggests that a discourse and practices of reciprocity can provide opportunities for enrolment (Fincher and Iveson 2008) that allow

people to translate a will to care for others into action.

These examples support Power's finding that secure housing, as an "infrastructure of care," enhances one's capacity to care, as an example of "relations of exteriority that generatively enable and disable caring capacity over time" (2019:774). In this sense, redistribution is not only an outcome of relations of reciprocity but a fundamental pre-condition, via the shared infrastructure of stable housing that enables and promotes reciprocal expressions of care.

At the same time, when a spirit of mutual care is not accompanied by adequate professional support, residents can feel ill equipped to take on the role of first responder. While it is encouraging to hear about how residents at HousingFirst support their neighbours with their addictions, the backstory to this is that Community Development Coordinator Helen's attempts to set up a Narcotics Anonymous space in the vicinity of the residence were shot down because of stigma. The challenge of being over-burdened is particularly heightened within RWA's homestay program, where guests can come into homes bringing trauma and significant mental health issues with them. Greens Counsellor Jonathon Sri reflects how while it is helpful to tell hosts that they will benefit from a placement, it is also important to convey, "it's going to be a cost to you emotionally and personally in some way, but you're doing that because it's the right thing to do." When professional support is inadequate, informal care through reciprocity is perhaps being tested to its limits and cannot compensate for deep structural inequalities.

7.8. Giving time and participating in collective life

Another core way that encounters of reciprocity take place in all four cases is through residents volunteering and giving time to their communities. This can range from one-off interventions to more systematic volunteering efforts. Table 24 provides an overview of this range.

Table 24: Selected examples of time given by residents

Examples	Program
Tenants volunteer at the fortnightly "pocket park" fruit and vegetable market, including mentoring students from Berrengarra School.	*HousingFirst*
A private Ashwood resident volunteers at a local toy library, including at a neighbourhood festival, *Party on Power*.	*HousingFirst*
A guest of RWA's homestay program volunteers to help elderly people.	*RWA*
A social tenant at *Jardin Divers* volunteers to pick up the collective lawn mower from the repair shop.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Social tenants volunteer at second-hand stores.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant at Blémont introduces KAPS students to their neighbours and encourages them to participate in solidarity actions.	*AFEV*
Residents at *Jardin Divers* take turns via a roster emptying bins and cleaning common areas of the residence, while others volunteer to committees that look after gardening, maintenance, cleaning, communications, and other aspects of collective living.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Tenants take actions to improve the environment: e.g. cleaning graffiti, putting up posters about recycling in the common room, picking up litter.	*HousingFirst*
Hosts advocate for refugee rights in the broader community.	*RWA*

A social tenant participates in meetings about the street festival offering her suggestions and encouraging other tenants to participate.	*AFEV*
Jardins Divers residents work together to prepare a housewarming party.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Blémont youth help run the barbecue stand at the street festival.	*AFEV*
Tenants prepare Christmas and other festive meals to share together in common room.	*HousingFirst*
Hosts take time to intentionally create connections between the guests they are hosting and members of their networks and their neighbourhoods, and in some cases, try to help others better understand issues pertaining to asylum seeking and becoming a refugee	*RWA*

Bonds are forged between diverse residents when together they take action that aims to benefit the community at large. The act of volunteering is considered by many to be intrinsically rewarding. From such a perspective, it is reciprocal by nature—by taking action that contributes to the wellbeing of others, residents experience joy, personal growth and make connections with others, in line with previous findings (Cloke et al. 2007; Darling 2011). In one example, Ken, a HousingFirst tenant, describes how "The best thing to do" when "you're really, really down […] is to go to a charity and help somebody. Because what happens, it uplifts you." He adds, "You create relationships."

Far from an activity exclusive to the wealthy or the middle class (though there are plenty of examples of this), residents from all walks of life invest time in volunteering. Residents who have retired, residents on disability pensions, students, and those who do not have working rights (such as people seeking asylum) are among those who dedicate time to volunteering. HousingFirst Tenancy Manager Andrea notes, "I think one of the most valuable things people have is time, and if people are willing to give their time to others, that's quite meaningful."

The fortnightly pocket-park fruit and vegetable market, held on-site, is one example of volunteering, where reciprocity flows in many directions, through a number of different people. The market sells high-quality produce at extremely low prices (Figures 73, 74). When one observes the panorama of the market through the lens of reciprocity, a complex web of reciprocal relations comes into sight. The fresh high-quality produce is provided by Café Ed, partly in exchange for free rent from HousingFirst. It is bagged and prepared by students, who are accompanied both by someone from Berengarra school as well as by two volunteer housing tenants, who have taken on a "mentoring role." This experience helps build capacity in students who have difficulties socialising and speaking to people they do not know; it contributes to training the person from Berrengarra, who is a student of education herself; and it empowers tenants to not only run the market but to accompany others. They are all benefiting from this space, they are all contributing to it, and their joint efforts allow the market to run and for tenants to access fresh produce at low prices in a place that has been deemed a food desert (according to HousingFirst personnel).

Zooming out even further, the exchange of recipes between residents waiting in line and over the counter, the extra food generously packed into the hands of large families, a tenant playing with a neighbour's baby, the general chit-chat buzzing throughout the queue, represent other flows of reciprocity. Watching the exchange of produce from hand to hand, one can almost

glimpse arrows pointing in different directions, marking the multi-directional flows of reciprocity.

There are also invisible flows of reciprocity expressed in who is *not* at the market. Tenant Edith describes how she and her husband used to go to the market, but when they realised that produce is limited, they decided to leave more for other tenants with greater needs. "We not going because we save a place for the others," she shares. "We can afford food in the supermarket."

And finally, there are the invisible flows of reciprocity that extend beyond the time and space of the market. For example, reciprocity in the partnership between HousingFirst and Berrengarra gave rise to the market. Furthermore, after the market is packed up and everyone has gone home, the Tenant Advisory Group decides that the cumulative profits of the market would be spent on the defibrillator that residents in the over-55 building are so passionate about acquiring following the passing of their neighbour. Ingredients bought here also make up the delicious meals that tenants cook for one another in times of sickness or solitude.



Figure 73: The Pocket-Park market sells high-quality produce at extremely low prices. Photo: Author, 2018.



Figure 74: The Pocket-Park market rotates, to reach residents in all buildings. Here it is being held in the common room of the building for residents aged over 55. Photo: HousingFirst, 2021b.

One of the market's most regular volunteers, Polly, who is originally from the United Kingdom, explains how now that she is retired and has an abundance of time, she wants to help others in the community. During a typical market shift, Polly joyfully greets the customers, her neighbours, that she knows on a first-name basis while playing a motherly role to the young Berrengarra students that she and other tenants mentor (*too much soft drink is not good for you!* She counsels them). The most cherished part of the role for her is interacting with her neighbours. Her friendly, caring rapport with them includes attention to ensure those families with greater needs—particularly those with small children—receive extra food. After serving a large Afghan family, she shares:

> I always make sure a lady next door who's got a little girl […], if we've got plenty of stuff, that I give them extra stuff. But [HousingFirst] know that. And they're happy for me to do that. Because I know that they struggle with five kids. So, I always tend to give them bananas or apples or oranges, over and above. That's the whole thing. We are a community. So, knowing somebody needs help, we go and help them. If you can, you can. It doesn't have to be monetary, because most of us don't have money (Polly, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Sam, who as mentioned above, has been able to manage a drug addiction in part through his volunteer work, is another staple of the market. Sam is greeted warmly by residents, and he contributes to the set up and running of the market and to the dynamic within the team of volunteers. On one particular day, when there was a disagreement among volunteers, Sam makes a conciliatory gesture by holding up a capsicum to the others and saying, with a slight smile, this looks like a pug. Fellow volunteer Ashleigh, who has a pet pug, laughs heartily and agrees, and the mood is lifted. On that day, after which the market would be closed over the next month, Sam thanks everyone for their work, and seems sentimental about the fact that he would have to wait so long to return.

The impacts of the encounters of reciprocity facilitated by this market are multiple. These volunteering efforts contribute to redistribution by allowing social tenants to access quality food at below-market rates. The market sales can be seen as a form of "transformational

sharing" as conceived by Davies and Evans, since they lead to "greater development of social capital, relational bonding and resilience" (2019:155). Capabilities are also enhanced among the volunteers, with tenant volunteers learning how to mentor others, while students advance in their social capacities. A sense of community is strengthened by ties of mutual support, as exemplified in Pauline's comments.

In both Ashwood and Blémont, volunteers from outside the social housing estates conceive of their efforts as a contribution to a community or a place that they very much feel a part of. Rather than positioning themselves as saviours of their poorer neighbours, they see themselves as all bound together by place and by a shared sense of responsibility to contribute to that place. Framed in this way, volunteering becomes a reciprocal exchange of time among residents of a common area.

Lucie, a lawyer whose family recently purchased a house in the Ashwood area, describes volunteering as people "helping each other." For Lucie, volunteering is a way to engage locally and to get to know her community, including its challenges:

> When you start volunteering, I think you get more exposed to what's actually happening. I work four days a week and I have young kids, we're just a busy family. So it's very easy for us to just come in and out of a house and not engage locally. And just be really ignorant as to what's going on. And I think by volunteering, making the connections, knowing a little bit more about what's going on, in some ways it's probably exposed me to a greater level of the bad stuff as well (Lucie, homeowner, Ashwood area).

Lucie describes how though her family only recently arrived in the area, volunteering has helped her to establish bonds with others in her community. "I think it's when you work side by side with people volunteering, you make those connections."

Likewise, despite the social and economic challenges that many of her neighbours in Blémont face, KAPS student Samira recognised from the outset that she was not there to "rescue" them. Rather, she and her peers sought to open space for Blémont residents to contribute their talents and knowledge to organising actions that could bring neighbours together. Samira began to see herself as simply just another resident who desires to invest in her locality alongside her neighbours:

> That's how I see this. To be engaged here, in the neighbourhood where I live, it's simply to give time to where I live, so that I also want to live here. Because I run into people I've seen, we have things to say to each other, we have things in common. I think that trying to be on equal footing is, quite simply, a way of being (Samira, KAPS student, AFEV program).

When Samira speaks to people, she is mindful that "there is a whole history behind them, and to be respectful of that." She describes her exposure to manifold "unexpected stories" through volunteering as an enriching experience, leading to bonds of trust and a feeling of being welcomed into the community.

A key condition for this reciprocity that seems to emerge from these examples is that volunteers see their efforts as part of a *common* project with their diverse neighbours—not something that one group of people does to another, or to a place. These experiences call to mind Depraetere et al.'s observation that repeated encounters among individuals rooted in a shared place can give rise to "new forms of solidarity" that emerge from "the shared care for these places" (2018:89, 108). As the authors note, this seems to "have the power to blur or even refute the way vulnerable groups fall between clear-cut sociocultural conventions and categories" whereby "residents position themselves as people who are part and parcel of the neighbourhood" (2018:110). In these examples, Lucie and Samira try to come together with others in their neighbourhoods as just another resident invested in improving the place in which they live, without attention to socioeconomic lines of difference. In this way—and in contrast to some of the attitudes role model thinking can promote (e.g. at Rose et al. 2013)—they do not attempt to remake the place in their own image, nor impose a vision of progress that does not reflect the needs and aspirations of its existing residents.

Similarly, fellow KAPS student Clémence attributes her attitude to volunteering to a sense of belonging to a place and wanting to contribute to it, what she describes as "the desire to make the neighbourhood where I live feel more alive and human." For Clémence, the feeling of being welcomed into the neighbourhood by residents strengthened this desire:

> I feel that we are welcomed, that there is a generosity on the part of residents, that there is trust, solidarity between neighbours, and I think that everyone wants that, to feel that it's not just a place that you are given to live in, but really, it's also a place that welcomes you to exchange, that you can also shape a little (Clémence, KAPS student, AFEV program).

These experiences also helped to shed outside perceptions of the neighbourhood that Clémence had been fed before arriving, as "blue collar, violent, poor." Encounters with her neighbours helped her appreciate her neighbourhood in very different ways.

This approach is manifested in the posture of the KAPS students. They are level-headed and gentle in their interactions with residents, friendly and warm but not forceful, and seem genuinely eager to find out more about people's lives and histories.

Several other examples demonstrate how volunteering is something that is reciprocated at different moments in time. Sue, a HousingFirst tenant, volunteers by teaching a craft class at the neighbourhood house every week. In the past, she had lost everything in a house fire and was supported by an organisation and its volunteers until she got her life back on track. Now she sees her volunteering as being "about giving back to the community."

> I remember what the Salvos gave me when I came out of the fire. I didn't have a pair of glasses, I mean nothing. No car keys, no phone. And they provided everything for me. So, it was time to give back. And it's surprising how much you get back out of it by giving to the community (Sue, social tenant, HousingFirst program).

Beth, who is being hosted by Kelly through RWA's homestay problem, volunteers to help elderly people, serving them morning tea. "I just go in and give my time," she explains. While she is there helping them, she recognises how much they must have contributed to Australia over their lifetimes. "I love it, because these are older people who have contributed a lot to this great nation and who need care and company. It's nice to have a chat with them, help them with their cup of tea." Like in the previous section, this example shows how by receiving care in the form of being hosted by Kelly, Beth's capacity to care for others is enhanced (Power 2019). It also shows how people can receive care and give care simultaneously, as agents of that care, from the perspective of "caring with" (Tronto 2013).

At RWA, many of those who are receiving the welcome and hospitality of their hosts and their new communities now, have given so much to the communities that they have come from. Beth herself has a history of supporting her local community in PNG, before seeking asylum in Australia. Host Melanie explains how Geena, who is staying with her, also devoted a lot of time to helping others back when she was in PNG. "She kind of just helped people, she would raise other people's kids and she'd help people with disabilities." Thus, when viewed across a broader timescale, reciprocity comes into view, in the sense that those who are receiving the time and generosity of the people and families hosting them now have in the past volunteered their own time to other people in their communities.

In the Blémont case, participation of social housing residents as volunteers in the organisation of the street festival is a way of getting to know their neighbours across difference. Julie is the only resident from the Blémont estate who attends any of the formal meetings to organise the street festival. She introduces the KAPS students to social tenants, though shares that before meeting them, she herself never made the effort to get to know her neighbours.

On the day of the street festival, Julie encourages a friend who lives in the more affluent part of the neighbourhood to attend, her first time coming to this side—"It's so nice!" the friend gushes. Julie also meets a new neighbour from Blémont who sat at the same table as her, they exchange numbers and plan to go for coffee.

During the street festival, the participation of the local youth, who helped cook and serve the barbecue stand, seems to have left the greatest mark on other residents. Most of these youth were known locally for hanging around at the bottom of the Blémont estate, and —like youth from immigrant backgrounds in housing estates all over France—they are often assumed to be connected to drug dealing and antisocial behaviours. They represent *"les jeunes"* that Christine Lelévrier et al. write about, who tend to be portrayed as "dangerous roles models for the neighbourhood children" (2017:75).

At the festival, these same youth were seen in a different light—giving their time to volunteer to run the barbecue (Figure 75). Fellow Blémont tenant Hoda describes how her perceptions of these youth changed after speaking to them during the festival. "We talked about their projects, what they wanted to do," she shares, noting that she was happy "to get to know other things about them." Mathilde, from the youth space, also recounts the perspectives of other residents,

who told her, "We were able to better understand them, to make a connection, and to realise that they're not delinquents." In this way, the encounters of reciprocity facilitated by the street party led to an outcome of recognition where systemic, negative representations of these youth perpetuated through politics, the media, and other social channels were casually challenged and replaced with fairer ideas about who these youth are and what they care about.



Figure 75: Youth from Blémont running the barbecue. Photo: Village de Clignancourt, 2018.

While the various ways Blémont residents participate demonstrates a willingness to give time, as a form of reciprocity, the spaces where the festival was organised remained closed to all but one Blémont resident, highlighting that among local residents, more powerful groups are to some degree defining the terms of participation. This challenge represents a limit to reciprocity. The participation of a handful of Blémont tenants on the day itself—facilitating workshops or refereeing soccer matches—suggests that some tenants possess the will to participate and potentially to take on more leadership roles if space is opened for them to do so.

7.9. Hospitality and welcome

Welcome and hospitality are reciprocated throughout all four housing programs, as illustrated in Table 25. These concepts are particularly pertinent in the housing space given one's home is often the place where hospitality is practised, and welcome customary between neighbours.

Table 25: Selected examples of hospitality and welcome among residents

Examples	Program
Blémont social tenants invite KAPS students over for coffee.	*AFEV*
A host and her family have a barbecue to welcome their guest when she arrives, Another host takes the guest staying with her out for a meal.	*RWA*
Jardin Divers residents invite a newly arrived social tenant for drinks and make a cake.	*Habitat et Humanise*

Ashwood tenants show a new tenant around when he first arrives.	*HousingFirst*
Guests offer buddies food when they visit their home.	*RWA*
An Ashwood tenant offers to help a newly arrived tenant move in.	*HousingFirst*
The Café Ed manager seeks to create a culture of welcome for all tenants who in turn are welcoming to one another, rendering tenure status invisible.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant offers to cook for all her neighbours during a New Year's Eve celebration she wishes to host in the common room.	*Habitat et Humanisme*

The concept of "welcome" is in the name of *Refugees Welcome Australia*. Most explicitly, this welcome refers to the hospitality that RWA seeks to extend to those seeking asylum on Australia's shores. And indeed, guests do share how welcome their hosts have made them feel in their homes. Adila shares how before meeting her host, Christine, she was "scared about doing relationship with Australians." She explains, "Before I stayed with her, I didn't know anything Australian, about Australia, about who is Australian." Adila explains how a fellow Iraqi friend was initially worried for her, warning her about the clash in values she might encounter with her unknown host.

Adila recounts how her initial fears subsided when she met Christine, who insisted that she should feel not like a guest, but as though this was her home. "She make me feel comfortable in her house," Adila describes, "not guest, she made me, *this is your house, not just my house*. And she always told me, *our* house, not *my* house, or *our* garden."

Fay feels similarly welcomed by Heather and her family, and describes how as a black woman, she had never expected to feel welcomed into a white family's home in this way. Fay begins by explaining her reservations before moving in, arriving eight months pregnant:

> I think, how can I speak to white people? Because don't know how to speak English. I can't speak English. And I feel, God help me. And I come, I feel, no, it's good. I feel good. Because white people and black is different, completely different. But I went here and feel good. I don't know, some Australian people can look after people like me […]
>
> First I came here, people really happy, give a room to me and make some dinner. Say welcome. And we make some barbecue. They happy. *What time you going to have baby?* They really concerned. *What time you going to have baby?* The lady Heather, very good to look after people. Like to look after people from any country, black or… (Fay, Guest, RWA program).

These examples demonstrate the power of hospitality and welcome to overcome feelings of otherness. Against a history of systemic injustice and discrimination towards non-white migrants to Australia, Adila and Fay were understandably wary about staying with white Australian families. These homestays represent their first meaningful encounters with white Australians and thus it is hard for them to imagine having anything in common. In their explanation of their changed mindsets and sense of relief, they highlighted the warm welcome and hospitality they received as an enabling factor.

Like Adila, Fay is particularly touched by how much Heather makes her feel at home, describing how moved she is by being offered to use the same sets of towels and linen as the family:

> Heather we can use towel, we can use everything together. Really, friendly. Really, friendly. I can't understand this. Because some people don't look after some people like this. Like white people can say, *oh, this towel is for you, you can use it*. Or, *you can use this, this, but this one, no*. We can use same towel, same bed things. Boys can go play with baby in the bed when I go out. Baby cry, boys go and sleep with baby. Some people can't do this. But really good (Fay, Guest, RWA program).

Heather explains on her part how conscientious she was when Fay arrived. "It was really important to me that she feel welcome. She arrived and she was very heavily pregnant and had been through considerable trauma." She adds, "Just to say, please be at our table, please help yourself to anything. Anything that we have is her's. And just to be saying, this food is yours. This is your space."

RWA Housing Coordinator Divya underscores the significance of even small gestures of welcome. "What really warms my heart," she begins, "in a few places I've seen, the hosts have gone out of their way to make the rooms beautiful, to make the rooms really welcoming. Because most of our guests have come in from very basic accommodation and detention centres, quite grim."

The outcome of this seems not to be recognition in a traditional sense—RWA guests are not so much overcoming prejudices they have of white Australians, but rather overcoming a fear they have of being treated with prejudice, or of having nothing in common. In this way, hospitality is a starting point for these relationships that help to dispel that fear and send a powerful signal that they are regarded as equal, fellow human beings. For Fay, her surprise at being allowed to use the same towels and linen as the white family hosting her suggests just how much she is expecting to *be othered* by them, that such a seemingly insignificant gesture of welcome carries so much weight. The recognition in this case thus stems from having one's dignity recognised, being treated as an equal human being, regardless of ethnic and cultural difference, and the feelings of connection this can reciprocate.

Welcome is also something reciprocated by guests to others. Several buddies describe being welcomed into guests' homes, who reciprocate to these newfound friends the same hospitality that they were shown upon arrival by their hosts. Sara explains how when she first visited Mona, the guest she had been paired with as a buddy, she was given a tour through every room and offered a drink. Likewise, every time Sophie would visit Emma, the guest she was paired with, Emma would always prepare food for her. Sophie describes how happy Emma was to be the one providing hospitality. Having lived many years in the Pacific, where Emma is from, Sophie reflects, "People in the Pacific are so ridiculously welcoming to outsiders. So, I'd like to think that we can provide the same thing back for everybody, hopefully."

Interestingly, RWA is reflecting whether "guest" is the right term for those who are being hosted through the homestay arrangement. In an effort to encourage more reciprocal relations between them and their hosts, they are asking whether another term would be more appropriate. What seems to be evident in these examples is that hosts who are welcoming try to make those they are hosting feel as though they are not guests, but that this is their home.

Another space where welcome is reciprocated is *Café Ed* at Ashwood. Manager Matthew explains how he tries to create an atmosphere of welcome in the café. In addition to the friendly and personalised service he encourages the students he is training to provide, he also ensures that their clients—many of whom come from social housing—are seen as "no different to anyone else, they like to be recognised." The café's service and overall "welcoming" atmosphere was oftentimes cited as one of the reasons people came back to the café, and this was evidenced in the friendly, first-name greetings, the memorisation of customers' favourite orders, the joking, jovial small talk.

On a given day, students chat enthusiastically with an eighty-year-old retired executive, Peter, mostly about sports but also about the long career that stretches behind him, during his twice-daily visits from the privately-run retirement village down the road. Peter in turn enjoys a casual chat about whatever is filling the pages of the newspaper on a given day with one or two HousingFirst tenants who are themselves regulars in this place.

Peter could afford any of the recently popped up coffee shops in the area but has chosen this one because of "the friendly atmosphere, especially since I live by myself." He elaborates:

> When I go out to a restaurant and cafes, I want them to engage me. I'm happier to go to a place that engages you […] than those that have a rather stiff approach to the café scene. I know some upmarket restaurants, I just don't go there. I used to go to a restaurant in St Kilda, a well-known restaurant. Lovely food. But I don't go there because they're just—there's that atmosphere of self-importance. Which I really don't like. It gets all the awards in the world, but I don't go there (Peter, resident of private retirement village, Ashwood area).

Peter describes how the atmosphere encourages encounters. "Regardless of age, we have a bit of a chat, a bit of a laugh." Peter is such a regular that HousingFirst tenant Stav hadn't even realised he wasn't a fellow tenant. "That explains why I only ever see him in here," he quips. Manager Matthew highlights how this represents the aspirations of the café, where two people can encounter one another across difference, free from the markers that might separate them:

> You have two people who are virtually at opposite ends—well maybe not opposite, but there's certainly a gap there in socio-economic situations—who have a chat. Two nice fellows who are just two nice fellows. That's just a classic example of how people interact in the café. As they relax and get to know each other they can talk about this and that (Matthew, Manager, Café Ed).

Café Ed is also a space where a local mother's group made up of half a dozen or so young mothers meets. According to manager Matthew, they symbolise the "changing demographic"

(and notably the gentrifying character) of the surrounding area. They gather once a week with their infants, swapping stories and sharing tips about new motherhood. Having moved into the area within the past two years—some as new homeowners and the others as renters in the private market—the group meets here for a few hours every week. That which brings them back to the place is its friendly "welcoming" atmosphere, its centrality to their different homes, and its pram-friendly ramp access and ample space for said prams (as well as the cheap coffee, they add).

Matthew welcomes their presence. He chuckles as he explains, "Usually, it's one, two, three and then all of a sudden there's eight here. And we love that. I think it's important that they have the opportunity to use the space." On any given day, they share this space with diverse residents—several of whom experience either physical or intellectual disabilities; the middle-aged Greek man, Stav, running a start-up IT business from his apartment upstairs who meets prospective clients in the café; the elderly group of Chinese ladies who come for a coffee after their weekly yoga class every Monday in the neighbourhood house up the road; the tattooed "hipster"-looking men from another part of town who happen to be passing by and are lured in by the banner promoting two dollar coffees; commuters on their way to the train station; and the HousingFirst staff who work out of the office just next door.

In "feeling welcome," what is facilitated is a casual, mundane sharing of space. What is perhaps most remarkable is how the relationship the mothers have to the space flips the gentrification narrative on its head. Not only do these mothers who choose to share this space for a few hours each week with social housing tenants—including those who experience intellectual disabilities—appear to be unphased by this, they express concern that they are the ones disturbing other residents, due to the presence of a group of infants and the associated noise and crying that this brings to the café. Arguably, this disrupts common assumptions about who middle class residents want to live next to and feel comfortable interacting with, and challenges the "parallel lives" idea, in a very casual yet significant way.

One thing this seems to demonstrate is that efforts to be inclusive and welcoming towards a specific group of people can extend to the generality of the population. From a design standpoint, the ramps in front of the café were built to provide access to residents with physical disabilities, however it also accommodates the needs of mothers with their large strollers. Furthermore, it seems, the *spirit* of welcome the café promotes touches everyone too. For the very act of feeling welcomed is reciprocal—neighbours and hosts can extend that welcome but people have to accept that welcome too. At Café Ed, though not from the social housing estate, both Peter and the mothers accept the welcome that is extended to them and feel comfortable in this setting. These examples show the power of welcome and hospitality to displace apprehension and a sense of otherness, and to help people feel more at ease with diversity.

7.10. Sharing networks

Residents share networks in ways that occasionally lead to employment opportunities. The idea of sharing networks as a result of encounters across difference aligns with one of the anticipated outcomes of mainstream social mix policies. Table 26 illustrates selected examples of network sharing among residents.

Table 26: Selected examples of network sharing among residents

Examples	Program
Hosts and their networks help connect guests to employment opportunities.	*RWA*
A social tenant finds a job in his field thanks to a homeowner at *Jardin Divers* who passes his resumé on within the organisation he works at.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A resident of the Village Clignancourt Association organises a meeting between local elected officials and youth from the Blémont neighbourhood, so that their voices could be heard, after they expressed needs in relation to public space.	*AFEV*
Residents of Village Clignancourt agree to help youth that Mathilde is working with in the youth space connect to internship opportunities in their line of work.	*AFEV*
A social tenant is able to launch his cleaning business by other residents and local organisations being the first to use his service.	*HousingFirst*
Homeowners try and help a social tenant find a new apartment so he can bring his wife over to France.	*Habitat et Humanisme*

Residents help connect one another to employment or other opportunities, providing what Brisbane's West End Counsellor, Jonathon Sri, describes as a "bridge" to social networks and opportunities. This more anticipated outcome of social mix—and one reflected in the discourse of various personnel—is a significant element of exchange, which tends to flow from more established and connected residents to those who are not as connected to such opportunities, due to where they grew up or having recently migrated to France.

At *Jardin Divers,* when Ismael writes to the residents' group email asking for assistance to find an internship, multiple residents pass on his CV to their places of employment, and some even give him advice on how to improve it. Ismael, who recently arrived in France as a student from Togo, recounts, "The day I sent the email, ten minutes later I began receiving emails." What he noticed is that organisations would call him for interviews in part because someone internal (a *Jardin Divers* resident) had passed on his CV. He also remarked that the interviews that he had were different to interviews he had in the past, as though a hidden door had been opened. In the interview for the role he was eventually offered, he explains, "We didn't speak about my academic background, we spoke more about projects, interesting things, it was really interactive, we spoke for at least an hour."

Alain, who had forwarded his CV to the person who eventually hired him, explains, "I transferred his application to my colleagues, saying that he was someone I knew, that he seemed like someone who was good, and that I recommended him in that capacity." Alain reflects, "Perhaps if he was in more classic social housing, he wouldn't have been able to take advantage of a network of people who are in a different economic situation." Indeed, Habitat

et Humanisme social worker, Cassandra, describes the networks that mixed housing facilitates as "a shortcut" that can "reduce certain inequalities." She adds, "Someone who is always in the same network, it's not going to open any doors."

The email was not Ismael's first contact with *Jardin Divers* residents. He had already participated in various collective spaces, such as helping out at a stand the residence had at a neighbourhood garage sale and participating in a friendly football match. More recently, he spent a whole day collaborating with other residents to set up for their joint "housewarming" celebration.

At RWA, helping guests with their CVs and with job applications was seen to be one of the main benefits of having a buddy. Hosts also support this effort by connecting guests to their networks. A social worker from the Romero Centre describes an example where a host introduced her guest to her network via the local church and this led to her finding a job in gardening, which is what she was looking for. The social worker notes, "To be honest, I never imagined that a guest at that age could find a paid job." The job led her to being able to find and move into a rental property.

Again, these are examples of networks that wouldn't exist if residents were housed in areas that concentrated poverty or concentrated refugees and as a result segregated them from such opportunities. Carolina, a Community Engagement Adviser at the Australian Senate who collaborates with RWA, analyses such possibilities in terms of privilege, sharing, "I think that people come to see that they have this thing, privilege, and so they can use the contacts that they have, or the people that they know, or the industries that they have worked in to maybe ask a favour on behalf of this person that is staying in their house."

Reciprocity then seems to contribute to efforts to act on the sense of responsibility that privilege bestows, as Carolina frames it, without placing oneself at the centre or positioning oneself as the saviour of others, for it acknowledges that everyone has something to bring to improving the neighbourhood. Sharing networks has a clear material or redistributive outcome for the tenants and people seeking asylum who are able to access work opportunities through people they would not have met, had it not been for their participation in the housing program.

7.11. Exchange of gifts and goods

While most of the tables before this one show how the *what* of reciprocation goes beyond the exchange of material things, it would be remiss not to include a selection of the material goods and objects that people do share in abundance within each housing program, a reflection of which is captured in table 27. And yet, as was the case with other examples, often what is being reciprocated in these exchanges goes beyond the actual material thing itself.

Table 27: Selected examples of gifts and goods exchanged among residents

Examples	Program
Host gives the guest living with him a bike as a means of transport.	*RWA*
HousingFirst volunteers at the neighbourhood house give away plants at a neighbourhood street party.	*HousingFirst*
Jardin Divers residents lend their cars to one another as well as their apartments when away (e.g. to host family and friends). They also share tools.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Social tenants receive furniture from their neighbours when they move out.	*HousingFirst*
Residents use Slack to help each other out when they things, whether it be eggs or sugar or covers for their children's books, to borrow a car.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Residents lend one another money in times of need.	*HousingFirst, RWA*
Mothers drop off cakes and sweets for the stand the KAPS students hold in the Blémont courtyard.	*AFEV*
Guests are encouraged to serve themselves to food from the fridge.	*RWA*
Social tenants prepare food for a range of different social activities and residents frequently exchange food – e.g. Claire makes *begnets* for neighbours Maxime and Violine who in turn give her jam that they make, residents welcome one another to their barbecues.	*Habitat et Humanisme, HousingFirst*
Guests cook meals for hosts.	*RWA*
A social tenant gifts fruit to other tenants.	*HousingFirst*
KAPS students buy food for Blémont children.	*AFEV*
A social tenant shares a cigarette with a KAPS student.	*AFEV*

The preparation and sharing of meals and food more generally takes on a particular symbolic importance as an act of sharing and care, and a gesture of reciprocity. Residents cook meals as a means to share parts of their culture but also to express gratitude, such as guests cooking for hosts, or social housing tenant Ismael cooking for the *Jardin Divers* residence following their support to help him find work. Indeed, social residents at *Jardin Divers* participate strongly in the preparation and sharing of food: Linda prepares dishes for everyone that she brings to monthly resident meetings; Claire cooks for neighbours and for shared social events and invites everyone to family celebrations she caters; Jay makes Indian food and regularly invites neighbours over to eat; Ismael teaches neighbour Jeanne, who has been to Togo, how to prepare a local dish. This also challenges the narrative that because social tenants don't participate in *certain ways* they are not participating in collective life at the residence.

As demonstrated in section 7.6, at HousingFirst, food is often exchanged as a gesture of care, with everything from chicken soup, fried rice, Italian deserts and butter chicken passed across the hallways of its buildings, food sharing practices that can be seen as a means for "practicing new social relations" (Davies and Evans 2019:157).

Some exchanges also perform the role of safety nets. HousingFirst tenant Nadya, who borrows money from a neighbour when her brother in Russia is in need, uses this term of "safety net," sharing how though she usually doesn't like to borrow from others, "When something happens, I know I can do it."

And sometimes, small gestures of giving can be very meaningful. In one instance, KAPS student Nicolas helps elderly Blémont resident Julie by checking on his phone what time a Johnny Halliday show is going to play on television. To thank him, she shares a cigarette. Nicolas replies that usually he prefers rolling his own cigarettes, because they are stronger, but accepts her gift "if it makes you happy." A simple gesture where positive effects are seen to flow both from the person giving the gift as well as the person receiving it.

Finally, while this chapter seeks to bestow more value upon the non-material "things" being exchanged as contributions to shared urban life, this should not be read as a dismissal of the value of material exchange. This is particularly pertinent in contexts of socioeconomic difference because inequality in the *capacity* to contribute materially is in itself a manifestation of injustice.

In one example, local government Counsellor Jonathon Sri, whose office supports RWA and who as an individual has hosted a person seeking asylum, describes the challenge guest Ahmad felt in not being able to reciprocate materially. Jonathon shares how while Ahmad contributed to the household that he shared with Jonathon and their other flat mates in various ways, "he felt a strong urge to reciprocate [materially] but had no income at all" and "had limited abilities to show generosity in ways that he would have wanted to." Jonathon elaborates:

> He helped, we had chickens in the backyard, and he helped a lot with feeding the chooks and that sort of stuff. But I remember one day he was really frustrated because we'd run out of chicken feed and he didn't have any money to buy more (Jonathon Sri, Counsellor, Greens party, West End municipality/RWA Brisbane host).

While Jonathon valued Ahmad's contribution feeding the chickens, he felt that culturally, Ahmad himself placed value on being able to contribute financially. This example is a reminder that while it is important to recognise non-material acts as significant contributions to collective life, this should not obscure the fact that people's capacity to reciprocate should be enhanced, whether that means increasing their material means, access to educational opportunities, or other dimensions of redistribution. This highlights the need for more structurally transformative redistribution remedies, as highlighted by Nancy Fraser (1998), which encounters of reciprocity alone cannot produce.

7.12. Sharing religious Faith

For many residents, sharing their religious faith is a means of encountering others across difference. There is a wide variety of forms through which people practice and share their faith, as shown in table 29.

Table 28: Selected examples of residents sharing their religious Faith

Examples	Program
A guest who is Catholic joins the local Catholic Church of her host. She forms bonds with the community, baptises her daughter there and attends the funeral of a community member.	*RWA*
A social tenant goes to church to pray with several other tenants.	*HousingFirst*
A Thai resident of the private apartment block in the Ashwood estate goes to the local Buddhist temple weekly with her Chinese neighbour. She also attends a local church.	*HousingFirst*
A social housing tenant plays music at a local church and gets to know people from the broader neighbourhood.	*HousingFirst*
Many guests of homestays meet the broader community through local churches. Even a Muslim guests goes along to a local church with her atheist host.	*RWA*
A Christian homeowner and a Muslim social tenant living in *Jardin Divers* share how they meditate. The Muslim tenant explains how listening to prayers and extracts from the Quran is a form of meditation for her.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A Christian social tenant speaks about God with his Muslim and Buddhist flatmates. His Buddhist flatmate comes with him to Church one Sunday morning.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Diverse residents participate in Iftar dinners co-organised by RWA, as a way of showing hospitality to their neighbours.	*RWA*
KAPS students reschedule the street festival to ensure it is after the Ramadan ends, and are happy to know that some of their Muslim neighbours see it as the continuation of Eid	*AFEV*
A prayer jar at a monthly dinner organised in the common room of the Ashwood estate gives people the opportunity to ask for people to pray for them at the local Baptiste church.	*HousingFirst*
Residents see volunteering or other acts of reciprocity as an expression of their religious faith.	*All programs*

Table 7.12. shows a wide variety of forms through which people hold faith and draw on it in their encounters with others. Sharing a common religious faith, such as Catholicism, can serve as a point of commonality and shared identity amid other forms of difference. But several examples also show how religion in a broader sense—beyond a specific faith—can serve as a point of encounter and identification. Some residents of diverse faiths exchange and learn about their different approaches to practising religion, while others look beyond the differences of their respective faiths and even attend worship services together. In both cases, places of worship serve as important sites of encounters of reciprocity across difference. In yet other examples, residents are not sharing their faith and beliefs per se but conceive of their contributions in exchanges with other residents as sharing their religious practices—such as offering a prayer or offering service to one's community. In this last example, the concrete practice of volunteering may externally look the same as any other volunteering effort, but for the individual undertaking it, it is conceived as an embodied expression of one's faith and religious values, and thus can also be considered from this angle.

As noted, in many cases, religious faith can be what residents have in common across difference that can bring them together. RWA Buddy Sophie describes how important church was to guest Emma to forge connections with others. "I think also having that shared point of identity, is a really good way to bring people together." She continues, "If you pass Emma on the road, she's a woman from PNG, she looks like a highlander from PNG, you might not think

you have much in common. But if you're meeting her in your church, that's already your connection." Similarly, Guest Fay attends the local Catholic church with Host Heather and her family and feels welcome there. In this way, religious faith as a "shared point of identity," as Sophie describes, can have the power to establish a common base across difference.

Once part of the community of a given church, many guests will travel long distances to continue to frequent the same place, even after they move away. This is the case for guests Beth and Fatima. Beth describes how her Catholic church is "a lovely community" and the church is where she finds "solace."

However, as noted, many residents also share elements of their religious faith with others across different religious traditions. Habitat et Humanisme tenant Ismael, who is Christian, speaks about God with his Muslim and Buddhist flatmates. When flat mate Jay, who is Buddhist, is going through a difficult time searching for an apartment, Ismael suggests he come along to mass to pray together for it. Jay left with him at 7:45am one Sunday morning, even though he usually sleeps in until late on Sunday due to his late work shifts. For Ismael, despite their different religious confessions, he sees commonality. "My parents say that the Quran and the Bible are the same, it's the same story, they all say the same thing […] If you are a Christian, you worship God. If you are a Muslim, you worship God." A similar perspective is shared by Kamala in Ashwood who though Buddhist, attends a local Church service with neighbours weekly. "God sees people is same," she says, "My God, your God, anyone God." Thus religion in a broad sense, rather than specific religious faith traditions, can also serve as a point of commonality that brings people together across difference. In a related example, social tenant Linda has discussions about her Muslim Faith with her neighbour Marcella, who in turn shares about her Christian beliefs.

Thus, reciprocal sharing of religious faith through conversation, prayer and communal worship brings many residents together across difference, even when that includes religious difference. In these examples, residents find something common in their Faith even when they belong to different Faith traditions.

Finally, many volunteering efforts and acts of kindness are explicitly approached as an expression of one's faith. Social Housing tenant Maria—who makes chicken soup for her neighbour—describes how her approach to "be kind to everyone" is for her a "Christian way to be." She tells her son, "Even if you see someone that looks different, remember God still loves that person […] there's a human being there that wants love and you treat them with respect." Heather also describes how her decision to host was in part motivated by her desire to live by her Christian values. She describes how for her, religion encourages her to "act responsibility according to your privilege" and that this entails "reaching out and forming a connection with somebody that you might not have otherwise." In this sense, it is the exchange of religious practice, whatever form that may take, that is being enacted through encounters of reciprocity.

Thus religion serves as a binding force for a number of residents. In some cases, it acts as a bridge across difference, where people connect with one another and form communities on the basis of their shared faith. However, there are also examples where residents connect across religious difference, finding common elements across their respective belief systems, and reciprocally exchanging religious perspectives, religious experiences in places of worship, and in some instances, faith enacted through kindness and volunteering.

7.13. Mutual expressions of friendship, shared values and shared identity

Table 29 shows selected examples of friendship and shared values and identity among residents, as well as the relationship between them.

Table 29: Selected examples of mutual expressions of friendship, kindness and shared identity

Examples	Program
Residents walk their pets together in the park across from their housing.	*HousingFirst*
KAPS students share their aspirations and study plans with other youth who live in the Blémont social housing estate.	*KAPS*
A mother from the private building within the Ashwood development befriends an elderly woman who is a tenant of community housing, she takes her shopping and they go on walks around the park together.	*HousingFirst*
A buddy who recently immigrated to Australia reassures a guest that it is normal to feel like one is struggling.	*RWA*
A guest organises a surprise birthday celebration for her host, while KAPS students prepare a surprise birthday cake during one of their stalls in the courtyard, for a Blémont resident turning nine.	*RWA, KAPS*
A social tenant gives another tenant a traditional Chinese red packet for her birthday.	*HousingFirst*
A guest goes along to cheer on the boys she is staying with during their basketball match.	*RWA*
Male homeowners regularly stop and speak to one of the male social tenants.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Residents identify things they have in common.	*All programs*
A host sends text messages to a guest who is out of town looking for work, to see how his interviews are going and offer words of encouragement.	*RWA*
A social tenant encourages his neighbour to talk to her parents who are reaching out to her.	*HousingFirst*
A social tenant with an intellectual disability describes how her neighbours at Ashwood lift her up by being easy to get on with and not putting her down. Other residents in turn describe how they take time to go for walks with her, to engage in conversation.	*HousingFirst*

Few residents of the private block of apartments within the Ashwood estate participate in officially organised HousingFirst events. Former Operations Manager Tanya describes this as a "missed opportunity," as many of them expressed via a survey conducted that they would like to be more engaged. Nevertheless, this does not stop residents getting to know each other in more informal settings and even striking up friendships.

In one example, Kamala, a mother of two children whose family resides in the private block of apartments, has formed a friendship with one of the community housing tenants, an elderly lady, Geeta, who is originally from India. They met in the park two years ago, and have

continued to be friends since, visiting one another in their homes, sharing food. Kamala, who is originally from Thailand and doesn't have her family close by, compares their relationship to one of mother and daughter.

Some of the friendships built through RWA's homestay program are so strong that like Kamala, residents compare them to family bonds. Guest Fay describes how on the weekends she watches the boys' basketball matches, then attends mass with the family before they all go and get pizza. "I feel like my family or something, my real family or something. In Australia, I have this family." She also says that Host Heather's four teenage boys are "like brothers" to her baby daughter. Similarly, Guest Adila describes how while she was initially worried about living with an Australian, "now I trust her better than other my friends. She became my best friend (laughs). Maybe I told her everything I didn't tell to another friend. She became like my sister."

These examples represent quite a leap from the initial reservations and fear that both Fay and Adila held about staying with a "white" person or family before meeting them, as outlined in section 7.9—such as Fay's initial perception that "white people and black is different, completely different." The relations of reciprocity fostered with the hosts and their families, and the friendships to which this has given rise, has resulted in both women feeling like they are "family" or "sisters." Adila is even able to confide in Christine in ways she can not with friends from her own culture. This once again shows the potential for encounters of reciprocity to overcome an approach to difference that is othering, and to recgonise an underlying common basis for a shared humanity, much like that which characterises the bonds of a family.

Furthermore, by involving Fay as part of the family, Heather's oldest son, Christopher, gets to know her well, allowing him to question mainstream representations of refugees and to reshape his moral and political orientation towards their role in society:

> Before Fay came, my parents were like, we're going to have a refugee come and stay here. I was a bit unsure […] But when Fay came, she's just like another person. Just like anybody else. And it's sort of helped me understand, or make it more concrete in my head that these people are just people, like you and me. They just want to, they're seeking asylum. And they're just regular people they're not some sort of alien or different. It's just made them way more human than I thought (Christopher, Host family, RWA program).

Christopher comes to see Fay through the lens of a shared identity of being a fellow human being "just like you and me," addressing the misrecognition perpetuated by media and political representations that dehumanise the figure of the "refugee" (Hodge 2015; Van Kooy et al. 2001). In parallel, the conception of "refugee" is given greater status for Christopher, on a par with other members of society. Furthermore, knowing Fay and the challenges she faces has influenced Christopher's views on immigration policies, and as a soon-to-be first-time voter (he has recently turned 18), he shares that his vote will be influenced by such policies. While such results at a broader scale could be considered an outcome that promotes both recognition and redistribution, at an individual level one could read this outcome as enhancing

Christopher's capability to discern how injustice operates in his social world and to see himself as an agent who can act to bring about a world more in line with his newfound consciousness.

In other contexts, residents also strike up friendships despite initial prejudices or misconceptions they have about others, demonstrating the importance of opportunities for repeated encounters that these housing programs offer. For example, Dorothy, a longstanding elderly resident from Ashwood, was among those who initially opposed and petitioned against the HousingFirst community housing development. However, as a volunteer at one of the local neighbourhood houses, she has since struck up friendships with many of the tenants and has changed her mind:

> I've made friendships that I probably hadn't expected. It's been a pleasant experience. And also it hasn't been a shock to the system that a lot of us had expected […] This area was developed in the late 50s. And so, memories are of slum clearance, which those initial developments addressed. And there were at those times—I think you'd say, "undesirables" coming in. So there had been that expectation, that there could be a high percentage of that kind of tenant […] Well, they're just human beings, same as everybody else. And they need the facilities that the community here can offer them (Dorothy, Ashwood resident).

While it is unclear whether Dorothy is seeing HousingFirst tenants as an "exception" to the "undesirable" social tenant—similar to the exceptionality that Tatiana Matejskova and Helga Leitner (2011) observe—she has reversed her position on these tenants. Once advocating against them, now she and others at the neighbourhood house try to advocate for their needs through the local council. This example shows how recognition and redistribution go hand in hand, as per Nancy Fraser's approach, where overcoming "cultural attitudes that demean poor and working people" and recognising their worth functions as a prerequisite for communities to support—and even advocate—for a redistribution of resources towards these very residents (2003:24). This demonstrates the sometimes-indirect effects that encounters of reciprocity can have on redistribution: recognising in these othered tenants a shared humanity—in line with Sandercock's (1998) notion of "an enlarged human community"—forms a basis of equality upon which social tenants are entitled to the same opportunities and resources as other residents.

Underpinning this recognition are the bonds of friendship Dorothy strikes up with HousingFirst tenants. She recounts how tenants took part in surprising her for her 80th birthday. HousingFirst tenant Sue made a beautifully decorated cake. Dorothy smiles, "I've never considered myself to be worthy of such—it was beautiful. And it did me a great deal of good." Far from her initial judgments about the unequal worth of prospective HousingFirst tenants, Dorothy now expresses gratitude at being deemed "worthy" of her new friends' attention and effort.

Similarly, homeowner Philippe at *Jardin Divers* describes how he regularly chats with social tenant Hassan, despite initial hesitation and "a kind of mythology" that developed around Hassan and his family. Initially, the residents thought that as this family had not reached out to anyone, perhaps they did not wish to be active participants in the *habitat participatif* project,

and Philippe respected that. His first encounter with Hassan, who needs to rise very early for his job as a baker, was when Hassan spoke loudly to neighbours making too much noise late at night. Philippe explains how we went to check on Hassan, to see if everything was okay:

> I spoke to him, and I met a person who was completely different to the one who I had imagined. Not at all hostile or violent, but really nice, though a little shy. And perhaps his French isn't so good either […] Now we get on really well, we speak for five minutes each time we run into each other. He's really cool (Philippe, homeowner, Jardin Divers).

Philippe reflects how outside of the context of the *habitat participatif* model, he may only have retained the first impression of Hassan.

> It's a bond that would never have existed in another building. If I compare it to my former apartment, we didn't feel the need to get to know people. Here it's different. That is, you feel there's a problem when you *don't* know them. We make sure that these bonds exist (Philippe, homeowner, Jardin Divers).

Thus encounters facilitated in a housing context that promotes reciprocity creates opportunities for bonds to form that can lead to outcomes of recognition. Quick judgments about Hassan's character are compounded by a lack of French and the fact that having arrived later than the other residents, social tenants do not know the other residents very well. For Philippe, it only took one conversation to meet "a person who was completely different to the one who I imagined," showing the potential power of such encounters to shift perceptions.

Many residents value the expression of human qualities, such as kindness, honesty, generosity respect and resilience in their friendships across difference. This appreciation shows how the intangible things that are reciprocally exchanged, though often less visible, are often what count most. Even though a material gift could be given, for many residents, it is the *generosity* that is appreciated. Similarly, when someone helps another, it is the practice of *kindness* that is often held up, rather than the favour itself. Furthermore, it is these more fundamental "human" values that are often held up as the basis of an "enlarged human community," as the stuff that residents see they have in common across their differences.

For example, a number of RWA guests state that they value the kindness of their hosts. Fay says Heather has a "kind heart" (and Heather equally describes Fay as "kind"), Adila describes her host Christine as a "kind lady," while Beth says Kelly is "compassionate and caring." KAPS student Nicolas also describes the family who helped decorate the Christmas tree in the Blémont courtyard as "kind," stating, "there is more kindness out there than we realise."

Reciprocally, HousingFirst tenant Iris describes "being nice" as one of the main contributions she tries to make to her community. She aspires to be "a person who's nice, who doesn't judge people harshly." She states that "you can light people's life if you are just doing small things." Similarly, fellow tenant Giovanni comments that what motivates him to contribute to community life at Ashwood is that "it's human nature that you want to show your kindness."

Other qualities highlighted include trust—tenants in HousingFirst and *Jardin Divers* describe how their neighbours leave them their key as an act of trust. Habitat et Humanisme social tenant Ismael describes residents' willingness to pass his CV onto their employers as a sign that they trusted him.

As noted, the reciprocal expression of such qualities of friendship, kindness and trust is often a basis for finding common ground across difference. HousingFirst social housing tenant Kasem states that "having the same values or morals" is "a very integral part of friendship." He cites honesty, trust and courage as core values he shares with his friends among the other tenants, who are in their middle and retirement age, in contrast to his youth. For fellow tenant Iris, "being nice" is what she believes she has in common with her friends at Ashwood, who grew up in places far from her native Hong Kong. RWA guest Nabil and his mother, who come from Iraq, see kindness as a value they share with host Diane, who is originally from New Zealand. Similarly, *Jardin Divers* social tenant Ismael shares, "I can say that we have in common this human spirit, this spirit of kindness." This departs from his initial expectations about how he would be treated as a foreigner in France.

Residents find other shared values over which to bond. Elderly Blémont resident Julie and KAPS student Romain cite "curiosity" as something they have in common. Romain shares, "I think the main point in common that brings us together is curiosity, to go towards others and to meet one another." Blémont tenant Mariamme describes how when she first met the KAPS students, "I saw myself in them, when I was their age." In this instance, it was their willingness to volunteer and give their time for others that she felt they had in common.

Family values are values that both guests Beth and Adila feel that they share in common with their hosts. Beth states in relation to host Kelly, "I love my nieces and nephews to death and she's the same too." A culture of mutual aid and hospitality is a value that Habitat et Humanisme tenants Ismael and Claire, rooted in their own cultures from Togo and Cameroon respectively, share with and can bond over with other residents in *Jardin Divers*. Ismael shares, "Often in Africa we have this culture of neighbourliness. I never imagined to find it in France." Finally, a love for practicing the arts is another point of commonality that residents identify, as outlined in section 7.1.

When participants were asked what they had in common with their friends and neighbours, they would often, unprompted, cite these kinds of values. It is interesting to note that what they describe are not political or social values, that are often the source of division and polarisation in society, but rather deeper, more fundamental attributes and values with which they identify: kindness, trustworthiness, neighbourliness, family. They can be read as examples of the "shared attributes" that Sandercock sees as forming the basis of a human community (1998:199).

These experiences suggest that the "othering" and incompatibility of difference is more pronounced when one looks at it from a certain level, via the narrow identity constructs or

points of affinity that form the basis of affirming group identity. While such identities do surely exist and hold meaning for many people, it is worth noting that many residents do not focus on these things when forming friendships with their neighbours in diverse residential settings.

Thus, rather than separation based on fixed group identities, some residents are able to find points of commonality and even a sense of shared identity based on shared human qualities and values such as kindness, trust, courage, humility, curiosity, hospitality, and generosity. As noted, these shared human "attributes" could be seen to form the basis of a shared human identity—of belonging to "an enlarged human community" in line with Leonie Sandercock's vision (1998:198). This identity is both the basis of but also enhanced by relations of reciprocity.

And indeed, many of the closest-knit groups residents who participated in the research feel a part of are not made up of people who identify collectively on the basis of a shared characteristic, a shared history, or a shared oppression. They identify based on being residents of a neighbourhood together, but also on the basis of shared human qualities and aspirations they cherish. From the perspective of recognition, this then is not an example of affirming group identity, but of "universalist recognition" of "the common humanity" of others (Fraser 2003:46).

7.14. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the encounters of reciprocity envisaged and facilitated by the four housing organisations are being enacted and experienced among diverse residents, in ways that *otherwise would not have happened*.

The findings of this chapter broaden conceptions of reciprocity. By taking stock of *what* is being reciprocally exchanged among diverse residents, the chapter challenges narrow conceptions that frame reciprocity as a bi-directional barter exchange of goods. Sharing art, skills, conviviality, knowledge, culture, acts of care, time, hospitality, friendship, religious faith, networks and gifts are just some of the broad categories that capture even more diverse expressions of reciprocity across all four case studies. As important as financial contributions are, they represent just a small fraction of the ways people contribute to community life and to the lives of one another. When acts like making a meal, taking a walk, saying a prayer, showing people around or looking after a garden are included in this panorama, then the perspective of *who* is contributing to urban life broadens. It thus becomes easier to perceive how people of diverse walks of life, of diverse tenures, cultures and ages are capable of reciprocally partaking in the common project of building and strengthening community. This also has related implications for what kind of knowledge is seen to count and what kinds of actions are seen to weave the fabric of social life.

Understanding the nature of the material and immaterial objects of these exchanges also helps to liberate notions of reciprocity from the expectation that what is received must be

commensurate with what is reciprocated, and that it is even possible (let alone desirable) to measure such things. Perhaps most importantly, it brings to the surface the tapestry of interpersonal relations that unfold in urban life, that often go unnoticed. This calls to mind Amanda Wise's call to more closely examine "how diversity is lived on the ground," commenting that "the closer one looks, the more it becomes obvious that 'parallel lives' are not necessarily the prevailing norm" (2009:42).

In examining *who* is doing the reciprocating, the chapter reveals that such acts do not only flow from the more affluent (or middle-class) residents to others, but stem from residents in all kinds of circumstances. Against the backdrop of deficit narratives of social housing tenants and role model theories that suggest that the benefits of social mix flow from middle-class residents to poorer ones, it is thus significant to note how much of that which is being exchanged is being contributed by social housing tenants, in addition to them benefitting from the contributions of others.

Far from being an expectation or way of paying back the financial support the tenants receive, the practice of reciprocity comes to be seen as the expression of an inner state of dignity and equality, whereby being human implies, as Nancy Fraser (1998) so eloquently articulates, the right to be an equal participant in social life. Equal not in terms of some quantitative measure of one's contributions, but in terms of contributing something worthy of being received.

These findings also demonstrate that reciprocity need not be restricted to the giving and return of a favour exercised between two people. Rather, when individuals are seen to form part of an interconnected web of relations, reciprocity flows in many directions and can even stretch across years, decades and generations. In all cases, residents were able to describe the ways they both contributed and benefited from encounters with others, in ways that situated them within a web or reciprocal relations concentrated in and around the residential spaces, but also stretching out over geography and time.

This chapter also begins to explore some of the ways these encounters of reciprocity further justice in the individual and collective lives of residents involved. For example, from the perspective of redistribution, in some cases, it allows them to access employment opportunities that in the absence of the relations formed across difference with their neighbours they would likely have been deprived. It also contributes to the stability of their living situation, providing access to safe, secure housing in well-resourced areas.

From the perspective of recognition, for a number of residents, encounters of reciprocity shift their perceptions of others, whether that means shifting perceptions of what people with a disability can and cannot do; humanising refugees; overcoming prejudices towards immigrant youth from French social housing estates; or seeing the capacities and talents of social tenants.

As perceptions shift, some residents' eyes are drawn to what they find in common, notably human qualities and shared aspirations. This gives rise to a notion of a shared human identity, and a human community (Sandercock 1998), that encourages difference while avoiding the

pitfalls of reducing human identity to that of a group, which is defined primarily in opposition to others.

Though relatively few in number, some residents are able to discern in the perspectives of those they encounter across difference alternative ways of seeing and being in the world that they can learn from. In the process, they become more aware of elements of their own culture that they wish to question—such as the barriers that individualism poses to collective governance, the isolation that mothers face in the West and the need for community support, or the arrogance inherent in the perspectives of university courses within elite institutions.

Encounters of reciprocity also enhance capabilities in various ways. These include knowledge of a foreign language, participating in community life, artistic expression, and becoming more conscious and capable actors of social change.

In all cases, some form of the collective—referred to as "community" in the Australian context—is strengthened, through which multiple forms of reciprocity flow. The "community" is characterised by difference and serves as the recipient of individual contributions as well as the entity through which residents gain a sense of belonging and mutual support. This gives rise to new forms of solidarity that can rise above fixed identity constructs (Depraetere et al. 2018).

Of course, highlighting these outcomes of relations of reciprocity must not obscure limitations to the enactment of reciprocity that arise, with the starkest of these being impoverished conceptions of participation and a struggle to overcome cultural barriers. A number of causes underlie this—from narrow conceptions of what capacity looks like and who has it, to the challenge of accepting that living with others across difference usually necessitates being able to see past one's own cultural lens in order to acknowledge and even embrace other ways of seeing and being in a place. These limitations demonstrate that fostering relations of reciprocity is a process and that in that process, mindsets and cultural norms can take time to unpick in order to stitch them back together in new ways.

Chapter Eight: Housing for Reciprocity

8.1. Introduction

The attention being given to overcoming segregation in existing literature and policy (Blanc 2010; Pawson and Herath 2015; Lelévrier 2013; Randolph and Holloway 2005) offers hope that efforts are underway to remake the city in ways that do not assume that separation, rather than togetherness, is the norm we should aspire for; that differences are a problem, rather than enriching; that access to quality education and health services in one's locality is a luxury, rather than an essential public good; that the home is a fortress that gates us off from the world, simultaneously closing us in and "them" out, rather than a place of dwelling that connects us physically and socially to the neighbours with whom we share a corridor, a building, a street, a neighbourhood, a city.

As this thesis has attempted to explore, it is not just the physical infrastructure of the city, of our housing, that needs to be remade, in order to counter segregation. Rather, it is also the values and convictions that underpin the formation and management of such infrastructure. This thesis considers the fundamental convictions, values and even prejudices that underpin certain approaches to housing. It argues that approaches to housing provision are transformed if conceived through a relational ontology of social interdependence and interconnection. In this framing, housing is not designed as private islands of refuge amid a dangerous, world-in-conflict, but as spaces of encounter, operating at different scales and across multiple spheres. It examines various housing programs that seek to operationalise a particular conception of social relations, what I am describing as an ethic of reciprocity, underpinned by a social ontology of interdependence, which I argue can serve as a more just framing for social relations between diverse residents.

8.2. Overview of thesis

A theoretical conception of reciprocity is tentatively proposed through an exploration of the literature in chapter two. The review draws on political philosophy to establish the ways in which residential segregation can be unjust and then considers the literature on the role of encounters across difference in overcoming this. It explores empirical studies on the limitations of social mix policies, as one of the most widespread approaches to tackling residential segregation through housing. The review highlights the "role model theory," the idea that middle-class residents that move into areas that concentrate poverty are there to "bring the neighbourhood up," as being particularly problematic and proposes that a more just vision of social relations between neighbours is needed. Drawing on the literature on justice in political philosophy and critical geography, I propose reciprocity, framed within an ontology of social interdependence, as a more just ethic to shape encounters across difference.

Chapter three explores the implications of an epistemology that seeks out possibility, drawing on J.K. Gibson-Graham's "politics of possibility" (2006, 2008). This approach defines the research questions, which rather than documenting injustices, seek out examples of reciprocity that are already being practiced, as a means to demonstrate and prefigure the possibility of alternative ways of "doing/being/thinking" the city. Because there is a paucity of examples of reciprocity in the literature, a politics of possibility methodology foregrounds such examples, to give them colour and meaning. As J.K. Gibson-Graham and others argue, casting a spotlight on just relations can help "bring new worlds into being" (2008:619). It is thus primarily the practice of these relations of reciprocity, and limitations to them, that are given attention in this research. On this basis I formulated the following three research questions:

- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted within the premises and practices of the organisations providing the housing programs?
- How is reciprocity conceived and enacted in social relations between residents?
- How are residents' lives impacted by relations of reciprocity?

As traced in chapter three, each of the four housing programs being studied—a mixed-tenured community housing development in Ashwood, Melbourne; a homestay program connecting people with spare rooms to people seeking asylum in Brisbane; affordable student accommodation offered in or near to "priority" housing estates in Paris; and *habitat participatif* (co-housing) in Montreuil that incorporates social housing units—are being offered by organisations that were established as a response to a perceived injustice, in a particular national, urban and policy context.

The diverse housing programs of these organisations—all of which seek to provide housing in ways that contribute to desegregation—offer an alternative to mainstream social mix policies. Firstly, the "mixed" character of the residential settings in these programs is generally achieved by providing housing for low-income residents in areas that have undergone a process of gentrification, to use this housing as a means to keep the city's poor from being priced out of these places and to retain their diverse character. This differs to mainstream, top-down approaches to social mix that aim to diversify areas that concentrate poverty by demolishing blocks of social housing and replacing them with private tenured stock aimed at the middle class, often resulting in the displacement of many social housing residents (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2012).

Another distinction between these four programs and mainstream social mix policies is the conceptions of social relations that underpin them. As outlined, each organisation seeks to help foster among diverse residents what I am terming "relations of reciprocity"—a term used explicitly by two organisations (RWA and Habitat and Humanisme) and conveyed in different language by the other two (HousingFirst and AFEV).

Chapter five examines the conception of reciprocity captured in the discourse of each organisation, both through formal communications and in the visions and discourse of its personnel. A summary of these conceptions is captured in Table 30.

Table 30: Conceptions of reciprocity in organisations' missions

HousingFirst: Reciprocity through diversity	• Frames social housing not as a drain on a community but as contributing to a community • Its most funamdental contribution is diversity itself in the context of homogenising neighbourhoods • Individual tenants contribute as key workers and volunteers in their local communities • There is an effort to highlight capacity in their tenants, to move away from a "deficit" view of the poor
RWA: Relational reciprocity	• Frames encounters between homestay "hosts" and "guests" as mutually enriching interpersonal exchanges, moving away from traditional notions of "charity" • Relations of reciprocity stem from the assumption of an inherent dignity in all • Reciprocity – not in terms of the material/non-material "equality" of an exchange but from the equal status of all as givers and receivers, based on a vision of people as part of a web of relations, through which reciprocity flows in multiple directions and temporalities
AFEV Reciprocity as mutual learning	• KAPS students and social tenants are seen to mutually learn through joint efforts to implement "solidarity" actions in their neighbourhood • Youth are not there to impart knowledge ("popular education")
Habitat et Humanisme Reciprocity as being on equal footing	• Reciprocity assumes a symmetry in relations among diverse residents, as being on equal footing • Direct rejection of "role model theory," encounters across difference are seen as mutually enriching • Broadened notions of *what* is reciprocally exchanged, tenants are seen to contribute in many ways

Each organisation frames encounters of reciprocity across difference as a means to produce more just outcomes for individual residents and for the broader community or neighbourhood, which I have categorised according to the following four themes: (1) material outcomes (redistribution); (2) recognition across difference; (3) capabilities; (4) collective transformation. Each organisation places more or less emphasis on different envisaged outcomes.

Chapter six examines the manifold ways that each organisation strives to operationalise these conceptions into the housing program being offered. This includes their approach to recruitment of personnel and volunteers; capacity building in personnel; reciprocal partnerships with organisations; recruitment of socially motivated residents; accompaniment of residents and creation of opportunities for encounters; and designing architecture for reciprocity. Each organisation places more or less emphasis on these various components. The

chapter thus explores how they go about doing this and, to some degree, the challenges they encounter.

Finally, chapter seven considers what this all means for the residents participating in these programs. Do encounters of reciprocity across difference take place, and if so, *what* is being exchanged reciprocally and by *whom*? The chapter catalogues the *what* of these exchanges according to broad themes, highlighting select illustrative examples across the cases. These themes are listed in Table 31.

Table 31: Categories of what is exchanged reciprocally among residents

Sharing art
Sharing and gaining skills
Conviviality
Sharing and gaining knowledge
Cross cultural exchange: from food and customs to ways of seeing the world
Everyday acts of care
Giving time and participating in collective life
Hospitality and welcome
Sharing networks
Exchange of goods and gifts
Sharing religious faith
Mutual expressions of friendship, shared values, and shared identity

In examining concrete examples, the chapter traces the flows of reciprocity, and how these are exchanged across multiple residents and thread both backwards and forwards through time. For example, it considers how residents who are currently recipients of acts of generosity or kindness have spent past moments in their lifetime practicing generosity towards others, or now plan to pay it forward. This chapter also presents some tentative outcomes in residents' lives that have resulted from encounters of reciprocity in relation to these various themes, which are explored in more depth in section 8.5 below.

Though it includes some perspectives from personnel, chapter seven privileges the voices of residents to gain insight into how they conceive and experience these encounters of reciprocity on the ground. Following a politics of possibility epistemology, chapter seven intentionally focuses on bringing to light and providing a rich description of what encounters of reciprocity look like, with some limited exploration of what emerged more prominently as significant limitations to the practice of reciprocity.

In this way, chapter seven should not be interpreted as "proof" that the discourses and practices of the housing organisations are entirely effective, nor that these experiences are representative of all residents that the programs target. However, the vastness and richness of these encounters

captured seem powerful enough to support the premise that reciprocity is a 'possible' framing of social relations that can recast participating residents as contributors to their place of residence, not just recipients, and has the potential to inform approaches to housing that are more just.

8.3. The labours of fostering—not engineering—encounters of reciprocity

The findings suggest an ethic of reciprocity in housing can be founded on several convictions, including that decent housing is a fundamental right; that diversity is a strength; that each person possesses an inherent dignity that ought to be respected in practical considerations; that each individual has the capacity to contribute to the collective; and that reciprocity is a just framing for relations across difference. Beyond conviction, there is also labour. Each organisation takes time to articulate and rearticulate its core mission and values through formal training, reports and newsletters, allowing them to stay the course and to continue to innovate and refine their programs in the face of challenges and setbacks.

Chapters six and seven demonstrate that the housing programs themselves as well as the spaces created do facilitate encounters that otherwise would not take place. The activities and environments of these spaces—their inclusiveness, their conviviality—appear to be conducive to encounters of reciprocity, as evidenced by the many such encounters that do take place. Training and close accompaniment—RWA's phone calls with hosts in times of need, the presence of AFEV's personnel during KAPS students' solidarity actions—assist residents to take their tentative first steps to encountering their diverse neighbours and to working through teething problems and tensions that can arise.

While efforts to recruit residents who are socially motivated are not always successful—RWA's placements do break down sometimes, often as a result of hosts' attitudes and behaviour; some KAPS students are ultimately only in it for the housing—on the whole, those who enter the programs with sincere motivations value the opportunities for these encounters which they may not have been able to actualise outside of this structured support.

And yet, as chapter seven outlines, while influenced by the framework of the housing programs in which they participate, the relations of reciprocity enacted between residents cannot be characterised as a mere result of them. Residents describe how these acts are an expression of pre-existing values and convictions that stem from their own culture, religious beliefs, upbringing and education, which resonates with Wise (2006) and Horton and Kraftl (2009). This suggests that such programs are fostering, rather than engineering, relations of reciprocity, and provide opportunities to cultivate and channel this existing disposition within many residents. It also shows that housing programs, even when founded and implemented on more just foundations, are viable only insofar as education systems pursue moral and intellectual questions in ways that can shape fair-mindedness, curiosity and welcoming attitudes towards difference, based on a conviction of the inherent worth and equality of all people.

Furthermore, acting upon this disposition with one's diverse neighbours, in the home space, can remain latent if housing programs are not designed in ways that value and encourage this aspiration. Many of the same residents who are voluntarily participating in these encounters of reciprocity state how they never knew their neighbours in their past homes. Housing that places individualism and privacy at the forefront requires so much more effort to practice reciprocity: it erects literal and metaphorical barriers that people must cross to encounter one another. It cannot produce the organic fruits of neighbours' paths crossing, either inadvertently through design choices that promote this, or through the purposeful frequenting of dedicated spaces, through which relations can more easily flow.

Not all residents participate in these encounters and when they do, as chapter seven demonstrates through a few pointed examples, tensions and conflict can arise. Indeed, undoing a long history of segregation, indifference and alienation, building a collective life that encompasses the diversity of its residents, is inevitably a process that requires time and significant labour. But if the alternative is to accept separation as the way to deal with diversity, then that labour is clearly justified. Ruth Fincher writes:

> I do not see the ambiguity of encounter, the uncertainty of outcomes from it, as a reason not to foster it in the city. Critical writings on urban diversity are generally hostile toward separation and confinement as strategies for dealing with the messy diversity and disorder of city life. It follows that conviviality and contact are to be encouraged as activities giving some meaning to urbanity. The alternative is social and spatial segregation (2019:72).

Fincher underlines the importance of "ongoing effort" and "hard work as well as competence, persistence and tact" (2019:72). Encountering then advances in fits and starts but is based on a commitment to refuse separation and confinement as a socio-spatial pattern that organises urban life. The efforts of these organisations provide a glimpse into what can be built when that path is walked based on the hope that transformation is possible, as their discourses advance. The stories told in this thesis try to capture the beauty of these moments, to illustrate the possibility of what can be, without denying the ongoing struggles that represent the daily labours of building justice.

8.4. Elaborating an ethic of reciprocity to frame just social relations

This thesis has proposed and sought to elaborate a conception of reciprocity that brings together various relevant strands throughout the literature. At a basic level, reciprocity manifests itself through an exchange, what Amanda Wise describes as "simple forms of reciprocity and neighbours showing a little kindness" (2009:179). As chapter seven demonstrates, that which is exchanged is vast, and includes talents, capacities, knowledge, acts of care, moments of conviviality, friendship as well as the more traditional gift-giving exchanges that the term reciprocity often calls to mind.

Expanding the *what* of a reciprocal exchange to include both the tangible and the intangible connects the concept of reciprocity to the thinking of Iris Marion Young (1997) and Seyla Benhabib (1992), who explore the relationship between reciprocity and recognition in interpersonal exchanges. The "reciprocity" here is the exchange of views and perspectives that is facilitated through listening with what Young describes as a "stance of wonder," an openness to trying to learn from one another across difference. Interpersonal reciprocity is conditioned upon the recognition of an inner dignity.

Finally, a social ontology of interdependence, elaborated by Heather Campbell (2006) but also developed in the literature on an ethics of care (Tronto 2013; De la Bellacasa 2012; Beasley and Bacchi 2007 Ward 2015; Power 2019; Fine and Glendinning 2004) shifts encounters of reciprocity away from a two-way exchange flowing only between two people. Rather, reciprocity flows through a web of relations to which all are connected.

As the examples in chapter seven have shown, when these relations are conceived as stretching across time and place, when the scope of the exchange is broadened beyond the material among a web of people who are seen as interconnected, then there are no mere recipients, nor are there individuals who are completely independent and self-sufficient. All can participate in the reciprocal encounters that make up the social fabric of urban life, all can contribute to the city in manifold ways, and are resourced and supported by the contributions of others.

The forest analogy shared by RWA Events Coordinator Sacha brings into focus the potential knock-on effects of reciprocity when based on interdependence. By virtue of the mutual support network into which the trees of a forest are literally rooted, they are able not only to reciprocate the sharing of nutrients to other trees, but they also provide shade, shelter and fruits to diverse creatures. Likewise, residents reciprocate what they receive not necessarily in the exact same way, and not necessarily back to the same person.

Reciprocity through this lens is an expression of human dignity, of belonging to this web, of being recognised as somebody with something of worth to offer. The emphasis is not on how large the contribution is, nor whether this is consistent over time—if one is dealing with trauma, or fleeing one's country, or battling a severe illness, capacity to give will be reduced—but people should not be stripped away of their agency to do so, as a number of personnel interviewed argue, as enacting reciprocity allows them to hold on to their humanity and dignity.

This conception of reciprocity is then much more complex than a simple barter exchange, which is limited by the social ontology that underpins it. It potentially has much promise for exploring how social relations across difference play out across many urban contexts to further refine this concept and to contribute to an empirical exploration of the ways in which these relations are more just.

8.5. Insights into emerging impacts of relations of reciprocity on residents' lives

In facilitating the recognition and expression of dignity, encounters of reciprocity are a form of justice in their own right. But they can also further other forms and facets of justice, the outcomes of which can be understood through the lens of redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and collective transformation. As outlined in chapter three, this analytical framework was developed through an iterative process, initially at a theoretical level to include potential outcomes of "redistribution" and "recognition," and then elaborated in light of a first level coding and analysis of the empirical results of this research. At this point, "capabilities" and "collective transformation" were developed as two additional potential outcomes by going back to the literature to elaborate them theoretically. This refined framework was then used to analyse the data at a deeper level and to structure the empirical findings on how encounters of reciprocity further outcomes of justice. The second, more elaborate version of this framework stood up well and proved to be a useful frame for analysing the multiple ways encounters of reciprocity contributed to furthering justice through these housing programs.

While the scope of the research does not allow the tracing of transformative impacts that generally take much longer to come to fruition, the examples summarised below suggest that some initial impacts are already being experienced. Tables 32 through to 35 thus summarise the small but significant impacts encounters of reciprocity are having on residents' lives. These impacts, categorised according to the analytical framework developed in chapter three, are included in the empirical data presented in chapter seven, though in that chapter, they are scattered throughout the various themes.

Table 32: Selected examples of redistribution impacts on residents' lives

Material impacts/redistribution	
Housing programs are more viable, homestays endure longer, and social tenants generally wish to remain in mixed-income, well-connected quality housing when relations of reciprocity are fostered.	*All programs*
A tenant and several people seeking asylum are able to find employment as a result of the assistance of more well-connected residents.	*RWA, Habitat et Humanisme*
Tenants sell their artwork through a public exhibition in an art gallery.	*HousingFirst*
A tenant starts a cleaning business, initially through the network he has acquired in his housing complex	*HousingFirst*
After receiving access to a stable home, a person seeking asylum applies for a PhD program	*RWA*
Tenants are connected to local services and grant opportunities through KAPS students.	*AFEV*
Tenants have access to cheap, quality fruit and vegetables in the context of a food desert as a result of tenant volunteering efforts.	*HousingFirst*
A homeowner learns about broader social needs in the Ashwood neighbourhood by listening to the perspectives of social housing tenants—together as a network, they then bring these issues to council (for example, the need for more affordable local health services). This represents a relational view of poverty in which all have a part to play.	*HousingFirst*
A student better understands the needs and perspectives of low-income residents through encounters in the Blémont neighbourhood and undertakes to approach her studies and future profession in a way that can take these views into account to address social problems.	*AFEV*

The viability of these housing programs is in itself an important contribution to redistribution as a facet of justice. When residents who initially oppose social housing come around to it because of the relations of reciprocity they form with tenants, it translates into acceptance of this housing and potentially into less resistance to further social housing being built—though demonstrating this latter point is beyond the scope of this research. The sustainability of a homestay arrangement is more directly dependent on the nature of the social relations fostered between hosts and guests and similarly, social tenants placed into buildings with more affluent residents are moved out if their presence provokes hostility. These few examples suggest that relations of reciprocity contribute to the longevity and scalability of these kinds of housing models and their redistributive outcomes, including providing low-income tenants with decent housing in well-resourced areas.

In addition to more direct outcomes, such as access to employment, education, and income, Table 32 provides examples of more affluent residents who come to know the resource needs of their lower income neighbours through encounters of reciprocity across difference and try and ensure these needs—such as health facilities—are brought to the spaces where decisions about local resources are made. This is an example of how redistribution can be advanced when residents with more economic power are concerned with the problems of interdependent urban life, which Young (2002) argues that residential segregation often inhibits them from doing. It also aligns with Farias' (2016) description of a relational understanding of poverty, which implicates all social actors in the production and reproduction of poverty, and frames encounters as the means through which people can get to know the needs of their neighbours living in marginal situations to inform potential solutions (2016:176).

Despite these promising burgeoning outcomes, in the French context, Sylvie Tissot notes how a single-minded focus on social relations in neighbourhoods can detract from addressing "systemic economic problems" (2008:6). As such, care must be taken not to overemphasise the redistributive potential of these relations to the detriment of deeper, more fundamental efforts to bring about structural change, the kind of "transformative" redistribution (2000) to which Nancy Fraser refers.

Indeed, this potential tension comes to the fore in section 7.11., in which it is put forward that in broadening *what* gets counted as a valuable contribution to collective urban life, this should not be read (nor instrumentalised) to justify the economically unequal status quo. Just because people with limited material means can—and do—contribute meaningfully in a myriad of ways does not mean that their capacity to prosper and reciprocate materially should not be enhanced. Because of their redistributive aims, these housing programs are intended to provide their beneficiaries with more material capacity, but evidently cannot be approached as a panacea to the systemic causes underlying many of the inequalities these residents face.

As table 33 demonstrates, there are multiple examples of encounters of reciprocity that reshape perceptions residents have of one another, which can form part of a broader category of "recognition impacts."

Table 33: Selected examples of recognition impacts on residents' lives

Recognition	
Social tenant artists' work is recognised by their peers and the wider public as art worthy of being curated and displayed in a gallery, resulting in enhanced self-esteem while providing an opportunity to participate on a par with other artists, contributing to reshaping discourses about the social value of these tenants	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Residents within the Blémont neighbourhood and its surrounding streets reshape their perceptions of youth and adults from the estate after seeing them volunteer and enact roles of capacity at the street festival, challenging systemic, negative representations of estate youths perpetuated in political and media discourses	*AFEV*
The perceptions a homeowner has of his immigrant, social housing neighbour changes after he finds other occasions to talk to him and realises he is a kind man.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
A tenant-led cooking class enables residents reshape their perceptions of Chinese tenants and of their culture after seeing them enact roles of capacity by teaching others to make dumplings, while also recognising that another tenant, who is generally perceived quite negatively, is "a natural born facilitator"	*HousingFirst*
A resident reshapes her perception of disability and feels more comfortable speaking to people with intellectual disabilities due to repeated encounters with her neighbour; reciprocally, the neighbour with a disability has an enhanced sense of self-worth now that she is able to live independently for the first time in her life, in large part due to support she receives from the housing organisation and her neighbours	*HousingFirst*
An Ashwood resident who initially joined a petition in opposition to the construction of community housing based on the kind of residents it would bring changes her mind about them after becoming friends and recognising their worth on the basis of a common humanity. On this basis, she even joins with others to advocate for their resource needs.	*HousingFirst*
A KAPS student is able to shift her perspective of the Blémont social housing estate, recognising it as welcoming and lively contrary to what she had heard from others.	*AFEV*
A youth gets to know a person seeking asylum in his home and describes being able to recognise that refugees are people just like anyone else, shifting away from the dehumanising representations of people seeking asylum perpetuated in political and media discourses.	*RWA*
An elderly Blémont tenant describes how her expectations that the KAPS students would be arrogant because they attend university did not transpire, and she came to see them as humble and non-judgmental.	*AFEV*
An elderly social tenant takes on a valued social role in being able to give care to others despite her perceived language and cultural barriers.	*HousingFirst*
A university student recently arrived in France from Africa realised that not all French people harbor racist views towards immigrants as a result of encounters with his neighbours.	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Two people seeking asylum describe how their apprehensions about Australian culture and how they would be treated changed, one stated she had never expected a white person to welcome a black person as her host has done to her. The recognition of their dignity in these relations of reciprocity enabled them to overcome a fear of being at the receiving end of prejudice, and they were able to move from a sense of otherness to seeing a common human basis with their host families.	*RWA*

Social tenants' perspectives on the need for local resources are recognised as providing important insights into the deliberations of a community network whose role is to communicate resource needs to the local council.	*HousingFirst*
Homeowners recognise that the norms and standards of their own cultures are not the only way to see things and question the Western perspective on individualism by learning about more collective ways of living from non-Western residents and recognising such perspectives as a source of insight and knowledge.	*RWA Habitat et Humanisme*
Some residents are able to articulate a shared identity, based on being able to identify what they have in common with their neighbours across difference, including certain human attributes, and describe their relations in terms of familial bonds. This stands in contrast to the narrow identity constructs that form the basis of affirming group identity.	*All programs*

The above examples seem to support, albeit nominally, the notion that under certain conditions, encounters can shift perceptions and unroot prejudices, in both individual hearts and minds, but also, in some cases, in ways that challenge (albeit humbly) the "cultural patterns that systematically deprecate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them" (Fraser:1998:31; Wilson and Darling 2016). Most of these examples align with the literature in finding that encounters are more effective in shifting perceptions of others when they are sustained and recurring (Matejskova and Leitner 2011; Schuermans 2016; Farias 2016). However, even in more "fleeting" encounters, reciprocity can challenge preconceptions of others when people are seen in new contexts, particularly when engaging in activities that demonstrate capacity or a desire to contribute to community life. For example, seeing Blémont youth cook a barbecue and a tenant referee a soccer match, or Chinese tenants cook dumplings at Ashwood, can challenge people's understanding of these tenants, from being in deficit, or even a threat, to being capable contributors to a community. These findings then add to the literature that documents conditional but discernible impacts that urban encounters across difference can make on overcoming prejudiced and misconceived views of others at the individual level.

In these examples, when middle-class residents of the majority population reassess their perceptions of their poorer, ethnically diverse neighbours, it tends to reflect a shift to seeing them as more human, having more capacity, and more kindness than they had previously recognised—of overcoming misrecognition "denying the common humanity" of people by recognising "our common humanity" (Fraser 2003:45-46). In the other direction, residents express relief that they are not being judged and discriminated against by their wealthier, white neighbours, but are instead treated with dignity, as an equal human being.

This dynamic is also reflected in the challenges that arise in all residents being seen as equal partners in collective life. Perhaps reflecting the assimilation policies that inform France's approach to immigration, chapter seven outlines how in both AFEV and Habitat et Humanisme's programs, a couple of residents find it challenging to detach themselves from their own cultural standpoints and to recognise that these are not the standards against which the participation and contributions of residents hailing from other cultures ought to be judged.

Indeed, perhaps what is striking is that among residents of the majority culture who participated in the research, only three people were able to describe concretely how encounters across difference helped them to question their own cultural outlooks. Two of them reassessed the individualism inherent in Western culture, demonstrating a capacity to adopt a "respectful stance of wonder," and "being able to see one's own position, assumptions, perspective as strange, because it has been put into relation to others" (Young 1997:358). In addition to recognising that we can learn from other cultures, such observations render an abstract sense of the richness of urban diversity more concrete, whereby richness means, in part, being exposed to and learning from diverse ways of seeing and being in the world. And yet, the paucity of such examples demonstrates the challenge of adopting this stance, and for these taken-for-granted elements of culture to become visible. This then is perhaps one limitation to encounters of reciprocity alone as a means to overcome prejudice.

As outlined in the analytical framework presented in chapter three, outcomes of recognition were considered both at the individual and at the structural level, drawing on features of both Honneth's (2003; 2004) identity model and Fraser's (2000; 2003) status model of recognition. As noted, the purpose of drawing on both approaches was to be able to capture a wider range of potential outcomes, given Honneth's focus on individual change and Fraser on structural and institutional change. Given the nature of the subject matter at hand—everyday encounters between residents—much of the transformation in relation to recognition takes place at the individual level, as reshaping institutional values tends to require a different kind of intervention.

Perhaps what is important to clarify however is that in the examples presented in this research, it is not *group identity* that is being recognised, but rather one's dignity and status as an equal peer in social life. In this sense, the *what* of the recognition aligns more with Fraser's status model, meaning group identities are not reified and indeed in the examples in these cases, it is more often an underlying common humanity and a resulting equal status that is the subject of recognition, rather than "specificity" (Fraser 2003:46).

The *source* of the misrecognition also aligns with the status model, whereby interaction between residents across difference "is regulated by an institutionalized pattern of cultural value that constitutes some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior" (Fraser 2000:114). As Fraser notes elsewhere:

> Individual problems become matters of justice if and when they cumulate into a pattern that can be traced to a systemic cause. When that happens, it becomes clear that what previously looked like the personal problems of isolated individuals are actually injustices rooted in structural features of society (in Dahl et al. 2004:378).

It is perhaps the *where*—the site where the remedy lies—that sometimes departs from Fraser's model, as including the individual or subjective level in the frame of analysis goes beyond institutions as the only site for change. In other words, it allows for an account of recognition advanced through shifts in individual perceptions of themselves and of one another, as well as

through structural and policy change. This differs from Fraser's approach, which states that only reforms that replace patterns of misrecognition with "a parity-fostering alternative should be counted as viable remedies" (2003:87). This dual approach also privileges the role of individual agency in overcoming prejudice, even when these are "rooted in structural features of society" (Fraser in Dahl et al. 2004:378), and suggests that individuals are not powerless even in the face of structural discrimination to choose to see things another way, and to liberate their perspectives and patterns of interaction from these unjust forces.

Finally, it is beyond the scope of this research to measure the extent to which the presence of low-income housing for reciprocity helps to shift more ingrained prejudiced perceptions and representations prevalent across the neighbourhood and within local council in relation to low-income housing and its residents writ large. Nevertheless, one could envisage how efforts to measure such potential impacts could provide insight into the extent to which structural transformation is also unfolding.

Table 34 highlights what relations of reciprocity enable residents *to do* and *to be*, as an outcome of developing capabilities.

Table 34: Selected examples of capabilities impacts on residents' lives

Building capabilities	
Residents build capacity to facilitate, e.g. cooking classes.	*HousingFirst*
Residents develop capabilities to mentor others at the Pocket Park market.	*HousingFirst*
Residents gain skills in gardening.	*HousingFirst, RWA, Habitat et Humanisme*
Students develop capacities through their encounters in the café they work.	*HousingFirst*
Residents better grasp a foreign language, enhancing their capability to access social and cultural experiences in their home space and to forge meaningful connections with neighbours.	*HousingFirst, RWA*
Students become more effective agents of social change, their time in Blémont shapes their perspectives on where to live in the city to make sure they are not separated from urban poverty, even though their studies could easily take them down this path. It also helps to bring humility to their approach to learning and generating knowledge.	*AFEV*
A youth whose family is hosting a person seeking asylum is better able to discern how injustice operates in society. He comes to see himself as someone who cares about refugee rights and plans to consider refugee policies in his choice as a first-time voter.	*RWA*
Residents gain depth and perspective in their outlook of the world by allowing their mindsets to evolve through encounters across cultural difference. This also helps them to develop empathy, compassion, and humility.	*All programs*
A resident with an intellectual disability is able to live independently for the first time in her life, partly because of the on-site support.	*HousingFirst*
Residents feel able to practise kindness and generosity towards others.	*All programs*
Residents are able to develop artistic expression and craft	*HousingFirst*
Hosts learn to engage others in conversations about their decision to host and about refugees more generally, and create opportunities for encounters across difference between their guests and the local community	*RWA*
Residents have opportunities to be engaged in their local communities as volunteers or in other capacities.	*All programs*

Martha Nussbaum sees the development of capabilities as a realisation of the inherent dignity and potential within every human being, over which every individual has a "moral claim" (2002:131). She states that "the central question asked by the capabilities approach," is what is one "actually able to do and be?" (Ibid).

For residents with intellectual disabilities, relations of reciprocity facilitate their capability to live independently and, in these examples, to create and sell art. More generally, many residents develop capabilities that allow them to actively contribute to their communities. Whether this means teaching language courses, running a market, serving tea to elderly people, or painting children's faces: independent of the specific skills learnt, is the development of the capability to engage in community life through reciprocal exchange.

Of particular note is the effort AFEV invests into developing the capabilities of university students, to shape how they see themselves in relation to their social world, as actors of social change. While, as noted in chapter six, AFEV's resources seem to be stretched too thin to accompany youth as meaningfully as required, the relations of reciprocity developed between students and social tenants led two of them to realise that they do not want to cut themselves off from the problems of their cities. Against concerns that certain approaches to student housing could encourage micro-segregation, as found in the studentification literature (Allinson 2006; Hubbard 2009; Chatterton 2010; Macintyre 2010), KAPS student Samira's resolution to not "forget that there are other ways to see the world, and other priorities, other ways to believe, to relate to others," even though her studies and career pathways could easily enable her to do so, is particularly powerful.

More thought could be given as to how the program and the accompaniment provided to youth, including training, directly address these implications not only for where they see themselves living but also for how they approach their studies, to assist them to consider how their future professions could potentially contribute to social change.

Furthermore, RWA has also begun to give thought to how beyond opening their homes, capabilities can be further built within hosts to more actively bring their communities along with them in their efforts to welcome people seeking asylum and to shift attitudes and perceptions of this population. For a number of hosts, the act of hosting by default opens up opportunities for conversations with others and for bringing people together across difference, and in this way, the homestay program is already developing their capabilities to contribute to social change in the local setting.

Finally, a core set of capabilities threading throughout the examples provided in chapter seven pertain to the posture residents adopt in their encounters across difference. Being in a listening mode, having empathy and compassion, embodying humility and being open to learn through a "respectful stance of wonder" are capabilities that, as per Young's analysis, allow residents to reciprocally recognise one another and to broaden their vision of their social world and their role in it (1997:56). Learning could continue to unfold around the nature of education and

training programs, and the kinds of consultative environments, that contribute to nurturing such capabilities.

Beyond individuals, encounters of reciprocity can contribute to collective or community transformation. Table 35 provides selected examples of such collective impacts.

Table 35: Selected examples of collective impacts

Community/collective transformation	
A sense of community and solidarity is forged via shared practices, such as the on-site market or art collective	*HousingFirst*
Residents show solidarity by drawing on their respective expertise and know-how to support one another and contribution to their shared place of residence	*Habitat et Humanisme*
Difference becomes unremarkable as a result of the conviviality of a neighbourhood street party. This included spontaneous agency in the space by animating different elements of the party, demonstrating a shared commitment to this place	*AFEV*
Relations of care give rise to communal solidarity among elderly people who share a building, brought together by a mutual concern for one another's health and wellbeing	*HousingFirst*
Some residents experience a sense of shared identity, belonging to a "human" community based on shared fundamental human attributes and values, which the identify as kindness, trustworthiness, neighbourliness, family.	*All programs*

Through encounters with others, people valued feeling part of a community, or in the French context, of a neighbourood, which provided a sense of belonging, of mutual dependence and solidarity. Community membership was geographically defined within the local space, challenging notions of exclusive communities attempting to remain homogenous, as by their very nature these communities were heterogeneous. As noted, this supports Depraetere et al.'s findings that repeated encounters among individuals in the "here-and-now of specific practices in particular places" can give rise to "new forms of solidarity" where diverse residents "position themselves as people who are part and parcel of the neighbourhood" (2018:110). The authors describe the emergence of this solidarity as the results of a "transformation" of social structures and relationships, where vulnerable people can "step out of their attributed positions within the neighbourhood" (Depraetere et al. 2019).

Some of the practices that brought diverse people together in solidarity include their practice of art, the sharing of food, and care for children—such as when social tenants of the Blémont neighbourhood spontaneously arose to contribute to animating childrens' activities during the neighbourhood street party. Beyond these specific practices, a commitment to the neighbourhood itself, being "part and parcel of the neighbourhood," was also a source of mutual identification in Ashwood and Blémont (Depraetere et al 2018:110).

This demonstrates the opportunities that desegregated housing that fosters reciprocity can provide for residents to develop intimate bonds with people they might not cross anywhere else in life, because of different kinds of occupations, different work hours, different modes of transport and in some cases, children attending different schools.

Relations of reciprocity solidified this sense of belonging and gave rise to a community spirit. This observation contributes to a body of literature that intentionally shifts away from a vision of social housing tenants in terms of deficit (Authier et al. 2007). Though in this case, the value of community ties is not necessarily an argument for keeping distinct communities apart, but shows that under the right conditions, these same ties can extend across socioeconomic and other forms of diversity. Furthermore, as a result of bringing social housing into mixed-tenured settings, encounters of reciprocity with these social tenants fostered a sense of community among those living in private dwellings, in a way that they had not experienced in more segregated settings.

Finally, beyond a sense of belonging to a local community or place, across all cases studies, the notion of being "human" is put forward as the basis for a shared identity. This notion of an underlying human identity is most explicitly used by RWA, based on a conviction of an inner dignity inherent to all, and calls to mind Sandercock's (1998) notion of an enlarged human community. Some residents, while not going as far as to articulate a shared identity, were able to identify numerous human qualities or attributes that they felt they had in common with others, such as kindness, trust, or generosity, in ways that cut across sociocultural, ethnic, and other traditional markers of difference. While these perspectives only reflect those of residents who were engaged in encounters of reciprocity—and thus potentially already more open to forming bonds with others across difference—they nevertheless suggest the limits of group-based identity for theorising the ways that all people relate to and identify with one another across difference. It could even be said that in the discourse of RWA and the reflections shared by some of the residents, there is a growing aspiration for a more inclusive and more widely embracing sense of identity and belonging, something akin to the notion of an enlarged human community (Sandercock 1998). This seems to be a critical area for further learning, to consider how such an aspiration can be nurtured and realised in ways that help overcome increasingly polarised and paralysing us-and-them mindsets. What these examples show is that people do not have to believe the same things to find common ground. Common ground and heterogeneity can be compatible when a shared human identity is grounded in kindness, trustworthiness, honesty, and generosity.

This section outlines some examples of how relations of reciprocity advanced justice in the lives of the residents who participated in these encounters, according to dimensions of justice including redistribution, recognition, capabilities, and collective transformation. These examples are of course mere inklings of what might be possible, but further support the proposal that framing social relations through reciprocity can contribute to justice.

8.6. Reflections on reciprocity and justice

Having considered each type of justice outcome separately, this section will now consider how the empirical results of this research shed light on the relationship between different facets of justice. In this way, the "practice and place" of the case study housing programs can serve as "sites of conceptualisations of justice," as articulated by Ruth Fincher and Kurt Iveson (2012:223).

Do the examples of encounters of reciprocity in this research support Fraser's (2003) perspective that recognition and redistribution are inseparable and intertwined though analytically distinct dimensions of justice? Or does recognition surface as the most basic and fundamental dimension of justice, which permits other outcomes to flow through a hierarchical relationship, as per Honneth's (2003; 2004) point of view? The fact that the longest list of outcomes are categorised as "recognition" illustrates the significance of this question. Furthermore, how do outcomes of capabilities and outcomes at the collective level relate to one another, and to recognition and redistribution?

I consider these questions in light of the ontological foundation of interdependence in which social relations are rooted. Building on De la Bellacasa's (2012) description of interdependency as a *condition*, rather than a contract, interdependence can be seen as an ontological state regardless of whether individuals are conscious of it. I begin exploring each facet of justice by drawing on the analogy of a forest that an RWA volunteer introduced. In this context, justice can be approached as that which allows each tree to bear fruits, as a symbol of human flourishing.

From the perspective of redistribution, the organic interdependence between trees implies that without the capacity to share resources back and forth, some trees would inevitably suffer and, unable to fulfil their inherent potential of bearing fruits, this would be an injustice. Proponents of the 'housing first' approach assume that housing is one such basic resource that people need access to in order for other dimensions of their life to progress. In the context of the growing unaffordability of housing, the provision of adequate, quality housing is an important means of redistribution in its own right. But as Emma Power (2019) argues, housing is also generative (2019:774). Many residents of low-income housing show great resourcefulness and having gained access to a foundation such as safe, stable housing, as well as a connection to networks of people, they create and sell artwork, secure employment, start a business, or advance in their training or education.

Findings from the programs of housing for reciprocity at the heart of this research show how secure housing as a form of redistribution is also a foundation upon which other facets of justice can be generated—notably mutual recognition between diverse neighbours who gradually get to know one another, in and around homes to which they are firmly anchored. As Fraser observes, "granted, redistribution alone is not sufficient to redress all modes of subordination; but it remains an indispensable aspect of every defensible program for social change" (2003:87). Thus while outcomes of recognition might be more *common*, it would be superficial

to suggest that recognition is the starting point for the creation of all just housing conditions, as per Honneth's view, because without redistribution, its expression is hindered (though as noted below, the opposite is also true—hence their intertwined nature).

Anchoring redistribution in a relational vision of humanity also broadens who participates in redistribution, beyond the state or institutions such as housing providers, giving every resident a part to play. For example, as the various cases show, choices that individuals make about where to live or invest; what (and whose) needs are communicated to authorities to shape decisions about where to channel limited resources; and attitudes and actions taken towards the construction of social housing in one's neighbourhood, all have the power to contribute to or alleviate the maldistribution of resources as an expression of the relational nature of poverty and wealth.

While questions of redistribution are primarily concerned with the sharing of material resources, or of opportunities to access these, chapter seven demonstrates that the nature of the resources shared among diverse residents extends far beyond this, to include expressions of care, friendship, the giving of time, sharing knowledge, and artistic expression, to name a few examples. In this way, the sharing of material means is reciprocal, even if these tend to flow from the more to less wealthy members of a place, because this practice is embedded within a wider web of reciprocal exchange of the material and the immaterial.

Many of the examples from this research also support Fraser's claim that recognition often serves as a fundamental precondition for redistribution, because the justification for redistributing material wealth and opportunities tends to be rooted in a conception of a people's worth. Without that basic recognition—which a culture of poverty approach tends to deny (Fraser 2003; Arthurson 2012; August 2019)—the right to quality housing and education may not be taken as a given.

This is exemplified concretely by the shift in attitudes towards HousingFirst's social housing development in Ashwood. Dorothy, who once joined efforts to block social housing being built in her neighbourhood because of stigmatising representations of social housing tenants, ends up joining efforts to advocate for resources to be channeled to these same tenants, after encounters of reciprocity enable her to recognise their dignity and worth as human beings. Similarly, the humility and open mindedness that Lucie and her ACT Network peers display towards the social housing members of the network allows for reciprocal recognition, where Lucie shifts her perceptions about the local community's needs (Young 2004). Based on this recognition, the Network as a whole then advocates to the local council for these resource needs.

Beyond small but promising actions of individuals arising from encounters of reciprocity, the foundation stories of these housing programs, outlined in chapter three, can also be read as an example of how, despite prevailing stigma, a few people recognised the equal status and dignity of low-income people, people seeking asylum, or people with disabilities, and were willing to struggle for their right to housing.

As well as being a pre-condition for redistribution, recognition matters after the fact. Habitat et Humanisme personnel describe the challenges they have had sustaining past social mix models where low-income housing residents faced overt discrimination and disrespect from their neighbours. In numerous cases, the organisation was forced to rehouse these families. Refugees Welcome Australia has faced similar problems with hosts who are willing to share the material space of their homes but ultimately treat the person seeking asylum they are hosting in ways that do not respect their basic dignity. Thus, if such residents are not welcomed with respect and seen and treated as equals, the effects that such material conditions can have on a person's flourishing are stymied.

These few examples show the potential agency of individuals to go much further than just being *open* to living with diversity, where *a conviction* of equal status requires seeing past different physical or cultural attributes as units of judgment of capacity; being able to perceive minds capable of understanding social reality and imparting knowledge regardless of education levels and professional expertise; and of being reflexive towards one's own culture, conscious that the lens through which it presents the world is not unique nor neutral. It suggests that further insight into how the disposition that Young (2004) describes—a posture of listening, respect, humility, and a stance of wonder—can be fostered is warranted, as an antidote to the increasingly polarised and paralysing nature of many contemporary debates concerning diverse viewpoints.

As already noted, the paucity of examples of people being open to shifting their worldviews as a result of reciprocal recognition perhaps also points to the limitations of an approach to recognition that can only shift individual mindsets without addressing the underlying institutionalised patterns of cultural value that "form the ground rules for social interaction" (Fraser in Dahl et al. 2004:378). Failing to address this, Fraser heeds, may lead to substituting "identity-engineering for social change" (Ibid). Perhaps then one place to look for opportunities to foster this disposition is not only in individual encounters, but also, for example, in the content of school and university courses that seek to educate young minds to become social and policy actors. Or, in the environments fostered within institutionally led spaces for public consultation. Social media evidently represents another space where this question ought to be examined.

And yet, it seems incomplete to consider only these kinds of structural shifts as *transformational*, as characterised by Fraser. Examples of shifts in mindsets revealed in the empirical work of this thesis, and how such shifts garner the will required for more structural change, suggests that meaningful, impactful transformation does not only take place in institutions but also in individuals. Recognition at the individual and at the structural level can be seen to reinforce one another, but are limited when only one is advanced at the expense of the other.

For this reason, when it comes to analysing different outcomes of recognition, the conceptual approach to this research did not draw a sharp line between identity and status models of

recognition. This allowed for an observation of shifts taking place at both the individual and more structural levels. And yet, identity was not approached through the lens of affirming group identity, but rather as subjective recognition of individual worth and equality, by either recognising commonality or specificity, as per Fraser's (2003) approach.

Driving this approach was an inquiry into how to overcome us-versus-them mentalities, that consolidating identities in terms of different groups seems to harden (Uitermark et al. 2005). How to create a basis for shared responsibility that stretches beyond the confines of a given group to which one feels a sense of affinity, without all together doing away with such groups, which still have the potential to function non-exclusively as a source of meaning and belonging? Fraser's concerns with the limits of the identity politics model articulates this challenge:

> The identity politics model of recognition tends also to reify identity. Stressing the need to elaborate and display an authentic, self-affirming and self-generated collective identity, it puts moral pressure on individual members to conform to a given group culture […] The overall effect is to impose a single, drastically simplified group-identity which denies the complexity of people's lives, the multiplicity of their identifications and the cross-pulls of their various affiliations (2000:112).

Fraser qualifies elsewhere that this does not mean we should dismiss the notion of groups completely, and indeed misrecognition is often rooted in oppressive group identity constructs. For example, the dehumanisation of the image of the refugee in the Australian public imaginary requires revalidating the notion of being a refugee as a legitimate political status, while also bringing to the fore a common humanity. Fraser states clearly that for her model of justice, the individual is the subject, and this liberates her approach from the need to affirm group identities at all costs:

> For me, the individual is the fundamental subject of justice. It is individuals who suffer injustice, even though they do that by virtue of being cast in some group or another. Thus, I reject the communitarian view that groups are the basic normative-ontological units and macro subjects of subjects (in Dahl et al. 2004:379).

As noted in chapter two, reified group identities that do not admit an overarching community that encompasses all of humanity render it difficult to overcome an us-and-them mentality and to foster a more universal sense of shared responsibility (Uitermark et al. 2005; Campbell 2006; Amin 2002). Sandercock's (1998) notion of a human community encompasses diversity without reducing people's identity to a singular identity trait or characteristic, and as such, diversity need not be a source of alienation. Chapter seven captures the basis for a common humanity that some residents identified, such as basic values of kindness, generosity, or family. Such an approach can help ensure that the recognition agenda, in its search for equal treatment, does not inadvertently promote the idea that the only basis for equality is equality itself, rather than some shared foundation of what it means to be human.

I now turn to justice as capabilities and as collective transformation. One way of conceiving capabilities is to consider what does a tree need to bear fruits beyond adequate nutrients? In addition to certain environmental conditions, including sunshine, what other processes and labours nurture the tree?

As already highlighted, my use of the capabilities model is far less expansive than Nussbaum's approach, and as such does not draw explicitly on the list of capabilities she proposes. I use the concept to frame the questions: once people are granted equal status to participate in society, what capabilities are needed to draw on these resources to reciprocally contribute to and benefit from shared social life? What processes and labour are required to nurture them? The question of capabilities as applied here is thus most concerned with the question of individual agency, and what more is needed (in addition to redistribution and recognition) to nurture it?

The case study housing programs demonstrate a laborious process of strengthening capabilities. In one example from HousingFirst, workshops for members of the Tenant Advisory Group develop capacity in a person with a disability to convey her views in ways that can shape practice, just as it builds capacity in the rest of the group to sincerely listen to these views in a way that is not dismissive nor tokenistic. The challenges residents face in similar meetings at Jardin Divers, or among the collective of associations in AFEV's program, demonstrate how important such capabilities are in fostering inclusive and accessible consultative environments. In another example, RWA's Housing Coordinator's continued conversations with both hosts and guests allows them to learn how to correlate theories of reciprocity with the practical reality of living together across difference. A next step could be to consider how such conversations can go beyond troubleshooting to a more proactive approach to learning about what is fostering reciprocity.

Furthermore, just as the relationship between redistribution and recognition is not necessarily linear but mutually constitutive, capabilities also interact with these facets of justice in a dynamic way. In a number of examples, when misrecognised residents are given opportunities to develop and demonstrate their capabilities, this can shift the esteem they have of themselves as well as the prejudiced conceptions others have of their worth and abilities. Even small gestures—creating and exhibiting artwork, running a barbeque, facilitating cooking classes, gardening, refereeing youth soccer matches—contribute towards shifted perceptions of who people are, and who they can be, recognising that despite their social or economic circumstances, they do have something to contribute. Similarly, enhanced capabilities can lead to opportunities for outcomes of redistribution, such as residents selling the artwork they have created, or gaining familiarity with the Australian social context in ways that help a person seeking asylum to access employment opportunities.

Finally, another fundamental characteristic of the analogy of trees in a forest is the forest itself, without which reciprocity cannot flow from tree to tree. When Sacha presents this image, she points out that a tree is only as strong as the forest of which it is part, and vice versa, highlighting the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the interdependent collective. Sacha explains, for example, the protective nature of the forest, and how when even

one tree dies, the resulting hole in the forest canopy means the remaining trees are more susceptible to the elements and weakened as a result. What is the effect of injustice faced by one individual on the rest of the neighbourhood? When neighbours form a community tied together by relations of reciprocity, then this injustice afflicts not just one person, but the community as a whole, giving rise to what Midgely describes as a "situated and relational basis of responsibility" (2016:625).

Furthermore, beyond the interdependence of the forest, it is possible to appreciate how the forest acts as an agent in its own right, capable of producing "fruits" beyond the sum of each individual tree, such as supporting an entire ecosystem, as well as shade and shelter. For a community or group of residents, solidarity and a shared sense of identity rooted in place can strengthen collective agency. This is perhaps an outcome of which there are only glimpses in these programs. At Blémont, it is when the street party is taking place that residents and local organisations realise what they can accomplish when they work together. At Jardin Divers, residents work together to take on tasks that no one of them could manage alone, such as overseeing the maintenance of the entire building. At HousingFirst, residents run food markets and form an art collective capable of filling an entire exhibition. An interesting question for further research could concentrate on what capability building looks like at the collective level among communities of diverse residents.

This vision of collective capacity also offers another conception of power. When reciprocity flows between a community of people, the relations between them are less about struggle over power as a limited entity, though these communities are of course not immune to such struggles among residents. Indeed, imbalances of power form the rationale for these housing programs, and they cannot claim to have resolved them. This is evidenced, for example, through the limited choice low-income tenants have in adhering to these 'voluntary' housing models, a reflection of deeper structural inequalities that encounters of reciprocity alone cannot solve. It is also evident in the challenges low-income residents face in contributing to defining the norms of participation in participatory housing. Overcoming such imbalances is a process that requires labour at multiple levels of society.

But rather than bolstering a back-and-forth power struggle where some residents are seen to gain power at the expense of others, housing for reciprocity approaches are learning to harness more emancipatory forms of power, resemblant of those envisaged by feminist scholars, as an alternative to notions of power framed solely in terms of domination and oppression (Miller 1992; Held 1993; Hartsock 1989). Power, in this sense, manifests as collective ability that is generated through relations of reciprocity flowing throughout interdependent webs of people (Follet 1942; Pratt 2011). Viewed through this lens, relations of reciprocity support Jean Baker Miller's conception of power as "the capacity to produce a change," that can "foster the growth of others" (1992:241, 247; Held 1993), placing attention on what a group of people are *empowered to do* by virtue of these relations.

This leads to a final question, justice for *whom?* Are low-income residents the only ones in need of justice? Broadening a conception of just outcomes from redistribution and recognition to include outcomes of capabilities and collective transformation demonstrates that the need for justice is universal, that all require its bearings to navigate the world. Of course, it must be emphasised that the need for redistribution and recognition among the socially and economically disenfranchised is the most pressing concern and deserves the greatest attention, to remove the material and symbolic barriers to their capacity to flourish. However, a relational view of inequality suggests that addressing these dimensions of justice alone may not prove as fruitful, given all have a role to play *on a par with one another* in overcoming inequality by virtue of their participation in a web of relations that can both alleviate or exacerbate injustice. Through the frame of reciprocity, all are in need of the kinds of capabilities that equip them to function individually and collectively as effective agents of social change. In other words, more affluent residents also need to enhance certain capabilities that render them more conscious and effective agents of social justice—alongside all other residents—just as diverse communities need solidarity and a sense of belonging, without which their collective capacity to flourish is diminished.

To conclude, the concept of relations of reciprocity can be seen as a means through which these various outcomes of justice—redistribution, recognition, capabilities and collective transformation—are advanced, consolidating its value as way of theorising more just social relations in the city. As stated throughout, the intention in putting this theoretical concept forward is not to replace existing concepts such as care, hospitality, or solidarity. It is, rather, to offer a frame which captures how these various relations can be practised reciprocally, on a path towards justice.

8.7. Critical reflections: from social mix to housing for desegregation

Do these case studies and the fruits they are bearing rescue social mix as an idea? Despite efforts to sift through the literature on social mix to find references to instances of encounter and reciprocity, as outlined in chapter two, these examples tended to be the exception. This suggests the limits of social mix as an effective approach to overcoming segregation.

What these innovative housing programs demonstrate is that there is more than one way to desegregate the city. There are numerous distinctions between these four programs and the mainstream social mix model, most commonly pursued through razing large-scale housing estates and, effectively, the communities they house along with them, to pave the way for middle-class role models. I argue that what these programs are proposing is *something else*.

When in mainstream social mix programs, prospective homeowners are reassured about the separation and invisibility of the social housing neighbouring them, it becomes more challenging for them to imagine their relationship to this place and those neighbours any differently. This imaginary is then built into the landscape, with physical fences and separate

entrances (Lelévrier 2021; Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2013; Wise 2016; Camina and Wood 2009). In contrast, the four programs discussed in this thesis target residents who, to the extent possible, voluntarily opt in to housing models that promote encounters across difference, rather than being imposed on the unwilling, or impressing upon more affluent incoming residents that they are there to change the community to resemble them (Rose et al. 2013).

It thus seems more helpful that discussions on promising housing models would revolve around the concept of residential desegregation, rather than social mix. It is worth noting that these programs or ones like them are not being proposed as a panacea for social injustice writ large. Rather, they must exist in parallel to broader efforts for social transformation and structural change. However, approaching these four programs as pre-figurative examples of 'possibility', they can be seen as learning grounds for more general approaches to desegregate housing.

This proposed shift away from social mix to new models of desegregation gives rise to a number of critical reflections that may be pertinent for further inquiries into housing that promotes desegregation based on a conception of reciprocity. They could inform future research, policies, or housing programs and approaches. In particular, these reflections articulate the ways in which these approaches are distinct from those of mainstream social mix. Furthermore, while these experiences are too few and these models too small-scale to demonstrate whether and how they might feasibly translate to other (and larger scale) contexts, the various characteristics that distinguish them from mainstream approaches to social housing do seem hold promise for being conducive to fostering encounters of reciprocity across difference.

Giving careful thought and attention to the premises that underpin an approach to housing.

These cases demonstrate the importance the case study organisations place on setting out their values and missions, including the vision of reciprocal social relations that they strive to cultivate among diverse residents. Training is provided to convey and refine these visions, and thought is given to how they can be integrated into the approaches and processes of housing provision, including the narratives told to people moving into this housing. In this way, one distinguishing feature of these programs is not only that reciprocity replaces role model thinking as a central premise for an approach to desegregated housing, but that *so much attention* is given to the meaning and implications of this premise. As harmful as role model thinking may be in practice, its persistence in policy and in programs is less likely the result of deep and careful thinking about its value and effectiveness, and more likely the result of a *lack of attention* given to the value and power of these and other premises that underpin social mix policies. This suggests the value of critically interrogating the underlying premises of housing policies and programs and considering how they shape methodology and practice, while also highlighting how such premises can dramatically alter the way housing for desegregation is produced.

Building capacity for encounters of reciprocity.

Further to articulating and refining a core mission and set of values, case study organisations build capacity at all levels, among personnel and among residents. This approach seems to support the notion that encountering across difference often entails hard work (Fincher 2019). Another distinctive feature of these approaches then is the effort taken to build capacity in residents for encounters of reciprocity—either directly or through partner organisations. Despite this being an area of focus, organisations did not always have the resources to offer extensive capacity building in the areas highlighted by interview participants (both directly and indirectly) as the kinds of things that would be constructive for personnel and residents to learn. Table 36 summarises these various objects of learning as identified both directly and indirectly. It also identifies potential areas of learning based on an analysis of the limitations to reciprocity encountered between residents.

Table 36: Examples of objects of learning for capacity building

Inter-cultural sensitivity: building consciousness of the notion of culture and what it means to avoid a posture of setting one's own culture as the standard
Being encouraged to look for capacity in others, broadening a notion of what capacity looks like
Practical skills for community and dialogue
Spaces for perspectives to be shared about local needs
Relational conceptions of poverty
Probing conceptions of participation and what universal participation looks like
Conciliating social and rent collection dimensions of housing management
The nature of partnerships
Spaces to define a shared vision of community
Housing systems
Cultivating a posture of humility, respect, openness, and curiosity in conversations with diverse counterparts

Supporting encounters of reciprocity.

This research supports previous findings that suggest organisations play an important role in initiating and supporting encounters across difference (Costarelli and Melic 2022; Mugnano and Plavarini 2013; Chaskin et al. 2013; Camina and Wood 2009; Depraetere et al. 2019). As these cases also illustrate, encounters are supported by organisations who offer day-to-day support to foster relations of reciprocity. Residents across several cases demonstrate an eagerness to learn from the experience of these organisations and a desire to be accompanied, especially among young residents. Thus, hands-on support is another shared feature of these various models. At the same time, the spontaneous nature of many encounters suggests that an overly-interventionist approach could stifle the organic nature of many encounters, including

residents being able to figure problems out for themselves. Discerning when to step in and when to step back is thus an important capacity for those working at the frontlines with residents.

Furthermore, the financial implications of this approach to accompanying residents have not been accounted for in this research. While some organisations have balanced this cost by drawing on volunteer labour, the desire from a number of residents for more, rather than less, support—particularly in the early days of the housing program—demonstrates that this dimension of these housing approaches calls for a greater financial investment than traditional social mix models.

Designing for encounter.

These findings echo the social mix literature that shows that architecture is important both physically and symbolically for facilitating encounters across difference (Lelévrier 2013; Arthurson 2013; Wise 2016; Camina and Wood 2009). Architecture and design influence whether people are able to meet, especially those unplanned meetings in the humdrum routines of daily life. Apart from RWA, all programs give thought to spaces for encounter which in all three cases include common rooms and shared outdoor space. These kinds of shared common areas have typically been difficult to provide and fund in traditional social mix residences that are usually managed by separate private and public landlords (Lelévrier 2013). While such spaces do evidently have financial implications, the partnerships underpinning the programs facilitate strategies for sharing the cost and maintenance of these shared spaces.

These cases also confirm findings from the above literature that suggest that when private and social housing are designed to be indistinguishable, this can promote encounters while sending a powerful message about the worth of these places and as demonstrated in Ashwood, can remove hesitation to enter social housing complexes. While, as noted previously, the removal of spatial markers of stigma should not be conflated with the removal of social stigma, such approaches to design potentially provide opportunities for encounters across difference that might otherwise not have happened, and it is through such encounters that such stigma may be confronted and, in some cases, dismantled.

Partnering for encounter.

In their ambition to create connections between their own tenants or resident volunteers, and those living in other housing tenures, housing organisations have needed to partner with other local organisations. Partner organisations include service providers, private housing developers, social housing landlords, schools, and charities, to name but a few examples. Across the cases, two important factors in the effectiveness of these partnerships to facilitate encounters of reciprocity across difference were identified. The first is a shared value base, where organisations are working towards common objectives through complementary approaches. The second is reciprocity in the partnerships themselves, where each organisation mutually supports the work of one another. In this way, any examination into the role of

housing organisations in contributing to residential desegregation should recognise and consider their interdependence with a network of organisations and give due consideration to how such partnership dynamics can be strengthened.

The nature of activities that bring people together.

While a place of residence is considered to be a site for everyday encounters, most of the organisations studied don't presume that everyday run-ins alone are sufficient to establish relations of reciprocity across difference (and indeed, in part, the "parallel lives" phenomenon perhaps reflects this inadequacy) (Camina and Wood 2009). Instead, organisations initiate opportunities for encounters through activities and events designed to bring people together. This in itself is another distinctive feature of these approaches.

Furthermore, these cases have been able to generate insight into the *nature* of activities that can promote encounters of reciprocity, at least in these circumstances. Their experiences seem to support the role of shared, purposeful activities in bringing people together and generating moments of conviviality. Conviviality appears to be enhanced when in these moments, people are taking on new roles where they are demonstrating capacity or contributing something to others and to community life.

People do also come together of their own accord, particularly to offer mutual care, and the vast examples of care described in chapter seven echo previous studies (Lelévrier 2013). As these relations are generally nurtured in both formal and informal spaces, it is difficult to conclude whether these informal encounters would have occurred without the more formal encounters that sit alongside them.

Opportunities to volunteer are so significant in bringing people together across difference that this is addressed below as a standalone point.

Volunteering as a basis for encounters.

While the methodology of this study means that those participating in it are more likely to be volunteering in their communities, the sheer range of examples suggests that many people desire to be active contributors to their local space and when given the opportunity, take this up.

The value of volunteering as a means of encounter supports previous findings (Cloke et al. 2007; Darling 2011; Farias 2016), though none of the studies referenced here have considered the role of volunteering in residential settings. This raises some important critical questions that could be the subject of future research. Objects of learning could be to consider how opportunities are created for residents to contribute to their communities and to enact roles of capacity, and to learn to draw on the talents of all. They could also consider how to encourage this volunteering impulse to be expressed through common projects that bring people together across difference.

Engaging the broader community.

Many of these programs are designed with a focus on a sub-set of residents living directly in the housing programs offered. The cases in Ashwood and Blémont suggest that where spaces and patterns of encounter exist at a certain scale, opportunities are created to reach the broader community. In Blémont, encounters happen not just between the KAPS students and social tenants, but their actions create space for their more affluent neighbours to be brought into the encounters. RWA also aspires towards this broader community engagement, as a means to ensure that local communities can get to know people seeking asylum. However, because programs are offered wherever willing hosts live (and thus are spread across many suburbs), it has been difficult to formalise this beyond residents' own initiatives. While much remains to be learnt to operationalise this aspiration, an outward looking approach that seeks to engage the broader community appears to be another distinctive feature of these programs.

Approaching residents as a collective and fostering a sense of a shared identity rooted in place.

A key distinction of collective housing models is that they bring residents into conversation with one another. HousingFirst's Philippa describes the value of having a "holistic landlord", and it appears that in approaching their housing sites not only as multiple dwellings for many individual tenants, but also, as the home to a community as an entity, attention is given to strengthening a sense of shared experience.

The existence of a holistic landlord is not different to typical social mix models, where social tenants usually share a social landlord, however in these cases, organisations employ strategies to foster a sense of shared experience—such as community newsletters; street festivals and social events; committees or governance mechanisms that contribute to the management of the housing site; and opportunities for residents to showcase their capacities and talents. Bringing residents together to discuss the needs of their places of residence and to seek out their ideas for how to meet them appears to help establish a sense of a common project.

Selecting for social motivation.

Selection processes for social motivation are utilised in the cases that recruit resident-volunteers (see also Costarelli and Melic 2022). Even when selection processes are not strictly put in place, spaces of orientation and preparation tend to be employed to help set residents' expectations of the nature of the housing they are considering and a vision for relating to their neighbours across difference. Such selection processes appear to both shape attitudes and approaches to neighbours while also giving potential residents the possibility of opting out. These elements of these approaches depart significantly from social mix programs, which do not consider nor seek to filter or nurture the social motivation of prospective residents.

This approach—selecting for social motivation—aligns with previous empirical findings that encounters across difference are facilitated when they are the result of a voluntary and

purposeful choice that is not imposed through outside engineering efforts (Fincher and Iveson 2008; Wilson 2013; Camina and Wood 2009; Mugnano and Palvarini 2013). As this research demonstrates, not all residents actually have this choice, notably those who are coming from precarious living situations, though this limitation is more a reflection of the broader housing market than the programs themselves.

It is not possible to ascertain the potential scope of such motivation on the basis of these small-scale experiences, nor to determine whether such motivation is a limited resource (and if so, how limited). A fruitful line of questioning could be to determine a scale of encounter that demands a *reasonable* level of social motivation—homestay arrangements require a very high level of motivation, but other, less intimate models could potentially reach more people willing to participate in encounters of reciprocity across difference in their housing sites.

The timescale of encounters: labouring over the long-term

One apparent limitation of some of these housing programs is the short-term nature of the living arrangements. As acknowledged, overcoming entrenched urban segregation and the alienation and prejudice that tends to accompany it is best understood as a long-term process, characterised by "ongoing effort," "hard work" and "persistence" (Fincher 2019:72). And yet, it is only HousingFirst's community housing, and one of Habitat et Humanisme's social housing units, that offer permanent, long-term housing. RWA's accommodation is a temporary solution that is initially set up as a three-month homestay (though is often extended and in some cases has lasted several years); AFEV students only engage for one year at a time, and though some do commit for the duration of their studies, this represents the minority of cases; and one of Habitat et Humanisme's apartments is designated as two-year, transitional accommodation while the other, an intergenerational apartment, is only available to individuals while they are single and without a family, and thus by default relatively temporary in nature.

The significant investment made by HousingFirst to facilitate encounters and the extent to which such encounters are not only occurring but beginning to give rise to transformative shifts in the perceptions residents have of one another and in the mutual bonds created is reflective of this different timescale. Transformative outcomes are more possible—and thus more investment is made—when such efforts play out over the longer-term. One area for consideration then is whether some of these programs should revisit the duration of the living arrangements of their housing, and whether pathways to more permanent housing in a given locality could be conceived and supported.

Relations with policymakers: a constructive approach

A key distinction of these programs compared to many mainstream social mix models is that they are all run by non-governmental organisations. This provides some latitude to innovate and to propose alternative models of housing for desegregation. It also means that these organisations need to navigate their relationships with government at the national, state and/or local level. All the case study organisations navigate these as constructive partnerships, which

enables them to channel public financial and other forms of support to these justice-building endeavours. While they may not always agree with the policies of these governments, case study organisations avoid focusing their energy on overt criticism and have been able to innovate in large part because of their ability to harness such support.

At the same time, public support can bring some limitations, such as stringent evaluation criteria (as felt by some of the KAPS students) or a sentiment of needing to self-censure to some degree to avoid excess scrutiny (as expressed by some RWA volunteers). But on the whole, the reception of this support aligns with a view shared by these organisations that the government has a responsibility to shoulder the burden of the right for all to access housing. In this way, their constructive partnerships open up room to innovate an approach that reflects their founding values, while eliciting support from government—even if it is felt that this support could be enhanced.

Though these organisations and their programs are too small-scale to contribute to the reshaping of policy, the nature of their collaboration to some extent opens up space for dialogue with government, particularly at the local level. This thus appears to be another dimension of the constructive nature of these partnerships.

In parallel to this, as organisations carry on their work quietly and discreetly, without drawing overt attention to it, they are more protected from reactionary counter-movements—particularly when working with maligned populations such as people seeking asylum and refugees in the context of the politically charged discourse within Australia. Rather, in the spaces they are in, organisations like RWA—but also other case study organisations—seek to elevate discourse and to work with other likeminded organisations to find constructive ways forward.

Taking these reflections all together and noting the significant organisational labour that *housing for reciprocity* approaches imply raises a core question about whether residential desegregation is efficient enough as a strategy for furthering justice and reducing poverty. This research supports previous findings that spatial proximity alone is insufficient for encounters of reciprocity and their potential justice effects to emerge (Camina and Wood 2009; Gilbert 2009; Charmes 2009; Lelévrier 2013; Bolt and Van Kempen 2013; Rose et al. 2013; Bacqué et al. 2014). It also goes some way to demonstrating the laborious and intricate nature of an approach that goes further than this, based on the premise of reciprocity that is operationalised at many levels of the programs. Considering all of this, are such place-based interventions justified as a policy and programmatic tool?

While still tentative, the emerging insights about potential outcomes of encounters of reciprocity across difference fostered by these programs suggest that the answer to this question is a resounding yes. Alternative approaches, for example focusing only on redistribution directly to individuals as a means to improve their position in society, do not adequately reflect the relational nature of inequality in interdependent urban life, nor do they acknowledge the complex interplay of the various dimensions of justice, as explored in section 8.6. Place-based

approaches acknowledge that we do not live in a "spatially indifferent world of individuals" (Baum and Gleeson 2010:154) where poverty is an individual problem, but rather a problem that affects one part of a collective.

As Iris Marion Young observes, one of the main injustices of residential class segregation is that it leads to "an entire way of life in which relatively well-off people can conduct nearly all of their everyday activities insulated from encounters with those less well-off, their faces, their dwellings, their working conditions" (2002:212). As the empirical work of this research has supported, this has implications for recognition, as it provides no opportunities to challenge prejudice and to recognise attributes of a common humanity. It also has implications for redistribution in the context of democracies where more powerful groups of people can influence decisions about how limited public resources are used. Being "enclosed in comfortable enclaves," oblivious and indifferent to the needs of lower income city dwellers enables these more affluent, and more powerful, residents to "withdraw from the problems of interdependent life" (2002:214-215). This not only fails to get to the root of the problem but denies them an opportunity to have their "sense of justice pricked" and to participate in efforts to bring about a more equal, just city (Young 2002:215). Residential segregation thus limits the development of capabilities that can enable people to act as protagonists of social change and prevents the formation of diverse communities on the basis of solidarity.

Housing, as this thesis has demonstrated, is an important site for encounters across difference that can foster reciprocity and further some of these dimensions of justice. In this light, the "ongoing effort" and "hard work," "persistence and tact" is worth it (Fincher 2019:72). It seems almost impossible to imagine how such a multifaceted vision of justice could be advanced if the various segments of the population, who share an interdependent urban life, have no means to encounter one another in the everyday due to persistent residential segregation. Housing for reciprocity, in some shape or form, with all of its complexities and challenges, thus has an indispensable role to play in furthering justice.

8.8. The relevance of context

While varied national and city-level contexts have multiple implications for the four case study programs, three differences stood out.

The first relates to the drive for volunteering and social motivation. All programs were able to successfully elicit volunteers for a variety of roles both directly related to housing provision as well as roles that make contributions to the wider community. One noticeable difference was that a large proportion of volunteers in Australia, including those coming from a middle-class background, cited religious motivations behind their volunteering efforts. In France, residents from the middle-class population did not overtly cite religion as a motivation. Rather, it was predominantly social tenants, who come from non-French backgrounds, that spoke openly about harbouring religious beliefs. It is difficult to know whether this discrepancy reflects a difference in who is actually motivated, or rather a difference in who is being reached in the

different approaches. This suggests merit in giving further attention to what drives social motivation in both contexts, how such motivation can be further cultivated, and how to reach potential volunteers effectively.

Another discernible difference was the extent to which cultural barriers appeared to limit reciprocity in France more so than in Australia. While the number of instances is relatively low, in each of the French cases, there was at least one example of a native French resident who faced more of a struggle to see past his/her own cultural view on how things should function, to openly listen to and learn from diverse approaches. This raises the question as to whether this might reflect France's assimilation approach to immigration, as opposed to Australia's multicultural approach. The fact that Habitat et Humanisme organised a whole training to assist its staff and volunteers to appreciate that their culturally shaped way of living is not the only way to live, suggests this may be a more pervasive challenge—though it perhaps also reflects the organisations' advanced experience and understanding of this issue.

Finally, it is worth noting that while still distinct, the French housing programs more closely resembled traditional social mix programs compared to the Australian programs—with both French organisations and their partners explicitly using the term social mix. This likely reflects the pervasiveness of social mix in France, not only in practice, but inscribed in policy and law. Practically, this translated into a more conscientious effort to instigate modes of being in housing that can generate an "everyday" social mix.

8.9. Unexpected findings

The initial theoretical conception of reciprocity as a social relation, that I had developed through the review of the literature, evolved through empirical work. Initially, I had approached this in light of the findings of Camina and Wood (2009), who proposed that the benefits of encounters across socioeconomic difference flow in two directions, between two groups of residents, as opposed to the one-directional assumption of the role model theory. Thus, reciprocity was to be explored as an alternative to role model theory in this way.

However, in conversations with personnel from Refugees Welcome Australia, they shared how they had observed reciprocity flowing in multiple directions. Once this idea was planted, I began to observe how indeed encounters of reciprocity flowed across many people, and also across time. The theoretical conception of reciprocity thus became more expansive and reflected a more complex relational expression of an underlying ontology of interdependence.

Furthermore, I had not initially appreciated the central role of reciprocity in partnerships between organisations. In fact, speaking with partner organisations was not included in my initial research design plan. However, from the first case onwards (HousingFirst), it was very clear how central these partnerships were to facilitating spaces of encounter. These organisations' perspectives brought much insight into encounters of reciprocity.

While the existence of many informal encounters was not a surprise, the extensiveness of such encounters was an interesting, unexpected finding. Exploring the second research question helped bring to light the practices of reciprocity taking place outside the more structured and formal spaces organised by the organisations. This also helped to clarify the role of these organisations, as outlined earlier in this chapter, not as engineers of reciprocity but as institutions that can help to nurture and channel it.

Analysing impacts of relations of reciprocity in terms of capabilities and collective transformation was also not initially envisaged. Concerning the latter, in analysing my data, it became apparent that encounters were not only a means to just outcomes, but in some sense, "encountering" was a valuable outcome in its own right. As I dug deeper, it emerged that the bonds being made and the sense of belonging that was being nurtured during these encounters were considered important outcomes from the perspective of residents. Interestingly, a similar envisaged outcome was discernible in the discourses of the case study organisations. As such, this category of impacts was added.

Finally, seeing these models of desegregation, which placed social housing in central places, helped me to appreciate that in many contexts, social housing is the last bastion of hope for low-income people to live in the city as the neighbourhoods around them gentrify. While this points to the need for major structural reform, in the meantime, social housing prevents, however minimally, well-resourced living spaces from descending into exclusive preserves of the wealthy. It also prevents low-income residents from being forced out further and further towards the margins, where not only their lives, their conditions and their faces are out of sight, but also their capacities, talents and virtues.

8.10. Conclusion

This thesis proposes that an ethic of reciprocity can help frame social relations across difference in a more just way than existing frameworks such as 'role model' theory. Beyond housing, reciprocity is proposed as a framing for just social relations in the city, including by recasting existing conceptions of just social relations—such as relations of care and hospitality—as being reciprocal. The thesis suggests that encounters across difference is a means through which relations of reciprocity can be enacted and, in some cases, contribute to more just outcomes in people's lives. It also explores how housing as a site of difference can serve as a space where these encounters can happen repeatedly, over a period of time. And it considers what kind of housing, based on what kinds of values, facilitate these encounters.

In doing so, the thesis develops a conception of reciprocity as a relation that flows across an interconnected web of people, through the exchange of the tangible and the intangible, including interpersonal exchanges enacted with a certain posture of listening and "wonder". (Young 1998). In this way, reciprocity can flow across space but also backwards and forwards in time. While reciprocity as an ethic is not engineered by these housing organisations, they

can foster approaches and conditions that are conducive to its practice, by creating opportunities for people to encounter one another and to contribute to their place of residence.

This stands in stark contrast to the role model theories that underpin mainstream social mix models and the idea that benefits of encounters across difference flow only in one direction. It also represents a relational approach to housing, which is about more than the quality of the housing stock—it is also about the people that live there, and their worth.

These findings open up avenues for further research. Firstly, now that a "politics of possibility" approach has been able to bring to light practices of reciprocity in the here and now, demonstrating its promise as an ethic to frame more just social relations, research that takes a more critical approach could dig deeper into the tensions that come even within a reciprocity model. Gaining deeper insight into these tensions can contribute to learning both about the potential limitations of these housing models, but also inform efforts to overcome these tensions as part of the ongoing struggle to build justice in urban contexts of difference.

Another area of inquiry that is beyond the scope of this research would be to trace the impacts of these programs over time—or of relations of reciprocity pursued through other urban programs and processes—to produce further evidence on what is "just" about relations of reciprocity.

Finally, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, this approach to desegregation is resource-intensive and as a result, more costly than traditional approaches to social mix. In addition to the cost of personnel to accompany residents and the cost of common physical spaces to foster encounters, the acquisition of land in more central places represents a significant expense. To what extent are these small, experimental models replicable at a large scale?

This raises important questions about the implications of reciprocity for approaches to financing desegregated housing. A fruitful avenue of exploration could be to give further thought to pertinent financial models for desegregated housing approaches like the ones featured in this research.

During my field work, I encountered several examples of models for financing social housing in central areas. In some examples, profit made from the private sector was redistributed to finance this housing. Yet such models can also give rise to tensions. For example, in Paris's 18th district, each overpriced flat white sold at a fancy coffee shop on the ground floor of a newly built social housing building redistributes part of the price of that coffee to fund the housing. This finance flows through the lease the coffee shop pays to the public social landlord. It's an easy win for redistribution: café-goers don't need to be socially conscious; they just need to like coffee. Through the lens of redistribution, this is an effective strategy for contributing to the costs of centrally located, high quality social housing. But through another lens, the café—which is too expensive for the tenants who live above it to frequent—creates a space of micro-segregation in the neighbourhood. Tenants are excluded from this place so close to home and reminded of this exclusion on a daily basis.

This of course is just one example. But it raises an interesting question, that will need to be explored in the context of the desegregation programs studied in this thesis. What financial models can both redistribute wealth in support of high-quality, centrally based, well-accompanied social housing while *also* respecting an ethic of reciprocity? Are such micro-sites of exclusion inevitable as long as those whose funds are being redistributed towards housing remain inadvertent consumers? Do/can models exist that cultivate a relational vision of poverty, where motivated, wealthier residents are prepared to shoulder some of the costs of this housing in contexts of collective living, "in relation to one another as part of a web of interdependencies" (Farias 2016: 181)?

This seems to be a fundamental problem to consider for housing of reciprocity to be viable on a larger scale. It also demonstrates that while a lens of possibility helps cast our eye towards hopeful, novel and unexpected manifestations of justice-building in the here and now—broadening the social panorama of what *is* and what *can be*—such possibility does not equate to an unfounded or impractical idealism. A lens of possibility entails seeking out not just what *is* or *could be* possible, but also, the practical means for how to get there.

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