



*Governing Urban Diversity:
Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities*

Governance arrangements and initiatives in Paris, France

Work package 5: Governance arrangements and initiatives
Deliverable nr.: D 5.1
Lead partner: Partner 7 (synergo)
Authors: Angéline Escafré-Dublet, Christine Lelévrier
Nature: Report
Dissemination level: PP
Status: Final version
Date: 24 August 2014

*This project is funded by the European Union under the
7th Framework Programme; Theme: SSH.2012.2.2.2-1;
Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts*



This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970.

To be cited as: Escafré-Dublet, A. and C. Lelévrier, (2014). Governance arrangements and initiatives in Paris, France. Paris: UPEC.

This report has been put together by the authors, and revised on the basis of the valuable comments, suggestions, and contributions of all DIVERCITIES partners.

The views expressed in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of European Commission.

Contents

1 Introduction.....4

2 Governance arrangements5

 2.1 *Arrangements targeting social cohesion 5*

 2.2 *Arrangements targeting social mobility 15*

 2.3 *Arrangements targeting economic performance 22*

3 Synthesis and analysis of the results.....24

4 Conclusions28

5 References30

Legal documents and policy programmes 30

Reviewed documents and sources of the selected governance arrangements 30

Bibliography 30

6 Appendix 31

List of the interviewed persons 31

List of the participants of the round-table talk 31

1 Introduction

Although diversity is not an official category of public action in French urban policies, the Paris Department for 'City Policy' (*Délégation à la politique de la ville de la ville de Paris, DPVI*) implements redistribution, social mixing and anti-discrimination programmes that can be seen as a policy response to diversity. The French City Policy targets specific disadvantaged areas - labelled Priority Neighbourhoods – and allocates specific resources for the implementation of programmes in these deprived neighbourhoods. While this policy is nationally designed, it relies heavily on local initiatives to implement programmes in collaboration with project managers from the local Department of City Policy.

The analysis of the mainstream of the discourses and policies of Paris on diversity shows that social diversity is a major stake (Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier, 2014). The city government implements programmes that seek to keep Paris a diverse city and develop approaches that are concerned with social and spatial inequalities. This response to diversity is motivated by the French integrationist approach, which is focused on social and economic integration in a country where state intervention is still shaping urban policies (Kirszbaum, 2004).

This report explores local initiatives implemented in the Priority Neighbourhoods of the North East of Paris – 18th and 19th districts. The *aim of the report* is to analyse how these local initiatives are able to address the challenge of diversity in terms of social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance and what is their understanding of this challenge. It discusses how local actors do not formally address diversity, although they develop various answers to the challenge of the different backgrounds and lifestyles of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. It addresses three research questions: How is diversity conceptualised within each initiative? Which are the main factors influencing success or failure of each initiative? And, can we identify new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts?

In the French context, most local initiatives are handled by non-governmental organisations that receive financial support from local and national government. In the case of the initiatives under scrutiny in this report, they all receive financial as well as a technical support from the Paris Department of City Policy (DPVI). Different kinds of governmental arrangements can be observed. Some initiatives are grassroots and managed to secure some financial support from the administration. While other initiatives result from a top-down process. They were initiated by the administration and are implemented by an NGO. However, all initiatives have a territorial dimension. They are locally grounded and are implemented in direct link with inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover, most of these initiatives are in link with one another, or know of each other, and constitute a form of network that implements social programmes in the neighbourhoods. They were selected because they are representative of the implementation of City Policy in France.

The ten initiatives presented and discussed in this report, have been *selected* with City Policy neighbourhood managers of the 18th and 19th districts of Paris (two meetings) while some of them were selected in link with our general knowledge of the field. Initiatives deal with social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance. However, in many cases, the three dimensions are intertwined (see table 1). This is a characteristic of the development of the social and solidarity-based economy that consists in articulating economic development with social utility. Moreover, French City Policy lays a strong emphasis on social programmes and finance projects in the framework of the Social Cohesion Contracts (CUCS). The case studies therefore represent the broader make up of urban policy initiatives in Paris that are geared primarily towards policies to promote social cohesion.

The fieldwork consisted in ten interviews and one roundtable. It was conducted from February to June 2014. The roundtable took place on 3 June 2014 (see appendix for more details). While most of the information collected on the initiatives come from the interviews, a substantial amount of details come from project brochures, internet websites and external sources of information such as insight from governmental actors collected during the roundtable.

The report reviews successively the ten selected initiatives that deal primarily with social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance, respectively. It then analyses the results and discuss how diversity is conceptualised in each of these initiatives. Concepts and tools that respond to the challenge of diversity are: the adaptation to the specific needs of inhabitants who are not familiar with French language or French administrative procedures, the use of art to respond to social and religious diversity among Parisian inhabitants and the developments of services to the community involving diverse inhabitants in a shared project.

2 Governance arrangements

2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

Solidarity Flat-share

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Paris Solidarity Flat-share (*Kaps – Koloc à projets solidaires*) is one of the first shared accommodations to be implemented in Paris, by the national education NGO, AFEV¹. Following the ‘theme-based shared flat’ invented by the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, AFEV has been implementing *Kaps* in large student cities since 2001 (Driant et al., 2013). *Kaps* consists in having students share a flat and work together on a project of social dimension for the duration of an academic year. Its *main focus* is on social cohesion, as the core of the project is the services for the neighbourhood, but it also fosters the social mobility of students who live in the flat and children of the neighbourhood who benefit from school support.

In Paris, the first initiative takes place in the deprived neighbourhood of *La Chapelle*, in the 18th district of Paris – an area that is becoming a student’s pole in view of the opening of a new campus in the North East of Paris². It consists in housing eight students in a flat-share, in one university-run building, and having them initiate local development projects with inhabitants and other students. It has four objectives:

- Fostering social mix in deprived neighbourhoods and increasing daily interactions;
- Responding to students’ need for affordable housing in a city with high level of rents;
- Improving educational success for children living in deprived neighbourhoods;
- Developing projects including students and inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The *target audience* is threefold: the inhabitants of the deprived neighbourhood of *La Chapelle*, with a special focus on two social housing residences that host retired household employees of the National train company (*SNCF*) and families benefiting from state allowances. It also targets

¹ The Students Foundation for City (AFEV) was created in 1991 to support City Policy: it consists in a network of 7500 students, most of them volunteers, who provide school support to children living in deprived neighbourhoods.

² Campus Condorcet Paris-Aubervilliers is scheduled to open in 2020 and will concentrate ten existing institutions of higher education and research.

children of the neighbourhood who are experiencing difficulties in school. Students are the targets of this initiative as well, in the sense that they are developing social and organisational skills through their participation in the *Kaps*.

The eight students have initiated a system of swap service (cooking, child-care, IT support), a system of small repair work for people living in the residence; they are currently developing a community garden, as well as offering intra-generational workshops on the memory of the neighbourhood. The memory project seeks to reduce conflicts and tensions between the 8-16 years old children and the 60 years and above people living in the residences. Moreover, each student commits to provide school support to one child from 5 to 10 years of age (2 h/week).

From an *organisational* point of view, the Solidarity Flat-share is only possible because of the partnership with two social housing associations (ICF and OGIF), the regional centre for university students and service activities that provides and manages students accommodation (CROUS), the AFEV (Students Foundation for City) that selects, trains and oversees the development of social programmes (one project manager for the Solidarity Flat-share in the Chapelle neighbourhood) and the local Neighbourhood Project Manager, from the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI), who supports students in implementing their programmes.

For a total cost of € 16,000/year, it receives public and private funds mainly, from the social housing association of Residence Queneau (ICF: € 4,000), the social housing association of Residence Boucry (OGIF: 4,000€), the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI: € 4,000) and the National Social Agency for Equal Opportunity (ACSE: € 4,000). Students pay their rent in the flat-share. With the opening of a new university-run building next to the existing one, it should select up to 87 new Solidarity Flat-mates for the academic year 2014-2015.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Even though the initiative does not explicitly address ‘diversity’ in its discourse, it is concerned with organising spaces of encounter between inhabitants of various social and economic backgrounds, as well as lifestyles. As explained during the interview, by a member of the organisation:

“I do not think we use the term diversity very much, it is more ‘social mix’ (mixité) or ‘encounter’ that we hear of. I believe it is linked to the fact that diversity is linked to ethnicity, something we are a bit fearful about in France. However, we may use the term otherness (altérité). Our director sometimes uses the expression ‘to rub ones’ shoulders with otherness’.”

Members of AFEV see *Kaps* as a transforming experience for both target audiences: the students and the inhabitants. The profile of the target audience in the two residences is diverse in terms of origin, age group and socio-economic background. However, the principle of equal treatment of individuals regardless of their race, origin and religion is strictly applied in the field of education. AFEV does not provide data that record the immigration background of their target audience. Intergenerational encounters as well as social mixing are core principles in this initiative.

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential external success factors* is that the project is implemented in a Priority Neighbourhood where the network of already existing social programmes is well known to the AFEV project manager. While this is the case of most projects implemented by AFEV in French cities, in the case of *La Chappelle* neighbourhood the knowledge of the project manager was crucial in helping students identify the needs of the inhabitants. An evidence of this is the fact that the swap service was maintained after the end of the academic year. Another influential

factor, which is internal to the project, is the involvement of students who see this opportunity to develop their skills in programme development. The possibility for some of them to credit this experience as part of their university degree could even reinforce this dimension of the initiative.

Another *success factor* is that the initiative produces mutual social benefits for both students' careers and inhabitants' daily life, without pushing out low-income people from the neighbourhood. The main strategy that lies at the origin of this initiative is the possibility to increase social mixing in deprived neighbourhoods: the presence of 8 students will not alter the feature of the population of the *Chapelle* neighbourhood, but it can foster social interactions between people of different backgrounds. It is based on the premise that a higher level of interactions increases opportunities and the liveability of one neighbourhood. Usually, attracting new social groups through social mixing strategy is more likely to result in separated lives rather than in a higher level of social interaction (Allen et al., 2005). The fact that this is not the case with the *Kaps* initiative is remarkable.

The *limit* of the initiative lies in the residential mobility of the students, which does not favour the sustainability of local interactions. Moreover, students rose the negative point that the flat-share is not located directly next to the residences that they are supposed to develop projects with. In other *Kaps*, being located in the same building changes the type of interactions, as students are actual neighbours (Driant et al., 2013).

Conclusion

The initiative appears manage to answer the challenge of finding affordable housing for students in downtown Paris, while favouring social mixing and the needs for social interactions between inhabitants with different background. Moreover, the initiative has an impact in terms of social mobility: the students benefit from the experience from a professional point of view and children receive school support. The program is still expanding, a new building, composed of 8 flat-shares, will open for the academic year 2014-2015 with 40 students involved in community projects.

Social Cafés

Strategy, focus and organisation

Social Cafés are places mixing social services and conviviality for ageing migrants: they can come and talk with social workers about their rights and access to welfare (pensions, social housing and healthcare). Social Cafés are also proper cafés where mint tea and fresh drinks are served for a small price. Social activities are organised, such as gardening, visits to museums or outings to a theatre. There are two Social Cafés in the North East of Paris: one is located on Rue Dejean (18th district) and one on Rue Pali-Kao (20th district). The association Ayyem Zamen, which means 'good old times' in Berber language and gives its name to each café, runs both Social Cafés. They are open daily, from Monday to Friday, 9h30-17h00. Their *main focus* is on social cohesion, although by providing assistance to access social benefits, the initiative also fosters social mobility.

The *objective* of the Social Café initiative is twofold: providing social assistance with paper work to old migrants and combating isolation. The initiative emerged from a study conducted by Ayyem Zamen director, on the exclusion of old migrants from the ordinary-law system in 2001. It demonstrated that the specific situation of old migrants who have worked all their life in France (and therefore are eligible to social benefits), but have kept a family living back home (and there-

fore might not reside in France all year long, which is a condition to receive these social benefits³) is not sufficiently addressed by the administration. Moreover, old migrants have difficulty navigating the French social administration to secure their access to social benefits and healthcare because their situation is complex and their knowledge of French is limited. Finally, they may suffer from isolation because they have left their family back home or have lived alone all their life.

The *target audience* of Social Cafés is migrants above 55 years old, because after this age people are not forced to look for work when they are unemployed and it has been observed that migrants are more likely to be in this situation, either because they suffered from a work accident or because they were not able to secure a job (in most cases, because of their lack of technical skills). The transition from activity to retirement is not a smooth one. For many of them they have fallen into unemployment or invalidity, and then have reached the minimum age to receive a retirement pension (60 year old). To be sure, figuring out the social administration is a struggle for many and the Social Cafés also receive French people. However, the majority of the initiative audience are old migrants who have not acquired French nationality.

Ayyem Zamen requests a € 10/year participation fee to the association and in 2014, 750 people were members. Among these 750 people there are men and women, and according to the director, 12% are French, 70% are immigrants born in North Africa and the remaining 8% are mostly immigrants born in Sub-Saharan Africa (they might have acquired French nationality but are still counted as immigrants, or foreign-born, by the census). The café can host an average of 50 people. Some only come in the morning to speak with a social worker; some also stay around the café in the afternoon. Some days are busier than others, such as days when the neighbouring market is open (Café social on rue Dejean is actually strategically located on the very street where the Dejean street market operates).

For a total cost of € 400,000 per year, that includes the cost of renting the space and the equivalent of 6.5 full salary (2 people receiving customers/café, 2 people in charge of organising social activities in both cafés, 1 cleaner and 1 director), the café social works with financial support from the Agency for social cohesion and equal opportunity (ACSE) and the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI). It also receives financial support from private foundation such as *Fondation de France*, *Pro BTP* (a construction company) and *Caisse d'épargne* (a bank). It makes a small profit with the money collected from drinks served in the café.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The director of the café social initiative rejects the term diversity on the ground that it is a catch-all category that is unclear – an argument that can also be heard at the level of city government (Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier, 2014). Consistently with governmental actors, he would rather speak about equality and equal access to rights. According to him, “*if equality is effective, there is no need to talk about diversity*”. The café social initiative therefore operates in the Republican framework: it fosters the equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious origin.

However, Social Cafés do address a specific audience: the majority of the participants are from North Africa and the very title of the space is in Berber language. It is based on the principle that migrants cannot be accommodated by the ordinary-law system and migrants living in the neighbourhood are from North Africa, mainly. The initiative is therefore *de facto* dealing with

³ There is a minimum period of 6 month residency in France.

diversity (in the sense that migrants are in a specific situation in contrast with the mainstream population of people above 55 years of age, but also because the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are mostly younger, with a high proportion of people under 25 years of age) but in the Republican framework of equality: without the recognition of difference.

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential success factors* of the initiative is the adequacy of the project with the needs of the old migrants: the provision of social support in a friendly environment is very successful.

Another *success factor* was the ability of the director in securing the financial support of the administration. In order to do so, he already contacted the Agency for Social Cohesion (ACSE) and the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI), when he conducted the initial study on the specific needs of old migrants.

The *limit* of the initiative lies in its lack of regulation: the organiser would like to maintain the drop-in system and avoid giving appointments to migrants. However, social workers sometimes have to face long lines of people who arrive early before the café opens. Increasing the number of social workers available could solve this issue.

Conclusion

After the opening of the Social Café on rue Pali-Kao, the association was able to open a second Social Café on rue Dejean, a few years later. Now, the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI) is trying to replicate the project by opening two additional Social Cafés in Paris, in the 12th and the 13th districts. The city government considers that Social Cafés are an effective tool to respond to the diversity of the ageing population in Paris. The director is also in touch with a network of organisations that deal with ageing migrants (Accompany Aged Migrants – *Accompagner les migrants âgés*, AMA) in other European countries such as, for instance, Belgium and Germany.

Living together in the Maroc-Tanger Neighbourhood (VEMT)

Strategy, focus and organisation

Living together in the Maroc-Tanger Neighbourhood (VEMT – *Vivre ensemble à Maroc-Tanger*) is a small grass-roots initiative founded in 2001, by the housekeeper of one building on Rue du Maroc, a small street in a Priority Neighbourhood of the 19th district of Paris (hence the title is not related to Morocco as a country). In addition to being a Priority Neighbourhood, the area also qualifies as a Priority Zone for Security issues and suffers from drug trafficking.

The housekeeper of a social housing residency on Rue du Maroc was concerned with the tensions between young people and adults, and the communication barriers among inhabitants speaking different languages. She thought having people meet and get to know each other would help soothe the situation. The main *focus* of the initiative is therefore social cohesion. Social mobility is a secondary aim, as the initiative organises literacy classes, French language classes and was able to open one full-time position for one inhabitant of the building. This woman is responsible for the daily work of the association such as helping out inhabitants with paperwork and dealing with administrative authorities (for instance, on the day of the interview, she had accompanied another inhabitant to the bank and helped her open a bank account).

The first *strategy* of VEMT has been to organise regular events, and create opportunities for inhabitants to meet and to get to know each other: the maintaining of a shared garden, the

monthly organisation of large dinners (on the purpose to cook and eat the production of the garden) and events in the neighbourhood, such as parades and children celebrations.

A second *strategy* has been to organise a form of neighbourhood watch. It consists in maintaining a presence in and out of the building (most of the time a group of mothers). It is based on the experience that any time there are troubles in-between young teenagers of the neighbourhood and police forces, there were no witness to the scene. By insuring a presence of volunteers outside the building, the organisation makes sure that this situation does not happen. Moreover, it organises monthly group meetings with law representatives or social workers where inhabitants can come and talk about their difficulties (incidents with policemen, for instance).

The *target audience* are the inhabitants of the street (Rue du Maroc), primarily the inhabitants living in the social housing building where the housekeeper is working, but not only. The shared garden reaches people living in buildings around and events, such as dinners and parades, reach more than 100 inhabitants living around the Rue du Maroc. Since conflicts arose from the noise that children were making in the streets or the staircases, the initiative focuses on children and their parents (mostly mothers). At first, mostly women were attending literacy classes, although things have changed and with the organisation of group meetings with law representatives, more men have started to come and attend meetings or events.

The *organisation* relies heavily on the volunteering of the housekeeper and founder of the initiative, but also the full time involvement of one of the inhabitants, a woman who came from Sub-Saharan Africa in 1993 and did not speak French at first. Since 2012, this woman is employed as a 'Relay-Adult' (*Adulte Relais*) a type of subsidised employment contract which allows recruiting unemployed adults to serve as facilitators in neighbourhoods (the programme is handled by the Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunity, ACSE). Before obtaining this job, she used to find work-contracts as cleaning lady. The organisation occupies a large room at the entrance of one building, allocated for free. Moreover the small organisation receives financial support from the city of Paris and all its activities are free.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The diversity of the inhabitants living in the social housing located on Rue du Maroc was immediately associated with their immigrant background by the interviewees, and mainly their practice of foreign languages: different African languages (Soninké, Bambara, Yoruba, Peul), Arabic and Chinese. Their difficulty to speak French can be indicative of their recent immigration to France. The founder of the initiative mentioned several times that this diversity of origins could be seen as an opportunity to bring new ideas and new perspectives: "*Everybody comes with their own ideas*" says the director of the organisation during the interview.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The durability of ten years of the initiative is a sign of success for such a small organisation. The creation of a public-funded job for one inhabitant involved in the NGO (as Relay Adult) is another indicator of their success in getting the attention and financial support of the administration. Finally, the founder and participant of the initiative testified that it has facilitated communication and interaction between inhabitants of diverse origin and age group. They are able to find a place where they can express themselves in support groups (especially for those who have difficulties renewing their title of sojourn or do not speak enough good French to turn to the police when they are in difficulty).

One of the most *influential success factors* was the ability of the founder in relying on the knowledge of the charity NGO ASMAE (*Association Soeur Emmanuelle*). A specialist in social development

from Sister Emmanuelle Association advised her on how to develop her initiative. VEMT does not advocate any religious stance (it is actually acceptant of the constraint of Ramadan for many inhabitants of the neighbourhood). However, the skills developed by the charity organisation in social work, and more importantly the inspiration brought by the visit of Sister Emmanuelle to the neighbourhood, in 2008, have been crucial to invigorate the project. According to the founder, her ability to bring a journalist to cover the visit of Sister Emmanuelle and write a small piece on the association was also crucial in bringing the attention of the administration back in 2008⁴. Before that, she had not been able to secure any funding for her activities, particularly the purchase of products necessary to maintain the shared garden.

Three *limits* of the initiative can still be identified: firstly, it is based on the voluntary involvement of some inhabitants who could have very well left the area or withdrawn from the project, and it relies heavily on the character of the housekeeper; secondly, it is a very small initiative not sufficient to solve issues of violence and trafficking that are rampant in the neighbourhood; thirdly, it does not manage to reach to as many men as women: the emphasis on children led mothers to join but not necessarily fathers.

Conclusion

This initiative illustrates how a local community can deal with diversity pertaining to culture and lifestyles, and improves how inhabitants live together. It relies on the inhabitants' desire to solve daily issues by having them participate to the reduction of delinquency in a more preventive than a repressive way.

The Islamic Culture Institute (ICI)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Islamic Culture Institute (ICI – *Institut des cultures d'Islam*) opened in November 2013. It is a two-story building with an exhibition space on the ground floor, a prayer room on the first floor and another exhibition space on the second floor. The construction of the building was funded by the City of Paris and so are the artistic activities taking place on the ground floor and the second floor. The first floor, however, was sold to a private organisation the Habu Society, which is running the prayer room of the Islamic Culture Institute⁵. On Fridays, the exhibition spaces are closed to the public until 4pm and only Muslim practitioners can access the prayer room.

The main *focus* of the Islamic Culture Institute is *social cohesion*. Its main objective is to promote artistic creation and increase the knowledge of Islamic cultures. It is based on the principle that a better knowledge of Islamic culture fosters the acceptance of religious diversity in society.

Its *secondary objective* is to respond to the need for places of worship in the 18th district, in the framework *laïcité*. *Laïcité*, is the French understanding of the separation of Church and state, that strictly confines religious expressions to the private sphere and forbids the allocation of public funds to religious activities (Baubérot, 2013). By selling the first floor to the Habu Society, the City of Paris provided some space but did not allocate public funds to religious activities. By closing on Friday until 4pm, the City of Paris makes sure it is not contributing to the running of a building where religious activities are taking place (on Fridays, the Habu Society pays for reception, cleaning and electricity).

⁴ “Envie de continuer son œuvre” Metronews 21/10/2008 (Retrieved: 13 May 2014 : "http://www.metronews.fr/x/metro/2008/10/21/RoJ9YRLNQMHE/")

⁵ The Habu Society has been running the historic Paris Mosque since 1921.

A *third objective* is to foster Muslims' participation in the arts. As such, the City of Paris makes sure that Muslim practitioners, who are coming for the Friday prayer, enter the building through the main entrance and pass by the exhibition space on the ground floor.

The *target audience* of the initiative is twofold: on the one hand, its goal is to reach a Parisian audience and further (e.g. tourists from France and abroad) and promote artistic productions in link with Islamic cultures. It thrives to extend the public participation of inhabitants of the 18th district, and more specifically the inhabitants of the Priority Neighbourhood of *La Goutte d'Or*, where the building is located: entrance is free, school visits are organised and events take place in collaboration with local organisations (e.g. the Nights of the Ramadan: each night, during Ramadan, concerts and celebrations take place in the patio). On the other hand, its goal is to reach Muslim practitioners who are looking for a place of worship.

The building of the Islamic Culture Institute costs € 13 million, and the Habu Society bought the prayer room for € 2 million. The ICI is funded by the City of Paris (95% of the budget). It receives financial help from private foundations on some projects (5% of the budget).

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative mostly deals with the diversity of public participation in the arts. It is linked to the French project of the Cultural ministry to extend the public participation in the arts (also referred to as democratisation of the arts or “*démocratisation culturelle*”). According to the administrative director of ICI, when she met with the administrative director of the Arab World Institute, the latter said to her “*at least you get the audience*”. The Arab World Institute was opened in 1987. It is a national museum, built on the barges of the River Seine in the Latin Quarter, a much more privileged neighbourhood of Paris. Thus, by this statement, the director suggested that ICI manages to reach inhabitants that have a link with Islamic culture, but do not usually visit artistic institutions. By contrast, the Arab World Institute, which is a very renowned museum and research centre, reaches the usual audience of artistic institutions: people with a master degree or more (Allibert et al., 2005). By comparing the audience of ICI with the audience of the Arab World Institute, the administrative director alluded to the cultural or religious diversity of the audience of the initiative. However, this is articulated straightforwardly. In the discussion with the interviewee, diversity was mostly mentioned in terms of social background and familiarity with artistic institutions, rather than culture or religion. According to the interviewee:

“The term diversity is not used to refer to the audience of the Islamic Culture Institute. We do not ‘aim at diversity’. Because we are in it: we are in a very socially and ethnically diverse neighbourhood. So we do not want to target specific groups. This is a cultural institution and we want it as open as possible. (...) Diversity is only linked to ICI in the sense that we showcase the cultural wealth of diversity in a disadvantaged neighbourhood.”

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential success factors* identified by the administrative director of ICI is external and it is the political will of the Mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoë, in creating such a place. His goal was to combine artistic and religious activities, in an institution that operates within the framework of French *laïcité*. For the first time, Islam is addressed by a public institution for its artistic input *as well as* its religious dimension. The aim of the ICI at facilitating the religious practice of Muslim people is one of its originality compared to other arts museums showcasing Islamic art. The creation of ICI was all the more difficult that it took place during a time of intense debate around the implementation of *laïcité* (e.g. the Interior Minister opposing the Friday praying in the street of the Goutte d'or in the name of *laïcité* in October 2010 or the launching of

an official debate on *laïcité* in April 2011). The fact that it was a top-down initiative, that Bertrand Delanoë collaborated with 18th district elected representative, and that it was careful in respecting the principle of *laïcité* (no public funds to religious cult) was therefore crucial.

Another *success factor* of the initiative is internal and it is the local implementation of the initiative. ICI staff is in direct connection with the Neighbourhood Project Manager of the DPVI and coordinates with local NGOs to organise events. Moreover, there was a tradition to organise events around the Ramadan or music festival in the *Goutte d'Or* that ICI drew upon, which helped ground the initiative. Finally, the opening of the prayer room responded to a need in praying space that guaranteed the success of the initiative.

The *limit* of the initiative lies in the ability to reach to a diverse audience in the neighbourhood. While it is clear that the prayer room attracts many people and is often crowded (the Habu society needs to enforce strict limitation to respect security measures), it is less clear that inhabitants of the neighbourhood come to visit exhibitions and participate in artistic events.

Conclusion

The initiative manages to respond to the need to accommodate religious diversity in the French context of *laïcité*. It shows how local actors can work creatively on the ground with local resources (such as local organisations) and top-down rules (such as the principle of *laïcité*). Moreover, it takes the artistic input of diversity as an asset to foster social cohesion. City officials from Roubaix (Northern France) and Villeurbanne (South-East of France) came to visit and appreciated how ICI is able to combine artistic creation with religious practices.

The 5 initiative

Strategy, focus and organisation

The 5 is a cultural initiative within the larger artistic centre of the 104 that develops audience outreach in the neighbourhoods of the 19th and 18th district⁶. It consists in offering spaces for artistic practices (4 rooms) and a series of services, such as administrative support in filling up an application for an artistic project, meeting with professional artists to develop a project and organising outings to museums or theatres. In 2013-2014, the 5 supported the development of 40 projects that brought together inhabitants and professional artists. Most of them met and trained in the space made available by the 5 and later performed in schools, cultural centres or local venues. From May 20 to May 25 the 5 showcased some of the performances that resulted from the collaboration between artists and inhabitants. Some of these performances were screened as videos.

The main *objective* of the 5 initiative is to anchor the 104 to the local community (18th and 19th districts). The 104 was created in 2005 and is funded by the City of Paris. It hosts 400 artistic projects per year and showcases artistic exhibitions and performances. It is located in a large warehouse in the 19th district and comprises a large open lobby, two theatres and 4 000m² of office and studio space. It also includes shops and a restaurant. It is located, next to several Priority Neighbourhoods where inhabitants have very contrasting social and economic background, and might be unfamiliar with artistic institutions. As stated by the interviewee: the 5 is “*the social project of the 104*”. It is based on the principle that lower-income inhabitants living in the Priority Neighbourhoods, bordering the centre, might not feel confident, sufficiently at ease

⁶ The 104 takes its name from its address: 104 Rue d'Aubervilliers; along with the 5, which is located on 5 Rue Curial.

or spontaneously interested in coming to the *104*. So the *5* develops artistic practices to attract and familiarise inhabitants to the arts. This is why, we argue, that the *focus* of the *5* is on social cohesion.

The *target audience* of the *5* initiative is twofold: the primary target is the inhabitants of the 18th and 19th districts, of all ages and social status, who are usually isolated from artistic venues. The *5* initiative gives priority to inhabitants of Priority Neighbourhoods. A secondary target audience is the artists who are working together with the *104* (an average of 200 artists are permanently working in the *104*) and who might help facilitate the inhabitants' encounter with art.

The strategy of the *5* is to rely on local initiatives to reach to a type of audience that would normally stay away from artistic institutions and have people with very different backgrounds (from in and out of the neighbourhoods) meet through art. The people in charge of the *5* have been coordinating with the Neighbourhood Project Manager of the DPVI (Paris Department for City Policy) in order to link with local groups and associations of the adjacent Priority Neighbourhoods. The *5* develops several other strategies to reach to an audience unfamiliar with art and favour amateur practices:

- Booking a room is free and only non-profit activities can take place. It is based on the idea that rooms should be available to someone who cannot play music in his or her apartment because it makes too much noise, or it should be available to a performance group that needs some space for their rehearsals for a short period.
- Booking rooms is only available for the coming month. It is based on the idea that art projects have very varying duration of time. This helps adapt to the evolving needs of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, but more importantly, helps avoid backlog (according to a person in charge of the programme, the number of demands is high).
- Facilitators of the *5* regularly engage with people who might pass by the *104* and suggest them to get in touch with artists who are in residence in the *104*. With its open lobby, the *104* sees numerous people passing by, sitting around and practising break dance.

For a total *cost* of € 40,000 the *5* is able to handle 40 projects per year that bring together inhabitants and artists. It is a small initiative in comparison with the total cost of the *104* (€ 12 million of which € 8 million come from the City of Paris), but it also relies heavily on the larger structure of the *104* (the available artists in residence, the large audience of the venue).

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative mostly deals with the diversity of public participation in the arts. It is linked to the French project of the Cultural ministry to extend the public participation in the arts (also referred to as democratisation of the arts or “*democratisation culturelle*”). In the case of the *104*, the social component of the project – represented by the *5* initiative – is a justification for the opening of such a large scale (and expensive) artistic venue in the North East of Paris and in the vicinity of several Priority Neighbourhoods. As such the main criteria to target a specific audience is that of their geographical location in the vicinity of the *104*. “*We do not target specific groups, we only use zoning*”, explains the interviewee. There is, moreover, a strong discourse against the provision of specific forms of art for a specific audience (e.g. hip hop for young people). This may be attributed to the principle that lies at the core of the “democratisation of the arts”. It consists in promoting works of art for their universalist value and not their ability to address specific identities (Escafré-Dublet, 2014).

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential success factors* is external. It is the fact that people in charge of the 5 were able to rely on the already existing network of initiatives that is characteristic of the 19th district and that the Neighbourhood Project Managers of the DPVI were able to connect them with.

Another *success factor* of the initiative is internal. It is the experience of the staff in conducting artistic projects with a social dimension (i.e. reaching to an audience that is not familiar with artistic institutions). As such, the change in director in 2008 leads to the increase and diversification of the 104 audience that can be attributed to his former experience in managing an artistic venue in the suburb of Paris (*La Ferme du Buisson*, Noisiel).

The *limit* of the initiative lies in the difficulty to channel the varying demands and the increase in people participating in the 5 initiative. The number of projects handled by the 5 went from 17 in 2011-2012, to 32 in 2012-2013 and to 40 in 2013-2014.

Conclusion

According to the project manager, the 5 was able to reach to an audience that is not familiar with the arts. Moreover, the 5 is now thinking to extend their reach to the North-eastern suburbs of Paris, that is to support projects that may link inhabitants from these areas and organise performances there (among the 40 projects supported in 2013-2014, 3 were conducted in collaboration with secondary schools in Aubervilliers, a northern suburb of Paris). Finally, the 5 organises no selection in the project that it supports. The question is whether this type of initiative can accommodate all demands and cope with an ever-increasing diversity.

2.2 Arrangements targeting social mobility

Anti-discrimination Plan in the 19th district

Strategy, focus and organisation

An Anti-discrimination Plan has been implemented in the 19th district by Prevention on the Culture Park of la Villette (APSV – *Association de prevention du Site Villette*), an NGO located in the 19th and focusing on youth employment. The Anti-discrimination Plan consists in conducting a series of anti-discrimination trainings among recruiters and employment intermediaries (officials of the employment services, human resource managers and employers) to change recruitment practices.

The person in charge of the Anti-discrimination Plan also works with local employers to secure internships for secondary school pupils. A one-week internship is mandatory for all eight graders (13-14 years of age) and APSV has been observed that pupils coming from poor families have difficulty finding internships. The Anti-discrimination Plan consists in trying to avoid this first experience of discrimination for these pupils.

The *main focus* of the Anti-discrimination Plan is *social mobility*. It is based on the principle that the 19th district displays a high rate of young people with little qualification and a high rate of unemployment, although a variety of jobs can be found in Paris⁷. Its main objective is to increase job attainment for young people who come from Priority Neighbourhoods of the 19th district.

⁷ In 2011, 12,5% of young people under 25 are unemployed in the 19th, against 7,5% in Paris (APUR 2011).

However, its *strategy* is to act upon employment intermediaries and recruiters and change their recruitment practices. The initiative results from a bottom-up process: in 2004, a roundtable on youth employment took place that gathered elected representatives of the 19th district, officials from the employment services and local NGOs. Local actors argued that discrimination could take place because of a lack of knowledge on how to avoid discrimination practices. The emphasis on practices as opposed to mentality was crucial, and it was decided that anti-discrimination trainings should take place in order to change recruitment practices.

The *target audience* of the Anti-discrimination Plan is a very diverse group of employment intermediaries located in the 19th district (from public services or private companies, from different types of activities and of different age group). Arguably, the ultimate target audience of the initiative can be seen as the unemployed youth of the 19th district. One of the objectives of the Anti-discrimination Plan is that young people of the 19th district can be regarded as “*legitimate candidate for all kinds of jobs and not only jobs in the social or security sector*”, said the interviewee. However, it is part of the strategy of the Anti-discrimination Plan not to target directly young people and act upon the structure of discrimination, which is the recruiting process.

The Anti-discrimination Plan is not a very costly initiative, but it requires specific skills in anti-discrimination training. It involves one full time Project Manager from the NGO APSV, specialised on discrimination issues, and the occasional fee for an external specialist to intervene on anti-discrimination. Employment intermediaries and recruiters (or their organisation) pay for their participation to anti-discrimination training.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Although the diversity of employment intermediaries (in terms of activity, age or status) was mentioned by the person in charge of the initiative, diversity of the ultimate target audience of the initiative – the unemployed youth of the 19th district – is not addressed as such in the Anti-discrimination Plan. She acknowledges that the area displays high numbers of young people and foreigners, as well as a high rate of unemployment, but does not directly apply these figures to unemployed youth. However, according to her, “*fostering the equal treatment of individuals will result in diversity*”. In this sense the Anti-discrimination Plan operates according to the Republican principle of equal treatment regardless of race, origin or religion. It does not involve any monitoring of its action, which would require developing data that record the origin of the young people living in the 19th district. It implements a policy of equal treatment without the recognition of diversity.

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential success factors* of the initiative is internal. It is the fact that it resulted from a bottom-up process and that local actors themselves identified the need. Specifically, with discrimination, it is hard to avoid the pointing and shaming phenomenon, and the fact that local actors acknowledged the need to change their practices was crucial. The person in charge of the Anti-discrimination Plan also outlines this idea. According to her; she has practically no leverage in pushing individuals to attend anti-discrimination trainings. The need has to come from the individuals.

Moreover the special expertise of the APSV director has been instrumental in bringing the issue of anti-discrimination to the forefront of the organisation. APSV has long been involved in youth employment. But the director brought his long-term commitment to anti-racism and knowledge of anti-discrimination issues.

Another *success factor* of the initiative is external. It is the change in paradigm of public policy from anti-racism to anti-discrimination in the 2000. It has become more common to implement anti-discrimination programmes in employment following the impetus of EU directive 43/C (also referred to as Race directive). The Anti-discrimination initiative appears as an example of good practice that other elected representatives would like to implement (e.g. in the 18th and the 12th district, according to the interviewee).

The *limit* of the initiative is external. It lies in the fact that it only reaches to employment intermediaries and that there are no ways to monitor the increase or reduction of discrimination in youth employment due to the legal impediment to collect ethnic data in the French context (Simon 2008).

Conclusion

The initiative responds to the need in implementing anti-discrimination policies at local level in order to deal with the increasing diversification of the population in Priority Neighbourhoods. It has a good potential for replication in other contexts, although it is dependent on the will of the local recruiters (in the public and the private sector).

Women in Movement

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Women in Movement initiative is implemented by ADAGE, a small NGO which was created in 2008 to promote the employment of poor women in the 18th district.

The Women in Movement initiative aims to assisting women in finding a job. Its *main focus* is on social mobility and it *targets* poor women who are not eligible for employment services (because they are undocumented, because they cannot prove their residence or because they are out of age). While all women participating in the initiative are poor and unemployed, they come from very different backgrounds with regards to their qualifications: 8% are illiterate, while 12% have a university degree (Bachelor to Master). They are all from Paris and half of them come from Priority Neighbourhoods. All women participating in the Women in Movement initiative are women that could not be redirected to any other programmes that help unemployed people finding a job.

The Women in Movement initiative consists in weekly meetings with an advisor during which each woman defines her professional interest and increases her knowledge of working conditions. Each woman looks for a three-week internship and undertakes training on how to socialise on work site. It is based on the principle that corporate culture requires social skills that women who are outside the working-force may lack, such as maintaining small conversations with colleagues or going out to a café for lunch. An emphasis is laid on cultural and social promotion: organising outings to cultural events or simply going to cafés. A professional theatre actor coordinates the communication workshop.

The main objective of the initiative is to put women back in employment. Moreover women are encouraged to keep in touch with the organisation after their participation to the one year Women in Movement initiative (e.g. they have access to an electronic version of their file on the computers of the association and there are free drop-in hours for them to meet a councillor).

The initiative is half funded by the state and half by the employment service of the City of Paris (department level). However, the DPVI was instrumental in mediating between ADAGE and the administration, and helping them secure financial support.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The director of ADAGE stressed the diversity of the social, cultural and ethnic background of all women participating in the Women in Movement initiative. She is particularly concerned with the *de facto* exclusion of a range of women from the policies that aim at reducing poverty because they do not meet with the official criteria. Against the homogenisation of the measure of poverty she argues for the diversity of the profile of poor people that public policy process of categorisation tends to undermine.

Main factors influencing success or failure

One of the most *influential success factors* of the initiative was its ability to receive funding thanks to the intermediary role played by the DPVI. Another success factor stressed by the director is their ability to remain a small organisation. According to her, this type of work, focusing on women social mobility, needs to be implemented close to the individual level so as to be tailored to their needs.

The *limit* of the initiative lies in its small reach. According to the director, it is part of their strategy to remain a small organisation. However, the need in helping women getting back into employment far exceeds the offer given by ADAGE in the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

The initiative appears as a good answer to the diversity of the profile of people experiencing great difficulties in priority neighbourhoods of Paris. It responds to the specific needs of a category of inhabitants: poor women out of employment. It also highlights how gender is emerging as a rising issue in city policy.

Mozaïk RH*Strategy, focus and organisation*

Mozaïk RH is a recruiting agency (RH stands for Human Resources, *ressources humaines*, RH), created in 2008, to promote equal opportunity and diversity. It is a non-profit organisation that advises big companies in their management of diversity and maintains a network of contacts among universities and employment agencies to identify possible candidates for these companies (2,500 placements in 5 years).

Mozaïk RH is in charge of the implementation of the 'Jobs for the Future' governmental program in the 18th district of Paris. The 'Jobs for the Future' governmental programme consists in funding jobs in the social and solidarity-based economy and primarily recruiting young people who are unemployed to occupy these jobs. The program was initiated in 2013, with a goal of creating 100,000 such jobs in France. It is handled by the French National Agency for Social Equality (ACSE) in coordination with the Employment Ministry.

In the case of Paris, a total of 40 jobs are to be created and Mozaïk RH is to select young people to apply to these jobs. With its expertise in dealing with diversity in human resource processes, there is an added value of having Mozaïk RH taking care of the selection. The jobs are reserved for young people who are unemployed and have only a high school degree. Among these young people, the ones who live in disadvantaged areas have priority.

The *main focus* of the initiative is therefore to strengthen social mobility for young people who are unemployed and live in disadvantaged areas. A secondary focus is to enhance economic performance for the development of the social economy sector.

The *target audience* of the initiative is twofold: unemployed young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods and employers in the social and solidarity-based economy. The Jobs for the Future programme generally targets unemployed young people, without any university degree. However, in the case of young people coming from Priority Neighbourhoods the limit is extended to a three-year university degree, because geographical location discrimination was added to French anti-discrimination law in January 2014. It is now recognised that young people can be discriminated on the grounds of where they live⁸. Therefore, despite a university degree, young people who live in Priority Neighbourhoods are allowed to apply on a Job for the Future position.

In implementing the 'Jobs for the Future' programme, Mozaïk RH departs slightly from its usual contacts with large companies, as the targeted jobs are in the social economy sector. However, Mozaïk RH is a non-profit organisation that belongs to the social and solidarity-based economy (its founder, Saïd Hammouche, received the Social Entrepreneur Award in 2012). According to the person in charge of the programme, it was therefore easy to contact social entrepreneurs because Mozaïk RH was well known to them and they were willing to contribute to the programme.

The resource for the initiative includes a € 25,000 allocation from the Employment ministry and relies strongly on the network of contacts of Mozaïk RH. A contract was signed on 16 December 2013 that compels Mozaïk RH to present 83 candidates for the 40 Jobs for the Future created in Paris. Employers are free to choose the candidate they find the most fitting for the job. At the time of the interview, 2 candidates presented by Mozaïk RH were placed and negotiations were still on going.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The fact that Mozaïk RH was chosen to manage the placement of unemployed youth, as part of the implementation of the Jobs for the Future Program in the city of Paris, is indicative of an acknowledgment of diversity in matters related to social mobility. The motto of Mozaïk RH is '*an expertise on diversity for human resources*'⁹. This is consistent with one of the meanings of diversity identified in the French discourse, that which is related to the "business case of diversity". The diversity of the target audience is understood as related to social and cultural origins, gender, handicap or age.

As for the Jobs for the Future Program and the way it was designed, it is remarkable that it acknowledges geographical location as a primary factor of discrimination. Considering the proportion of immigrants living in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Paris (in the 18th and 19th it reaches 30%) the programme can be regarded as *de facto* targeting a very diverse audience in terms of ethnic origin.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The initiative is still on going and it remains to be assessed whether or not Mozaïk RH was able to place candidates on the 40 Jobs for the Future funded by the government in Paris. However, it should be noted that one of the *internal success factors* of this initiative is that the placement of candidates was commissioned to a Recruiting Agency specialised on issues pertaining to diversity

⁸ The geographical location criterion was added in the French anti-discrimination law in January 2014.

⁹ www.mozaikrh.com

and equal opportunity. Their knowledge of the field, capacity of networking and ability to coach candidates is an added value for the programme.

An *external success factor* of the initiative is the targeting of employers in the social economy sector. According to the interviewee in charge of the project, the argument for equal opportunity and diversity was easier to convey in this sector and guarantee the success of their placement.

The *limit* of the initiative is external: it lies in the ability of Mozaïk RH to impose their views on the employers. The employer is free to choose a candidate that was not identified by Mozaïk RH.

Conclusion

Mozaïk RH is able to capitalise on its expertise in dealing with diversity in human resource processes to implement a nationally-design programme. While the process is top-down, the local base of the organisation is crucial for the success of the initiative. It shows that institutional arrangements addressing diversity are dependent upon both public funds and local NGOs that are sufficiently grounded in the neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood Maintenance Corporation

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Neighbourhood Maintenance Corporation (*Régie de quartier*) of the 19th district was created in 2003. It consists in creating jobs in maintenance services (cleaning and gardening) in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Its objective is twofold: creating jobs for unemployed people and involving inhabitants in the maintenance of their neighbourhood. It is therefore focused on economic performance and social cohesion.

The first *Régies de quartier* were created in the framework of the French City policy in the 1980's. These innovative and integrated initiatives emerged in large suburban housing estates where inhabitants suffered from vandalism and defective maintenance. The main objective – defined by the national network gathering all the *Régies de quartier* that have developed in France – was to “create social interactions in deprived neighbourhoods and foster a local and participative management of the community” by providing maintenance services in the social economy sector (CNLRQ, 1991). It takes a weakness (the lack of maintenance inside and outside the building) and turns it into an asset (job creations in maintenance services). Moreover, in the case of the *Régie de quartier* of the 19th district, it was able to secure job contracts inside and outside the neighbourhood, in a nearby shopping centre that opened in 2011 (*Le Millénaire*).

The *strategy* of the *Régie de quartier* of the 19th district is to “improve the neighbourhood life” (CNLRQ, 1991) by:

- Providing jobs and economic resources to unemployed and low-skilled inhabitants in the maintenance and cleaning of the area: cleaning of buildings, spaces and car parks, maintenance of green spaces;
- Improving the quality of maintenance by reducing vandalism and making people more responsible for their living environment;
- Favouring social interactions and encounters between inhabitants (e.g. a shared garden, a cleaning festival).

For the past few years, the *Régie* tried to develop more social actions favouring networking and encounters such as intercultural dinners. A recent initiative entitled *La Corderie* aims at organising service exchanges between inhabitants based on their own skills (e.g. cooking lessons in exchange for French lessons).

The *target audience* is the inhabitants of the 19th district, but primarily of the Priority Neighbourhood, where the *Régie* is located. 50% are women and according to the leader of the organisation, 80% of the workers are immigrants. These employees work around 24 to 30 h per week. They can attend training programmes, giving them the opportunity to reach a more stable and qualified job in the future. Thus, the *Régie* only offers a limited number of permanent jobs: 57% are short-term contracts and 25% are permanent contracts. Women are more likely to be employed in cleaning local buildings, because this allows them to fetch their children out of school, at the end of the afternoon.

The *organisation* relies on three principles:

- It has an agreement with the State as a corporation fostering economic *insertion*, allowing the *Régie de quartier* to receive subsidies for these temporary jobs (10 000 euros/job for 2 years) and for their support programmes to unemployed people (European funds). Moreover, the *Régie* implements training programmes (delivering 4600h /year) and language workshops in the frame of the anti-discrimination plan.
- It signs contracts for providing services in the field of maintenance, cleaning and repairing with the city of Paris and housing corporation, and more recently it developed a private partnership with the manager of a shopping centre.
- It is based on the involvement of the inhabitants in the management of the association. The members of the administrative board consist in representatives of inhabitants (4), private corporations (3) and elected bodies (3).

For a total budget of € 1.5 million, € 532,000 are grants. The *Régie* employs 80 temporary workers, 15 permanent executive employees and counts 100 members.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

According to the leader, the targeted population is diverse as the *Régie* is devoted to the whole neighbourhood. Regarding the low skills required for maintenance jobs, the workers are still mainly immigrants coming from North African countries, with more women in the cleaning of buildings and more young people interested in cleaning space. The whole spirit of these “neighbourhood management corporations” is to favour social interactions between inhabitants with different lifestyles and cultural backgrounds. But there is still a form of specialisation in the tasks and a separation between workers and people involved in the management of the NGO or the social activities. The inhabitants involved in the board and the organisational structure of the *Régie* are retired and have comparatively higher incomes than the rest of the inhabitants. The initiative of *La Corderie* and the shared garden implemented since December 2013 aims at reducing the distance and creating more interaction between, for instance, owners from the condominiums next door and renters from social housing.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The *external success factors* are the support of the city and the support of the housing corporation. The support of the city helped secure public subsidies to created jobs, and the housing corporation led access to the building and offered jobs. As such the *Régie* went from employing 11 to 15 permanents from 2011 to 2013. Other *Régies* have developed in Paris leading to the creation, in 2011, of a network of 10 *Régies* in the city. The opening of the *Régie* benefits from the positive outcomes of previous *Régies* and the national network of *régies*, established since 1991.

The *internal success factors* are the location and the duration the project. To be inside the neighbourhood, close to schools, social centres and housing helps maintaining contacts with inhabitants. The fact that the *Régie* has never been vandalised is a sign of respect in this area. The

durability of the project has guaranteed a high level of employment for people who have passed through the *Régie*. The average of unemployed people returned in employment, after passing through the *Régie*: 57% managed to find a job (25% of which are permanent contracts).

Two main *limits* can be identified: the first one is related to social cohesion and the weak involvement of immigrants and disadvantaged inhabitants, in the more social activities such as the *Corderie* or the shared garden. The second limit deals with social mobility and the difficulty for the workers to get out of the temporary jobs of the *Régie* and find a less precarious and high-skilled one outside of the neighbourhood.

Conclusion

This initiative is a well-known type of community involvement, characteristic of French City policy. It is interesting in so far as it mixes economic development (providing jobs and developing services), social mobility (skill programmes and exemplarity) and social cohesion (space of encounters). By providing jobs and training programmes, the *Régie* contributes to bridge social capital and creates role models. By developing community and proximity services, it improves the quality of maintenance and the image of the neighbourhood as an ordinary place in the city.

2.3 Arrangements targeting economic performance

The Golden Drops of Fashion and Design

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Golden Drops of Fashion and Design (*Les Gouttes d'or de la mode et du design*) is a project that seeks to structure the garment and fashion industries of the historic immigrant neighbourhood of *la Goutte d'or* (Golden Drops). It aims at promoting a positive image and identity of the area. It consists in arranging the already existing businesses – including a lot of small craft and informal activities – in the neighbourhood into a coherent and successful cluster around the garment and fashion industries. The neighbourhood already counts: 63 fabric stores (36 of them sell wax fabric from Sub-Saharan Africa), 33 sewing workshops, 5 haberdasheries and 20 fashion designers (including furniture designers). The initiative puts all these professionals in contact with one another, provides them with skill development (e.g. training in cutting and sewing) and shared space, and helps them to promote their productions outside the neighbourhood. Its *main focus* is on economic performance, but it does have a secondary goal of social mobility, with the organisation of training classes for sewers and cutters, and social cohesion, with the idea that these different businesses should constitute a network in the neighbourhood and contribute to give a positive image of the area.

The project started in 2011 and is only half way in its realization. In 2011 the non-governmental organisation for the Promotion of the Fashion and Design Industry was created under the investigation of the Neighbourhood Project Manager from the Paris Department for City Policy (DPVI). It follows a top-down process, but it was only initiated after an audit on the economic potential of the neighbourhood was conducted in 2009. A fashion street had already existed since 2000 (Rue des Gardes), but the 2011 project aims at reaching a wider range of businesses in the fashion and garment industries: not only fashion designers, but also tailors and in particular craftsmen. The *target audience* of the initiative therefore comprises: tailors working in sewing workshops, shopkeepers of the neighbourhood and fashion designers. The president of the association is a shopkeeper of the neighbourhood and all its members are business owners (25 are officially registered, but only 12 are active, according to the interviewee and participating to association meetings, 4 of them are tailors).

Since 2012, a business developer specialised in social and solidarity-based economy was appointed to identify the needs of the business owners and offer a model for their structuring into a cluster. At the time of the interview, in April 2014, she had mainly identified the following needs:

- A shared showroom for designers;
- Specific tools for sewing and pattern drafting;
- Training in pattern drafting (most tailors custom-design and need to learn how to design standardised clothes);
- Administrative support in accounting and client outreach (some business owners are not familiar with French language and administrative processes, while some other business owners are more in need of help in finding clients outside the neighbourhood).

She was contemplating the creation of a cooperative that would work as a platform to offer these types of services. In addition to this, she had already organised some exchanges with the fashion museum Carnavalet that showcases theatre costumes in downtown Paris with a visit of Goutte d'or inhabitants to the museum, and a visit of Carnavalet curators of the Goutte d'or neighbourhood. The aim is to develop the creation of theatre costumes by Goutte d'or tailors.

The total budget of the project amounts to € 750,000 for three years and aims at 68% of self-financing in three years. It benefits from the financial support of the city of Paris and the Paris region as part of their support to economic development. In 2013 it received a starting grant from the Paris region as part of the programme supporting the development of social and solidarity-based economy.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

During the interview with the person in charge of the project, she mainly mentioned the diversity of business owners in terms of their activity. According to her, shopkeepers, tailors and fashion designers have very contrasting needs and, in this sense, the diversity of their field of activity is a challenge to the implementation of the project. Moreover, the neighbourhood displays a high rate of foreign-born (30%) and it is likely that some of the tailors and shopkeepers who are taking part in the initiative have an African background. However, there are no figures available for the number of business owners who are foreign-born and are taking part in the association. Diversity in terms of immigrant origin was not formally addressed during the interview. Yet, considering the concentration of immigrant population in the neighbourhood, it is possible to assess that, in this project, diversity is utilised as an asset, to improve the economic development of a deprived area and to promote the social mobility of newcomers

Main factors influencing success or failure

An internal *success factors* influencing the project is the already existing network of shopkeepers in the Goutte d'or and the fact that they are in need of more space, more machines and more training. Although only 12 were described as active in the association (as opposed to 24 who registered at first), it is clear that the economic interest they might find in the initiative operates as an important driving force to the development of the process.

An external *success factor* is the fact that Paris, as a whole, has a world-renowned *savoir-faire* in fashion and design. This allows the business developer in linking the business owners of the Goutte d'or neighbourhood to the fashion museum of Carnavalet, for instance. This initiative is not just a neighbourhood development but offers opportunities to integrate the mainstream economic business.

The *limit* identified by the business developer lies in the constraints of this sector of the economy. In terms of schedule: business owners need assistance, but are not always available to come to meetings to define their needs, because of their tight schedule and necessity to pull long hours of work. In terms of workforce: tailors and sewers are rapidly changing. A more economically interesting position might open in a restaurant and a sewer will move to this other job. The training he or she received, provided by the association, will be lost. Finally, in terms of business culture: some of these business owners do not necessarily want to establish themselves and find it more useful to remain small, crafty, temporary structures.

The business developer identified another *limit* in the diversity of the profile of each business owner and the heterogeneity of their attempts and needs. Some may need French classes and some are native French speakers, for instance. This obstacle was countered by setting up a platform that offers a wide range of services. However, it might also be the case that some business owners think they do not have as much to get from the existence of this cooperative as some other.

Conclusion

The initiative appears as a good answer to the diversity of business activity in the neighbourhood in link with the in-pu of migrant population, but not only. One of the assets of the project is to bring together more established business owners with newcomers and have them share their needs and their skills.

3 Synthesis and analysis of the results

Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

The analysis of the governance arrangements in part 2 identified three different objectives: social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance. However, as shown in table 1, the three dimensions are often intertwined; in particular, when it comes to initiatives that target economic performance. This is a characteristic of the development of the social and solidarity-based economy that consists in articulating economic development with social utility.

Table 1: Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives

| Governance arrangements | Social cohesion | Social mobility | Economic performance |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Solidarity Flat-share | *** | ** | |
| Social Cafés | *** | ** | |
| Living together in the Maroc-Tanger neighbourhood | *** | | |
| The Islamic Culture Centre | *** | | |
| The 5 initiative at the 104 | *** | | |
| Anti-discrimination Plan | * | *** | |
| Women in Movement (ADAGE) | * | *** | |
| Mozaïk RH | * | *** | ** |
| Neighbourhood Maintenance Corporation (<i>Régie</i>) | ** | *** | ** |
| The Golden Drops of Fashion and Design | * | ** | *** |

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Regarding the initiatives that aim at social cohesion, three of them are more specifically addressing social diversity in terms of their target audience: Solidarity-Flat-share, Social Cafés and Living Together in Maroc-Tanger. Their strategy is to create spaces of encounters among inhabitants of different age, origin and lifestyles. Should it be through school support, the maintenance of a shared garden, the organisation of events or the creation of a neighbourhood watch, they all address the specific needs of very varied groups of inhabitants who live in the same neighbourhood (students, old migrants or immigrant mothers who do not speak French). Two of these five initiatives are more specifically addressing diversity as cultural wealth for the city: the Islamic Culture Centre and the 104. Both rely on the contribution of inhabitants with very different backgrounds to promote an image of Paris that is a diverse city in the artistic world.

Four initiatives aim at social mobility: the Anti-discrimination Plan, the Women in Movement initiative implemented by ADAGE, the Régie de quartier and Mozaïk RH. They all face the challenge of fostering employment among inhabitants with few degrees and scarce resources. *Régie de quartier* addresses specifically low skilled workers and is designed as a temporary phase to put individuals back in employment. Employees work only a few hours and can meet with an advisor and attend professional training. The organisation pays extra attention to adapt to the specific needs of the employees in terms of work-schedule. For instance, mothers who would like to work and at the same time need to be available in the morning and in the afternoon to take their children to school. However, it is also participating in the Anti-discrimination plan and thrives to avoid assigning specific tasks to specific people (especially in terms of gender). Both ADAGE and *Régie de quartier* lay a strong emphasis on following up with inhabitants. They offer individual meetings and provide adapted trainings. Interviewees argued that the small size of the initiative is essential to tailor their action to the diversity of the target audience. Mozaïk RH has worked with large corporations in the promotion of diversity for almost ten years. In the case of this initiative, project managers are able to reinvest this expertise to assist the recruitment of low-skilled workers in the social and solidarity-based sector.

Moreover, Mozaïk RH, along with *Régie de quartier*, are also addressing economic performance in the sense that they are contributing to job creation in the neighbourhood.

One initiative aims primarily at economic performance: the Fashion and Design initiative. It benefits from the governmental emphasis on the development of a social and solidarity-based economy. It has been able to benefit from a specific grant dedicated to the development of this sector, in January 2014. The garment industry has long been part of the image of the *Goutte d'or* neighbourhood. With this initiative, diversity is utilised as an asset: each business partner displays specific skills, access to different sources of funding, networks and customers. By linking one to another, the project manages to improve the economic development of a deprived area and to promote the social mobility of newcomers, especially the tailors and the fabric sellers.

Conceptualisation of diversity

Consistently with what has been observed in the analysis of the mainstream of the discourses and policies of Paris (Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier, 2014), the term diversity is not regarded as a valid category for public action among governmental and non-governmental actors. It is even rejected by some local actors to the benefit of a focus on equality. This is all the more surprising in cases where diversity from a cultural perspective is clearly an asset in the initiative, as in the case of the Fashion and Design initiative, where the input of African design and *savoir-faire* is clearly addressed but mostly articulated in economic and technical terms (e.g. custom-design vs. standardised clothing).

Arguably, local initiatives would not benefit from the financial support of the administration if they were seen as reserved to a specific audience. This may explain that local actors adopt a universalist discourse, articulated in terms of equality. It confirms previous analysis on the impact of institutions in claim-making (Ireland, 1994).

However, all these initiatives address diversity and it is possible to identify three different ways in which diversity is addressed:

1. Community development projects such as *Régies de quartier*, Living Together in the Maroc-Tanger Neighbourhood or the Solidarity Flat-share directly address the diversity of the inhabitants of a deprived neighbourhood, in terms of their social, ethnic and economic migrants.
2. Cultural and artistic initiatives such as 104, Islamic Culture Institute or the Golden Drops of Fashion and Design address cultural diversity as an asset for the promotion of the city. They encourage an image of Paris that is acceptant of the various in-pot of migration-related diversity, although they never point at specific groups.
3. Economic and social initiatives such as Mozaïk RH, Café social, Anti-discrimination Plan or ADAGE address diversity through equality: they promote an equal access to the city for all, especially in terms of employment and social supports. Although their action may be based on a diagnostic that specific groups are excluded from the ordinary-law system (poor women, old migrants and unemployed youth from Priority Neighbourhoods), their response is articulated in terms of equality. They can be seen as fostering a right to the city (Fainstein, 2010).

Moreover, it may be argued that several of these initiatives take into account the hyper-diversity of the Parisian population; in the sense that they include various dimensions of diversity, such as gender, income level, age, nationality, but also 'lifestyles' (Tasan Kok et al, 2013: 5). The Social Cafés, for instance, addresses the specific needs of ageing migrants (nationality and age are therefore considered in this project). And it does so in the friendly environment of a café that adapts to the specific lifestyle of this group. The Solidarity flat-share addresses the generational gap between students and retired people living in old residence, as well as differences of nationality between the students and the children who benefit from school support. This may be seen as a response to the complexity of social inequalities in a hyper-diverse city such as Paris and a way to address the intersectionality of the different issues at stake.

Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure

A series of three factors influencing the success of the initiatives deals with their ability to address the specific needs of a diverse population within the universalist framework of equality.

1. Some of these initiatives are classic examples of City Policy arrangements that have proved their efficiency in addressing social diversity (*Régie de quartier*). Their organizers pay extra attention in grounding their action in the local structure: securing low-skilled jobs that are useful for the neighbourhood, and insuring the economic balance of the project between public subsidies and private contracts.
2. Some of these initiatives act as intermediaries in the implementation of public policies (Anti-discrimination Plan and Mozaïk RH). They benefit from public subsidies specific-

ly targeting Priority Neighbourhoods. However, they also rely on their strong local base to implement these programmes.

3. Some of these initiatives are able to identify sub-groups of inhabitants that are not accommodated by the ordinary-law system and therefore answer specific needs (ADAGE and Social Cafés). They are instrumental in identifying new challenges for the governance of hyper-diversified city: gender issue and ageing populations.

An additional influential factor is the fact that Paris is a rich city with an international profile in terms of art and higher education. It makes it possible to benefit from the in-puts from various actors that contribute to the diversity of the city: professional artists who work with inhabitants, internationally renowned artists who link the artistic heritage of Islam with inhabitants daily religious practices and students of Parisian universities or *Grandes Ecoles*. All these encounters (between artists, practicing Muslims, inhabitants and students) would not have been possible without these kinds of initiatives. They are contributing to coexistence in a hyper-diversified city and make it possible for social diversity to also benefit to the under-privileged. They can be seen as instances of diversity policies that foster ‘redistribution’ (Iveson and Fincher, 2008).

The limits of some of these initiatives are their fragility. They rely on the dedication of volunteers (in the case of the Living together in the Maroc-Tanger neighbourhood, for instance) or the ability of project officers in pulling extra hours to make it work (in the case of the *Régie de quartier*, for instance). Moreover, they are dependent upon public funds and the application, every year, to receive these kinds of funds is time-consuming as well as a permanent source of uncertainty (the possibility to receive public funds cannot be taken for granted).

Moreover, the risk of economic development or social mobility programmes is that when they actually work, inhabitants leave the neighbourhood. Maintaining social cohesion and developing social mobility is a paradox of these kinds of policies.

Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts

Creating spaces of encounter to respond to the needs of specific groups appears as an effective strategy to respond to the new challenges of the hyper-diversified cities. Effective initiatives rely on the strategy to create spaces of encounter where inhabitants can meet in a friendly environment and maintain social interactions. These initiatives underline the strong role of community and neighbourhood ties both to tackle social exclusion and to reduce local conflicts between different groups (in terms of origin, age or gender). They are innovative because City Policy programmes traditionally consist in providing community services or social mediation, with the appointment of ‘neighbourhood policemen’, for instance. Their main objective is to foster social cohesion.

Using art as a means for mixing inhabitants with different backgrounds can be seen as an attempt to reduce the negative impact of gentrification. It is related to French cultural policies that aim at extending the public participation in the arts (*‘democratisation culturelle’*). Artistic initiatives are mostly top-down and funded by the City of Paris. However, they have developed innovative strategies to reach to inhabitants who are not used to come to art venues and connect with the local associations to facilitate their access. During the roundtable organised on June 3 with governmental and non-governmental actors engaged in these initiatives, cultural amenities were characterised as accompanying the gentrification of the neighbourhood. According to some actors, it works mostly one-way: *‘It created some new flows. People who have higher income and who would never come to this neighbourhood before, now have a reason to come and attend a show or see an exhibition’*. However, one project manager had a more nuanced perspective:

“Of course, it is not because someone, who never goes to museums, and finds himself or herself, in the exhibition rooms of the Islamic Culture Institute, next to someone from the posher neighbourhoods of Paris, that they will, suddenly, start to talk to each other ... that there will be a relationship between them. But it contributes to the image of the neighbourhood. Inhabitants think: I have access to that.”

Connecting already existing strength in the neighbourhoods can be seen as an effective tool to foster economic performance in disadvantaged areas. By bringing the skills of business development, the governmental actors allow local entrepreneurs and business owners in developing shared strategy to upgrade their activity. This contributes to changing the image of the neighbourhood.

4 Conclusions

In terms of governmental arrangement, the in-depth analysis of ten initiatives located in the North-East of Paris (Priority Neighbourhoods in the 18th and 19th district) demonstrates the importance of state-involvement in local activities: few initiatives are bottom-up and all initiatives, which were able to last, receive public subsidies. During the roundtable, a project developer in a housing association did mention that she sees numerous emerging NGOs that do not want to apply for public funds because it is regarded as time consuming and too complex to reach. However, it is not clear how long these groups manage to sustain their activities and whether they are aiming to social cohesion, social mobility or the economic performance of their participants. As a matter of fact, a major factor influencing the success of each initiative is its local base and ability to network with other organisations in the neighbourhood. Being in touch with the local development team, managed by the Department for City Policy (DPVI), is crucial in this process. The institutional structure therefore appears as a powerful frame to respond to urban diversity, in a city like Paris, even at the micro level of local initiatives.

The importance of the public sector as main provider of social policies stands out from the analysis. The fieldwork does not provide instances of public-private partnership as NGOs are mainly working with public supports. They only appeal to private funds - such as *Fondation de France*, for instance - for temporary projects and the proportion never goes much higher than 10%. In comparison with other national contexts, the state is still very interventionist in social policies and social development of deprived areas.

In terms of diversity, consistently with what has been analysed at the level of the City of Paris, the notion does not appear as a category of public action for governmental and non-governmental actors (Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier, 2014). However, three different types of diversity emerge from the analysis. First, diversity as an asset for the promotion of Paris is visible in the creation of cultural amenities. In this case, diversity is linked to cultural wealth and is seen as a valuable outcome of a long history of migrations to the city. Second, diversity as a way to identify target audience is visible in the projects that seek to create social mix. In this case diversity is mainly understood in social and economic terms. Finally, diversity in the specific needs of inhabitants living in a hyper-diversified city: ageing migrants, poor women, low-skilled workers and newcomers. In this latter case, it is not the profile of the inhabitants, as much as their inability to see their specific situation covered by ordinary-law that prompted the emergence of such initiatives.

From this case study, it may be argued that the hyper-diverse city requires moving on from the provision of services to a more integrative approach of all dimensions of diversity. It may also be

argued that social development policies, at the level of the neighbourhood, could be more open to grassroots and community initiatives. This would allow for a better adjustment to population needs, even if it may seem too specific and not fitting a universalist type of approach to service provision.

In terms of understanding the challenge of urban diversity, the next step is to collect the point of view of the inhabitants. Their perception of the diversity of urban functions and population was suggested as interesting to inquire by the participants to the roundtable organised on June 3. According to a neighbourhood project manager:

“There is a diversity of practices, space and audience...it is true. But people live next to each other, rather than together. You might see a neighbourhood fest, and 50 meters away a bar that belongs to the process of gentrification...Some people are passing by each other while never really meeting with each other. If you interview inhabitants they might tell you something different.”

By creating spaces of encounter, fostering the meeting of various inhabitants around cultural activities or structuring economic activities, public actors may not be able to prevent the reproduction of social inequalities. Within the people passing by a cultural institution that is open to everyone, it is not clear how much mixing can occur. An additional level of inquiry – the one of the inhabitants – will therefore allow for a more nuanced picture of how diversity is perceived in the City of Paris.

5 References

Legal documents and policy programmes

APUR (2011). *La politique de la ville à Paris. Observatoire des quartiers prioritaires.*

Reviewed documents and sources of the selected governance arrangements

Comité national de liaison des régies de quartier, CNLRQ (1991). *Charte nationale des régies de quartier.* Assemblée générale du 21 juin 1991. [retrieved: <http://www.cnlrq.org/medias/files/charte.pdf>]

Bibliography

- Allen, C. Camina, M. Casey, R. Coward, S. Wood, M. (2005). *Mixed Tenure Twenty Years On- Nothing Out of the Ordinary.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Allibert, D., R. Bigot, G. Hatchuet (2005). *Fréquentation et image des musées en début 2005*, Paris, CREDOC.n. 240.
- Bauberot, J. (2013). *Histoire de la laïcité.* Paris: PUF.
- Driant, J.C., C. Lelevrier and J. Zetlaoui (2013). *Promotion des logements solidaires.* Rapport d'évaluation, Lab'Urba, Université Paris Est Créteil.
- Escafré-Dublet, A. (2014). *Culture et immigration. De la questions sociale à l'enjeu politique.* Rennes.
- Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Iveson, K. and R. Fincher (2008). *Planning for Diversity: Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter*, Plagrave MacMillan.
- Kirszbaum, T. (2004). Discours et pratiques de l'intégration des immigrés. La période des Grands Projets de Ville, *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine*, 97, 51-59.

6 Appendix

List of the interviewed persons

- Administrative director, Islamic Culture Institute
- Project Manager, Anti-discrimination Plan
- Paris Deputy for AFEV and KAPS Project Manager, AFEV
- Director, Régie de quartier 19th district
- Project Manager, The Golden drops of fashion and design
- Project Manager, Mozaïc RH
- President and director of Living Together in Maroc-Tanger (VEMT)
- Director, ADAGE
- Director, Social Cafés Ayyem Zamen
- Project Manager, 104

List of the participants of the round-table talk

Date: June 3, 2014

Place: Institut d'urbanisme de Paris, UPEC, Créteil

National level :

- Two project managers from the Human Rights Defender Office
- Deputy-director and project manager of the National Committee for Territorial Equity

City of Paris:

- Director and four project managers of the Department for City Policy (DPVI).

Social Housing Corporation:

- One project manager.

Non-governmental organisations

- Two representatives of AFEV

Academics:

- One Assistant professor, one researcher and one master student.