



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

Urban Policies on Diversity in Paris, France

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1. Introduction

Diversity is not an official category of public policy in France. However, two types of policies deal more or less explicitly with inequalities and aim at promoting equality between citizens or neighbourhoods. On one hand, since the beginning of the 1980s, the state has been responding to social and economic inequalities in urban areas through City Policy¹ and Urban Renewal (*Politique de la ville et rénovation urbaine*). As such, housing policies and tenure diversification have been understood as major tools to fight inequalities and favour social mixing in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Blanc, 2010; Lelévrier, 2013). In France, ethnic-racial mix cannot be referred to as such and the 2013 political orientations given to City Policy confirm the main focus on poverty and social concentration: priority neighbourhoods are selected according to the ratio of low-income people (Ministère délégué à la ville, 2013). Nevertheless, these area-based policies can be seen as an implicit way of dealing with concentrations of immigrants in cities (Kirszbaum, 2004). On the other hand, anti-discrimination policies have been implemented since 2001. They aim at guaranteeing an equal treatment between individuals and groups, based on gender, sexual orientation, cultural origin, handicap, etc. Through this type of policy, diversity can be used as a category, although a reluctance to refer to ethnic diversity remains.

The lack of explicit reference to the notion of diversity in public policies may be seen as rooted in the French understanding of difference that is based on universal principles (Bereni and Jaunait, 2009). The French Republican model does not recognise the intermediate level of a group or a specific community based on origin. The 1958 Constitution guarantees the equal treatment of individuals *regardless* of their ethnic, religious or racial belonging. However, the demographic fact of ethnic and social diversity is a constant challenge to policy-makers at city level: in Paris there are more than twice as much foreign-born as in the overall population (20% against 8.4%) and there are sharp contrasts in income from one neighbourhood to another. Governmental actors have to implement programmes in a *hyper-diverse* city.

The aim of the chapter is to analyse the discourse on diversity at national and city level. It is based on a literature review; an analysis of official documents and a series of 16 interviews with governmental and non-governmental actors (see Appendix). Out of the 16 actors interviewed, 13 operate at city level, while 2 governmental actors operate at national level and 1 at regional level. Interviews were conducted from September to November 2013 and have been analysed through the method of critical discourse analysis. This method allows for a more in-depth understanding of the various meanings given to diversity by government and non-government actors.

In the following section, we first review the governance structure of urban diversity in Paris and the key changes in the national discourse over immigration and integration over the past 30 years. In the subsequent section, we discuss in turn the meanings and the means given to the governance of diversity. We argue that the governance of the city is based on an egalitarian approach that does not invoke the category of diversity. However, the city government implements programmes that seek to keep Paris a *diverse* city. This entails developing approaches that are concerned with social and spatial inequalities, such as maintaining housing accessible to low-income households and providing social and economic opportunities. According to the framework of recognition, encounter, and redistribution developed by Fincher and Iveson (2008),

¹ In France, City Policy mainly concerns deprived neighbourhoods and segregation issues. Throughout this report we will use the term City Policy to refer to this specific field of public policy that is area-based and that concentrates initiatives on a selection of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

this means that the recognition approach is under-developed (diversity is not an official category of public action) to the benefit of the redistribution approach (the allocation of housing and access to public services). This is mainly because the city government's 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.

2. Overview of the political system and governance structure in Paris

2.1. Governance structure and institutional map

In the following, we briefly present the administrative and political organisation of the French territory which is necessary to understand how urban policies are implemented in Paris. Then, we highlight some of the main reforms in progress that will thoroughly modify the forms of governance of the Paris Region from 2013 to 2015.

A decentralised unitary State with four levels of governance and administration

In France the distribution of powers between the different scales is framed by devolution and decentralisation. The administrative organisation of the French territory is inherited from the Revolution (1789) and comprises: regions (27), departments (101) sub-divided in cantons and districts (*Arrondissements*), and finally, municipalities (*Communes*). The state has local representatives at these different levels, as shown in the institutional map. Nevertheless, France is a « decentralised unitary state » since the Decentralisation act of 2 March 1982. This act enabled regions, departments and municipalities (three levels of elected local authorities) to gain autonomy through specific competences and powers.

The extensive division of the French territory into 36,700 municipalities led to an additional dilution of powers: since the end of the 1990s, the government promotes their grouping within inter-municipal cooperation structures (*Etablissements Publics de Coopération Intercommunale*, EPCI, see map). In 2010, a Territorial Reform Law creates a new inter-municipal cooperation structure for big cities: the *Métropole*.

Thus, powers and competences in urban policies are shared by the State and these different local authorities and governments: the state still keeps a strong power and is responsible for Transportation (with regions) and Housing (Ministry for the Equality of Territories); spatial and urban planning laws are defined at national level (Ministry of Ecology) but implemented by the inter-municipal cooperation structure (the EPCI) and the municipalities (competent in urban planning). Neighbourhood and city policies are designed by the Ministry for the Equality of Territories but implemented within the framework of regional and local contracts between the central government and sub-central levels (see, for instance, on the institutional map, the State-Region Contracts that are signed for the implementation of urban renewal or social cohesion programmes).

Paris, a city in the Ile-de-France Region becoming a 'Metropolis'

Paris is a unique case in the French context: it is a municipality and a department at the same time, and therefore covers a wider range of competencies. The Paris Council meets as a *city* council or as a *department* council, alternatively. Social action, which is a departmental competency, is handled at city level in the Parisian case.

The city of Paris is divided in twenty districts (*arrondissements*) and is one of the 8 departments of the Ile-de-France Region. But the territorial and political boundaries are changing because Paris is

becoming a 'metropolis'. Since 2006, innovative networks such as the Greater Paris (*Grand Paris*, 2009) and Paris-Metropolis association (*Paris-Metropole*, 2010) have been set up to strengthen the links between the departments and municipalities within the metropolitan area and tackle the dilution of powers. They have already implemented new tools of governance such as Territorial development contracts (*Contrats de développement territorial*, CDT), dealing with Transportation, Housing and Solidarity, and they have planned to build 70,000 housing units. The law defining the boundaries and organisation of the new 'metropolis' was voted on 9 December 2013 and the new metropolis will be effective on 1 January 2016. It will encompass the city of Paris and three departments of its inner suburb. Its competences are urban planning, environment, housing and City Policy.

Actors and forms of governance with regard to urban policies

Four types of institutional arrangements are relevant regarding issues pertaining to diversity:

- The National Solidarity and Urban Renewal Act (2000), legally requiring municipalities with less than 20 % of social housing to build social housing. It is based on the premises that housing diversity will lead to social diversity;
- State-regional contracts signed between the State, the Regions and the inter-municipal cooperation structures (EPCI) or municipalities to implement City Policy programmes, dealing with urban renewal, social and economic development. It is based on the premises that specific areas concentrate social, economic and housing difficulties.
- Housing policies (with a focus on social housing, 17 % of the housing stock, at national level).
- Urban Solidarity and social Cohesion Grants (1991), increasing the share of subsidies devoted to poor municipalities as part of the general national programme of state allocation to local governments. It is based on the principle of a redistribution of resource to foster the equality of territories.

At the national level, two ministries are more directly involved in urban policies: the Ministry of Ecology (dealing with transportation and housing policies) and the Ministry for the Equality of Territories. The most relevant ministry for our research is the Ministry for Equality of Territories that comprises three directorates: Planning, Housing and Nature; Shelter and Access to Housing; and the General Secretary for City Policy (*Secrétariat général du Comité interministériel des villes*, SGCIV, since 1988). The latter is responsible for designing, coordinating and assessing French urban policy in 751 deprived neighbourhoods labelled Urban Sensitive Zones (ZUS). Moreover, the General Secretary manages two national agencies dealing with area-based and social cohesion policies: the National Urban Renewal Agency (ANRU, 2003) in charge of the National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU); and the National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal opportunities (ACSE, 2006) in charge of the Social Cohesion Urban Contracts in deprived neighbourhoods and anti-discrimination policies. In 2014, the General Secretary for City Policy is foreseen to become the General Commissioner for Territorial Equality and will encompass the Inter-ministerial Delegation for Spatial Planning (DATAR), the French national spatial planning agency. It is based on the premise that the concern for disadvantaged areas should be integrated into wider spatial and urban planning policies.

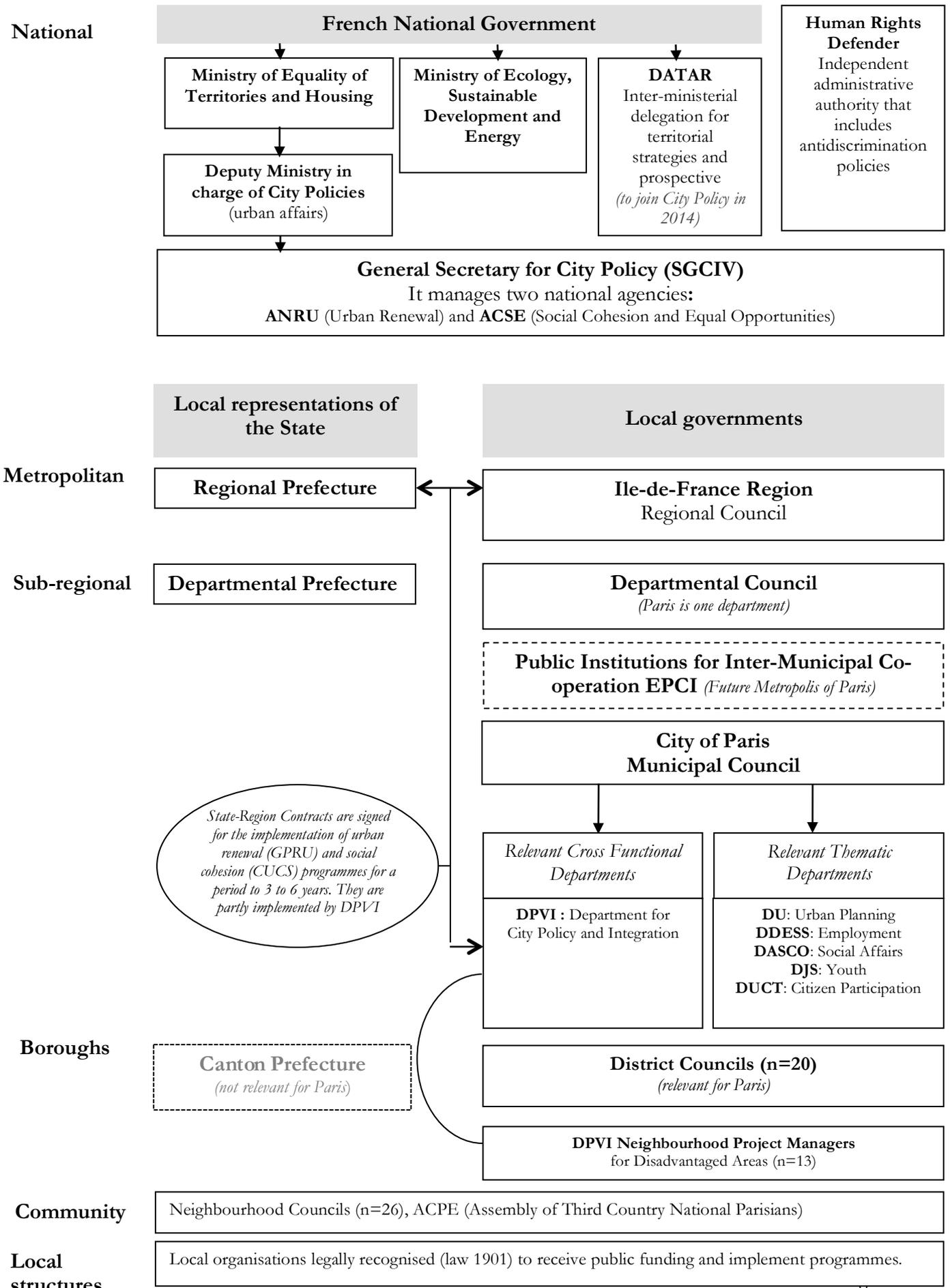
At the municipal level, in Paris, the Department for City Policy and Integration (*Direction de la politique de la ville et de l'intégration*, DPVI) is in charge of implementing City Policies in 14 Urban Sensitive Zones. Due to the high concentration of immigrants in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the Department for City Policy is also in charge of implementing integration and anti-discrimination programmes. However, at the national level, integration and anti-discrimination are the responsibility of the Interior Ministry and the Human Rights Defender, respectively (see map).

A turning-point and uncertain period in terms of national and local governance

Several institutional and political changes are currently affecting urban policy and governance; they are based on the idea that area-based policies should be better linked to wider spatial and urban planning policies. First, a new act from the Ministry for Equality of Territories entitled 'Access to Housing and renewed urbanism' is in progress since June 2013. Second, a reform of the governance of City Policy is in progress, with the creation of a General Commissioner for Territorial Equality (beginning 2014), as mentioned above. Third, a new Law for city and urban cohesion (*Loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine*) is in progress signalling a shift in neighbourhood policies with the signature of new city contracts in 2014 and a selection of priority neighbourhoods based on the unique criteria of low income. Finally, a reshaping of the boundaries of the government of Paris and a reallocation of powers within the new metropolis has followed the Territorial Reform Law of 2010 (voted in December 2013 for the Paris Metropolis). In March 2014 there will be local elections for the Mayor and council of Paris.

It is an interesting but very complex period to map out urban policies in France due to the upcoming change in policy implementation. It is not clear, moreover, how much simplification can be expected from a very complex decision process that is often mentioned by governmental actors as a 'multi-layered institutional structures' (*millefeuille institutionnel*), altering their ability to evaluate and monitor their activities. As for non-governmental actors, it complicates their ability to apply and secure funding.

Figure 1. Institutional Map for the Governance of Urban Diversity in France



2.2. Key shifts in national approaches to policy over migration, citizenship and diversity

Over the past 30 years French policy-makers went from an ‘assimilationist’ type of policy to a more ‘integrationist’ approach to immigration issues (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012).

In the 1980s immigration started to be systematically associated with issues of nationality and identity in the media and political debate. Up until then, the presence of immigrants had mainly raised economic concerns in relation to unemployment. However, the political halt to economic migration following the oil crisis, in 1974, prompted the realisation that immigrants were here to stay and that their children would become French citizens. A shift from an assimilationist to a more integrationist discourse can be observed. A greater attention was given to the social and cultural consequences of immigrant presence in France. It was also in the 1980s that immigrants’ concentration in specific neighbourhoods led to an area-based approach to public policies, which was fitting with the Republican concept of equality and colour-blindness, because immigrant populations were not targeted *as such*.

In the 1990s, the concentration of immigrants in specific areas became increasingly understood as problematic and threatening French unity as a whole. Fear of cultural separatism (*communautarisme*) and the necessity to counter the creation of so-called “enclaves” or “ghettos” impacted national policies. In terms of urban policy, the City Ministry was created to reduce territorial inequalities by allocating more means to disadvantaged areas. It implements city contracts that lay the emphasis on social mix as a way to counter the high concentration of immigrants and poor in specific areas. Finally, the acknowledgment of immigrants’ origin became increasingly understood as a threat to their integration to French society. In 1999, the introduction of the category ‘immigrant’ in the census stirred a first debate on the collection of ethnic data (Simon, 1999).

In the 2000s, the workplace became a site of paradigm change from integration to anti-discrimination, by contrast with City policies that remained reluctant to depart from a colour-blind approach. Following the impetus of the EU directive against anti-discrimination of 2000 (EU directive 2000/43/EC of June 29, 2000), the French government established a Higher authority to fight discrimination in 2005 (Halde). The possibility to prosecute private or public employers led to the creation of public policy tools to fight discrimination in the workplace (e.g. Diversity Charter, Diversity Label). In this process, the word *diversité* has been increasingly favoured for its positive connotation and its ability to embrace a range of specific categories: immigrants, disabled persons, sexual minorities, or gender groups². However, it can also be contested for its tendency in eluding issues pertaining to discrimination and exclusion.

In 2007, the election of Nicolas Sarkozy as President brought a new phase of intense debate on immigration and national identity. The hardening of national policies over issues pertaining to immigration and integration were observed with the establishment of a Reception and integration contract (2006) that all newcomers have to sign upon their arrival in France (*Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration*). Simultaneously the creation of an Agency for Social Cohesion and Equality (ACSE) under the responsibility of the City ministry consolidated the French area-based approach to

² The law includes 19 criteria: age, physical appearance, ethnic, racial, religious or national belonging (real or assumed), health, sexual identity, sexual orientation, pregnancy, family situation, handicap, name, gender, participation in union activities, political opinion, origin, genetic characteristics and habits (anti-discrimination law of 16 November 2001)

inequality that the upcoming creation of a Commission for Territorial Equality in 2014 would reinforce further³.

3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations

The notion of diversity is not very common in France and requires an in-depth analysis of who understands what in connection with this concept, in order to critically analyse policy strategies and to assess the allocation of resources. In the following we distinguish governmental and non-governmental discourses successively. However, French City Policy is top-down more than bottom-up. It should be noted that, at city level, policies are implemented through public services with the help of local legally recognised organisations that receive public fund to develop programme (see ‘Local structures’ on Institutional map). To some extent, the boundary is blurred between local governmental actors (i.e. neighbourhood project manager) and the organisations they work with. We therefore discuss in greater length the different meanings given to diversity at the different level of policy implementation in part 3.1 and then assess the allocation of resource following Iveson and Finsher typology of redistribution, recognition and participation (2008). In part 3.2 we discuss the point of view of non-governmental actors.

3.1. Dominant governmental discourses of urban policy and diversity

Diversity per se is not a category of public policy in France: “*This word, for us, does not exist*” says a director at a public housing agency [17 October 2013]. Nor is it considered an operational category of public action in the field of urban policies: “*Diversity is not a word that is used in our professional vocabulary*”, says a Neighbourhood Project Manager in Paris [18 November 2013]. Governmental actors tend to consider it unpractical, because it is too broad or because it points at cultural backgrounds: “*Diversity relates to something cultural, that does not relate to our means of action*” [Director Social Housing Agency, 17 October 2013]. The absence of the notion of diversity can be explained by the Republican and assimilationist conception of the French Nation-State and is more willingly replaced by other concepts such as equality, cohesion or integration. As a consequence, governmental actors do not share a common understanding of what diversity means, and what diversity policies should entail. However, it can be argued that the general narrative pertaining to diversity in Paris is that *a certain level of diversity* should be maintained in the city, should it be from a socio-economic or cultural point of view. We first discuss the various meanings associated with diversity at national and city level, to then analyse the discourse that surrounds the implementation of public policies at city level.

The meanings of diversity

The discussion focuses on the meaning given to diversity as part of the implementation of City Policy in Paris by the cross-functional Department for City Policy and Integration (DPVI). However, the City Policy is decided at national level and implemented at local level, so we also compare national and local discourses of diversity. This implied analysing the discourse of the national representative for City Policy (the General Secretary of City Policy) but also the official discourse of the Human Right Defender’s Office that is formally in charge of anti-discrimination policies (see institutional map). Furthermore, the City Policy is a cross-functional type of policy and the discourse of other governmental actors in the City of Paris administration are discussed. Depending whether they are active in the field of anti-discrimination, gender equality or

³ Law Proposal 1337, 2/08/2013 : Projet de loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohésion urbaine.

participatory democracy, their understanding of diversity may vary. We identified three meanings given to diversity: first, diversity as a description of the target audience of public policy; second, diversity in relation with human resource management and third, diversity in social housing allocation, in which case the term diversity is not so much in use as the term ‘social mix’.

A category to describe target audience and neighbourhoods

The Department for City Policy and Integration develops an area-based approach to reduce social and economic inequalities, as part of its participation to the urban renewal and social cohesion contracts (GPRU and CUCS, see Institutional Map). As such, the CUCS identifies three types of population to focus on: immigrant, youth and elderly people (CUCS, 2007: p.15-16). However, immigrants are seldom referred to as such but more often assumed to constitute a substantial part of the low-income population that area-based policies target in their programmes. In relation to social housing for instance, the distinction between social and migration-related diversity is not always operated or is voluntarily blurred:

“When I use the term diversity in relation to social housing it refers to the population that inhabits these buildings, a population that has grown poorer lately. The poorest groups that we’ve received in the past years are immigrants or people with an immigrant background. Immigrants are rarely among the richest, they constitute a social class, it is not cultural.”
[Project Manager of a Social Housing Agency, 8 November 2013]

The social analysis of inequality is strongly related to the framing of this field of public policy: urban renewal and the promotion of social cohesion are seen as *the* adequate tools to respond to the challenge of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. As in France, the criterion used to select the neighbourhoods is the level of income. This does not mean that governmental actors are not actively addressing immigrant population in their programmes - they are aware that these areas display a high level of foreign-born or individuals with an immigrant background – but the official criteria of selection are social and economic.

Despite a systematic effort to collect figures on Priority Neighbourhoods, governmental actors in charge of City Policy in Paris are aware that the diversity of the target audience is not statistically informed (APUR, 2010). Even though the notion that individuals with an immigrant background should be taken into account was introduced in 2012, especially with regards to their possible exposure to discrimination (ANZUS, 2012), social and economic indicators are the prime statistical information available (income, unemployment rate, and household situation). The proportion of immigrants only gives the number of foreign-born. Children of immigrants born in France do not appear in these figures. However, what appears more problematic to the Director of City Policy Unit is the lack of information on the trajectory of the individuals:

“Paris is a diverse city, because there are life spaces that are different, life trajectories that are different. I am not entirely sure that a statistical analysis of the territories gives us an adequate picture of these differences of trajectories.” *[Director of City Policy Unit, DPVI, 3 October 2013]*

The fact that the statistical description of the diversity of the target audience appears insufficient results in the impression that diversity cannot be measured, it is too vague and therefore un-operational: *“Diversity is not a term that I use on a daily basis; (...) it is not precise enough to be used in our working documents,”* says a Project Manager from DPVI.

Diversity refers at best to the specific profile of priority neighbourhoods with higher rates of foreign-born, low-income households and unemployment, and at worst to a cultural understanding of difference that pertains to assimilationist views and is no longer desirable:

“We no longer take care of the integration of inhabitants in our buildings; we do not tell families how they are going to live in these apartments. We used to have supervisors who would write reports on families ...some are nostalgic of this social control. But we no longer do it.” [Assistant Director of a Social Housing Agency]

Diversity is therefore understood as a category to describe the target audience of Paris City Policy but it appears too close to a cultural understanding of difference and it is more willingly replaced by statistically coherent categories, such as social and economic categories.

Why this unease with the notion of diversity to describe target audiences? In the following we analyse the discourse of national and local level governmental actors in light of the evolution of the national discourse on issues of immigration, integration and diversity (see part 2.2). First, governmental actors tend to reject the term diversity because it clashes with the French understanding of equality that should apply to all citizens “regardless of their origin, race or religion” (1958 French Constitution of the Fifth Republic, article 1). Interviews with governmental actors at national level give insight in the principles that guide the implementation of public policies that help clarify the situation. As argued by the Head of the Anti-discrimination Department in the Office of the Human Rights Defender, “*diversity is a word that I do not like because for me it should be equality that we refer to.*” [11 September 2013]. This universalist principle guides the implementation of public policies. In the following a high-ranking official in the French central administration refers to this principal embedded in the law:

“The principle of equality structures French public law, which has long been an obstacle to the acknowledgement of diversity. (...) The whole framing of the French constitution is based on equality and not on diversity. All citizens are equal and it is forbidden to consider that some are more equal than others. Territories are equally governed: city councils are organised the same way and regional councils work along the same rules. Uniformity is the rule and if diversity is not recognised, it is regarded as liberating.” [Assistant Director of the City Policy General Secretary, 11 October 2013]

Second, the fact that diversity resonates with culture – ‘cultural diversity’ – and alludes to the cultural origin of individuals rather than their social condition is problematic in the French context. “*Diversity in France is used too much with reference to origins*”, says the Head of the Anti-discrimination Department in the Office of the Human Rights Defender [11 September 2003]. What is articulated at national level is conveyed at local level accordingly. Project managers in charge of the Paris City Policy also associate the notion of diversity with that of ethnicity: “*When diversity is mentioned, in fact, it is about ethnicity that we are talking about*”, [Meeting at the Integration and City Policy Department in Paris, 4 September 2013]. In this sense, “diversity” as a concept suffers the same stigma as “ethnicity” in the French context: it is seen as permanently assigning identities to individuals and infringing upon their freedom of choice (Wieviorka, 1993).

“I’ve always had a hard time with the word ethnicity that is imported from the United States and that does not translate well in France. - It is like race. - Identities are permanently re-invented so we do not know what we are talking about when we talk about ethnicity. Those things are always undone and redone.” [Interview with a Project Manager of the City Policy General Secretary, 11 October 2013].

Third, there is a legal obligation to conceal ethnic or religious belonging in official statistics that results in the fact that it is illegal for governmental actors to classify and count individuals on the

basis of those characteristics (Simon, 2008). The official census only registers nationality and identifies French nationals, naturalised French and foreigners. The absence of ethnic data in France is referred to by local governmental actors as an absence of ‘ethnic statistics’ during the interviews.

Finally, the illegitimate nature of the option to identify sub-groups in the French population can be seen as a major impediment in using the notion of diversity when it is mainly seen as referring to one *part* of the French population. As pointed out by an elected representative responsible for youth programmes, topics that are listed as “*divers*” (miscellaneous) on a meetings’ agenda, generally comes at the end, so he does not want to see the concern for immigrant youth - or for people with an immigrant background in general - to be set apart from the rest of the discussion [Youth Elected Representative at District Level, Interview 25 November 2013]. Although his remark might be related to the specific etymology of the word in French, it does allude to the separatist dimension that governmental actors perceive in the term diversity.

Identifying sub-groups in the population correspond to the recognition approach identified by Fincher and Iveson in their typology of urban policies towards diversity (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). The unease in talking about diversity demonstrates that French urban policies are not about recognition because there is a legal impediment to it.

Diversity as a category of management in the workplace

With the implementation of an anti-discrimination policy in the 2000s and the creation of a set of policy tools to combat discrimination in the workplace, the notion of diversity has also been associated with “the business case for diversity” and its implication as a category of management in human resources. The two main tools for that actually include the term ‘diversity’ in their title:

- The Business Diversity Charter (*Charte pour la diversité en entreprise*) was created in 2004: corporations that sign the charter are morally engaged to raising awareness about diversity among staff involved in the recruitment processes and should dedicate a chapter in their annual report to the measures they undertook to promote diversity.
- The Diversity Label (*Label Diversité*) was created by the state, in collaboration with the National Organisation for Human Resource Managers (ANDRH), in 2008: private or public organisations are awarded the label after an audit of their human resource practices (recruitment and career advancement). The label is awarded for a period of 4 years and is handled by the French Organisation for Standardisation (AFNOR). As of 1 January 2013, 381 public or private organisations have the label.

Governmental actors tend to associate the notion of diversity to the category of public action that pertains to human resource management (recruitment and career advancement). As such, a higher official in the City Policy General Secretary says:

“Diversity has long been confined to recruitment policies. It is restricted to this field of public action, and makes the French administration feel guilty and unable to integrate France’s diversity in its ranks.” [Assistant director of City Policy General Secretary, 4 October 2013]

For governmental actors that are operating at national level, their understanding of the issue may be related to European politics (Geddes and Guiraudon, 2006).

By contrast, local-level governmental actors tend to perceive the notion of diversity as top-down and irrelevant to their concern on a daily basis. An elected representative in a Parisian district explained:

“Diversity is a word that started to be used around 2005-2006 and that is not bottom-up. It comes from political and intellectual institutions.” [Deputy Mayor of the 19th arrondissement responsible for Youth, 25 November 2013]

Moreover, the association of the term with business and corporate initiatives resonates negatively to local governmental actors implementing social policies. A project manager in the Paris City Policy Department identifies this approach to economic achievement as incompatible with social policies and their implementation at local level.

“For us, my team and I, it is not a well-regarded term. It lies on principles that we do not agree on: role model, individualism - the one who wins is the one who really wants it -, it is something that is mainly supported by corporations.” [Director of Integration Unit, DPVI, 4 October 2013]

In conjunction with the launching of a Diversity Charter by a business think tank; the support that this initiative received from the government of the time (Prime Minister Raffarin, under the Jacques Chirac Presidency) was also crucial. For some of the government actors operating in the left-wing government of the City of Paris (Socialist Mayor Bertrand Delanoë was elected in 2002 and then again in 2008), the business approach to diversity resonates as right wing and free market oriented, and conflicting with their public action.

Finally, the emergence of « diversity management », as a category of antidiscrimination, links the notion of diversity with the legal definition of discrimination, which encompasses a wide range of criteria. The 2001 law that adapts EU directive 2000/43 against discrimination, lists 18 criteria (law 2001-1066 of 16 November 2001 against discrimination in the workplace):

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Origin | 7. Health situation | 13. Political opinion |
| 2. Gender | 8. Handicap | 14. Union activism |
| 3. Family situation | 9. Genetic characteristics | 15. Ethnicity (real or supposed) |
| 4. Pregnancy | 10. Habits | 16. Nationality |
| 5. Physical appearance | 11. Sexual orientation | 17. Race (real or supposed) |
| 6. Family name | 12. Age | 18. Religion (real or supposed) |

While local governmental actors rarely list all criteria, they do mention “origin”, “gender”, “handicap” and sometimes “union activism”. This corresponds to the majority of the calls received by the HALDE, the independent authority in charge of monitoring all types of discriminations and helping victims to obtain reparations⁴. From 2005 to 2010, the Halde registered claims related to: origin (27%), handicap and health situation (19%), gender (9%), age (6%) and union activism (5%) (Halde, 2010: p.21). At national level, the Head of the Anti-discrimination Department in the Office of Human Right Defender describes her policy as dealing with inequalities that old people, children, handicapped and sometime people with an immigrant background may encounter [Interview 11 September 2013]. For other governmental actors dedicated to one dimension of inequality, the notion of diversity might be seen as blur or unclear. This is the case for a Project Manager working on gender inequality:

“The notion of diversity relates to too many characteristics. Characteristics linked to history – immigration history – handicap, union activism...it relates to discrimination. However, discrimination is only one dimension of the issue of gender inequality.” [Project Leader of the City of Paris Gender Equality Observatory, 9 October 2013]

⁴ Any individual who experience discrimination can address a claim to the Halde that will either solve the issue through mediation or bring the claimant to the civil, administrative or criminal court (Borillo and Chappe, 2011).

In the context of the re-orientation of policies that deal with inequalities towards a more area-based approach (upcoming creation of a Commission for Territorial Equality in 2014), the Human Rights Defender appointed a Project Manager on territorial inequality (Interview of 11 September 2013). This is indicative of the possible introduction of the criteria of territorial inequality in the definition of discrimination.

Diversity to combat segregation: social mixing as a key word in urban policies

In the field of urban and housing policies, diversity is not an explicit category of public action but social mix is a major concern. As a result, stakeholders who are involved in these policies primarily use the term diversity to refer to ‘urban functional diversity’ and to social mixing policies. In France, social mix became a keyword of urban policies in the middle of the 1990s. Since 2000, social mixing policies have been implemented in France and consist in two strategies, both of which are relevant for Paris. The first one is related to the Solidarity and Renewal Urban Act (2000), which aims to favour social diversity in wealthy areas. It is a national policy that consists in legally obliging municipalities with less than 20% of their housing stock as social housing to build social housing and to provide housing to low-income households. The second one refers to urban restructuring and neighbourhood policies: it seeks to increase social diversity in deprived neighbourhoods, based on the premise that a greater social diversity increases the level of interactions, opportunities and liveability of one neighbourhood (Lelévrier, 2013: p. 409). This explains why the Director of a Social Housing Agency, Paris Habitat, dwells on the *criteria* that they use in allocation policies when asked about ‘diversity’ [Director of Paris Habitat, 17 October 2013]. In fact, Paris-Habitat⁵, as well as the city of Paris, has a limited leverage on the allocation of social housing, because of a variety of formal networks regulating the access to housing in France and a number of official priority criteria. The criteria in use are family size, age (age-group or age in the residential trajectory) and level of income (as defined by the legacy of social housing access rules).

As urban renewal and city policies have long been confronted to the issue of diversifying spaces and people, they have developed corresponding tools. City Policy’s managers have their own understanding of the challenge of diversification to fight segregation and their take on diversity is slightly different, even if there is some overlapping.

“As an objective of policy, I only see the diversification of functions. If we have a neighbourhood that is only a residential neighbourhood, we are going to talk about the diversification of this neighbourhood. We are also going to talk about the diversity of the audience of a programme: Are there only girls attending? Or only boys? We tend to talk about diversity for programmes that target youth. We then talk about diversity of origin. It is an issue if we conduct an action and there are only young black males, for instance.”
[Director of City Policy Unit, DPVI, 3 October 2013]

Governmental actors who are operating at local level are aware of the large proportion of inhabitants that are younger, have lower income and have an immigrant background. Their objective is to reach to this audience without officially targeting them. For instance they implement educational achievement programmes: *“In the priority neighbourhoods of Paris, there are 30 % of immigrants. It is a major issue in City Policy, especially in the framework of the Aim for Success Schools Programme”,* [Director of City Policy Unit, DPVI 3 October 2013]. Since 2007, the Aim for Success Schools are a selection of schools that are deemed experiencing higher difficulties in disadvantaged areas. These schools receive more resources from the Education Ministry. In

⁵ Paris Habitat is the main social housing organisation in Paris.

addition, City Policy actors identify pupils who experience difficulties in schools (e.g. high school drop-outs) and provide them with programmes such as tutoring, parent-teacher dialogue and cultural activities.

As providers of public spaces and service, project managers also identify the diversity of the people *passing by* Paris: tourists, students and business travellers; and the diversity of uses of public spaces. However, during the meeting, some local actors add that a diversity of status (tourists, students, business travellers) is less challenging to deal with and that people with very low income require more attention [Meeting at DPVI, 4 September 2013]: “*It is related to what diversity means. In the Department of City Policy in Paris, the main aim is to favour social mixing, both functional and social mixing*” [Head of DPVI, 12 September 2013].

The means of diversity: policies and programmes

The cross-functional department of City Policy and Integration in Paris implements an area-based policy that targets deprived neighbourhoods and deals with diversity through the Unit for City Policy. It also comprises a Unit for Integration that formally mentions “diversity” in its financial documents (DPVI 2012). The programme consists in 4 thematic approaches: Citizenship and Equal Access to Rights; Integration and Anti-discrimination; Diversity and the Promotion of Immigrant Cultures; International Relations and Co-development. Consistently with what has been described previously, “diversity”, here, is formerly addressed in relation with culture, and more precisely immigrant cultural productions (the organisation of festivals or performance in foreign-language, the promotion of immigrant heritage in the city through the creation of exhibitions or museum programmes). Although France has a universalist understanding of culture, and cultural policies are generally reluctant to recognised minority forms of expression, there has been a recent tendency to pluralise the content of some cultural institutions (e.g. the creation of a Museum of Immigration History in Paris, 2007) and promote immigrant heritage (Escafré-Dublet, 2014). These symbolic kinds of policy are a way to respond to the challenge of migration-related diversity. As such, they could be seen as pertaining to recognition. However, within the Integration Unit of the DPVI, financial and institutional means allocated to this understanding of diversity are limited (€500,000). In general, the Integration Unit benefits from considerably less institutional and financial means in comparison with the City Policy Unit (see organisation chart below). This is the reason why we focus our review of policy strategy and resource allocation on a wider range of institutional arrangements at the level of the City of Paris.

Following the Iveson and Fincher typology, we analyse successively programmes that pertains to recognition (anti-discrimination and integration policies), the creation of spaces of encounter (instances of participatory democracy) and finally redistribution (housing and access to public services). We argue that despite the lack of a clear focus on diversity as a category for City Policy, the programmes that are implemented seek to maintain a certain level of diversity in the city, or at least to make this diversity liveable to Parisians. These programmes are a mixture of an area-based and a universal people-based approach, because there is a fundamental ambiguity in France between the legal impediment that prevents governmental actors from officially targeting specific groups - such as immigrant groups for instance - and the necessity for them to adapt to the demographic reality of the neighbourhood they work with. We therefore distinguish between the city discourse surrounding the implementation of programmes and the concrete adjustment to the diversity of the target audience.

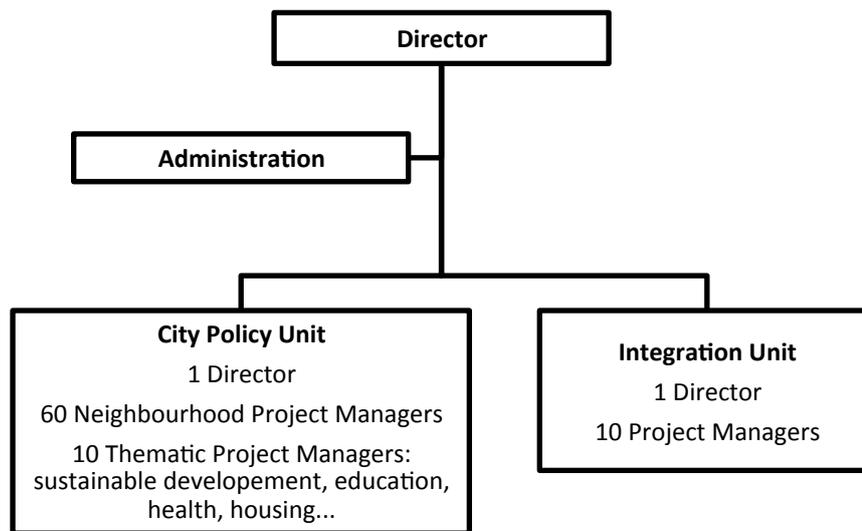


Figure 1. Organisational Chart of the Paris Department for City Policy and Integration (DPVI)

Policies that seek to foster integration and combat discrimination

Policies that seek to combat discrimination and foster integration are implemented by the Integration Unit of the DPVI and are not area-based; they cover the whole Parisian territory. However, the Integration Directorate benefits from the expertise of Neighbourhood Project Managers who are based in Priority Neighbourhoods and are in touch with local non-governmental actors. Moreover there is a higher rate of immigrants in the Priority Neighbourhoods (30% in comparison with Paris: 20%) and the needs are higher. Thus, the Integration policy is *de facto* area-based since it is primarily implemented in these areas. In 2008, nearly half of the budget of the Integration Unit was dedicated to anti-discrimination initiatives (7.5 M€ in 2008) and a little bit more was dedicated to integration programmes (8.5M€), mainly language courses for newcomers and assistance to old immigrants living in public or private run hostels (*foyers*).

Integration

A large effort is dedicated to facilitating the language adaptation of newcomers. It is consistent with the French national model, which lays emphasis on language acquisition to grant French nationality (Ordinance regulating the stay of foreigners in France, 1945). Most of the funding of the Integration Unit of the DPVI is therefore dedicated to non-governmental organisations providing language classes. The Unit thrives to identify small organisations that can provide language classes in disadvantaged neighbourhoods [Director of Integration Unit, DPVI, 4 October 2013].

The Integration Unit also develops programmes to maintain the city as a “welcoming city for foreigners” [Head of DPVI, 12 September 2013]. This implies to fund the translation of a series of brochures in different foreign language available in social centres (7 languages: French, English, Spanish, Turkish, Chinese, Russian and Arabic). This dimension of policy is a direct response to the presence of newcomers to the City. As mentioned by a Neighbourhood Project Manager, Paris - and some priority neighbourhood in particular - are still important places of prime arrival for immigrants and these programmes are directly addressing this issue [Neighbourhood Project Manager, 18 November 2013].

The focus on language is congruent with the official definition of integration by the law that only applies to the 5 years following the migrants' arrival (law of 24 July 2006 related to immigration and integration). By contrast, programmes to promote immigrant cultures in Paris that are developed by the Integration Unit adopt a more comprehensive understanding of integration that includes descendants of immigrants. This demonstrates that, in comparison with the national official discourse, governmental actors at local level adapt to the diversity of the population they work with. They display more flexibility in taking into account the immigrant background of the inhabitants living in disadvantaged areas. These kinds of cultural programmes are actually likely to be developed following the publication of a report advocating for the implementation of heritage projects in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Blanchard, 2013). These heritage projects should take into account the migratory past of some working class neighbourhoods and could contribute to a greater *recognition* of diversity. However, they are only at their beginnings.

Antidiscrimination

When officially announced in 2009, the press release which accompanies the "Paris against Discrimination" initiative addressed the diversity of Paris inhabitants and articulated the desire to fight racial discrimination:

Paris is a cosmopolitan city which counts 110 nationalities and more than 20% foreigners or immigrants, coming from all continents. It has been built by a succession of immigration waves (...). This diversity contributes to the identity and the wealth of Paris. However, there are still Parisians living at the margin of the city. Discriminations are rampant, based on gender, handicap, social origin... But the one that is altering today's society is the one that does not say its name; it is racial discrimination that affects employment access to leisure, public services and housing.' [Paris against Discrimination, Press Release, March 2009]

Since then, some anti-discrimination initiatives have been implemented at district level but have relied heavily on the collaboration of local organisations and the result varies greatly from one district to another. The most accomplished initiatives that implement anti-discrimination programme are located in two districts (19th and 12th *arrondissements*). Moreover the change in elected representative in 2012 has interrupted the process. The policy strategy is now redirected towards anti-stereotype campaigns that resort to communication means such as posters or flyers, and are less locally grounded.

Policies to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation

Within the context of the implementation of policies by the City of Paris, there have been some attempts to create democratic spaces for participatory policy-making. The City Council has been developing initiatives to foster democratic deliberation between inhabitants: Neighbourhood Councils (*Conseils de Quartiers*) are overseen by the Department for Users, Citizens and Territory. They provide to all Parisians and are deemed to favour democratic deliberation over issues related to daily life in neighbourhoods such as property, improvement and management of public spaces. Moreover, the City has also advocated for the creation of consultation bodies for Third Country Nationals who do not have the right to vote in French elections. The latter are developed by the Department for Integration and Urban Policy. Finally, the participation of inhabitants is at the core of City Policies, as they have been designed from the very beginning and as a recent report has demonstrated (Dubedout, 1983; Bacqué and Mehmache, 2013). The DPVI is therefore also a site of exploration for these types of deliberative spaces of encounter. At a more micro level, it supports initiatives that tend to associate inhabitants in the resolution of conflicting use of spaces: safety audits, for instance. In the following we analyse the implementation of the Neighbourhood Councils and the Assembly for Third Country Nationals.

Neighbourhood Councils

Neighbourhood Councils started to be implemented in 2002 following the passing of the Vaillant law fostering local democracy (Humain-Lamoure, 2010). The Department for Users, Citizens and Territory was in charge of establishing 122 Neighbourhood Councils all around the Parisian territory. Council members are determined by drawing lots on electoral lists. This process of selection raises the issue of the participation of newcomers to a specific neighbourhood; since they do not always register on electoral lists when they move in (they often keep their registration in their former place of residency)⁶. Moreover, in-migrants who do not hold French citizenship are not registered on this list as they do not have the right to vote. European immigrants can register on these lists as they have the right to vote in City and European elections.

Consequently, the work of the Department for Users, Citizens and Territory has been dedicated, since 2008, to reach Parisians who keep away from these structures, should it be for their lack of information or assumption that it is not for them. This policy has been articulated in universal terms: “reaching *all* Parisians” [Director of the Department for Users, Citizens and Territory, 11 September 2013]. However, this policy is based on the observation that the composition of these councils is homogenous (mainly white men of higher socio-professional categories, sometimes retired) and is clearly advocating for more diversity in the composition of these councils. It does not see the formation of Assembly for Third Country Nationals as a valid tool, because it separates issues. The Paris municipal council voted a budget decrease of 70 % in the past year. The Department for Users, Citizens and Territory is now focusing on the development of less expensive and more deliberative tools in connection with internet technologies.

In terms of participation of inhabitants to urban audits, some district town halls have organised women safety audits (*marches exploratoires*) in collaboration with DPVI. Women safety audits consist in a group of women walking in public spaces of their neighbourhood (a street, a public square, a park, etc.) to identify the physical and social characteristics that make these places safe or unsafe. The fact that this kind of audits have been organised demonstrates a greater attention allocated to bottom-up approaches in issues pertaining to urban governance. It is also part of a reflection on the differential use of public spaces according to gender. This should be linked to the rise of a concern for gender equality at the level of the city of Paris. The creation of an Observatory for gender equality in 2002 has helped mainstreaming the issue at different level of the city administration. At the level of urban policies, the Observatory for gender equality has raised the concern of the existence of public spaces that are not easily accessible to women because of the over-representation of men. The organisation of a women safety audit in deprived neighbourhoods participates to this policy strategy of mainstreaming gender issues at the level of urban policies in Paris.

The Assembly for Third Country Nationals

The creation of Assemblies for Third Country Nationals (in Paris, but also in some Parisian districts and some other large cities such as Strasbourg, for instance) is an attempt to respond to the demand for foreigners’ right to vote. It has been a long time demand supported by immigrant and non-immigrant groups (such as the Human Rights League, for instance) that the Socialist candidates for Presidential elections have promised and then not granted. Already in 1981 did François Mitterrand include this extension of voting rights to foreigners in his programme, and then, did not act upon it. In 2012 François Hollande also announced the legislation change and

⁶ As opposed to some other European countries, French cities do not maintain population registers.

has not acted upon it so far. The creation of these Assemblies is regarded as a way to make up for the lack of inclusion of foreign nationals in local governing bodies.

However, Assemblies for Third Country Nationals are only consultative and are regarded as marginal by local governmental actors. According to the person in charge of their organisation, the council has helped bring about the issue of old immigrants living in hostels [Director of Integration Unit, DPVI, 4 October 2013]. However, it is a consultative body and it does not guarantee that issues will be tackled by policy-makers. This is not sending a positive signal to participants and disaffection for these kinds of instances can be observed. According to the person in charge of their organisation, foreigners should go and sit in the Neighbourhood Councils even though as third-country national they cannot be elected as council representatives. In a classic Republican fashion the Assembly dedicated to the specific interest of foreigners does not manage to negotiate a valid entry in local politics. Instead, seeking to enter mainstream instances of democratic deliberation, such as the Neighbourhood Councils, appears to be the most favoured option for foreign Parisians.

Policies for equity and redistribution of resources

The core idea that guides the implementation of policies for equity and redistribution of resources is the principle guiding of French City Policy in general, driven by the objective of the reduction of territorial inequalities. However, within this framework, Paris is rather unique because it is a richer city in comparison with other cities in France. The funding of City Policy in Paris is discussed below. While an estimation of the cost of each of these policies is provided and discussed, it should be noted that the budget of these policies is spread out over various administrations at state, region and city level, and therefore does not allow for an optimal evaluation, as pointed by the national court of audit (Cour des Comptes, 2012). After a discussion of the budget we review in more details the different types of strategies that characterise the policy of redistribution: social mixing policies, access to social services and economic promotion.

Allocation of financial resources: a reduction of the budget for social action

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the financial commitments made by the State and the City of Paris in the framework of the Urban Contract for Social Cohesion (CUCS). The particular case of Paris in terms of City Policy stands out: the City of Paris is a rich city with a higher contribution than the state (55% against 45%). Moreover, table 2 shows that an important proportion of the budget dedicated to City Policies comes from sectorial policies (referred to as “expenditures under common law” on the table) which indicates the general effort of the City Council to provide for this area of public policy.

The particular case of Paris in terms of urban renewal also appears in table 3: the city is not undergoing any major demolition and reconstruction of buildings, mostly improvements of buildings (*rehabilitation*) and space refurbishment (*residentialisation*). It is therefore able to allocate substantial means to the social dimension of City Policy. Table 4 gives some more details: urban renewal still makes up 37% of the budget while Youth, Social Cohesion and Crime Prevention come next.

A similar policy strategy is observed for the budget of the whole City of Paris: table 5 shows that, in terms of *operating* grants, solidarity and early childhood represent major expenses. However, in terms of *investment* grants housing and urbanism concentrate the most means as shown in table 6 (36%).

Finally, the budget allocated in the framework of the Social Cohesion Urban Contrat (*Contrat Urbain de Cohesion Sociale*, 2010-2013) is spent for programmes in 14 areas that are identified as Priority Neighbourhoods. For each of these neighbourhoods, there is a dedicated team from the Urban Policy Department Office (DPVI) that oversees the funding of social and cultural activities, the funding of local organisations and the linking with other Departments of the Paris City Government. The delineation of Priority Neighbourhoods does not always match the one of Urban Renewal Projects as shown in the map below (Figure 3).

	Million EUR/year	
State	21.0	45 %
Paris	25.3	55 %
Total yearly financial commitments dedicated to the Cucs	46.3	100 %

Table 1: Financial commitment to the CUCS (DPVI 2012)

	Million EUR	
Expenditures under the CUCS	27.2	14 %
Expenditures under common law	166.7	86 %
Total amount of money spent on City Policy by the City of Paris in 2012	193.9	100 %

Table 2: Paris budget dedicated to City Policy (DPVI 2012)

	Operating	Investment	Total	
Urban renewal	28 230 000 €	44 335 006 €	72 565 006 €	37%
Social and economic policies	70 219 808 €	51 131 866 €	121 351 674 €	63%
Total expenditures	98 449 808 €	95 466 872 €	193 916 680 €	100%

Table 3: Breakdown of City Policy budget (DPVI 2012)

Urban renewal policies		
Housing, Living environment and Urban renewal	72 565 006 €	37%
Social and economic policies		
Employment, social inclusion, economic development	15 776 300 €	8%
	22 373 105 €	12%
Social links, access to right and citizenship		
Education, youth and sports	55 953 176 €	29%
Health	3 125 310 €	2%
Crime prevention	18 224 208 €	9%
Culture	510 600 €	0%
Engineering	5 388 975 €	3%
Total funds allocated to City Policies in 2012 by the City of Paris	193 916 680 €	100%

Table 4: Detailed breakdown of City Policy budget (DPVI 2012)

	Distribution		Distribution
Conservation of environment	11 %	Heritage and Architecture	9 %
Improvement of public spaces	11 %	Supporting services	4 %
Safety of Parisians	5 %	Roads and transportation	20 %
Solidarity	25 %	Gardens, Green spaces and cleaning	4 %
The place of child in Paris	14 %	Housing and urbanism	36 %
Housing and urbanism	2 %	Education – Higher education	7 %
Dynamism of Paris	10 %	Culture	4 %
General public services	5 %	Early childhood	4 %
Equalisation	4 %	Sport and youth	8 %
FNGIR (national funds for individual guarantee of resources)	13 %	Others	4 %
Total operating grants 2012	100 %	Total investment grants in 2012	100 %

Table 5: Breakdown of Paris expenditures in operation (Mairie de Paris 2012)**Table 6: Breakdown of Paris expenditure in investments (Mairie de Paris 2012)**

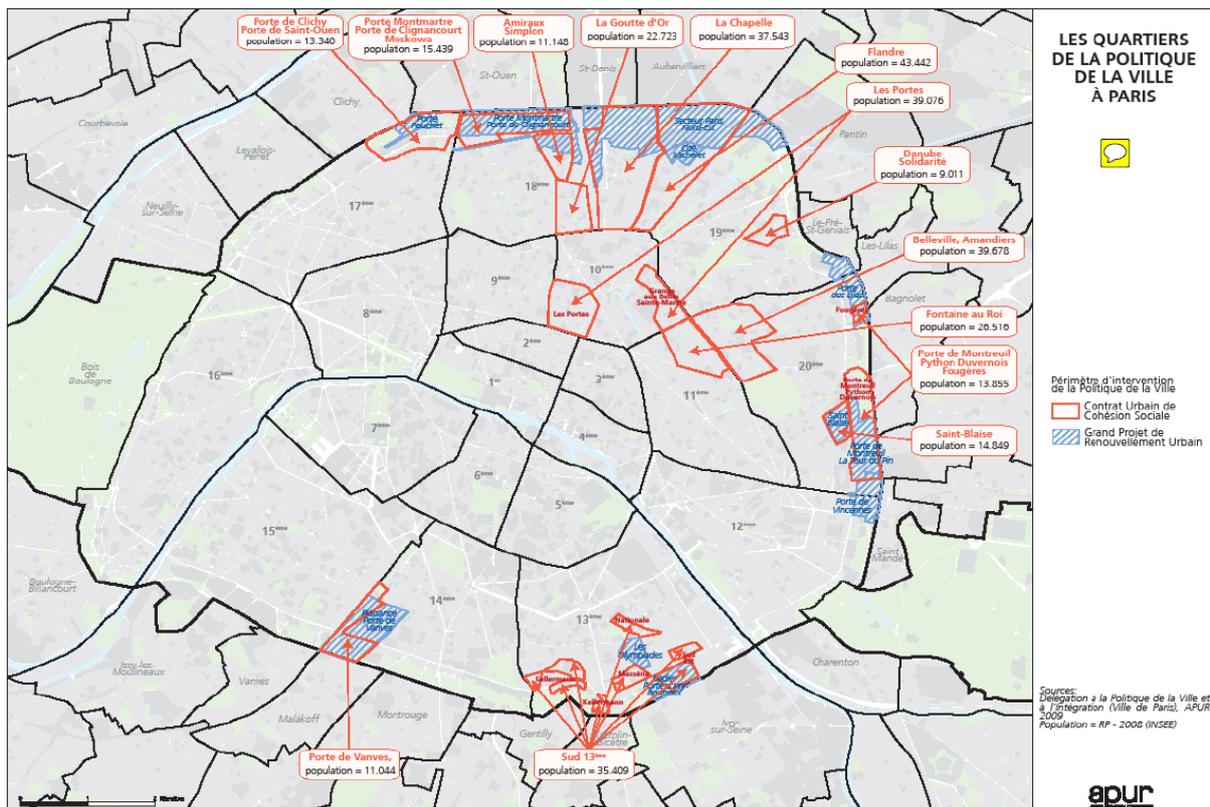


Figure 3. Paris Priority Neighbourhoods
 (Source: APUR, 2008)

Social mixing policies

Policies of social mixing in Paris are proactive in maintaining a certain level of diversity from an economic and social point of view, but also from a demographic point of view. It is essential to keep low and middle-class households who are younger than higher income households. Policies are constrained by the specific Parisian context: Paris is a divided city, with the South-Western part that concentrates very high incomes and the North-Eastern part that is gentrifying but still concentrates the lowest-incomes. There are 100,000 demands for social housing (25% of which, are tenants asking to be relocated). Policies of social mixing in Paris are therefore twofold (see above, for the definition of social mixing policies). They consist in:

- Avoiding that low and middle class-income move out of the city to the suburbs and improving their daily life in the North-Eastern part of the city (City Policy and Urban Renewal) ;
- Diversifying housing and increasing social mix in the South-Western part of the city (Urban Renewal Act, *Loi Solidarité et renouvellement urbain*).

On one hand, in the North Eastern part of the city, such policies focus on the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th districts that display a high concentration of social housing and poor quality private housing. There are few demolitions, by contrast with what is happening in suburban areas that are part of Urban Renewal Programmes (*Programme national de renouvellement urbain, PNRU*), because of the scarcity of social housing in Paris. The objective is rather to keep low-income and middle class households from leaving the city by maintaining affordable housing available. In Paris, the most affordable housings are located in the old social housing stock, built in the 1930-1950. These buildings house low-income and incoming migrants. The challenge is to be able to improve this part of the social housing stock - most of them, small flats located at the outskirts of Paris - without increasing their rents and pushing out low income households. The challenge is reflected in the words of the Director of the City Policy Unit of the DPVI:

“In Paris, we do not have unbalanced territories as much as in some other city. Of course, elected representatives are concerned with the equal allocation of public resources; their objective is that it is not harder to live in one neighbourhood than in another. However, we need to keep areas that can receive low-income inhabitants.” [Interview with City Policy Director in DPVI]

On the other hand, there is an interesting strategy developed by the City of Paris, in partnership with Paris Habitat, in the South-Western part of Paris. With less than 20 % of social housing, Paris has to produce more social housing, according to the ‘Solidarity and Urban Renewal’ Law (see part 2.1.) Since 2001, the strategy has been to diversify housing in very high-income and privileged areas in the Western part of Paris in order to balance the location of social housing and different social groups in the city - in other words, to allow low-income families to live in the richer part of the city. To be able to do so, the city bought empty or partly occupied private buildings. With some grants of the State the city improved the flats and gave the management to Paris Habitat. The Acquisition-Improvement Programme (*Programmes d’acquisition-amélioration*) consists in changing the tenure from private to social rental and opening to tenants the right to receive housing subsidies. After ten years, these programmes show mitigated results. According to Paris Habitat, the majority of social housing tenants coming from the North-Eastern part aspire to stay in their neighbourhood and are not happy with this relocation to a different part of the city (interview with Director in Paris Habitat). The findings of a recent qualitative survey on these initiatives are more nuanced. It demonstrates that households of African origin, coming from disadvantaged areas, do not feel at ease or are likely to experience discrimination by living in these buildings (Bacqué, Fijalkow, Launay and Vermeersch, 2011: p. 269-270). However, others having chosen this location testify of a more positive experience and

benefit from a substantial upgrading in their residential career. As for the inhabitants already leaving there, they tend to move out of these buildings.

Policies of social mix are therefore very interventionist in a city like Paris. It shows that not only is social mixing a key word in housing policies (as discussed above), it is also a major point of investment at the level of the city.

Equal access to social services

Policies that foster an equal access to social services have developed tools to address the various needs of inhabitants, such as community-run social centres and Social Cafés, although these kinds of programmes cannot officially target the groups they try to reach out to as ‘immigrant’, youth or women. The community-run social centres are supposed to emerge from the will of inhabitants, therefore guaranteeing the equal opportunity of inhabitants to be active in the definition of their social needs. Social cafés represent an exception to the strict area-based approach, since it targets a population of old immigrants. Although the functioning of the social cafes for old migrants will be discussed in the following section, it should be noted here that it is an interesting breach in a Republican discourse on diversity that hints to some of its contradictions when it comes to policy implementation.

Each café refers to one specific immigrant origin (two cafés are named after a Berber saying, one café is named after a Sub-Saharan figure and one upcoming café will be named after an Asian piece of fabric - *batic*) and each café is monitored according to the number of immigrants who come and consult with social workers (APUR 2010). Although the initiative was first rejected, presumably for its ethnic character, it has now been embraced by the administration and features in the highlights of the Social Cohesion Urban Contract for the 2007-2010 period (APUR 2010: 20). In fact, the integration approach to immigration issues can help understand the implementation of such social centres according to immigrant origin. As old, retired immigrants, this population does not bring about issues of economic inclusion. Their (former) professional status entitles them to social rights. Moreover, they fall into the official category of immigrants as foreign-born and can be officially counted.

Economic performance

At the intersection of the cultural dimension related to immigration and the promotion of economic performance, the City Policy Department has been investing in the development of cultural industries in Priority Neighbourhoods. It consists in assisting small businesses in the music or fashion industry. The objective is to connect the already existing structures (e.g. music or fashion design shops) so as to create an economic cluster. In addition, the City Policy Department implements training programme to develop tailors’ professional skills. Consistently with what has been discussed before, the cultural framing of these programmes - the fact that they deal with music, or fashion or visual performance - allows for the direct targeting of immigrant businesses. Moreover, most of these tailor shops employ incoming migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. In a way, they can be seen as specifically targeting immigrants. However, the implementation of these kinds of programmes is done by relying with local organisations that are not formally organised according to immigrant nationality. As a result, the Republican model and official discourse on diversity has an impact on the implementation of policies addressing economic performance in the city.

3.2. Non-governmental views on diversity policy

The non-governmental views that are reflected in the following come from interviews conducted with organisations implementing programmes at local level with public funding. In comparison with other European countries, there are no organisations representing minority interests that can be deemed of influencing the urban governance of diversity. This is mainly linked to the aforementioned lack of legitimacy granted to the representation of ethnic interests in France. As a result, non-governmental organisation operating at local level are mainly specialised in a field of action (e.g. literacy classes, social promotion, youth activities or economic performance) rather than they represent specific minority interests. There might be migrant solidarity networks operating along ethnic lines. But they are not interacting with governmental actors and cannot be regarded as likely to influence the urban governance of diversity. In the following we discuss the point of view of non-governmental actors who are members of organisations that are implementing programmes in link with economic performance (ADIVE), anti-discrimination (APSV) and youth activities (BGA).

Non-governmental actors who are not constrained by the same obligation to serve public interest may use the term diversity in their action, although it is interesting to observe that they do not necessarily embrace it as a notion to refer to specific groups. Following the concept of “institutional channelling” developed by Patrick Ireland, non-governmental actors in France tend to adapt their view to the one articulated by the institution in order to fit in the organisation of social life and receive public funding (Ireland, 1994). Consistently with what has been identified with regards to governmental actors, non-governmental actors associate diversity with a category to describe a target audience of their programmes or a category that is related to human resource. They also favour other terms such as *inclusion* or *equality* to speak about the challenge of social and economic inequalities in a city like Paris.

For instance, the director of an Agency that promotes minority entrepreneurs, the Agency for Entrepreneurial Diversity (ADIVE), explains that he is mainly advocating for a *diversification* of service providers to large corporations (Veolia, KPMG...) but that he does not like the term diversity to refer to specific individuals [Director of the Agency for Entrepreneurial Diversity, 14 October 2013]. He does want to promote business run by visible minorities, but when it comes to referring to these individuals he would rather use the term *inclusion*. His understanding of the obstacles that service providers encounter is twofold: on one hand, it comes from the fact that they are run by visible minorities (people of extra-European immigrant background or people from the French Oversea Departments in the West Indies) or it comes from the fact that they are located in disadvantaged neighbourhood. Territorial and racial dimension of discrimination therefore intersect and should be dealt with together. His point of view is based on a 2009 study on business creation among immigrants and people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods (APCE, 2009). It demonstrates that the two groups encounter similar difficulties in creating new businesses (access to credit, installations and contracts). His approach is therefore fitting with the governmental understanding of diversity based on territorial inequality.

With regards to the business interest of diversity, non-governmental actors remain cautious. On one hand, it is clear that using the category of diversity allows for the formation of NGO that develop actions to promote the socio-economic achievement of young people from visible minorities. This is the case for instance of *Mozaike RH*, an NGO that supports minority youth in their access to employment. They use the term diversity on their website to refer to young people from visible minorities⁷. On the other hand, interviews showed that non-governmental actors are critical of corporations that have been active in increasing the number of women or people with

⁷ www.mozaikrh.com

ethnic origin, but have not been taking into account the social structure of inequality that is pervasive in disadvantaged areas. As such, non-governmental actors do not consider diversity as an effective tool in fighting social and territorial inequalities.

An organisation in charge of implementing an anti-discrimination programme at neighbourhood level also rejects diversity and articulates its discourse in terms of equality.

“Diversity is not well articulated in France. It consists in enhancing the identity of the Others and representing them proportionally. It assigns identity to others while we should focus our attention on producers of discrimination.” [Interview with Director of APSV, 15 November 2013]

The organisation’s approach to anti-discrimination issues has been to target offenders rather than victims of discrimination. They ran programmes that sensitise recruiters and all employment facilitators of the practical of discriminations. It tends to suggest that non-governmental and governmental actors share a similar understanding of issues pertaining to discrimination and diversity.

Finally, with regards to the means deployed to favour diversity in the city, it should be noted that non-governmental actors tend to see them as insufficient in terms of social policy. They find that much more means are allocated to the renovation and construction of new buildings rather than social policies: *“they have money for the walls but not for the people”* says the co-founder of a community organisation in the North East of Paris [Co-founder of BGA, 27 November 2013]. Moreover, the fact that the institutional map of urban governance displays such a high level of multi-layering is considered as a major impediment for non-governmental initiatives. According to the co-founder of a community youth organisation, it was, and still is, a major challenge to write up an application and fits in the call for proposal of the city administration.

4. Conclusion

Diversity is regarded as taboo or too broad by French governmental and non-governmental actors for reasons which have been discussed at length in section 3.1, not least the fact it is illegal to identify particular sub-groups of the French population in official statistics and thus public policy targeting. The majority of the interviewees connect diversity with ethnic issues and thus reject it, do not use it or do not feel at ease with this meaning. Some neutralise this connotation by citing general, urban and social understandings of diversity, partly referring to the diversity of cities, neighbourhoods and uses of public space; and partly referring to social mixing policies based on income criteria - the unique criteria for the selection of priority neighbourhoods since 2013, and the main criteria for housing allocation policies. However, diversity can be a category of analysis in urban studies and an explicit category of action in the field of employment, through the label diversity. Diversity can also be an explicit concept in anti-discrimination policies, policies that guarantee an equal access to human rights and policies that promote gender equality. In their understanding of diversity such policies include all kinds of social differences (age, gender, cultural origin, handicap, sexual orientation).

In France, area-based and housing policies are the main policies concerned with issues of diversity. They are articulated in terms of social diversity and aim at maintaining a certain level of diversity, in terms of income and family size in housing. Moreover, social mixing policies aim at integrating disadvantaged or unemployed groups through social cohesion policies, as stated in City Contracts, Social Cohesion Urban Contracts (CUCS) and Urban Renewal Contracts (GPRU). The creation, in 2013, of a Commission for Territorial Equality, tends to foster that

trend; it merges four different competencies: City Policy, Social Integration, Urban Renewal and National Urban Planning. In Paris, programmes designed to foster social mix and economic inclusion have had mixed results. After 25 years of implementation, social mixing strategies in city and housing policies have not been able to stop the impoverishment and concentration of immigrants in deprived neighbourhoods (Goulard, Pupponi: 2010). On the contrary, urban renewal policies tend to enhance the re-concentration of poor and immigrants families in the most deprived buildings and districts (Lelévrier, 2010). Moreover, policy interventions that are focused on the North-Eastern part of Paris implement programmes that are designed for a population with a high proportion of immigrants. This is one of the specific French paradoxes, already highlighted by researchers working on City Policy in a comparative perspective: not saying that immigrants are the main target, but implementing actions that take into account their cultural belonging and specific disadvantages (Moore, 2001).

Finally, Paris is a hyper-diverse and divided city, with the South-Western part of the city that displays very high income levels and the North-Eastern part that displays low income levels. Paris appears, thus, to be an exception in comparison with the national orientation given to urban policy, and urban renewal in particular. By contrast with suburban areas where there is a tendency to demolish and rebuild large-scale social housing estates to attract middle-class tenants/owners in disadvantaged areas (or avoid the departure of wage-earner originally from these areas), Paris needs to keep its traditional working-class neighbourhoods accessible and affordable for a low-income population. The challenge of keeping Paris a diverse city not only lies in its ability to receive newcomers, in terms of local structures that provide language classes or solidarity networks, for instance, but also in keeping it cheap and accessible to low-income families. In order to achieve this goal, two main strategies are implemented: to introduce more social housing in rich districts and to improve the situation of the inhabitants of deprived districts by social and urban management policies. As demonstrated in this chapter, despite the lack of a clear focus on diversity as a category for City Policy, the programmes that are implemented in Paris seek to maintain a certain level of diversity in the city, or at least to make this diversity liveable to Parisians.

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Appendix

List of Interviews

National level

Human Rights Defender (Défenseur des droits)

- Interview with Deputy Director in charge of Anti-discrimination policies, along with Project Leader in charge of Housing policies and Project Leader in charge of Territorial inequalities

General Secretary for City Policy (Secrétariat général du Comité interministériel des villes)

- Interview with Deputy Director, along with Project Leader on Urban Renewal

Regional level

Regional Council (Conseil régional)

- Interview with Director for City Policy at regional level (office title: Neighbourhood Social Development and Security)

City level

Department for Integration and City Policy (Délégation à la politique de la ville et à l'intégration)

- Interview with Head of the department
- Interview with Director in charge of the City Policy Unit
- Interview with Director in charge of Integration Unit
- Interview with 2 Neighbourhood Project Leaders

Department for Citizens, Users and Territories (Direction des usagers, des citoyens et des territoires)

- Interview with Project Leader for Participatory Democracy

Observatory for Gender Equality (Observatoire de l'égalité femmes/hommes)

- Interview with Project Leader on Gender violence

Public Agency for Social Housing (Paris Habitat)

- Interview with Assistant director

- Interview with Project Leader in charge of Local development

District level

City Council of the 19th arrondissement (Conseil du 19^{ème} arrondissement)

- Interview with elected representative for Youth

Non-governmental organisations

Organisation for the Social Development of La Villette Neighbourhood (APSV)

- Interview with director

Youth initiative (Brave African Boy, BGA)

- Interview with co-founder