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

The Case of Paris

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DIVERCITIES

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DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity

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In memory of Ronald van Kempen
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PREFACE

This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today’s hyper-diversified cities. The project’s central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset; it can inspire creativity, innovation and make cities more liveable.

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There are 14 books in this series – one for each case study city. These cities are: Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, Tallinn, Toronto, Warsaw and Zurich. This book is concerned with Paris. The texts in this book are based on a number of previously published DIVERCITIES reports, available online at www.urbandivercities.eu

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

This book, and the research project from which it results, would never have been achieved without the great personal and professional leadership of Ronald Van Kempen. With this book, we would like to pay tribute to Ronald, our late colleague and friend.

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This book was proofread and, where necessary, revised (in accordance with the rules and conventions of British English) by Oliver Waine.
1 DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

By definition, cities are highly diverse. Many have existed for long periods of time and in the process have developed a large diversity of urban neighbourhoods shaped by historical patterns, government input and markets. These neighbourhoods may display a range of housing and environmental characteristics, resulting in different types of places and spaces: enclaves for the rich; slums and ghettos for the very poor; middle class suburbs; both thriving and deteriorating inner-city districts; gated communities; areas with shrinking populations; and areas with growing populations due to increasing immigration. The urban, social and spatial configurations are also diverse in terms of the mixing of social groups, leading to a diverse resident population even in neighbourhoods with a homogeneous housing stock. As a result of globalisation and mobility, this ethnic and social diversity has tended to increase in large cities, considered by some researchers to be the main challenge of the beginning of the 21st century (Young, 1990).

Photo 1 Diversity in the neighbourhood of La Chapelle, 18th district, Paris: Upec.
However, since the 1980s, many European countries have also faced increasing social polarisation and ‘partitioning cities’ (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2002). This polarisation, exacerbated by deindustrialisation and unemployment, is not only a social division of urban space but also a source of inequality between individuals, groups and territories. Many traditional working class neighbourhoods have become deprived neighbourhoods, raising the question of ‘neighbourhood effects’ (Wilson, 1987) and the spatial dimension of social inequalities.

These two tendencies of global and modern cities – an increasing diversity on the one hand and an increasing social and urban polarisation on the other hand – address issues that are crucial for both researchers and policymakers. It raises two different questions related to diversity. The first is ‘how to live together with difference’ (Valentine, 2013; Amin, 2002) and share values and norms in such heterogeneous societies and cities. Does diversity mean more tolerance, openness to others, announcing a ‘new citizenship’ (Thrift, 2005; Young, 1990), or more conflicts, discrimination and exclusion? The second is about providing social justice and redistribution in a context of both increasing gaps between the well-off and the most vulnerable groups and a diminishing welfare state. How can we govern diversity and reduce inequalities, and to what extent can urban governance and planning play a role in this (Fainstein, 2005; Fincher and Iveson, 2008)?

Diversity, defined as “the mixing of population in relatively close spatial proximity, as measured by variation in income, race/ethnicity, family type and age” (Talen, 2010), is often seen both by academics and policymakers more as a threat than as an asset. This is especially true in France, despite the fact that there is no evidence or mechanistic relationship between a certain level of diversity and the nature of social interaction and the intensity of cohesion. Neighbourhoods can be places of intensive contacts between groups, or areas of parallel lives where people pass each other but have little in common with one another. Areas may be mixed with respect to ‘hard’ variables such as income, education, ethnicity, race, household composition and age structure, but also on the basis of ‘softer’ characteristics such as lifestyle, attitude and activities. Some people may choose to live in certain areas, while others have little choice. In most urban areas residents live harmoniously together, but in some areas underlying tensions can sometimes erupt into open conflicts between different groups. In socially homogeneous neighbourhoods concentrating low-income groups or upper classes, large differences in terms of lifestyles may exist and the experience of living together may be also diverse: common activities, avoidance, parallel lives, etc.

Households with low incomes are generally concentrated in neighbourhoods with affordable housing. A number of these neighbourhoods might be characterised as dilapidated and deprived areas: the quality of the housing and of public spaces may be worse than in other parts of the city; residents may feel more unsafe in such areas; and unemployment and the number of people on welfare benefits may be relatively high. In many of these areas, we see concentrations of immigrants and their descendants, often originating from a range of countries, resulting
in an increasing ethnic diversity (Vertovec, 2007). There might be negative, intolerant, and discriminatory attitudes towards these areas and the people living in them. As a consequence, these areas might be seen as areas where nobody wants to live, where people want to leave as soon as possible, or even as no-go areas.

However, neighbourhoods with an affordable housing stock in our cities are not by definition bad places to live. In many cases, the residents of these areas see all kinds of advantages of living there: housing is relatively cheap; they feel at ease amongst people of their own ethnic group and/or socio-economic status; they like the diversity; or they might even find jobs in the sometimes very diverse local economy.

This book focuses on the different aspects and ways of living with urban diversity in deprived but diverse neighbourhoods of large cities – in this case, the city of Paris. It will make clear that, despite the existence of negative discourses, people living and working in diverse cities and neighbourhoods often see positive aspects of diversity and may even take advantage of it. This does not mean that structural social inequalities are reduced. We will explore the perceptions and feelings of residents and entrepreneurs living in a diverse neighbourhood, and analyse the means and effects of governing urban diversity. To what extent do those who live (and work) in diverse urban areas see advantages and positive aspects of living in such areas – for example, in terms of activities, social cohesion and social mobility?

Diversity is defined as the presence or coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity, such as a city or a neighbourhood. We want to pinpoint how diversity relates to social cohesion, social mobility and the performance of entrepreneurs. Social cohesion can, in a very general way, be defined as the internal bonding of a social system (Schuyt, 1997). In the French context, it is an objective of urban policy that is seen as better achieved by ensuring social mix. Social mixing policies consist of dispersion (demolition) and housing diversification (new private dwellings). They are based on the idea that social concentration has negative neighbourhood effects and that creating social mix has a positive impact on social cohesion in poor neighbourhoods (Lelévrier 2013b). Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society – for example, with respect to jobs and income (and status and power) – while economic performance is concerned with the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs. Governance is seen as short-hand for a diversity of partnerships on different spatial and policy levels, leading to a particular goal.

Paris, the focus of this book, is a highly diverse city with a current population of about 2.24 million inhabitants, making it the largest municipality in France. It is located on the river Seine, in the north central part of the country. Its urban density is very high – double that of central London. Paris is both the French capital city and an international business centre, concentrating the nation's main political and economic functions and attracting foreign investors as well as tourists from all around the world (around 30 million visitors yearly). As in
many other European metropolises, manufacturing, heavy industry and local crafts and trades have progressively left the inner city and a tertiary-sector – oriented economy has developed. The high quality of infrastructure is part of the city’s attractiveness and fosters the social upgrading under way on a citywide scale. The population of Paris is characterised by an over-representation of young adults and single-person households. Income levels and the proportion of immigrants in the city are above the national average, contributing to the diversity of its population.

Our research took place in three adjacent neighbourhoods, located in the north-eastern 18th and 19th districts: La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre. They belong to the traditional working class and migrant districts of north-eastern Paris (10th, 11th, 18th, 19th and 20th). They remain largely inhabited by low-income residents and migrants, owing to both the presence of large social-housing estates and a wide range of degraded private housing (see Chapter 2).

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

Our aim is to discover if diversity ‘works’. Are there advantages for those who are directly confronted with it and who live within it? An important part of the research is focused on the influence of policy instruments and governance arrangements: How are they formulated? How important is diversity in policies aimed at improving cities, neighbourhoods and people’s situations (both social and economic)? How do residents benefit from these policies and arrangements? On the basis of interviews with residents of diverse urban areas, we aim to find out how they deal with living in these areas generally and with diversity in particular. Do they see advantages of diversity in the places where they live or work? Do they encounter negative effects? And do they care? Interviews with entrepreneurs in our research areas will indicate why they started their businesses there and if diversity had an effect on their decision. We hope to learn whether they benefit from diversity.

The research for this book is based on qualitative fieldwork. We interviewed politicians and policymakers at both national and local levels, leaders of local initiatives, residents, and entrepreneurs who own businesses in the area.

The next chapter outlines the main theoretical starting points for the book.

1.3 DIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS: SOME KEY ARGUMENTS

1.3.1 From super diversity to hyper-diversity
Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), super-diversity refers specifically to Western cities with increasing ethnic diversity, and to the demographic and socio-economic diversity between and within these ethnic groups. Vertovec (2007: 1024) talks about “… the dynamic interplay of
variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade”. As such, Vertovec recognises the enormous diversity within categories of immigrants.

Nevertheless, diversity can be seen not only in ethnic, demographic and socio-economic terms but also through the differences that exist with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. This hyper-diversity could be an important element to take into account, for example, when explaining social cohesion or social mobility. People belonging to the same social or ethnic group may display quite different attitudes with respect to school, work, parents and towards other groups. They may have very different daily and life routines. Some adolescents and adults may exhibit extensive daily mobility patterns that stretch all over the city and even beyond, while others may remain oriented within their own residential neighbourhood. While the sphere of daily interaction of a native resident may be restricted to his or her immediate surroundings, foreign-born immigrant neighbours may be more mobile with respect to social and professional relations, and vice versa.

Hyper-diversity refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, social-demographic and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013: 6). The term makes clear that we should look at urban diversity in a very open way. Hyper-diversity refers to a significantly more complex situation than super-diversity, because the concept contains more variables, which leads to more involved interactions between these variables. The term hyper-diversity takes account of the fact that, for example, a group of poor, young Indian-born men living in a London neighbourhood may at first sight be considered a very homogeneous group. But at closer range they may be very heterogeneous: some men in this group might like watching sports on television at home; the main activities of others in the group may revolve around intensive contact with family in India (via email, Skype, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.); and a third group may enjoy hanging around on the neighbourhood square where they mainly interact with native Londoners.

Why should we pay attention to such immense diversification? The implications of the recognition of hyper-diversity force us to look differently at the possibilities for living together in a city or a neighbourhood. Mixing groups within a neighbourhood – for example, in terms of income or ethnic descent – may lead to physical proximity of these groups but, because they have different lifestyles, attitudes and activities, these people may actually never meet. Policies aimed at traditional categories such as ‘the poor’ or specific ethnic or age groups without taking into account the immense diversity in such groups or categories are probably doomed to fail. Traditional policy frameworks often stick to stable and sharply delineated population categories or to specific neighbourhoods in a city and thus ignore the hyper-diversified social reality.

A hyper-diversified city contains increasingly changing forms of diversities. According to the literature, new forms of diversity result from many factors, including: increasing net migration
and a diversification of countries of origin (Vertovec, 2007); increased levels of population mobility (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011); the dynamic nature of global migration, new social formations in the city and changing conditions and positions of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the urban society (Vertovec, 2010); transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (Vertovec, 2007); new power and political structures, and dynamic identities (Cantle, 2012); and increasing heterogeneity of migration in terms of countries of origin, ethnic and national groups, religions, languages, migratory channels, and legal status (Faist, 2009). Neoliberal deregulation, which has been feeding diversity in specific ways (economic globalisation, increasing income inequality, polarisation, segregation, etc.) for the last 30 years, contributes to the increasing complexities of the urban society.

1.3.2 Diversity and urban governance
Governance can be defined as a process of co-ordinating actors, social groups, and institutions to attain particular goals discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments (Le Galès, 2002). It is expected that the overall success of public policies will be more and more dependent on partnerships between the public and private sectors and that individual citizens and communities will have to take greater responsibility for their own welfare. Traditional government will no longer be willing to fulfil the needs of the present population in general, nor for the increasing diversity of groups in society more particularly. Urban governance arrangements have to consolidate efforts in relation to physical condition, social and economic situations, and environmental amelioration to achieve a better quality of urban life.

Ostensibly, during the 2000s, there was a convergence in urban policy and planning agendas in cities across the world, with a move towards what Beck (2002) has termed the ‘individualisation of society’, or a ‘sub-politics’ characterised by less direct forms of state intervention and greater individual and community autonomy. The adversarial class politics of the post-WWII period has been replaced, it is argued, by a new ‘post-politics’ founded on consensus building, collaboration, and a more powerful role for active individuals and communities. For authors such as Beck (2002), Giddens (2002; 2009) and Held (2010), changes are an inevitable consequence of structural social shifts in which individuals and communities no longer identify themselves through the restrictive prisms of class identities and adversarial left/right politics. This is particularly relevant in cosmopolitan, hyper-diverse EU cities with their outward-looking populations and economies. Questions of governance have become increasingly complex and governments are looking for possibilities to tackle the growing divisions between shrinking institutional capacities (partly as a consequence of deliberate austerity measures) and a growing diversity of the needs of an increasingly diverse population.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011 Euro crisis, governments across the EU have put in place austerity agendas with the aim of reducing the size of the state and making governance arrangements more flexible and diverse. Similar trends can be observed in
cities and countries across the EU in which governance is being reinvented as a participatory practice that opens up opportunities for policymakers and citizens to engage in a process of policy co-production and mutual working (Mulgan, 2009; Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw, 2010).

And yet little is known about the capacities and motivations of diverse urban communities to take on these new and expanded roles in cities across the EU. The shift to a post-political, communitarian approach to governance raises questions of equality and social justice, as it is by no means clear that reducing the role of the state and of government institutions necessarily improves either the efficiency or the accountability of governance processes. Devolution and localism can all too easily open the door to new forms of privatisation that may bring more efficiency, but at the cost of reduced democratic accountability and increased socio-economic inequality (see Boyle, 2011; MacLeod and Jones, 2011; Raco, 2013). Moreover, the extent to which existing institutional structures no longer ‘work’ and need to be reformed is a claim that authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Rancière (2006) and Žižek (2011) have challenged as a political-ideological programme that, in reality, seeks to attack welfare state systems across the EU and marginalise poorer and more diverse communities in cities under the discursive cloak of ‘empowerment’ and ‘devolution’ agendas (Mouffe, 2005; Crouch, 2011).

1.3.3 Diversity and social cohesion
In its most general meaning, social cohesion refers to the glue that holds a society together (Maloutsas and Malouta, 2004). The concept of social cohesion is not only applicable to society as a whole, but also to different scales (city, neighbourhood, street) or different types of social systems – a family, an organisation or a university, say (Schuyt, 1997). Kearns and Forrest (2000) identify five domains of social cohesion: common values and a civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities; place attachment and shared identity; and social networks and social capital. Three of them have been identified as more relevant at the neighbourhood level and will be explored further in this book: common values, place attachment and social networks (Amin, 2002; Dekker and Bolt, 2005).

There is disagreement among social scientists about the association between diversity and social cohesion. The common belief in significant parts of the social sciences and above all in the design of urban policy is that, despite internal differences, mixed communities can live together in harmony. Finding the balance between diversity and solidarity is not easy, but it is not necessarily an impossible or undesirable mission (Amin, 2002). However, social scientists working in the communitarian tradition, such as Putnam (2007), tend to see diversity and heterogeneity as a challenge or even an obstacle for social cohesion, and cultural homogeneity as a fundamental source of social cohesion, as older academics have stated (Gans, 1961).

This debate is also reflected in the literature on social mixing policies (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). On the one hand, policymakers in many European countries see the stimulation of greater mixing across income groups and between ethnic communities as a means of creating
more social cohesion (e.g. Graham et al., 2009). On the other hand, many academic researchers tend to emphasise that diversity is often negatively related to cohesion. This conclusion is based on two types of empirical research. First, there are studies evaluating social mix policies (either in a quantitative or a qualitative way), which usually focus on a small number of neighbourhoods, and which conclude that social mixing is more likely to weaken than to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood (e.g. Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013; Bond et al., 2011); there are hardly any interactions between social groups (e.g. Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Joseph et al., 2007). Second, there is a highly quantitative research tradition in which the compositional characteristics of neighbourhoods are related to social cohesion. Kearns and Mason (2007) found that a greater diversity of tenure (as a proxy for social mix) is negatively related to social cohesion.

Although there are many different types of diversity, most attention has been focused on the effects of ethnic diversity since Putnam's publication E pluribus unum (2007). There are divergent theories on the association between ethnic concentration and social cohesion (Gijsberts et al., 2011). According to the homogeneity theory, people prefer to associate with others who have similar characteristics. It is therefore expected that people in heterogeneous neighbourhoods tend to have fewer contacts with fellow residents than people in homogeneous neighbourhoods. According to group conflict theory, people feel threatened by the presence of other groups. There is more distrust towards out-groups when the numerical presence of these groups is stronger.

Putnam’s (2007) ‘constrict theory’ partly overlaps with conflict theory. He found that higher ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood goes hand in hand with less trust in local politicians. Ethnic heterogeneity can further negatively affect the number of friends and acquaintances and the willingness to do something for the neighbourhood or to work with voluntary organisations. Diversity does not only lead to less trust in the so-called out-group, but also to distrust in the in-group. Putnam (2007: 140) concludes: “Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to ‘hunker down’ – that is, to pull in like a turtle”. This idea relates to the notion of parallel society: people may live close to each other, but this does not necessarily mean that they have any contact with each other or take part in joint activities.

Although some of the academic literature tends to be pessimistic about the level of social cohesion in diverse areas, there is a no mechanistic (negative) association between diversity and cohesion. Contextual differences play a large role in the effects of diversity. Delhay and Newton (2005) have shown that ‘good’ governance at the regional and national level positively affects social cohesion and eliminates the (alleged) negative effects of diversity. The effects of diversity may also differ from society to society based on difference in ‘ethnic boundary making’. In the literature on ‘ethnic boundary making’, ethnicity is “not preconceived as a matter of relations between pre-defined, fixed groups [...] but rather as a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them” (Wimmer, 2013: 1027). This literature aims to offer a
more precise analysis of how and why cultural or ethnic diversity matters in some societies or contexts but not in others, and why in some cases it is associated with inequality and ‘thick identities’ and in other cases not. This is, among other things, dependent on the specific type of boundary making and the degree of ‘social closure’ along ethnocultural lines (e.g. Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Wimmer, 2013).

1.3.4 Diversity and social mobility

Social mobility refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society – for example, with respect to jobs and income (status and power). Social mobility has been defined in many ways, in narrow as well as in broad senses. In almost all definitions, the notion of the labour-market career is mentioned. Individuals are socially mobile when they move from one job to another (better) job or from a situation of unemployment to a situation of employment.

In the context of social mobility, it is important to give consideration to the concept of social capital. In its simplest sense, social capital refers to the possible benefit of social contacts (Kleinhans, 2005). It thus provides a link between social cohesion and social mobility. For Bourdieu, social capital was a resource or a power relation that agents achieve through social networks and connections: “Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). This definition focuses on the actual network resources that individuals or groups possess that help them to achieve a given goal – for example, finding a job or a better home. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) draw on Bourdieu’s definition of social capital when they talk specifically about immigrants.

The question of how individuals can profit from their social contacts is crucial here. With respect to these contacts, we might consider practical knowledge or important information. The literature makes an important distinction between bonding capital on the one hand and bridging capital on the other hand (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2001). Bonding capital refers to the strong ties within one’s social circle (similarities with others), while bridging capital is about relations outside one’s social circle (weak ties). The latter type of connection is much more likely to deliver important information about opportunities, such as jobs (Granovetter, 1973). In this research, we see social capital as a resource for social mobility. In other words, this resource can be used as a means to reach social mobility. Social capital is therefore not seen as an equivalent of social mobility. The concept of social capital does have some overlap with the concept of social cohesion, but while social cohesion can be seen as an outcome of social processes, social capital should be interpreted as a means to achieve a goal: for example, having a good social network might help someone to find premises in which to start a small business.

In studies of neighbourhood effects, the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and social mobility is central. In many of these studies, the effects of segregation (usually in
terms of income or ethnic background) on social mobility have been key rather than the effects of diversity. Typical questions include (Friedrichs, 1998): Does living in a neighbourhood with a specific type of population limit social mobility? Does living in an ethnic neighbourhood limit integration and assimilation? Do impoverished neighbourhoods offer fewer job opportunities for their residents?

Concrete results from research into neighbourhood effects can be given. A study on the effects of income mix in neighbourhoods on adult earnings in Sweden (Galster et al., 2008) showed that neighbourhood effects do exist, but that they are small. Urban (2009) finds only a small effect on neighbourhoods with children in relation to income- and unemployment-related risks in Stockholm. Brännström and Rojas (2012) also found mixed results with respect to the effect of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods on education outcomes in areas with relatively large minority ethnic populations. Gordon and Monastiriotis (2006) found small neighbourhood effects on educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups. At the same time, they found more substantial positive effects of segregation for middle class households. The general outcome of such studies is always that personal characteristics are much more important for social mobility than the characteristics of the neighbourhood, at least in European cities.

Why are neighbourhood effects on various aspects of social mobility so small? This is mainly due to the fact that social mobility – meaning a change in social status – depends more on familial and individual social capital and on social structure and inequalities than on neighbourhood interaction, networks and environmental context. People’s lives are not organised only around the home and the neighbourhood of residence. With increased mobility, better transport and almost unlimited contact possibilities via the internet and mobile devices, people now participate in multiple networks, visiting numerous places and meeting many people physically and virtually (Van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). People may have contacts all over the city, (ethnic) groups may form communities all over the world (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998), in the neighbourhood where they are residents, in their home countries where large parts of their families may still live, and possibly in other regions where family members and friends have migrated (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2013).

1.3.5 Diversity and economic performance
In urban studies, part of the literature links the advantages of urban diversity to the economic competitiveness of the city. Fainstein (2005: 4), for example, argues that “the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment”. From this widely accepted point of view, urban diversity is seen as a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development by many others (Bodaar and Rath, 2005; Eraydin et al., 2010; Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2008). Although some successful entrepreneurs may live in homogeneous neighbourhoods, some scholars hold a contrary view, even arguing that diversity and economic performance are not positively connected (Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005). The general opinion is that diversity has a positive
influence on the economic development of cities. Inspired by similar ideas, urban diversity is seen as a characteristic objective of many policymakers, with the aim of realising a ‘diversity dividend’, which will in turn increase the competitive advantage of the city (Cully, 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010).

All these perspectives provide a solid understanding of how diverse communities can contribute to the economic performance of cities. What is less clear is the impact of living/working in a hyper-diversified city or neighbourhood where economic performance affects the individuals and groups living in these areas. In our research, we focus on the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs as we see the economic performance of people as an essential condition for the economic performance of a city.

As Bellini et al. (2008) argue, research at the urban level may indicate the existence of positive correlations between diversity and economic performance, and sees cultural diversity as an economic asset (Nathan, 2011). Some of the positive impacts of diversity are highlighted below:

- **Increased productivity**: a study by Ottaviano and Peri (2006) shows that average US-born citizens are more productive (on the basis of wages and rents) in a culturally diversified environment. As Bellini et al. (2008) show, diversity is positively correlated with productivity as it may increase the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O’Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006; Berliant and Fujita, 2004). In the same vein, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) provide an overview of how the urban economy benefits from diversity in the population.

- **Increased chances for networking**: some scholars (Alesina et al., 2004; Demange and Wooders, 2005) point to the emerging literature on club formations, wherein ethnic networks grow from within. According to these researchers, a social mix brings about variety in abilities, experiences, and cultures, which may be productive and may lead to innovation and creativity. Saunders’ (2011) work on the arrival city concept is of interest. He argues that some city areas with high levels of social mix provide a better (i.e. easier) environment for starting small businesses for immigrants, especially for newcomers, owing to easy access to information through well-developed networks.

- **Increased competitive advantage**: emphasising the rising levels of population diversity, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) suggest using population diversity as a source of competitive advantage. Other studies highlight diversity as an instrument for increasing the competitive advantage of cities, regions and other places and territories (Bellini et al., 2008; Blumenthal et al., 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010; Nathan, 2011; Sepulveda et al., 2011; Thomas and Darnton, 2006). The common argument of these studies is that areas that are open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of talent (in terms of nationality, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) than those that are relatively closed. As a result, they are more likely to have a dynamic economy due to their creative, innovative and entrepreneurial capacities compared to more homogeneous cities (see also Scott, 2006).
• *Increased socio-economic well-being*: a number of studies have pinpointed the positive contribution of urban diversity to the socio-economic well-being of mixed neighbourhoods (Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In fact, proximity to mixed neighbourhoods seems to be a locus for networking and for the fostering of social capital (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). ‘*Attractive*’ and safe living environments, ‘*good*’ and appealing amenities, pleasant dwellings and a ‘*nice*’ population composition can be crucial factors to attract and bind entrepreneurs to a city or neighbourhood (Van Kempen et al., 2006).

### 1.4 THE OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

This book is divided into the five following chapters, which present a number of research findings on policies and on residents’ and entrepreneurs’ discourses and practices regarding diversity.

Chapter 2 shows how Paris is diverse but also divided, with particular focus on the neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre, located in the north-eastern part of the city. This chapter provides context for the rest of the book.

Chapter 3 focuses on policy discourses. How do policies deal with urban diversity? We will focus on national as well as local policies in order to show how policy has developed over the past decades. The main focus will be on current local policies: how do Paris’s urban policies deal with diversity? Does the City of Paris see diversity as something positive, as a threat to urban society, or is diversity not treated as a relevant variable? Does local government use diversity as an asset or does it only react to diversity as leading to more problems? In addition to the top-down policy discourses, we will also pay attention to bottom-up initiatives. How do local project organisers see diversity? How do they take advantage of diversity?

In Chapter 4, we turn to the residents of the three neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre. We aim to find out why they moved to the area and if diversity was one of their incentives. It discusses the way residents think about diversity. How do they use the neighbourhood? Are their activities and social contacts mainly inside or outside the area? Does living in those neighbourhoods foster or hinder their social mobility? Our hypothesis is that the residents of a diverse urban area may have many activities and social contacts in their residential neighbourhood but that, in an era of high mobility, they also find a lot of their friends and activities outside the area, making the residential area less important for daily lives and future career possibilities.

In Chapter 5, our attention turns to entrepreneurs. Has the diversity of the area been a motivating factor for starting a business? How do they profit from diversity? Do they have a diverse clientele? Is the business successful and can it survive? Here, the key hypothesis is that
entrepreneurs in diverse urban areas have deliberately chosen to start their businesses in an area of this kind, because they think they can profit from the diverse clientele.

We conclude with Chapter 6, where we will answer the question of whether urban diversity can be seen as an asset or a liability. We will present a number of suggestions for policymakers, politicians and other stakeholders who deal with diversity and diverse urban areas. How can they use our results?
2 PARIS AS A DIVERSE AND DIVIDED CITY

2.1 PARIS, A CAPITAL CITY AND A METROPOLIS WITH EVOLVING BOUNDARIES

Paris is the largest city in France, located on the river Seine in the north central part of the country. The urban density of the city proper (21,370 inhabitants per square kilometre) is double that of central London. In 2012, the city of Paris was home to some 2.24 million residents in an area of just 105 km². As a capital city, it is an international business centre concentrating the main political and economic functions and a rich city attracting tourists (30 million visitors per year) and foreign investors. As the seat of numerous institutions of higher education, it also attracts students from the whole of France and from abroad. Paris is therefore characterised by a functional and urban diversity, due historically to its central location with opportunities for commercial exchange on the one hand, and to a strong concentration of administrative bodies and political power on the other. As it did not suffer destruction during the First and Second World Wars, Paris has preserved many of its famous historical monuments. As in other European cities, manufacturing firms, heavy industry and small crafts and trades tended to move out to the suburbs around the 1960s, while a part of the working class was displaced from the city to large new social-housing estates on the city's outskirts (Clerval, 1966).
Paris has been developed into a tertiary-sector-oriented area with a high concentration of banks and head offices, and a service-based economy. The high quality and diversity of transport, housing and businesses, as well as cultural, administrative and health-related facilities and services, contribute both to the attractiveness of the city and to an ongoing process of social upgrading. The average monthly rent in Paris is €1,126 for an apartment with a surface area of 53 m² (€950 in the Paris metropolitan region [Île-de-France]), i.e. €17.9 per m² (2015, OLAP). The average property sales price was estimated to be €7,960 per m² in 2015, having increased by 18.3% over the last five years (Chamber of Notaries, 2015). As of 2016, the legal minimum wage stands at €1,144 per month.

The modernisation and urbanisation of Paris is connected to the history of the suburbs and the wider metropolitan region as a whole. The boundaries of the municipality of Paris (i.e. the city proper) have evolved following urban, economic and political changes throughout history. Since Roman times Paris has been surrounded by various walls, gradually increasing its surface area. One of the most famous and symbolic limits was the 34-kilometre-long walled enclosure called the enceinte de Thiers, also known as the fortifications or ‘fortifs’, built between 1841 and 1844 to protect Paris and parts of nearby suburban municipalities from external invasions. This wall created a ‘zone non aedificandi’, a 250-metre-wide strip of waste ground where no construction was allowed for military reasons, which rapidly became slums where very poor people settled. The space freed up by the destruction of the fortifications (1919 – 1929) was used to build the first social-housing programmes, called HBMs (habitations à bon marché, literally ‘low-cost housing’) and a ring road known as the ‘boulevards des Maréchaux’. Some of these distinctive red-brick social-housing buildings are included in our case study. The annexation of suburban towns bordering Paris in 1860 extended the boundaries of the city, which grew in size from 12 municipal districts (arrondissements) to 20.

From 1852 to 1870, Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann – the prefect of the Seine department (county), which included Paris – launched a massive programme of urban transformation via the ‘opening-up’ (percée) of broad avenues through the alignment of existing streets. The demolition of housing declared to be ‘substandard and insalubrious’ and the expropriation of residents led to an exodus of workers from historic neighbourhoods to what were then suburban areas (Bourillon and Fourcault, 2012). The extension of Paris in 1860 doubled the area of the city and increased the number of Parisians by some 350,000. In 1968, Paris became one of the eight new departments of the Île-de-France region as a result of the Territorial Law of 1964. The construction of the Périphérique ring road (1956 – 1973) framed the boundary of this new department, while the regional master plan (1963) organised the urbanisation of the region.

Now, since 2014, the city’s territorial and political borders have been broadening once again. Paris is set to become the metropolis of ‘Greater Paris’, including the current city of Paris and the three surrounding departments (Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-de-Marne). The population of the Île-de-France region is 12 million, while that of the ‘Greater Paris’ metropolis was 6,707,712 in 2012, of which 2,240,621 in the city of Paris (APUR, 2012).
Despite an annual growth rate of 0.5% between 2007 and 2012, the overarching trend is one of a demographic slowdown due to a progressive reduction in the birth rate.

This book focuses on Paris, and more specifically on its north-eastern 18th and 19th districts. These districts were formerly part of independent villages and suburban areas integrated into Paris in 1860 (Montmartre, La Chapelle and parts of Batignolles-Monceau and Saint-Ouen for the 18th; Belleville, La Villette and parts of Aubervilliers, Pantin and Le Pré-Saint-Gervais for the 19th). Accordingly, the history, as well as the economic, social and urban development, of Paris has been – and still continues to be – affected by the dynamics of the metropolitan region.

2.2 URBAN, SOCIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN PARIS

Paris can be described as a hyper-diverse city (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The population of Paris is characterised by an over-representation of young adults aged 20 – 35 and single-person households, by a level of income above the national average and by a high concentration of immigrants. The demographic fact of diversity is a vivid feature of Paris's population growth. Paris has always been – and is even more so today – a city of immigration and a place that receives newcomers from France and abroad. In the 19th century, Paris hosted recently arrived foreigners from Italy and Belgium; throughout the 20th century, they assimilated into the Parisian melting pot (Chevalier, 1967) and paved the way for new arrivals. Nowadays, Paris is the first stop for foreign migrants coming to the Paris metropolitan region and to France more generally; in 2012, 14.8% of the city's population were foreigners and 20.3% were foreign-born immigrants. Today, the proportion of foreign-born immigrants is higher in Paris than in both the rest of the country (8.8%) and the rest of the Île-de-France region (18.2%).

In 2009, half of Parisian households were single-person households, a much higher proportion than in the metropolitan region (36%) and in France as a whole (34%). Newcomers to Paris are young, highly skilled workers, while those who leave Paris are middle class families unable to find affordable housing within the city boundaries and retired people moving back to their regions of origin. In 2012, the median disposable income of the Paris metropolitan region was € 22,180/consumption unit/year (compared with € 19,786 for France as a whole) and was 25% higher than that of the poorest region (Nord – Pas-de-Calais). The Paris metropolitan region is the richest French region, but is also the region where disparities of income are the highest. The disparities are also visible between men and women, the average annual income of women being lower (see table 2.1). Within the metropolitan region, Paris is the richest department, with a median income 1.5 times higher than that of the Paris metropolitan region and 1.34 times that of France as a whole (Insee, 2010). This gap has increased faster between 2001 and 2010 in Paris than in the metropolitan region (+25/+22%). The over-representation of executive and senior intellectual workers and the higher number of highly skilled inhabitants explain this gap.
However, the poverty rate is also highest in this rich metropolitan region and in Paris: 15% of households earn less than € 990/UC/month compared to 14% in France as a whole, while the proportion is even higher in the city of Paris, at 16.1% (Insee-DGFIP, 2012).

In terms of immigration, Paris is historically a prime arrival point for in-migrants whatever their social and economic status. It has been a melting pot for successive waves of in-migrants coming from the French regions in the 19th century, from Southern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, and then from outside Europe since the end of the Second World War and the dismantling of the Empire. Nevertheless, data on social-class divisions and on the age and family characteristics of households are easier to find than data on ethnic diversity in France; this is as true today as it was in the past.

Indeed, the French republican understanding of difference is based on universal principles (Bereni & Jaunait, 2009) and the French Constitution stipulates the equal treatment of individuals regardless of their ethnic, religious or racial background (Article 1). In 1999, the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1</th>
<th>Average annual income in 2012 in Paris, île-de-France and France.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average annual income in euros</strong></td>
<td><strong>Paris</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>35,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>26,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31,030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Insee, DADS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2</th>
<th>Demographic indicators (2012) (Paris, Île-de-France and France)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area (km²)</strong></td>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>675,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population density</strong></td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual variation of population (%) (2007-2012)</strong></td>
<td>+ 0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing units</strong></td>
<td>33.2 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Homeowners (%)</strong></td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Young people (0-19, %)</strong></td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seniors (65 and over, %)</strong></td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median income per consumption unit (euros/year)</strong></td>
<td>19,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unemployment rate (%)</strong></td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreigners (%)</strong></td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign-born immigrants (%)</strong></td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

introduction of the category ‘immigrant’ in the census stirred a first debate on the collection of ethnic data (Simon, 2008). The official census mainly registers nationality and identifies French nationals, naturalised French citizens and immigrants. ‘Immigrants’ are defined as French or foreign nationals living in France but born abroad as a foreigner. More recently, some data are also available on the so-called ‘descendants of immigrants’ in an effort to understand the process of integration. ‘Descendants of immigrants’ are defined as inhabitants born in France with at least one parent who is an immigrant. Specific surveys and data taking into account the place of birth and the parent’s origin highlight how the populations of Paris and the metropolitan region population are still deeply shaped by migration.

In 2012, the percentage of immigrants in the metropolitan region of Paris amounted to 18% (national census). Four out of 10 immigrants in France lived in this region. A national survey on population diversity called ‘Trajectories and Origins’ was conducted between 2008 and 2009 (with 22,000 individuals born between 1948 and 1990), providing interesting longitudinal data on ‘descendants of immigrants’. It shows that 43% of the metropolitan region’s inhabitants aged from 18 to 50 have a direct link with migration across two generations and that 51.6% of children born in the metropolitan region in 2014 (94,610 out of 182,671) had at least one

Table 2.3 Immigrants by country of origin in Paris and the metropolitan region in 2012 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EU (27)</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>Maghreb</th>
<th>Other Africa</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th>Other Asia</th>
<th>America, Oceania</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census, IAU-ÎdF (Institut d’Aménagement et d’Urbanisme de la Région Île-de-France – Urban Planning Institute of the Paris Region).

Map 2.1 Locations of the 18th and 19th districts of Paris.
parent who was born abroad or in a French overseas department or territory. The proportion of immigrants is increasing in all socio-professional groups but is still low among the managerial category.

The majority of immigrants in the city of Paris and the surrounding region came from Algeria and Morocco, other European countries and Africa and Asia (especially in Paris). At the beginning of the 20th century, the first waves of Belgian, Polish, Spanish and Italian migrants were replaced by workers from France’s former colonies in Africa and Asia after World War I. In the 1950s and 1960s, migrants from Portugal, the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa came, followed by migrants from South-East Asia, Kurds, Tamils and, more recently, nationals from Eastern European countries. Around 200 different nationalities are present, making Paris a ‘mosaic’ and a multicultural city (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot, 2001). There is considerable internal diversity in terms of both origins and age among immigrants. Immigrants represent 20% of Parisians aged 60 and over – twice the French national average (Virot et al., 2011).

2.3 DIVERSITY IN THE SELECTED NEIGHBOURHOODS

The selected case study area is located in the north-eastern 18th and 19th districts, historically the location of industrial activities and small crafts and trades, and a place for working class and migrant groups. Initially marshes, these two districts used to be autonomous working
class suburbs and were integrated into Paris in the mid-19th century. The three adjacent
eighbourhoods – La Goutte d’Or and La Chapelle in the 18th district and Flandre in
the 19th district – are targeted as disadvantaged by the City Policy and labelled ‘Priority
Neighbourhoods’. The whole area had 102,437 inhabitants in 2008\(^4\), and can be considered one
of the most diversified areas in the city.

Compared to the city as a whole, these areas are largely inhabited by low-income residents
and migrants. For example, there are twice as many foreigners in La Goutte d’Or than in Paris
overall, and they represent around a quarter of all inhabitants in La Chapelle and Flandre.
Managers and professionals represent a relatively smaller share of the population aged 15
and over in these three neighbourhoods than at the citywide level. Meanwhile, blue-collar workers
are at least twice more numerous than in Paris as a whole, and unemployment rates are high
(ranging from 15.7\% for La Chapelle to 18.6\% for Flandre). In all of these areas, more than
three in 10 inhabitants are ‘immigrants’, a census category combining non-French citizens and
French citizens born abroad as non-French. A comparison with previous waves of the French
national census highlights the ongoing (and unequally advanced) gentrification process within
the case study areas, as the proportion of blue-collar workers in these areas was significantly
higher than the proportion of managers and professionals in 1999, and even more so in 1990\(^5\).

Table 2.4 Population of the selected neighbourhoods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>La Chapelle</th>
<th>La Goutte d’Or</th>
<th>18th district</th>
<th>Flandre</th>
<th>19th district</th>
<th>Paris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>34,138</td>
<td>22,200</td>
<td>184,461</td>
<td>40,356</td>
<td>172,391</td>
<td>2,125,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>37,543</td>
<td>22,723</td>
<td>196,000</td>
<td>42,171</td>
<td>184,909</td>
<td>2,211,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation</td>
<td>+ 10%</td>
<td>+ 2.4%</td>
<td>+ 6.2%</td>
<td>+ 4.5%</td>
<td>+ 7.3%</td>
<td>+ 4.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2.5 Socio-professional categories of the population (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>La Chapelle</th>
<th>La Goutte d’Or</th>
<th>18th district</th>
<th>Flandre</th>
<th>19th district</th>
<th>Paris</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1</td>
<td>&lt; 0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 3</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 6</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS 8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unemployed.

The Case of Paris
While adjacent and relatively similar in terms of the social and cultural heterogeneity of their population, Flandre, La Chapelle and La Goutte d’Or also have differences. More specifically, the settlement and urban-planning histories of La Goutte d’Or and Flandre contrast significantly. Whereas the presence of migrants is a historical feature of La Goutte d’Or, the massive settlement of international migrants is more recent in Flandre. As an area typical of 1960s and 1970s French urbanism, its preponderance of social-housing projects has seen more recently the arrival of a culturally heterogeneous population. Conversely, a tradition of immigration has shaped the identity of La Goutte d’Or (Toubon and Messamah, 1990), as exemplified by the vitality of the Château Rouge area, a part of the neighbourhood nicknamed ‘Little Africa’ that attracts customers to restaurants and shops from the whole metropolitan area and beyond (Chabrol, 2013).

Residential trajectories are also diversified, as fewer than three quarters of the inhabitants residing in the area of study in 2008 lived in the same dwelling in 2003 (ranging from 62% in La Chapelle to 72.5% in Flandre). Most newcomers had left another dwelling elsewhere in Paris (in proportions ranging from 16.8% in Flandre to 19.7% in La Goutte d’Or) or another town in the metropolitan area (ranging from 5.2% in Flandre to 7.1% in La Goutte d’Or). The remainder came from other French regions, including overseas departments and territories, or from another country (ranging from 2.3% in Flandre to 4.3% in La Goutte d’Or).

### Table 2.6 Proportion of foreigners and immigrants (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>La Chapelle</th>
<th>La Goutte d’Or</th>
<th>18th district</th>
<th>Flandre</th>
<th>19th district</th>
<th>Paris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Insee, Census, 2008

### Table 2.7 Place of residence of inhabitants five years earlier (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of residence</th>
<th>La Chapelle</th>
<th>La Goutte d’Or</th>
<th>18th district</th>
<th>Flandre</th>
<th>19th district</th>
<th>Paris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The same</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris (elsewhere)</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another department in the Paris region</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside the Paris region</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French overseas department/territory</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside France</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Insee, Census 2008, population aged 15 and over in 2008
Newcomers have concentrated in the disadvantaged enclaves of the city, in the north and east of the city. Ageing migrants from North Africa living in degraded private-sector housing or in specific residences for single migrant workers are spatially close to new young migrants coming from South Asia or Eastern countries.

Thus, the social dynamic of these north-eastern areas fits into the general process of gentrification affecting the metropolitan region. However, the social and economic backgrounds of a large majority of their inhabitants remain close to that of the region’s poorest department, Seine-Saint-Denis.

2.4 FROM DIVERSITY TO GENTRIFICATION AND SOCIO-SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION?

Two main trends explain the continuous changes in the metropolitan region since 1990: a process of gentrification and the accentuation of social polarisation around two geographically...
clustered extremes: the very well-off, who live in residential areas dominated by highly skilled corporate executives in the west of the Paris region; and the working classes in the east of the region (Fleury et al., 2012). The process of gentrification is particularly pronounced in the city of Paris, seen as an attractive and central place to live, while the internal social divisions of the city largely reflect those of the metropolitan region, with well-off neighbourhoods concentrated in the south-west and the poorest neighbourhoods in the north-east of the city, where many migrants live.

Regional studies outline the strong influence of historical patterns on the social divisions of the metropolis. The first pattern relates to industrial development along the River Seine and in the east of the region, with displacement from Paris to the suburbs. A map from 1968 also highlights a strong social differentiation between the leafier western and more industrial eastern parts of the region. The second pattern relates to housing stock, with smaller apartments in the central area, social housing in the industrial suburbs, and single-family houses in peri-urban areas. Urban and housing policies have also contributed to increases in social disparities: the displacement of industry, small crafts and trades, and working class populations from Paris to the suburbs at the end of the 19th century; the urban renewal of Paris implemented from 1958 (13th and 20th districts) and the massive construction of large housing estates in the suburbs, leading to the destruction of working class neighbourhoods and the relocation of poor and migrant families in suburban areas (Coing, 1966); the state-led home-ownership programmes in the 1970s, resulting in better-off social-housing tenants moving into detached houses further from the centre of the metropolitan region.

Metropolitan and globalisation processes have increased social polarisation, making Paris more of an ‘archipelago’ (Veltz, 2005) than a dual city. However, the increasing gentrification and polarisation are due, first, to the increasing exclusiveness of wealthy neighbourhoods and, second, to residential mobility (Préteceille, 2006). Predominantly working class areas are much more diversified and indeed social mix is the norm in the Paris region. However, there has been an increase in the spatial distance between upper-class clusters and blue-collar areas (Sagot, 2015). Local residential mobility is the second main factor behind increasing fragmentation. In 2010, 427,000 households moved within the metropolitan region: 35% moved to another location in the same municipality, while 71% moved to locations in one of the three closest municipalities to their place of residence (a proportion that has been stable since 1999). Consequently, this local mobility tends to reinforce the existing social patterns in different areas.

The average standard of living of Parisians highlights these spatial disparities: the average income levels (per consumption unit) of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 16th districts are very high, while the average income levels of the 10th, 18th, 19th and 20th districts are particularly low compared with the citywide average. This spatial gap widened between 2006 and 2010. Similar differences are also visible in the location of the unemployed: the 18th, 19th and 20th districts together account for 34% of all unemployed individuals in Paris. Low-income groups, unemployed people and immigrants are concentrated in the north-easter districts (Grzegorczyk, 2013),
while the Parisian upper class is clustered in the western ‘beautiful districts’ (*beaux quartiers*) (Pinçon, Pinçon-Charlot, 1989). The eastern and northern districts of Paris are old industrial areas intersected by major railway infrastructure (main lines and stations) and a system of canals. In Paris, there is a sort of ‘spatial inertia’ as a result of the city’s history and traditions. “There is still a distinct division into homogeneous areas of prestigious and affluent western districts and impoverished north-eastern districts where immigrants live” (Grzegorczyk, 2013, p. 28).

Has there been an increase in ethno-racial segregation? The conclusions of certain quantitative studies on the Greater Paris metropolitan area that use dissimilarity and isolation indices show that segregation is increasing at a moderate rate, that it is significantly more pronounced than socio-economic segregation, and that the most segregated immigrants are from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey (Préteceille, 2011). A regional study also asserts that, in 25% of cases, the social positioning of immigrants determines their location, highlighting forms of discrimination at play in gaining access to housing (Sagot, 2015).

Housing stock, structure and policies are strong factors in determining socio-spatial divisions, but also powerful instruments for slowing down the gentrification process (which sees low- and middle-income populations diminish and well-off populations grow in a given area).
Immigrants and poor people in Paris are concentrated much more in degraded private housing stock than in social housing. However, while public improvement of insalubrious dwellings tends to push low-income individuals and migrants out of the city, social housing in the northeastern neighbourhoods maintains diversity in terms of income and cultural origins within the city of Paris. The proportion of rented social housing in Paris is below the national threshold of 25%. The challenge for the future is to be able to produce social housing without exacerbating socio-spatial segregation.

The north and the east also experienced a process of gentrification, and keeping low-income people in the city is becoming more and more of a challenge (Clerval, 2013). Some statistic studies on segregation show “a higher degree of segregation in the entire Paris metropolitan region than in Paris itself” (Grzegorczyk, 2013). However, social division is not only drawing a border between the south-west and the north-east. Enclaves are visible at a more micro-level inside the districts and can be dispersed in a fragmented city such as Paris.

2.5 DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN PARIS

Paris has many core economic assets. It is a very productive territory where revenue from business activities is high, making the city less dependent than others on income transfers (CCI, 2014). Compared with other cities, there is considerable economic dynamism, a concentration of highly skilled jobs and companies, and a low unemployment rate. Paris also has a very dense commercial fabric, with 190 shops for every 10,000 inhabitants (156 in London).

Paris is an attractive city, benefiting from the highest rate of employment in 2010 in France, producing a lot of mobility (in the form of home-to-work journeys). The rate of employment is very high in the central business districts but relatively low in the north-east (11th, 18th, 19th and 20th districts). Numbers of executive and senior intellectual jobs have increased, while the number of blue-collar workers and clerical employees has decreased. Paris is an active place for the creation of companies, mainly in the tertiary sector and in finance, science, technology, consulting, management and insurance. Four dynamic core sectors in the labour market are growing with a high potential for wealth and job creation in Paris (CCI, 2014): metropolitan and financial activities; the digital economy (22,400 companies in 2012); the local economy (tourism, with 30 million visitors in 2012; crafts and trades; and commercial activities, with 61,250 businesses in 2012); and cultural and creative industries (fashion and design). In 2014, 15% of new economic activities in the Paris region were creations and not just displacements and relocations of existing businesses. The accessibility of transport (airports, commuter rail, trams, metros), the highly skilled workforce and the proximity of decision centres are the region’s most attractive factors.

As the second-largest airline hub in Europe with a network of high-speed rail infrastructures connecting the city with other major European capitals, Paris and the surrounding metropolitan
region are located at the core of global and European exchanges. As France’s leading economic region, it generates 30.1% of French GDP, mainly due to the presence of multinational companies. Paris is also the world’s leading tourist destination.

Economic changes have ensured the city’s competitiveness and global position. However, they have also led to an increasing gap between the jobs provided by these new activities, with high added value, and the low skills of immigrants and workers resident in the city. Furthermore, land prices and the high level of rents could also reduce the capacity of economic growth. Owing to the economic crisis and increasing rents, more companies are moving from Paris to suburban areas. From this point of view, the housing prices of the north-eastern districts of Paris and surrounding areas are cheaper than in the rest of the city: in 2012, the average rent was €535/m²/year in Paris, ranging from €330 in the north-eastern districts to €820 in the central business district (DTZ, 2012). The number of local shops is decreasing year on year, especially food stores, which have long contributed to the urban diversity of Paris (CCI, 2014). In the north-eastern part of the city, creative activities in the fields of fashion, design and music are developing: in the 18th district, for example, a number of clusters were founded in 2003, the Paris Mix project was launched in 2008, and in 2006 a 3,000 m² incubator devoted to sound-related activities was established on Boulevard Ney.

The urban regeneration project implemented by the city of Paris since 2002 in this north-eastern sector provides opportunities to develop economic activities in refurbished industrial buildings with new co-working and collaborative spaces. This might be seen as an opportunity to govern diversity, but it could also contribute to the gentrification processes under way in these areas of Paris, making them attractive places for businesses and the middle and upper classes.

2.6 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARIS AS A DIVERSE CITY

The Île-de-France region is the densest and most populous region of France, accounting for 18.8% of the national population. Paris is the richest French city in the richest region in France, with a GDP of €51,462 per inhabitant. It is important to bear this in mind when analysing social diversity and the representation of diversity in Paris. Indeed, disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Paris constitute areas of poverty but are still very favourably located in France. On the one hand, socio-spatial differences are more pronounced and visible; on the other hand, their location could provide more opportunities for access to jobs than elsewhere in France, even for residents of deprived neighbourhoods. The new creative and tertiary-sector enterprises that have settled in the north-east of Paris not only produce sociological changes, but also have an impact on public space, commercial activity and cultural practices (Corbillé, 2009).

As we shall see in more detail in the next chapter, the so-called ‘City Policy’ that has been implemented from the 1980s onwards is one of the main public tools for tackling social
inequalities, supporting disadvantaged neighbourhoods and, indirectly, dealing with the consequences of poverty and ethnic concentration in France. However, it is also detrimental to local funding. This is why the financial resources of the City of Paris are one of its strongest assets; the City is able to develop anti-discrimination policies and socially targeted urban policies to a much greater extent than nearby suburban areas. Moreover, the City of Paris has implemented a strong social mix policy and committed to the production of affordable social housing in accordance with the Urban Solidarity and Renewal (SRU) Law of 2000. It has striven to address the lack of affordable housing and the gap between the east and the west of the city. The creation of the metropolis of Greater Paris in 2016 takes this challenge to a new level: it creates a wider metropolitan area in which territorial and income-related inequalities are ever more present. How can we govern diversity so that low-income individuals and migrants can stay in central areas and benefit from economic development? This is the challenge.
This chapter aims to assess the response of the City of Paris to diversity. It explores how French urban policies address diversity in general, and, more particularly, what the implications of French urban policies are for the experience and management of diversity in specific areas of Paris. ‘Diversity’ is not a term commonly in use among policy officials in charge of urban policies, nor is it an official policy category. France has exhibited a long-standing reluctance to acknowledging difference in public life ever since the French Revolution abolished all privileges based on birth and created the notion of citizenship. All group differences, should they be ethnic, cultural or religious, are to be confined to the private sphere. The French Constitution thus guarantees the equal treatment of individuals “regardless of their religion, ethnicity or race” (1958). Diversity as a term referring to difference is therefore seldom used, especially as a term referring to ethnic diversity. Nevertheless, diversity – understood as the coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity – is a social reality in Paris, and two types of public policy can be seen as dealing with this understanding of diversity: the first is an area-based policy targeting...
deprived neighbourhoods, known as the City Policy and Urban Renewal; the second is anti-discrimination policy.

City Policy and Urban Renewal (Politique de la ville et renouvellement urbain) is the main policy through which the state has been responding to social and economic inequalities in urban areas since the 1980s. As such, housing policies and tenure diversification have been understood as major tools for combating inequalities and maintaining social mix in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Blanc, 2010; Lelévrier, 2013). Social mix is mainly understood in terms of income and social background, as ethnic background cannot be acknowledged in the context of public policy. And indeed, the latest political orientations of City Policy confirm this primary focus on poverty and social concentration: ‘Priority Neighbourhoods’ are selected according to the ratio of low-income residents. However, these area-based policies can be seen as a way of implicitly dealing with concentrations of immigrants in cities, and it has been argued that this has been an informal objective ever since their inception (Kirszbaum, 2004).

Anti-discrimination policies have been implemented since 2001 in compliance with the European Council Directive 2000/43/EC, which lays down the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin (29 June 2000). French anti-discrimination policies extend this principle of protection from discrimination to a total of 20 criteria, including ethnic and racial origin (real or perceived), but also gender, sexual orientation, disability, age, political opinion, and so forth. While difference and the possibility of being discriminated against because of one's belonging to a specific group is acknowledged through this policy, there is a reluctance to consider ethnic difference as the only grounds for discrimination, or ethnic diversity as a valid category of analysis.

Despite the lack of explicit reference to the notion of diversity in public policy, governmental and non-governmental actors are confronted with the diversity of the population they target. Therefore, a critical analysis of their understanding of diversity offers an interesting insight into the possible avenues for governing urban diversity in large French cities. Some authors have already discussed the invisibility of difference in various fields of public action in France, including urban policy (Lapeyronnie, 1993; Doytcheva, 2007). The aim of this chapter is to critically assess whether the French area-based approach to territorial inequality is responding to the challenges presented by the diversity of the Parisian population. Can this policy be considered to be based on redistribution, recognition or the provision of spaces of encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008)? To what extent does it promote a ‘just diversity’ in Paris (Fainstein, 2005)?

We shall first review the governance structure of urban diversity in Paris and the key changes in the national discourse on immigration, integration and diversity over the past 30 years. Second, we shall detail successively the means and the meaning given to the governance of diversity by governmental and non-governmental actors. We argue that the governance of the city is based on an egalitarian approach that does not include the category of diversity. However, this does not prevent actors from implementing programmes that strive to ensure Paris remains a ‘diverse’
city. Finally, we shall present some initiatives illustrating how local actors could tackle diversity issues, mainly implemented in the 18th and 19th districts of Paris.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter is based on an analysis of official documents issued by the City of Paris and a series of 16 interviews conducted with governmental and non-governmental actors (see Appendix). Of the 16 actors interviewed, 13 operate at city level, while two governmental actors operate at national level and one at regional level. Interviews were conducted from September to November 2013 and have been analysed using the method of critical discourse analysis. While our aim is to identify the various programmes and initiatives pertaining to the challenge of diversity in Paris, critical analysis allows for a more in-depth understanding of the framing of the issue. Finally, we shall focus on some of the 10 local initiatives that were analysed from January to March 2014.

3.3 NATIONAL POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS DIVERSITY: STRUCTURE AND SHIFTS

In order to gain a better understanding of the policies and discourses that deal with diversity in France, the French political and institutional context must first be outlined. A brief presentation of the administrative and political organisation of France is necessary to understand how urban policies are implemented in Paris. This will be followed by a summary of the successive waves of immigration and urban policy in France, with the aim of shedding light on the shift in French policy from targeted audiences to targeted neighbourhoods. Giving some explanations of this context may help to identify the key shifts in national discourse on migration and diversity.

A decentralised unitary state and a ‘multi-layered’ institutional structure

First, the distribution of powers between different tiers of government in France is set against a backdrop of devolution and decentralisation. The administrative organisation of the French territory dates back to the Revolution (1789) and comprises three main levels of governance: regions (formerly 27 in number, reduced to 18 in 2016), departments (101), and municipalities (communes, numbering approximately 35,000). The state has local representatives at each of these different scales, as shown in the institutional map below. Nevertheless, France has been a ‘decentralised unitary state’ since the Decentralisation Act of 2 March 1982. This act enabled regions, departments and municipalities (the three levels of elected local authorities) to gain autonomy through specific competencies and powers.

Second, the division of the French territory into 35,000 municipalities has led to a dilution of powers and a ‘multi-layered’ institutional structure: since the end of the 1990s, the government has promoted the grouping of communes within inter-municipal cooperation structures called EPCIs (établissements publics de coopération intercommunale).
As a result, powers and competencies in urban policy are shared by the state and these different local authorities and governments: the state still retains significant powers in this domain and is responsible for transport (together with the regions) and housing; urban-planning laws are defined at national level (Ministry of Ecology) but implemented by EPCIs and municipalities (responsible for urban planning and development); neighbourhood and city policies have been developed by different ministries under successive governments (e.g. the Ministry for the Equality of Territories in 2013, the Ministry for Sustainable Housing in 2015) but are also implemented within the framework of regional and local contracts.

Paris has a unique status, as it is both a municipality and a department (and so, like other departments, is responsible for social action). This has meant that, until very recently, Paris was simultaneously a municipality divided into twenty municipal districts (arrondissements) and one of the eight departments of the Île-de-France region; however, territorial and political boundaries in the region are currently changing.

Since 2006, innovative networks such as Grand Paris (‘Greater Paris’, 2009) and Paris Métropole (‘Paris Metropolis’, 2010) have been set up to strengthen links between departments and municipalities within the metropolitan area and tackle the issue of the dilution of powers. In 2010, a Territorial Reform Law created a new kind of inter-municipal cooperation structure for big cities: the metropolis. The draft law defining the boundaries and organisation of these metropolises was legally approved in October 2013, and the new metropolis of Greater Paris was created on 1 January 2016. It comprises Paris and the three departments that cover the inner suburbs (Seine-Saint-Denis, Hauts-de-Seine, and Val-de-Marne), as well as a few municipalities in neighbouring departments. Its statutory competencies are urban planning, the environment, housing and urban policy. Its main areas of action lie in the fields of housing and transport. New tools of governance such as CDTs (territorial development contracts), focusing on transport, housing and solidarity, have already been implemented. The plan is to create a number of new express metro lines around Paris and to build 70,000 new housing units per year. For purposes of comparison, the Paris region (Île-de-France) has 11.9 million inhabitants, the city of Paris about 2.2 million inhabitants, and the new metropolis approximately 6.9 million inhabitants.

**Actors and forms of governance with regard to urban policy at national level**

The main actors that engage with urban issues at national level are located in the ministries responsible urban renewal and housing, namely the Ministry for the Equality of Territories and Housing, and the Ministry of Ecology (see Figure 1). However, this area of public policy has seen numerous changes in denomination and organisation over time. For instance, sometimes housing is associated with urban renewal and sometimes it is not. With this in mind, the most relevant form of governance for our research was the General Commission for Territorial Equality (CGET), an administration initially placed under the supervision of the Ministry for Sustainable Housing when it was created in 2014. It is responsible for the implementation of City Policy, as well as Urban Renewal Programmes (2014-2020). As of 2016, the internal
administration of the CGET has been subdivided into three departments: Cities and Social Cohesion, Territorial Strategies, and Territorial Capacities.

The changing affiliation of City Policy is connected to its essentially transversal dimension. City Policy tries to address unemployment by fostering economic development, and strives to maintain social cohesion by acting upon the urban environment. It is therefore multi-dimensional and complex. Moreover, there is always debate on whether City Policy should be dealt with separately by a dedicated administration or whether, out of concern for territorial

![Institutional Map for the Governance of Urban Diversity in France in 2014](image)

**Figure 3.1** Institutional Map for the Governance of Urban Diversity in France in 2014
equality, it should be integrated into various areas of public policy (urban renewal, economic development and social aid, for instance).

In the course of our research, Urban Renewal and City Policy were separated into two national agencies. This has had consequences on the local implementation of urban policies in Paris, as it led to the creation of two departments at the City of Paris: the DPVI (délegation à la politique de la ville et à l'intégration – see Figure 1), in charge of implementing City Policy, and the DU (direction de l'urbanisme – see Figure 1), in charge of urban planning.

Other important forms of governance with regard to urban policy include contracts that establish goals to be achieved over a limited period of time. The policies we focused on were implemented via two such types of contracts:
- Urban and Social Cohesion Contracts (CUCS), which implement social programmes in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Following the Programming Act on the City and Urban Cohesion (loi de programmation pour la ville et la cohesion sociale) of February 2014, City Contracts have been replacing Urban and Social Cohesion Contracts. They are designed to be more inclusive and foster the participation of inhabitants (e.g. via the mandatory creation of citizen councils).
- The National Urban Renewal Programme (PNRU), which deals with demolition operations and the refurbishing of urban housing.

In Paris, these contracts are implemented in areas selected on the basis of their low income levels; these areas are designated Priority Neighbourhoods. Up until 2014, a total of 14 neighbourhoods had been identified as Priority Neighbourhoods in Paris. In 2015, this number rose to 20.

The national immigration policy could also explain why diversity is not a category of public action, whereas social mix is. French policymakers have moved from an ‘assimilationist’ form of policy implementation to a more ‘integrationist’ approach to immigration issues over the past 30 years (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011).
- In the 1980s, immigration started to be systematically associated with issues of nationality and identity in the media and in political debate. Up to this point, 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 assimilationist to more integrationist attitudes can be observed. Greater attention was paid to the social and cultural consequences of the presence of immigrants in France. It was also in the 1980s that the concentration of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods led to a territorial approach to public policy, which fit in with the Republican concept of equality and colour-blindness, as immigrant populations were not targeted as such.
- In the 1990s, the concentration of immigrants in specific areas became increasingly understood as problematic and a threat to French unity as a whole. Fear of cultural
separatism (communautarisme) and the necessity to counter the creation of ‘enclaves’ or ‘ghettos’ impacted national policies. In terms of urban policy, the Ministry for the City was created in order to reduce territorial inequality by allocating more resources to disadvantaged areas. It implemented city contracts that placed the emphasis on social mix as a way to counter the high concentration of immigrants and poor people in certain areas. In 1999, the introduction of the category of ‘immigrant’ in the national 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 Policy, which remained reluctant to depart from a colour-blind approach. Following the impetus of the EU anti-discrimination directive of 2000 (EU directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000), the French government established a Higher Authority to Combat Discrimination and Promote Equality (HALDE) in 2005. The ability 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 the process, the word diversité has been increasingly favoured for its positive connotations and its ability to embrace a range of specific categories: immigrants, disabled persons, sexual minorities, and gender groups. However, it can also be contested for its tendency to dilute 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 can be observed with the establishment of a Reception and Integration Contract (Contrat d’accueil et d’intégration – 2006) that all newcomers have to sign upon their arrival in France. It is now harder to secure residency in France, and more guarantees have to be provided by applicants. Simultaneously, the creation of an Agency for Social Cohesion and Equality (Acsé) under the responsibility of the Ministry for the City marked a shift to an area-based approach to inequality that the creation of a General Commission for Territorial Equality (CGET), in 2014, reinforced.

Governing urban diversity in France is therefore complex: public policies are designed at national level, while they are implemented at city level. City policies are area-based, i.e. they target deprived neighbourhoods, while anti-discrimination policies are person-based, i.e. they seek to combat discrimination at the level of individuals. The forms of governance adopted are therefore varied, and policy discourse may vary from one structure to another. The next section focuses on discourses on diversity and the policies implemented in Paris.

3.4 GOVERNMENTAL DISCOURSES AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN PARIS

Governmental and non-governmental actors do not necessary share a common understanding of what diversity means and what diversity policies should entail. The various definitions associated with diversity are analysed below in order to shed light on the French understanding of diversity in the implementation of public policy, and urban policy in particular.
Our case study focuses on the implementation of City Policy in Paris. It analyses the work of the DPVI (see Figure 1), which is the administration tasked with achieving the objectives of the Urban and Social Cohesion Contracts (CUCSs) and the objectives of the Major Urban Renewal Programmes (GPRUs) for Paris. However, administrative officials were interviewed at various levels of policymaking, so as to understand the context in which it operates.

Although Urban and Social Cohesion Contracts clearly identify three types of population to focus on, including ‘immigrant populations’, the understanding of diversity and the ways in which this group should be targeted differ (CUCS 2007: 15-16). At national level, administrative officials articulate a discourse in terms of individual rights and equal access to services. By contrast, at local level, project managers acknowledge the diversity of the populations they have to deal with. However, there is a general understanding that a certain level of diversity should be maintained in the city, be it from a socio-economic or ethnic point of view.

In addition to this analysis of the implementation of City Policy in Paris, other governmental and non-governmental actors from the fields of anti-discrimination policy, gender equality and democratic deliberation were interviewed. A critical analysis of their discourse offers an interesting counterpoint: it shows that the understanding of diversity can – and does – vary from one area of public policy to another.

3.4.1 The meaning of diversity
Diversity does not appear to be an operational category for public action in the field of urban policy. Actors are uncertain of its meaning and of their ability to act upon the issues it relates to. Below are regular tropes that appear in discourse when interviewees are asked about their understanding of diversity.

- Diversity is not in use
  “Diversity is not a word that is used in our professional vocabulary.” (Interview with a project manager in the 18th district, DPVI)

- Diversity is viewed as too broad
  “Diversity is not a term that I use on a daily basis; (…) it is not precise enough to be used in our working documents.” (Interview with a project manager in the 19th district, DPVI)

- Diversity relates to the cultural dimension of difference, and social policies do not pertain to this field of action
  “Diversity relates to something cultural that does not relate to our means of action.” (Interview with the assistant director of the social-housing Agency Paris Habitat)

- Diversity refers to a cultural understanding of social issues that refers to patterns of paternalism and ethnic assignment that are no longer desirable
“We no longer take care of the integration of inhabitants in our buildings; we do not tell families how they should live in these apartments. We used to have supervisors who would write reports on families... some are nostalgic about this social control. But we no longer do it.” (Interview with the assistant director of the social-housing agency Paris Habitat)

• Diversity points to the cultural dimension of difference and overshadows other categories of inequality

“I think when we talk about diversity, the term isn’t a good fit, everything is mixed, it’s not compatible with the fight for gender equality.” (Interview with a project leader from the City of Paris Gender-Equality Observatory)

Diversity as a category to describe populations and neighbourhoods

Despite the reluctance to use the term ‘diversity’, we can observe that, when it is used, it is exclusively understood as a category for describing populations and neighbourhoods targeted by specific programmes. In the following example, the distinction between social and ethnic diversity is not necessarily made, 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 of late. The poorest groups that we’ve received in recent years are immigrants or people with an immigrant background. Immigrants are rarely among the richest; they constitute a social class, it is not cultural.” (Interview with a project manager from a social-housing agency, 8 November 2013)

Public stakeholders may reject an understanding of diversity related to immigration and favour a social analysis of inequality, which is related to urban renewal and the implementation of City Policy in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Priority Neighbourhoods are selected on the basis of criteria linked to the concentration of low-income populations. However, stakeholders are aware that these areas have a high level of foreign-born individuals or individuals with an immigrant background. The two categories therefore overlap, and the diversity of the individuals they refer to may encompass social and cultural dimensions, as well as the diversity of individual trajectories:

“Paris is a diverse city, because there are living spaces that are different, life trajectories that are different. I am not entirely sure that a statistical analysis of different territories gives us an adequate picture of these differences in terms of trajectories.” (Interview with the City Policy Director, DPVI)

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 Constitution of the French Fifth Republic, Article 1). According to the Anti-Discrimination Director at the Human Rights Defender’s Office, “diversity is a word that I do not like because, for me, it should be equality that we refer to” (interview, 11 September 2013).
This universalist principle still guides the implementation of public policy in France. In the following extract, a senior official in the French administration refers to this principle and how it is 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 framework 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: municipal councils are all organised the same way and regional councils work according to the same rules. Uniformity is the rule and if diversity is shattered, it is regarded as liberating.” (the assistant director of the General Secretariat for Urban Policy)

Moreover, diversity resonates with culture – ‘cultural diversity’ – and alludes to the cultural origins of individuals rather than their social condition. “Diversity in France is used too much in reference to origins”, says the Anti-Discrimination Director (interview, 11 September 2013). As such, local governmental actors with responsibility for disadvantaged areas in Paris associate the notion of diversity with that of ethnicity.

“When diversity is mentioned, in fact, it is ethnicity that we are talking about” (Meeting at the DPVI (Department for City Policy and Integration in Paris)

In this sense, ‘diversity’ as a concept suffers from 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’, which has been imported from the United States and does not translate well in France. It is like race – identities are permanently reinvented, so we do not know what we are talking about when we talk about ethnicity. These things are always undone and redone.” (A project manager at the General Secretariat for Urban Policy)

Finally, there is a legal obligation to exclude ethnic or religious affiliations from official statistics that results in illegitimacy for governmental actors to classify and count individuals in this way (Simon, 2008). The official census only registers nationality and identifies French nationals, naturalised French citizens, and immigrants. The absence of ethnic data in France is common knowledge and is referred to by local governmental actors as the absence of ‘ethnic statistics’.

The illegitimacy of identifying 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 miscellaneous (divers) on a meeting’s agenda generally come 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 (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’.

**Diversity as a category of management in the workplace**

With the implementation of 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, predominantly in human-resource processes. The two main tools include the term ‘diversity’ in their titles:

- The Business Diversity Charter (*Charte pour la diversité en entreprise*) was created in 2004: companies that sign the charter are morally committed to raising awareness about diversity among staff involved in recruitment processes and should dedicate a chapter in their annual report to the measures they have undertaken to promote diversity.

- The Diversity Label (*Label Diversité*) was created by the state, in collaboration with the National Association 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 four years and is issued by AFNOR, the French national organisation for standardisation. As of 1 January 2013, a total of 381 public and private organisations have this label.

Governmental actors tend to associate the notion of diversity with the category of public action that pertains to human-resource processes (recruitment and career advancement). Here, for example, is what a senior official in the General Secretariat for Urban Policy had to say on the matter:

> “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 into its ranks.” *(The assistant director of the General Secretariat for Urban Policy)*

For governmental actors that operate at national level, their understanding of the issue may be related to European politics (Geddes and Guiraudon, 2004). By contrast, local governmental actors tend to perceive the notion of diversity as top-down and irrelevant to their day-to-day concerns. An elected representative in a Parisian municipal district explained:

> “Diversity is a word that started to be used around 2005-2006, and which did not come from the bottom up. It comes from political and intellectual institutions.” *(The assistant mayor of the 19th district responsible for youth services)*

Moreover, the association of the term with business and corporate initiatives resonates negatively with local governmental actors implementing social policy. A project manager in the
Paris DPVI (Department for City Policy and Integration) 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 is based on principles that we do not agree with: role models, individualism – the one who wins is the one who really wants it – it is something that is mainly supported by big corporations.”
(The Director of Integration, DPVI)

In conjunction with the launch of a Diversity Charter by a business think tank, the support that this initiative received from the government of the time (led by prime minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, under Jacques Chirac’s presidency) was also crucial. For governmental actors operating in the left-wing administration of the City of Paris (Socialist mayor Bertrand Delanoë was elected in 2002 and then re-elected in 2008), the business approach to diversity resonates as right-wing and incompatible with their sphere of action:

“This term is not neutral politically. It is a right-wing – oriented term.” (Meeting with various project managers from the Paris DPVI (Department for City Policy and Integration)

Finally, the emergence of ‘diversity management’, as a means of fighting discrimination, connects the notion of diversity with the legal definition of discrimination that encompasses a wide range of criteria. The 2001 law that adapted the EU’s anti-discrimination directive (2000/43/EC) lists 18 criteria (French law no. 2001-1066 of 16 November 2001 against discrimination in the workplace).

It is not by chance that, in 2014, a new criterion was added that was not related to individuals (origin, nationality, ethnicity, race (real or assumed), disability, gender, sexual orientation, age, etc.) but rather to the place of residence (address). This goes hand in hand with the increasing of a new policy term pointed out by some mayors of the northern suburbs of Paris since 2009 claiming for the recognition of a ‘territorial discrimination’ (Hancock et al., 2016).

While local governmental actors rarely list all these criteria, they do typically mention ‘origin’, ‘gender’, ‘disability’ and sometimes ‘union activism’. At national level, the Anti-Discrimination Director at the Human Rights Defender’s Office describe her policy as dealing with inequalities that older people, children, disabled and sometimes people with immigrant backgrounds may encounter (interview, 11 September 2013). For other governmental actors focused on one dimension of inequality, the notion of diversity might be seen as blurred 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 – disability, union activism… It relates to discrimination. However, discrimination is only one dimension of the issue of gender inequality.”
(A project leader from the City of Paris Gender-Equality Observatory)
In the context of the reorientation of policies dealing with inequalities towards a more area-based approach (creation of a Commission for Territorial Equality in 2014), the Human Rights Defender appointed a project manager to combat territorial inequalities (interview, 11 September 2013).

From diversity to combating segregation: social mix as a keyword in urban policy

In the fields of urban policy and housing policy, diversity is not an explicit category of public action, but is one of the major issues at stake. Stakeholders who are more involved in these policies primarily use the term ‘diversity’ to refer to urban functional diversity and/or to social mix policies. As such, the initial reaction of a social-housing manager was to reject the word ‘diversity’, arguing that it is taboo because it is linked to immigration (interview with the assistant director of a social-housing agency). Nevertheless, he acknowledged that ‘cultural diversity’ is an issue in housing and went on to talk about the various criteria that they use in their allocation policies. In fact, the social-housing agency Paris Habitat, and indeed the City of Paris, has limited leverage in the allocation of social housing, because of a variety of formal networks that regulate access to housing in France and a number of official priority criteria. The criteria in use are family size, age (age group or length of residential career), income level and poverty (as defined by the regulations on social housing access).

As urban renewal policy and urban policy more generally have long been faced with the issue of diversifying spaces and populations, they have developed various tools to achieve this goal. City Policy managers have their own understanding of the challenge of diversification to fight segregation, and their take on diversity is consequently slightly different, even if there is some overlap.

“As a policy objective, 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 implement a measure and there are only young Black males, for instance.”

(The City Policy Director within the DPVI, City of Paris)

With the diversification of social functions in the city comes the diversification of the populations that benefit from urban-renewal programmes. Governmental actors who are operating at local level are aware of the large proportion of inhabitants that are younger, have lower incomes and have immigrant backgrounds. They target this population in their programmes.

As this targets neighbourhoods where there is a high concentration of immigrants, City Policy covers issues of integration and discrimination, such as educational achievement programmes: “Anyway, in the Priority Neighbourhoods of Paris, 30% of residents are immigrants, so this is a major
issue in City Policy, especially in the context of the Aim for Success Schools Programme” (The director of the DPVI). Since 2007, the Aim for Success Schools Programme has been focusing on a selection of schools deemed to be experiencing particularly acute difficulties in disadvantaged areas. These schools receive more resources from the Education Ministry. In addition, City Policy actors identify pupils who are having difficulties at school (e.g. high-school drop-outs) and offer them programmes such as tutoring, parent – teacher dialogue and cultural activities.

Finally, in the context of social-cohesion and housing policies, social mix is the watchword:

“It is related to what diversity means. In the Department of City Policy and Integration in Paris, the main aim is to favour both functional and social mix.” (The director of the DPVI)

Diversity is mainly understood as a way to describe the populations that are the targets of public policies, namely poor inhabitants and immigrants. However, two other meanings can be identified that are more prescriptive and refer to diversity as a means through which resources may be allocated: in human-resource processes and in social housing allocation. In the latter case, the term ‘diversity’ is not so much used as the term ‘social mix’ and it can be understood as referring to urban functional diversity. The notion of diversity, too closely associated with ethnicity, tends to be perceived as negative and is mainly rejected, as it is considered as vague and not relevant in the field of urban policy. According to the mainstream of the national republican conception of integration, diversity is not used, local actors preferring other notions such as ‘equality’ or ‘social mix’.

3.4.2 The means of diversity
This section moves away from discourses to consider policy programmes and initiatives. The distinction between redistribution, recognition and encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008) is used to distinguish different types of policies. In France, the redistribution scheme is predominant. In the following sections, we shall see that “policies for equity and the redistribution of resources” are area-based, with some targeting within the mainstreaming, while “policies for diversity”, such as anti-discrimination policies and policies that foster integration, are implemented following the universal principle of equal access. Policies that “create spaces of deliberation between groups” are also implemented according to the universal principle that they should apply to all residents.

Policies for equity and the redistribution of resources
Policies for equity and the redistribution of resources (in terms of housing, health, education and training) are area-based and focused on a selection of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, referred to as Priority Neighbourhoods. In Paris, in 2013, 14 areas were identified as Priority Neighbourhoods. A budget was allocated to each of these 14 neighbourhoods in the framework of the Social Cohesion Urban Contract (Contrat Urbain de Cohesion Sociale, 2010-2013). For each of these neighbourhoods, there is still a dedicated team from the DPVI that oversees the funding of social and cultural activities, the funding of local associations and links with other
departments within the City of Paris government. While an estimation of the cost of each of these policies is provided and discussed, it should be noted that the budget for these policies is fragmented, with subsidies coming from the state, the region and the city, and that this does not allow for an optimal evaluation (Cour des Comptes, 2012).

The following table shows the breakdown of the financial commitments made by the state and the City of Paris in the framework of this contract. The City of Paris is a major contributor to City Policy implementation, since its contribution is greater than that made by the state (55% compared with 45%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Million EUR/year</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total yearly financial commitments dedicated to the CUCS</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the level of the City of Paris, a significant proportion of the budget dedicated to City Policy comes from sectorial policies (education, health, etc.), which is indicative of the general efforts of the city council to provide for this area of public policy. The following table gives the total amount of money spent on urban policies under the Social and Urban Cohesion Contract (CUCS) and under common law.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Million EUR</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures under the CUCS</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures under common law</td>
<td>166.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total amount of money spent on City Policy by the City of Paris in 2012</td>
<td>193.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The City of Paris is not undertaking any major demolition and reconstruction operations, only regeneration. It is therefore able to allocate substantial resources to the social dimension of City Policy, which represented 63% of the distribution of expenditures on City Policy in 2012, which is almost the inverse of the typical ratio elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operating</th>
<th>Investment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban renewal</td>
<td>€ 28,230,000</td>
<td>€ 44,335,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and economic policies</td>
<td>€ 70,219,808</td>
<td>€ 51,131,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure</td>
<td>€ 98,449,808</td>
<td>€ 95,466,872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of expenditure, solidarity (25%) and early childhood (14%) represent major expenses. However, in terms of investment, housing and urban planning receive the most resources (36%), followed by roads and transport (20%).
At the DPVI at the City of Paris, urban renewal accounts for 37% of the budget (total: € 193,916,680) followed by youth services, social cohesion and crime prevention.

Finally, the boundaries of those Priority Neighbourhoods likely to benefit from social cohesion subsidies may overlap with urban renewal projects, but not always (below, Urban Renewal Zones are shown in blue, while Priority Neighbourhoods are marked in red).

In the Priority Neighbourhoods studied, City Policy is not as focused on physical housing restructuring than in other priority zones in suburban areas:
- La Goutte d’Or: 75 new apartments created (€ 1,226m); 87 apartments renovated (€ 205m)
- Flandre: 43 new apartments created (€ 1,262m); 20 apartments renovated (€ 240m)
- La Chapelle: 18 new apartments created

Instead, it is more focused on allocating resources for social action.

The core idea that guides the implementation of policies for equity and the redistribution of resources is the same principle that guides French City Policies in general, which is the reduction of territorial inequalities. However, it was also mentioned by the director of the DPVI in Paris that not only should Paris remain diverse, but it should also be “welcoming to all nationalities” (interview with the director of the DPVI, City of Paris). In the official administrative document presenting this action in terms of City Policy, diversity is mentioned in connection with: the inhabitants of social housing, access to employment and social services and the contribution of immigration to the cultural life of Paris.

In the following section, we review policies that illustrate two types of strategies regarding diversity issues and that are within the purview of city governance: social mix housing policies in the specific context of Paris, implemented with the social-housing agency Paris Habitat; and policies to create spaces of democratic deliberation.

Social mix policies and diversity in housing management
Policies promoting social mix in Paris are constrained by the specific Parisian context. It is a divided city, with a south-western part characterised by very high incomes and a north-eastern part that is gentrifying but still home to the lowest incomes. In 2014, by the calculations of the Paris Urban-Planning Workshop (APUR), there were a total of 214,469 social-housing units in Paris (18.5% of the city’s housing stock), reflecting an increase due to active housing policies implemented by the City. In the same year, 194,221 households applied for social housing, including 117,240 households already resident in Paris⁹. As a result, governing diversity has led to the implementation of two different housing strategies by the City of Paris, in partnership with social housing agencies: enabling low-income populations to remain in the north-eastern part of the city and improving their day-to-day living conditions (City Policy and Urban Renewal); diversifying housing stock and social groups in the south-western part of the city (Urban Solidarity and Renewal Act – Loi Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbains).
In the first case, in the north-eastern part of the city, the focus is on the 18th and 19th districts, which have high concentrations of social housing and degraded private housing. There have been few demolitions, in contrast to what is happening in suburban areas that are part of the National Urban Renewal Programme (Programme National de Renouvellement Urbain, or PNRU), because the objective is to keep low-income people in the city, even though prices are rising. The aim is to keep the city diverse. In most deprived areas outside Paris, it is common to try to replace the poor with middle class inhabitants. By contrast, in Paris, some parts of the housing stock are socially oriented because of rental prices and play the role of housing low-income populations and incoming migrants. The challenge is to be able to improve this part of the social-housing stock – most of them small flats located on the Paris city boundary – without increasing their rents and pushing out low-income inhabitants.

“In Paris, we do not have unbalanced territories to the same extent as in some other cities. Of course, elected representatives are concerned with the equal allocation of public resources; their objective is to ensure it does not become harder to live in one neighbourhood than in another. However, we need to keep areas that are able to receive low-income inhabitants.” (The City Policy Director, DPVI)

In the second case, an interesting and quite unique strategy has been developed by the City of Paris, in partnership with Paris Habitat, in the south-western part of the city. With less than 20% of social housing overall, Paris has to produce more social housing, in accordance with the Urban Solidarity and Renewal (SRU) Law of 2000.\textsuperscript{10} Since 2001, the city’s 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 wealthier part of the city. To be able to do this, the city bought up empty or partially occupied private buildings. With the aid of certain grants from the state, the city improved the flats and handed the management of these dwellings over to Paris Habitat. The Acquisition – Improvement Programme (Programmes d’acquisition – amélioration) consists of changing the tenure from private to social rental and opening up the right to receive housing subsidies to tenants. It gave low-income populations an opportunity to access high-income areas in Paris (from 2001 to 2010, 4,000 housing units were produced in these areas). After 10 years of these programmes, the results have been mixed. According to Paris Habitat, social-housing tenants aspire to stay in their neighbourhood and are not happy with these relocations to different parts of the city (interview with the director of Paris Habitat). The findings of a recent qualitative survey on these initiatives were more nuanced. It also demonstrated that ‘Black families’ from disadvantaged areas did not feel at ease in their new neighbourhoods or were likely to experience discrimination by living in these buildings. But others, having chosen this location, report more positive experiences and have benefited from a substantial upgrade in their residential careers (Launay \textit{et al.}, 2011). As for the residents already living in these buildings, they tend to move out.
Finally, for governmental actors in charge of social policy, the means allocated to urban renewal programmes are greater than those allocated to social programmes (interview with a neighbourhood project leader in the 18th district, and a director in the regional council). According to a tower-block manager, “they have money for the walls but not for the people” (interview with a social-housing building manager, Paris Habitat). Similarly, a project manager in one of these neighbourhoods noted that it was one thing to renovate or build new housing, but it was quite another to inform newcomers of how to maintain their dwellings (interview with a neighbourhood project leader in the 18th district).

However, the increased diversification of building managers in terms of social and immigrant background, and the generation change in this workforce was highlighted as progress by a former manager in charge of a sector of social-housing buildings (interview with a project leader at Paris Habitat). She contends that when younger managers with immigrant backgrounds were appointed, fewer problems were encountered in terms of communication between tenants and managers. This observation tends to point to the positive dimension of diversity and the better match between managers and residents. An interview with a building manager tends to confirm this view, as he mentioned that his experience growing up in the neighbourhood where he works helps him defuse troubles resulting from intolerant behaviour.

“A White tenant was accusing an African tenant of being dirty and messy. I invited her to come and visit my mother who lives next door in a very nice apartment. She was surprised; she said she did not know. After that I had no more problems with this tenant. (…) For me, this intolerance comes from ignorance. I don’t have any problem with intolerant discourses. I just have a problem when my rights are denied.” (A building manager from Paris Habitat)

By developing social skills to negotiate a multi-ethnic environment, this new generation of social-housing managers appears better equipped to respond to the diversity of social-housing tenants.

Policies that seek to combat discrimination and foster integration

Policies that seek to combat discrimination and foster integration are not area-based and cover the whole of Paris. However, they are implemented by the city department in charge of Priority Neighbourhoods, and the expertise and monitoring they provide on these areas results in this department guiding the implementation of anti-discrimination policies at a citywide level. Integration has been a competency of the City of Paris since 2005 and anti-discrimination policies are a competency of the City of Paris since 2008. In 2012, nearly half of the integration section of the DPVI (Department for City Policy and Integration) was dedicated to anti-discrimination initiatives (€ 7.5m in 2008), and only a little more was actually dedicated to integration measures (€ 8.5m), mainly in the form of language courses for newcomers and assistance for older immigrants living in publicly and privately run hostels (foyers).

Significant efforts are devoted to facilitating the language adaptation of newcomers. Most of the funding goes to associations that provide language classes, and the integration section of
the DPVI strives to identify small, less well-established associations that can provide language classes to a more diversified audience (interview with the Director for Integration in the DPVI at the City of Paris). Language acquisition has become a requisite for the granting of a residency permit (*Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration*, 2006). It has therefore become a practical and legal matter for a lot of newcomers who are joining a family member or acquiring refugee status. Moreover, an effort is made to develop foreign language brochures that are made available to newcomers in social centres (in seven languages: French, English, Spanish, Turkish, Chinese, Russian and Arabic).

The integration policy of the City of Paris remains within the perimeter of the law that considers that integration policy relates to the five years following a migrant’s arrival (French law of 24 July 2006 relating to immigration and integration). A more comprehensive understanding of integration, such as the input of immigration to the social fabric of Parisian neighbourhoods, can be observed in the funding of cultural activities and projects that seek to celebrate the migratory past of Paris's working class neighbourhoods. It represents only a very small proportion of the budget (€ 500,000) although, with the publication of a report advocating for the implementation of heritage projects in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, this could be further developed (Blanchard, 2013).

When officially announced in 2009, the following press release addressed the diversity of Paris's inhabitants and articulated the desire to fight racial discrimination:

“Paris is a cosmopolitan city with 110 nationalities and where more than 20% of the population are foreigners or immigrants, from all continents. It has been built by a succession of waves of immigration (...). This diversity contributes to the identity and the richness of Paris. However, there are still Parisians living at the margins of the city. Discrimination is rampant, based on gender, disability, and social origin... But the one type of discrimination that is altering today's society is the one that dares not speak its name; it is racial discrimination that affects access to employment, leisure, public services and housing.” (Paris Against Discrimination, press release, March 2009)

Since then, some anti-discrimination initiatives have been implemented at district level. Although this was going to be the case for each district initially, changes in the composition of Paris city council has interrupted the process. The only action implemented so far has been in the 19th district and was undertaken by a local non-governmental organisation specialised in prevention and youth on the site of La Villette, a city park that is home to concert halls, cinemas, museums and theatres (Association de Prevention Site Villette, APSV). Their approach to anti-discrimination issues has been to target offenders rather than victims of discrimination (this initiative is described in a later section).

**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 policymaking. The city council has been
developing initiatives to foster democratic deliberation between inhabitants: neighbourhood councils (conseils de quartier) are overseen by the City’s Department for Users, Citizens and Territories. 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. These are being developed by the DPVI. Finally, the participation of inhabitants is at the core of City Policy, which has been designed from the very beginning (Dubedout, 1983) and reframed in 2014 with the obligation to create citizens’ councils in each of the priority neighbourhoods. 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 uses of spaces: safety audits, for instance. Below, we analyse the implementation of neighbourhood councils and the Assembly for Third-Country Nationals.

Neighbourhood councils started to be implemented in 2002 following the passing of the Vaillant law fostering local democracy. The Department for Users, Citizens and Territories was in charge of establishing 122 neighbourhood councils covering the whole of Parisian. Council members are determined by drawing lots on electoral lists. This process of selection raises the issue of the participation of newcomers in 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). 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 municipal and European elections (only).

Consequently, the work of the department in charge of neighbourhoods has been dedicated, since 2008, to reaching out to Parisians who are distanced from these structures, be it through a lack of information or an assumption that it is not for them. This policy has been formulated in universal terms: “reaching out to all Parisians” (Interview with the director of the Department for Users, Citizens and Territories). However, this policy is based on the observation that the composition of these councils is homogeneous (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 an Assembly for Third-Country Nationals as a valid tool, as this is a way to stratify issues. The budget of this department has decreased by 70% in the past year and they are developing more deliberative tools in connection with web technologies.

In terms of the participation of inhabitants in local government, some neighbourhood councils have also developed co-decision – making on budget allocation (participatory budget). Although these programmes are usually designed with the aim of fostering the empowerment of inhabitants, in practice it has been noted that inhabitants were mainly following the government agenda owing to a lack of expertise on the issue (interview with the director of the Department for Users, Citizens and Territories). However, it has been noted that inhabitants have come to understand the high cost of public amenities and the difficulties encountered by urban planners. In terms of the participation of inhabitants in urban diagnosis, some
district town halls have organised exploratory marches (or safety audits) in collaboration with the DPVI. They allow for a grassroots understanding of the issues that characterise a specific area and have been specifically developed to explore the gender dimension of public space occupation.

The creation of Assemblies for Third-Country Nationals is an attempt to respond to the demand for foreigners’ right to vote. It is a long-standing demand supported by immigrant and non-immigrant groups (such as the Human Rights League) that successive Socialist presidential candidates since 1981 have promised and then not granted. 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, after a few rounds of discussions that helped bring about the issue of older immigrants living in hostels, for instance, neighbourhood councils have failed to renew their members and are not bringing up new issues (Interview with the Director of Integration, in the DPVI at the City of Paris). A consultative body does not thus send a positive signal to participants and may explain their disaffection for this kind of forum. According to the person in charge of their organisation, they would be better off sitting on the neighbourhood councils.

In classic French Republican fashion, the Assembly dedicated to the specific interests of foreigners has not managed to negotiate a valid entry in local politics. Entry via the mainstream fora of democratic deliberation, such as neighbourhood councils, appears as the most favoured option for foreign Parisians.

3.5 NON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

The discourse on diversity is the same at both the level of the City of Paris and at the level of project implementation: diversity is not addressed formally. Their discourses still refer to ‘equality’ and ‘territory’ more than to diversity, except, once again, when they deal with employment strategies. Non-governmental actors who are not constrained by the same obligation to serve public interests 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.

The director of the Agency for Entrepreneurial Diversity (Agence pour la Diversité Entrepreneuriale, or ADIVE) explains that he is mainly advocating a diversification of service providers to large corporations (Veolia, KPMG, etc.) but that he does not like the term to refer to specific individuals (interview of 14 October 2013). He does want to promote businesses run by visible minorities, but when it comes to referring to these individuals he would rather use the
term inclusion. His understanding of the disadvantages that these service providers encounter is twofold: on the one hand, it comes from the fact that they are run by visible minorities (people of extra-European immigrant backgrounds or people from the French overseas departments in the West Indies); on the other, it comes from the fact that they are located in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Territorial and racial dimensions 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, premises and contracts).

The anti-discrimination action implemented in the 19th district by the Association de Prevention Site Villette (APSV) includes running programmes that sensitise recruiters and all employment facilitators of the practical aspects of discriminations, but rejects the notion of diversity. As governmental actors, they describe their action in terms of equality.

“Diversity is not well articulated in France. It consists of enhancing the identity of ‘others’ and representing them proportionally. It assigns identity to others while we should focus our attention on the producers of discrimination.”
(The director of APSV)

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 recognition of diversity. As a non-governmental actor, the organisation presents a strong colour-blind discourse that demonstrates that this can be a shared understanding of issues pertaining to discrimination on the part of governmental as well as non-governmental actors in the French context. As a matter of fact, this discourse echoes the discourse expressed at national level (interview with Deputy Anti-Discrimination Director, Human Rights Defender’s Office).

However, non-governmental actors may use the category of diversity relating to human-resource processes pragmatically when they want to act upon the socio-economic promotion of young people from visible minorities. This is the case of the NGO Mozaïk RH, which works predominantly with young people from visible minority groups, but does mention on their website other criteria of discrimination such as disability and gender (see www.mozaikrh.com). However, the director of the Agency for Entrepreneurial Diversity contends that the diversification of company staff is often achieved through an increase in the number of women or people with ethnic origins, but does not act on the social structure of inequality that is pervasive in some disadvantaged areas. As such, diversity as a category of management is not considered effective in fighting social and territorial inequalities.
The discourse of the director of a ‘café social’ (literally ‘social café’) is the same, although the initiative targets migrants (see below). He rejects the term ‘diversity’ on the grounds that it is a catch-all category that is unclear. Like governmental actors, he would rather talk about equality and equal access to rights. According to him, “if equality is effective, there is no need to talk about diversity”.

Analysing certain local governance arrangements and initiatives helps to understand how diversity issues can still be addressed without naming them as such.

3.6 GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS AND INITIATIVES

Although diversity is not an official category of public action in French urban policies, the objective of most local initiatives is to maintain the coexistence of inhabitants with very different economic, social and cultural backgrounds. This section selects and presents three initiatives and analyses how they address the challenge of diversity in terms of social cohesion, social mobility or economic performance. It highlights the main factors influencing the success or failure of each of these initiatives and identifies ideas for innovative policies.

The three selected initiatives are handled by NGOs but receive public funds and support from City Policy. They also have a territorial dimension: they are locally based and implemented in direct cooperation with inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover, social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance are intertwined. In this sense, they are typical of the French government arrangements with regard to these policies. They also illustrate how local government manages to target specific ethnic groups while referring to equal access to social services or other universal rationales. These practices resonate with the non-governmental discourses reported above and also represent the shift from public governance to the delegation of services to non-governmental organisations.

‘Social cafés’ for older migrants: providing social assistance to retired workers and combating isolation

The ‘Social Café’ was a grass-roots initiative that first emerged from an association, the Ayem Zamen association (which means ‘good old days’ in Berber) created by a French Tunisian activist. They initially encountered resistance from the DPVI in receiving funds, but were later supported; after the creation of a first Social Café in the 20th district, three others have been created in other areas of Paris.

The Social Café is designed to answer specific needs relating to retired immigrant workers’ access to social services. The initiative emerged from a study conducted by the director about the exclusion of older migrants from the common-law system in 2001. It demonstrated that the specific situation of older migrants who have worked all their life in France (and therefore are eligible for social benefits) but have kept a family living back home (and therefore might not reside in France all year long, which is a prerequisite for receiving these social benefits\(1\)) is not sufficiently well addressed by the administration. Moreover, older migrants have difficulty
navigating the French social administration to secure their access to social benefits 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 objective of the Social Café initiative is twofold: providing social assistance with paperwork to older migrants, and combating isolation. Social Cafés are social centres where older migrants can come and talk spontaneously with social workers about their rights and access to welfare (pensions, social housing and healthcare). They are also proper cafés where mint tea and fresh drinks are served for a low price. Social activities are organised, such as gardening, visits to museums or outings to the theatre. Their main focus is on social cohesion, although, by providing assistance to access social benefits, the initiative also fosters social mobility.

The development of the Social Cafés initiative is interesting to analyse in terms of group targeting in the context of immigration. The first and second cafés are named after a Berber saying, while the third is named after a sub-Saharan reference (the Palaver Tree) and the fourth is dedicated to older Asian immigrants living in the 13th district (interview with the Director of Integration, DPVI, City of Paris). The targeting of the older (male) immigrant population is effective. In 2010, the Ayem Zamen Café in the 18th district welcomed 164 individuals, among whom 85% were men, 47% were aged 61-69, 67% were retired, and 41% had been in France for over 40 years.

The Social Café therefore operates within the classic Republican framework: it fosters the equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious origin. However, the initiative is de facto dealing with diversity (in the sense that older migrants are in a specific situation in contrast with the mainstream population of people aged 55 years and over, but also because the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are mostly young with a higher proportion of people under 25 years of age) but within the Republican framework of equality: without the recognition of difference.

The initial’s key success factors are the consonance of the project with the needs of the older migrants (the provision of social support in a friendly environment) and the abilities of the director in securing the financial support of the French administration. The limitations of the initiative lie in its lack of regulation: the organiser would like to maintain the drop-in system and avoid giving appointments to older 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 resolve this issue.

Prevention in the Cultural Park of La Villette (APSV): Fighting Discrimination in the 19th District. APSV is an NGO located in the 19th district that has been implementing an Anti-Discrimination Plan, since 2007, as part of a wider commitment to youth employment. The Anti-Discrimination Plan consists of conducting a series of anti-discrimination training sessions 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 ninth-graders (14-15 years of age) and it has been observed that pupils from poor families have difficulty finding internships. The Anti-Discrimination Plan involves 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 has a high proportion of young people with few qualifications, and a high rate of unemployment, although a variety of jobs can be found in Paris. Its main objective is to increase job attainment for young people who come from Priority Neighbourhoods in the 19th district.

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 round-table discussion on youth employment took place that brought together 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 discriminatory practices. The emphasis on practices as opposed to mentality was crucial, and it was decided that anti-discrimination training sessions 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 from different age groups). 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 in the 19th district are regarded as legitimate candidates for all kinds of jobs, and not only jobs in the social or security sectors, for instance (interview with the person in charge of the Anti-Discrimination Plan at APSV, 11 March 2014). However, part of the strategy of the Anti-Discrimination Plan is to not target young people directly and to act upon the structure behind discrimination, which is the recruiting process.

One of the key success factors of the initiative is 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. Another factor in the initiative’s success is the change in paradigm of public policy achieved, from anti-racism to anti-discrimination, in the 2000s. It has become more common to implement anti-discrimination programmes in employment following the impetus of EU directive 43/C (also referred to as the 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 12th districts of Paris). The limitations of the
initiative lie in the fact that it only reaches out to employment intermediaries and that there is no way to monitor increases or reductions in discrimination in youth employment.

Developing a fashion and design cluster based in the local community of the 18th district of Paris
This project – Les Gouttes d’Or du Fashion et du Design (literally ‘The Golden Drops of Fashion and Design’) – seeks to structure the garment and fashion industries of the historic immigrant neighbourhood of La Goutte d’Or in the 18th district, with a view to promoting a positive image and identity of the area. It consists of arranging the already existing businesses – including a lot of small craft and informal activities – in the neighbourhood into a coherent and successful cluster built around the garment and fashion industries. In 2013, the neighbourhood was home to: 63 fabric stores (36 of them sell wax fabric from sub-Saharan Africa), 33 sewing workshops, five 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 products and creations 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 sessions for sewers and cutters, and social cohesion, with the idea that these different businesses should constitute a network in the neighbourhood and contribute to producing a positive image of the area.

City Policy plays a crucial role in the development of this initiative. In 2011, the non-governmental organisation for the Promotion of the Fashion and Design Industry was created at the instigation of the Neighbourhood Project Manager from the DPVI. It follows a top-down process, but was initiated only 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 to reach a wider range of businesses in the fashion and garment industries: not only fashion designers, but also tailors and craftspeople in particular. The target audience of the initiative therefore comprises: tailors working in sewing workshops, shopkeepers in the neighbourhood, and fashion designers. The president of the association is a shopkeeper from the neighbourhood, and all its members are business owners (25 are officially registered, but only 12 are active and participate in association meetings; four of them are tailors).

Since 2012, a business developer specialised in the social and solidarity-based economy was appointed to identify the needs of 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 the French language and administrative processes, while others 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 department of Carnavalet...
Museum (the museum of the history of Paris), which showcases theatre costumes at its site in central Paris, including a visit for residents of La Goutte d’Or to the museum, and a visit from Carnavalet curators to the neighbourhood of La Goutte d’Or. The aim is to develop the creation of theatre costumes by tailors from Goutte d’Or that mix tradition and modernity.

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

The person in charge of the project stresses the diversity of business owners in terms of their activities. Shopkeepers, tailors and fashion designers have very contrasting needs and, in this sense, the diversity of their fields of activity is a challenge to the implementation of the project. Moreover, the neighbourhood displays a high rate of foreign-born residents (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 populations in the neighbourhood, we can surmise that the project manages to articulate the cultural input of in-migrants from outside Europe with the challenge of economic development in this deprived area. It is therefore a good example of an initiative that takes diversity as a starting point for economic performance and promotes the social mobility of newcomers. This initiative is not just a local development but also offers opportunities to integrate into the mainstream economy.

The pre-existing network of shopkeepers in the neighbourhood, Paris’s world-renowned savoir-faire in fashion and design, the commitment of business owners to the association, and the creation of a network are all success factors. Although only 12 members were described as active in the association (as opposed to the 24 who initially registered), it is clear that the economic interest they might find in the initiative functions as an important driving force in the development of the process. They can share information, training programmes, machines, and also receive technical, managerial and financial support.

The limitations identified by the business developer lie in the constraints of this sector of the economy. In terms of scheduling: business owners need assistance, but are not always available to come to meetings. In terms of workforce: there is a rapid turnover among tailors and sewers. 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, artisanal, temporary structures. The business developer identified another limitation in the diversity of the profiles of business owners and the heterogeneity of their attempts and needs. The success of the initiative should, however, be further assessed in the year to come.
The importance of the public sector as the main provider of social policies stands out from the analysis. The fieldwork does not provide instances of public – private partnership, as NGOs mainly undertake their work with public support. The only appeals to private funds are for temporary projects, and the proportion of such funding never goes much higher than 10%. In comparison with other national contexts, the state is still very interventionist when it comes to social policies and the social development of deprived areas.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

According to the framework of recognition, encounter and redistribution, developed by Fincher and Iveson (2008), the recognition approach is underdeveloped (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.

The critical analysis of discourses outlines how French governmental and non-governmental actors also regard diversity as taboo or too broad. The majority of the interviewees indeed reject the term ‘diversity’, do not use it, or do not feel at ease with its meaning, mainly because they connect it with ethnic issues. Some neutralise this connotation by citing general, urban and social variations of diversity, partly referring to the diversity of cities, neighbourhoods and uses of public space, and partly referring to social mix policies, based on income criteria. The word ‘diversity’ can be used when it includes all kind of social differences (as in anti-discrimination policies) or through the explicit label ‘diversity’ in the field of employment. The interviewees and the policy documents use other words referring to diversity issues, the most frequently cited being “equality”, “social mix”, “inclusion” and “integration”. This resonates with the French conception of the nation-state as unified (Donzelot, 2006).

However, not using the term ‘diversity’ because of its ethnic connotation does not mean that no public action is concerned with issues of diversity. Apart from recent anti-discrimination policies targeting individual differences, reinforced by the European legislation, the main policy dealing with issues of diversity is the City Policy.

First, since the 1980s, this national policy has been focused on deprived neighbourhoods with a high concentration of low-income residents but also people from diverse cultural backgrounds, even when these areas are selected according to the ratio of low-income residents. Accordingly, these area-based policies can be seen as an implicit way of dealing with ethno-racial concentrations and issues in cities (Kirsbaum, 2015). Second, the aims of these policies are also concerned with diversity issues. Social mix policy through housing diversification aims to maintain or foster a certain level of social diversity in terms of income and family size. Moreover, social-cohesion policies aim to integrate disadvantaged or unemployed groups. Third,
our analysis of the policy design and discourses in Paris and at the national level shed light on the ambiguous role of the ‘territory’ as an increasingly common category in public policy. Using ‘territorial discrimination’ (Hancock et al., 2016) or ‘territorial equality’ as an increasingly frequent category of public action reflects a mainstream that is called upon to include issues pertaining to equality and anti-discrimination in urban policies (Doytcheva, 2007).

However, the governance of diversity in Paris remains different from the rest of the country, due to the hyper-diversity and hyper-gentrification context (Clerval, 2013) and to the high financial capacity of the city government. Paris is a hyper-diverse and divided city, with the south-west of the city home to very high income levels and the north-east dominated by lower income levels. Paris thus appears to be an exception in comparison with the national orientation of urban policy, and urban renewal in particular. By contrast with suburban areas, where there is a tendency to demolish and rebuild in order to attract middle class tenants/owners in disadvantaged areas (or avoid the departure of wage-earners originally from these areas), Paris needs to ensure the traditional working class neighbourhoods remain accessible to low-income populations. 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 for low-income families. In order to achieve this goal, two strategies have been implemented: introducing more social housing in rich areas, and improving the situation of the inhabitants of deprived districts through social and urban management policies. Social housing is the main tool, and social-housing agencies are crucial actors in the maintenance of social diversity in the city.

In 2013, the City of Paris had 14 designated Priority Neighbourhoods where both renewal and social cohesion programmes were implemented. Our study shows that the City Policy focused on the north-eastern part of the city has implemented programmes and support initiatives that are designed for a population with a high proportion of immigrants. Moreover, this exemplifies one of the specific French paradoxes, already highlighted in comparative research between France and the UK: not saying that immigrants are the main target but implementing actions that take into account their cultural belonging and specific disadvantages (Moore, 2001). These programmes, designed to foster social mix and economic inclusion, have had mixed results. After 25 years of implementation, social mix strategies in urban policy and housing policy have not been able to stop the impoverishment and concentration of immigrants in deprived neighbourhoods (Goulard and Pupponi, 2010). On the contrary, urban renewal policies tend to enhance the re-concentration of poor and immigrant families in the most deprived buildings and districts, often out in the suburbs (Lelévrier, 2010).

The analysis of Parisian arrangements that articulate grassroots initiatives and public support highlights the crucial role of neighbourhood project managers in Paris in opening up to new means and meanings of diversity. 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 migration to the city. Second, diversity as a way to identify a target audience...
is visible in projects that seek to create social mix. In this case, diversity is mainly understood in social and economic terms. Finally, there is diversity in the specific needs of inhabitants living in a hyper-diversified city: ageing migrants, poor women, low-skilled workers and newcomers. In this last case, it is not the profile of the inhabitants as much as their inability to see their specific situation covered by common-law that prompted the emergence of such initiatives.

In the case of Paris, it may be argued that the hyper-diverse city requires a move from the provision of services to a more integrative approach to 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 the needs of the population, even if it may seem too specific and not befitting of a universalist type of approach to service provision.
4 RESIDENTS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to understand the reasons for which people move to the diverse area they live in now and their perceptions of diversity either as an asset or a liability. In the literature, lots of researchers criticised the assumptions that contact with others will translate into respect for difference (Valentine, 2008) or that everyday moments of contact constitute encounters (Beck, 2006). Living in a socially heterogeneous housing context may not reduce social distance and inequalities (Chambredon and Lemaire, 1970). However, social interaction will vary according to the urban and social environment in which different groups are living. In a diverse and central location like the city of Paris, how do residents perceive the diversity of their neighbourhoods and to what extent do they profit from the urban and social diversity of their neighbourhood? This section reflects how the inhabitants perceive diversity, what it means for them and in what types of relations and activities they engage in their neighbourhood and with their neighbours.

Photo 7 Diverse inhabitants and entrepreneurs on a Parisian street (19th district of Paris): UPEC.
4.2 METHODOLOGY

We interviewed 50 residents of the adjacent Parisian neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre, in the north-eastern 18th and 19th districts, between October 2014 and March 2015. The population of the research area is very diverse with respect to ethnicity, income, education, lifestyle and age (see also Chapter 2). The interviewees were selected so as to provide a wide range of diverse social and ethnic backgrounds. Three different methods were used to contact respondents. First, the initiatives studied during the previous step of this research project (see Chapter 3) were fruitful for recruiting interviewees. Second, connections were established through the local network of social centres, with interviews conducted in four centres located in different parts of the area of study. Third, personal contacts of the members of the research team were used to find interviewees, and around a quarter of all the interviews were obtained through direct solicitation in public and semi-public spaces. Most of the interviews took place on the premises of local initiatives or in local cafés and social centres. The rest of the interviews were held in respondents’ homes and workplaces.

Our sample reflects the diversity of the area: 27 foreigners or people born in France to foreign parents, from 15 countries, including 15 respondents from countries of the Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia), which are part of French colonial history. Eight respondents were ‘newcomers’, defined as inhabitants who settled in the study area less than three years before the interview. At least eight have no school qualifications, and 14 did not finish high school. Conversely, 28 hold a higher-education degree. Respondents’ occupations are also varied: 12 are managers and professionals and 14 occupy intermediate professions. Seven are clerical workers, four are blue-collar workers, and eight are retired. Six respondents were unemployed at the time of the interview. Women (n=33) and inhabitants aged 31 – 45 (n=21) are over-represented in the sample, whereas respondents aged 18 – 30 (n=8) and 46 – 60 (n=7) are slightly under-represented. More than half of the respondents (n=27) have children. Twenty-three respondents live in a social housing estate while only seven are homeowners.

4.3 HOUSING CHOICE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

This section focuses on the housing choice and residential mobility of respondents. What are their motivations for settling in the areas of study? To what extent has diversity been a pull factor?

In the literature, housing choice depends on a wide range of factors such as the socio-economic resources of households, preferences, constraints and opportunities (Van Ham and Clark, 2009). The motives underlying residential mobility vary throughout housing careers defined by successive stages of housing occupancy within the life course of a household and connected with professional and familial events (Lelièvre and Bonvalet, 1994; Pickles and Davies, 1991). Social ties and networks are crucial to the choice of neighbourhood, especially when there is
an ethnic concentration (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002; Kley, 2011). Previous research on large housing estates in France highlights how residential outlook (being able to leave or not, having future residential projects, being a passer-by or a more permanent resident, etc.) influence the perception of social-class diversity in the neighbourhood (Chamboredon and Lemaire, 1970). The reasons why interviewees move may be quite different, depending on three main elements: the circumstances of this move (especially migration or relocation circumstances); the moment when the move occurred within their housing career and life cycle; and the housing tenure and sector into which they move, linked to their financial capacity and family situation. These are key elements in the ‘choice’ of housing, as well as in the experience of diversity. Our analysis takes into account these different ‘housing pathways’ and past residential trajectories to understand how different households reflect upon their move (Clapham, 2002; Lelévrier, 2013).

4.3.1 Why move to a deprived and diverse area?
We highlight some common reasons linked to housing affordability, urban attractiveness, family networks and the setting-down of roots in a place. These reasons vary according to the different trajectories of the interviewees, which can be distinguished by life cycles, social position and housing tenure and divided into four types: young, highly educated, mobile people; low-income single parents and migrants families; middle class newcomers; and retired households.

Even if diversity can play a role, housing affordability is the main motivation for settling in the areas of study. These deprived neighbourhoods are among the last affordable districts in Paris. They still offer low prices and housing diversity in a relatively central location, as expressed by a highly educated worker who settled in the study area in 2012 with his girlfriend (Ro5, 38, manager, French, private renter):

“Because it is the cheapest district, the most affordable in terms of housing rents in Paris. […] Clearly the price affects both the choice of place you move in to and your opportunities… price and transport. If you combine them, it was the 19th. […] I was not specifically looking for a mixed neighbourhood.”

For young newcomers without children, housing and location choices are intertwined. Their motivation is to live in the city of Paris and not in the suburbs. So the reason to move is also related to their lifestyle at this moment in their life cycle. These neighbourhoods are a good compromise, as they are affordable but still lively, urban, close to trendy nightlife and serviced by good transport and amenities. Life-course changes (e.g. birth of a child, separation) are also reasons why they move, seeking out cheaper and larger dwellings.

More broadly, the Paris Nord-Est urban regeneration project also created a new supply of housing with tax reductions for middle class households who want to buy a flat in Paris. This woman moved from a suburb where she was already a homeowner to the new buildings of the renewed part of Flandre in order to seize this opportunity (Ro4, 37, unemployed legal expert, 2011, French):
“I landed here because I got a better price and a reduced tax rate. So I was able to buy a dwelling at an interesting price. […] It was not related to specific expectations for the neighbourhood. I’m discovering it; before, I didn’t know the 19th at all. […] Yes, it was really by chance; I moved here because of the housing development.”

While newcomers still have some housing and location choice, some of our respondents do not have a real choice, regarding neither housing nor the neighbourhood. First, those who entered into social housing are at the mercy of the allocation system. Most low-income families simply accepted the dwelling they were offered, especially recently separated single mothers, as in the case, for example, of this elderly woman (R42, 73, retired, 1980, born in the French West Indies), remembering her first step in the process:

“So they offered me this apartment, in Cité Michelet. I accepted it because the rent was too high in the flat where I lived in the 18th. That’s it. I was alone with my daughter so I needed to manage on my own and get out of that situation.”

Forced relocation from degraded dwellings is another reason to move. This Ivorian woman of 37 (R11, unemployed, 2001) was under pressure to find a ‘housing solution’ when she arrived from Abidjan in 1999, and then got access to a social housing apartment:

“I used to live in a squat. And the building fell down. […] We managed to get out in time, but some people died. It burnt down… So, we left and they offered us this flat; we did not refuse.”

Another main reason to move is the local roots of family and community networks. Many of our interviewees actually came to this district because they had a friend or a relative who was able to host and support them. Using social-network resources is a well-known pattern of migrant newcomer settlement in hyper-diverse cities (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002; Kley, 2011). Our interviews illustrate typical residential trajectories of migrants from sub-Saharan or North African countries. Men arrive first to find a job. Then, their wives from the home country come by way of the ‘family entry and settlement’ legal process. These migrants do not have a choice. They simply go where migrants from their community and family have previously settled or can host them. The presence of an ethnic community operates as a pull factor for moving there.

Roots in the neighbourhood also matter in terms of reasons not to move for some of the oldest, mostly native French inhabitants, who arrived more than twenty years ago. They told us local stories going back several generations: compared to newcomers, they are the ‘established’ population (Elias and Scotson, 1965). This local rooting can also be observed in the housing choices of some of the younger respondents. These ‘local kids’ (Lélévrier, 2013) are the children of families born and raised in the neighbourhood. Their roots give them a sense of belonging, the neighbourhood being described as a ‘village’ and a familiar place.

However, the main finding of our interviews is the relevant familiarity with diversity acquired over life courses and long-term residential pathways to highlight their openness to the
neighbourhood’s diversity. Indeed, the households who state a preference for diverse and ‘working class areas’ (quartiers populaires) have often experienced diversity in their lives – for example, through mixed marriages, travels abroad, work experiences, or living in a similar residential context, as expressed by this native French woman of 40 (R34, project manager, 2007):

“You know, when I was in Bordeaux, I lived in a ‘populaire’ neighbourhood, even though I don’t have a working class background. They are more lively neighbourhoods!”

4.3.2 Moving to the present neighbourhood: an improvement or not?

Employing the term ‘improvement’ requires a distinction between improvement to dwellings and neighbourhood improvement. The perception of improvement varies according to the social characteristics of households, but also depending on the moment in their life course at which they moved and the time spent in the neighbourhood.

The interviews highlight how the housing diversity of the area could favour a local upgrading of residential careers through access to social housing. In Paris, social-housing units are larger and much more comfortable than those of the old and degraded private housing stock. This Malian single mother, aged 35, with four children, told us a typical story, beginning first by living with an acquaintance, then in a small and degraded apartment as a squatter or a renter in the private sector, and finally in a better-quality social-housing dwelling (R27, 2006):

“Before, I was in Mali. When I arrived here, I went directly to my sister’s house [in the eastern suburbs of Paris] and stayed there for six months. Then I got a job and I needed to live closer to work, so I went to my second sister in Aubervilliers [located just on the other side of the ring road surrounding Paris]. There, I met the father of my children, who lived in a squat in the 19th and I joined him. [...] They initially relocated me to a small flat because I had a two-month old baby. I stayed there for three months and then they offered me this dwelling in the 18th.”

Regarding the housing market, two factors may lead to a more nuanced perception of ‘improvement’. First, unaffordable rents inhibit residents from moving to a new apartment when more rooms are needed. Second, a shortage of large, affordable apartments reduces opportunities to move, but also pushes out working class families when ‘degraded’ housing is renewed. For those in the private housing sector, there is always the threat of being forced to move.

Some young, mobile professionals use the diversity of the neighbourhood as an opportunity to combine home and work lifestyles and develop local economic activities. This young Costa Rican graphic designer of 33 (R29, 2010) succeeded in achieving this combination, by buying an empty degraded flat and transforming it into a mixed-use place.

“After living here for three years, we thought it might be cool to find a place in an area under construction, with lots of small, more or less derelict buildings. That it would be nice to do something which allows us to live better but also to share something from our work with people.
That’s how we got the idea of finding this place, with a commercial space on the ground floor. We obtained 80 square metres and divided the space into these little offices creating a co-working space.”

On the one hand, this young couple contributes to the process of gentrification; on the other hand, their motivation was to “have an accessible place, open to the neighbourhood” and “to be able to participate” in the street life of the area.

Our interviews highlight that perceptions regarding diversity have changed over time. Perceptions of an improved living environment and day-to-day life varies according to life courses and types of trajectories. For instance, most of the young newcomers who are at the beginning of their residential trajectories enjoy the urban, social and cultural diversity. Being able to settle in an area suited to their lifestyle is looked upon as an improvement, especially with the knowledge that living there may only be a step in their longer trajectories. However, the perceptions of senior residents who settled in the area decades ago have changed over time. They have a sort of reflexivity both on their personal life course and on what they perceive to be a degradation of their neighbourhood. And so, in spite of their place attachment, some retirees would like to leave. However, they are not rich enough to move elsewhere, and face difficulties in finding social housing in another district, as in the case of this native French woman of 71 (R19) who grew old in her apartment:

“I arrived in 1970 and I am still here, but I would like to leave now. I asked for a smaller apartment from the social landlord eight years ago, because my daughter got married and I live alone now. I am frightened by the environment, which has worsened a lot. I asked for another district but if you are in the 19th you can only get another flat in the 19th. So I asked for another neighbourhood. […] But what they proposed was a disgrace!”

Families, especially middle class families, also progressively change their perceptions of improvement when they have children. They may worry about violence in the streets and the risks associated with drug trafficking and consuming, but interviews particularly highlight school-related concerns (Boterman, 2013).

4.3.3 Diverse residential careers and mobility
For many of our interviewees, the reasons to move and the perceptions of improvement are connected more with the dwelling than with the neighbourhood. Moving to the areas of our study combines affordability and accessibility and allows them to live in Paris. Housing-related reasons to move are interconnected with family events, professional changes and migration pathways. Having acquaintances and relatives nearby may also be one of the reasons behind their choice of neighbourhood.

What about diversity? This fieldwork investigated the diversity of the trajectories and residential mobility of the households. The diversity of housing and the central location of the areas of
study attracted, and still attract, diverse social groups arriving at different stages of their life cycles. Four types of households are particularly relevant in highlighting the diversity of lifestyles and understanding housing choices and perceptions of improvement:

1. Highly educated, young, mobile students, artists, migrants and workers aged under 40 are at the beginning of their trajectories, living alone or with a partner, often moving to study and work in Paris. While diverse in terms of their resources, they are similar in terms of their open-mindedness and their experiences of diversity through traveling, living in cramped accommodation and/or renting a larger flat after their first move.

2. Low-income single parents and migrant families with few resources have trajectories featuring many constraints. Some of them are moving through well-known migration patterns, using their community networks, living in precarious housing conditions and accessing the social sector through formal emergency networks.

3. Middle class newcomers in the middle of their life course may either have the opportunity to access a social-housing flat through their employer or decide to become homeowners. Moving to the neighbourhood is a choice they may eventually question when facing ethnic diversity in schools.

4. Older households, with low and middle incomes, who settled in the area decades ago and managed to obtain rental accommodation in the social sector, are rooted in the area and, in experiencing its changes, they see themselves as the ‘established’ residents of the neighbourhood (Elias and Scotson, 1965).

Compared to deprived suburban neighbourhoods, the central location of these Parisian districts attracts a more diverse population with higher income levels than even the ‘lower-middle class’ of regenerated suburbs (Lelévrier, 2013). Nevertheless, familiarity with working class neighbourhoods and the local rooting of former residents and newcomers alike is a common feature shared by deprived neighbourhoods both in Paris and in suburban areas.

Diversity should thus be considered much more as an outcome of both the local housing market and different types of social and migrant trajectories than as a pull factor for settling in the area. The more respondents have experienced diversity and otherness in their previous personal, professional and/or residential experiences, the more open they are to diversity. Seeing diversity as part of perceived improvements is thus relative to residents’ trajectories and social positions.

### 4.4 PERCEPTIONS OF DIVERSITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

This section focuses on respondents’ perceptions of the diversity of their neighbourhood and neighbours. After analysing the way they perceive their neighbourhood boundaries, we will focus on their descriptions of its inhabitants. We will then more extensively discuss the different ways in which diversity is perceived at the local level, with the aim of understanding whether it is considered an asset or a liability. The positive and negative outcomes of diversity analysed
through our interviews tend to corroborate those observed in less diverse neighbourhoods (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Corbillé, 2013). Contrasted and sometimes ambivalent (Tissot 2014) perceptions of diversity are shaped by social and residential trajectories (Elias and Scotson, 1965; Blokland, 2003).

4.4.1 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

Two different kinds of neighbourhood boundaries can be distinguished from our interviews. First, physical barriers such as canals, warehouses, motorways, main roads and railways influence interviewees’ perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries. The architectural quality and homogeneity of buildings also shape boundary definitions. They may also demarcate sociological differences. Respondents refer to large social-housing estates or the paucity of elegant Haussmannian apartment buildings as signs of the socio-economic level of the neighbourhood. In the 18th district, Boulevard Barbès, a wide road separating La Goutte d’Or from a wealthier area to the west, is a remarkable example of the way social and ethnic diversity can also define the perceived boundaries of a neighbourhood.

Second, day-to-day uses of the neighbourhood shape perceptions of its boundaries: commercial and cultural amenities, sports facilities, public parks or places of worship. The involvement in local life and networks also plays a role. Lastly, changes in activities throughout one’s life cycle influence perceptions of the neighbourhood, as this native French mother, aged 37 (R03, civil servant, 2007), explains:

“As your child grows up, you progressively use the neighbourhood in new ways. With a baby, you tend to walk short distances. You never go too far from home, because you need to go to the park but you also have to come home early in order for your baby to have a nap. So you never go far away, whereas the older your child is, the more you venture further from home.”

4.4.2 Perceptions of neighbours

When asked to describe the population of their neighbourhood, ethnic diversity appears to be the dominant perception of otherness. The visible presence of ‘Africans’ and ‘North Africans’ is almost always mentioned in order to describe the cultural heterogeneity of the neighbourhood. Therefore, different groups emerge referring to different and intertwined dimensions of cultural diversity. Countries (e.g. Senegal, Ivory Coast, Algeria, China) or broader geographical origins (e.g. Eastern Europe, Africa) are used in parallel with ethnic and racial categories to qualify cultural and religious differences (e.g. ‘Blacks’, ‘Jews’, ‘Arabs’). According to this French librarian of 36 (R02, 2012), this is part of the attractiveness of the area:

“There is huge diversity here. Orthodox Jews live opposite my flat. There are Muslims, Christians, also… atheists, like me. Yeah, a good diversity!”

The frequent use of the term ‘French’ as synonymous with whiteness illustrates the overlapping of nationality, skin colour and ethnicity. It also confirms the predominance of ethnic categories
in the social classifications of neighbours in Parisian mixed neighbourhoods (Bacqué *et al.*, 2011).

Occupation, housing conditions and lifestyles are also frequently used to describe local diversity, much more than class. Young middle class (and predominantly White) inhabitants who arrived during the previous decade are called ‘*bobos*’ (for ‘bourgeois-bohèmes’). In relation to their past or present access to higher education and their better salaries, they are perceived as a privileged category of inhabitants. Based on the consumption of specific material and symbolic goods, their lifestyle is described as a push factor for the transformation of local commerce (wine and coffee shops being the most frequently cited examples).

Literally meaning ‘young people’, the expression ‘*les jeunes*’ is used to refer to disadvantaged young male inhabitants with a migrant background (their parents), overlapping several dimensions of social stratification (age, class, skin colour and gender). This specific category of young inhabitants is commonly associated with illegal activities and accused of being a noisy nocturnal presence in public or semi-public spaces. Portrayed as troublemakers in their dealings with the police or schools, they also tend to be considered as dangerous role models for neighbourhood children. More empathetic inhabitants highlight the difficulties these young people face in finding jobs, but also in leaving the neighbourhood, as this retired French administrative employee of 67, who settled in the area in 1981 (R20), explains:

> “Young guys with an African or North African background. […] For them, going elsewhere in Paris is an adventure, taking the metro is like an expedition. […] In the ’hood they feel at home, with their friends, their routines, but when they venture outside the neighbourhood it’s a very big deal. […] We would just like the situation to improve, for them to find jobs.”

Respondents’ descriptions of neighbourhood life include two other groups who are perceived as characteristic of the neighbourhood: drug addicts and prostitutes. The behaviour of addicts is depicted as unpredictable and threatening when they are in need of drugs. However, these groups can be described with empathy, as they become a familiar presence over time, and part of the local social landscape.

Often associated with a migrant background, perceived or real (from mainly sub-Saharan Africa and Eastern Europe), prostitutes are also considered a facet of neighbourhood diversity, especially in La Goutte d’Or. Like drug addicts, they are associated with sanitary risks and a symbolic degradation of the neighbourhood, but empathy towards them is commonly expressed. To a certain extent, these stigmatised groups are perceived as part of the diversity of lifestyles.

4.4.3 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects
Perceptions of ethnic and social diversity are ambivalent: diversity can be valorised as a positive feature of the working class and multicultural life of the area, but also blamed for a supposed incompatibility of lifestyles.
**Positive perceptions of diversity**

Young mobile newcomers, some of them migrants and some of them from middle class groups, shared a positive perception of diversity as a source of dynamism, vibrancy and warmth. Diversity favours tolerance towards different lifestyles, as this Costa Rican graphic designer of 33 (R29, 2010) points out:

“It is the only place in Paris where we had parties until very late, with loud music and so on. We always invited the neighbours, who rarely came, but no one was upset with us. And no one was upset because all the other residents also make a lot of noise! During Ramadan, for instance, they were partying until very late. [...] So we really loved this area, for me it was the first time in my life that I could play saxophone in Paris without fearing the police would come knocking on my door.”

Gastronomic aspects are also central in the positive discourses on diversity. Respondents frequently mentioned the huge variety of culinary items in local stores as one of the main assets of the neighbourhood. Young mobile newcomers and older middle class newcomers particularly appreciate the experience of diversity through the consumption of new products from all over the world at the local groceries or in restaurants, giving them the feeling of 'travelling' while staying in their own neighbourhood (Corbillé, 2009). Migrants can buy cheap fruit, vegetables and spices from their country of birth, making them feel 'at home'. It can also be an opportunity for encounters between diverse cultural groups through exchanges of recipes and transfers of knowledge in cooking, as this unemployed Malian woman of 25 (R32) told us:

“I have tried some food from other African countries here, not only from Mali. My best friend is from Congo so I try [her food] sometimes. [...] I enjoyed it, and now I often prepare this dish at home”.

The experience of living in a diverse neighbourhood is also associated with a progressive intellectual openness: a better knowledge of other languages, habits and religions is frequently presented as an enriching secondary outcome of living in the neighbourhood, as this man of 45, born in the neighbourhood to Moroccan parents (R50), expresses, telling us that he “learns a lot of things about the lives, habits and religions of others”.

This process of opening up to diversity as a result of the daily experience of diversity is frequently depicted as weakening cultural stereotypes and helping interviewees to better understand behaviours that they previously perceived as irrational. The perceptions of this Chilean woman of 30, a social worker (R21, 2010), have evolved over time, attenuating a previous feeling of fear:

“The first day I came here to visit the flat, I felt totally lost. [...] And I was also quite afraid. [...] There were people from Africa, I was very shy because in South America we have this aggressive image of Black people from the movies. That sounds very stupid but we don't have so many foreigners in Chile. [...] Now, I'm not afraid anymore!”
Living among people with very different income levels and housing conditions has also been depicted as favourable to this openness to different norms and behaviours. In some ways, hyper-diversity is an experience that fosters the development of more refined perceptions of social and spatial contrasts. All these positive outcomes of diversity are generally presented as great benefits for children growing up in the areas of study. By contrast, more socially and culturally homogeneous neighbourhoods are depicted as less favourable to building tolerance.

**Negative perceptions of diversity**

Older, mainly native French and long-time inhabitants are more uncomfortable with diversity. They tend to associate the visible presence of ‘non-White’ dwellers with a supposed inability to respect the rules of polite interaction, depicted as producing tensions in public and residential places. This portrayal of ‘diverse’ people can be equated with disrespectful (noise, children lacking discipline) and illegal practices (fraud, robbery). Moreover, the social programmes or local initiatives from which non-native French people benefit are then considered as encouraging them to pursue their current lifestyle. This idea of incompatible values and norms is enhanced by nostalgia for a once homogeneous and safe neighbourhood. This native French retired woman of 82 (R18, 1969) distinguishes ‘us’ (meaning ‘White people’) and ‘them’:

“I am not opposed to the fact that there are a few of them [non-White people]. But not this many! I have the feeling that it gets worse and worse. It is not normal that we, White people, have to endure all this! It's not normal. No. Because they do not have the same culture, nor the same lifestyle.”

‘Native French’ residents highlighted the ‘foreign’ clothing customs of migrants – especially the religious veil – as a negative symbol of the newly dominant lifestyles in the area. The idea that a ‘threshold’ of tolerance has been exceeded recalls Talja Blokland’s analysis of a Rotterdam neighbourhood. According to her interpretation, these nostalgic discourses are an unconscious reaction to the increased autonomy of migrant households (Blokland, 2003).

Furthermore, some residents have a negative perception of what others value: “the lively neighbourhood” becomes a “noisy and dirty place”, emphasised as tiring and irritating. As highlighted in the previous section of this chapter, the trajectories of respondents account for such critical discourses. Previous socialisation to other residential contexts (e.g. upper-middle class suburbs or the countryside) and life cycle position are closely related to a more critical position towards the intense and noisy uses of public and semi-public spaces. In particular, working mothers who describe themselves as ‘tired’ do not enjoy the vibrancy of the neighbourhood as much as young, mobile newcomers do. Our interviewees also expressed ambivalent perceptions of gentrification. They appreciate the improvement of the neighbourhood due to the renovation of degraded buildings and public spaces, as well as the social and cultural capital of the ‘gentrifiers’. They also believe that their presence and the opening of new shops and restaurants will reduce the visibility of drug dealing and consumption. Despite all this, many interviewees, including newcomers themselves (Rose,
2006), fear radical changes in the neighbourhood, produced by rising prices and the progressive displacement of migrants and lower-income inhabitants. This youth educator of 33, born in the neighbourhood to Mauritanian parents (R10, 1981), explains this ambivalence:

“We see new inhabitants arriving here. It’s not necessarily pejorative but we call them ‘bobos’. There are more and more of them in the area, and this leads us to believe that the neighbourhood is improving. […] But at the same time it is losing its essence, as people born here have to leave. […] So there are positive outcomes, and at the same time it’s a pity”.

4.4.4 Conclusions

The interviews highlight the difficulties of considering diversity as either a pure asset or a pure liability for the inhabitants of ‘diverse’ neighbourhoods. Positive perceptions of diversity are associated with tolerance and a better understanding of otherness, while negative perceptions are related to delinquency among local youth and contrasting norms in public space. Nevertheless, perceptions of diversity also vary according to residential and personal trajectories.

It is mostly middle class newcomers and migrants who express positive perceptions of ethnic and cultural diversity, valuing either the feeling of ‘travelling’ in their own neighbourhood or the feeling of ‘home’. As in the Parisian research of Corbillé (2013), most of our interviewees consider diversity to foster the lively character of the area, in contrast to the boring, insipid and ‘dead’ wealthier neighbourhoods.

Older retired inhabitants, mostly native French and long-term residents, express much more negative perceptions of religious diversity and diversity of lifestyles. A strong feeling of dispossession appears in relation to the rise of new dominant social norms in the neighbourhood, a by-product of the increased relative weight of newcomers.

4.5 ACTIVITIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

This section investigates how “people may construct belonging through their daily routines in their neighbourhoods” (Blokland and Nast, 2014) while calling into question the notion of the neighbourhood as a closed space with the same importance to all inhabitants (Van Kempen and Wissink, 2014).

Van Eijk (2012) argues for the “need to distinguish carefully between narratives and practices”, especially in disadvantaged neighbourhoods often associated with bad neighbourly relations, conflicts and distrust. As such, this chapter aims to answer the following questions: how do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities?
4.5.1 Activities: where and with whom?

The types of activities interviewees mention have to do with everyday practices or routines, including time used for consumption, leisure, commuting, home-making, parenting, civic engagement and socialising. Examining how interviewees spend their time in diverse spaces and with diverse others reveals similarities and differences with regard to attachment to the neighbourhood. Sharing ethnic bonds and childhood memories are important; however, more significant still is the capacity afforded by the neighbourhood to conveniently carry out activities that match with one’s preferences, budget and social relations.

Activities: time and money constraints

The life cycle stage of interviewees, their preferences and resources shape the decisions with regard to activities and the distance they are willing or able to travel. Having or not having children accounts for an important division in practices. Single households or couples without children tend to compartmentalise their activities, doing one activity at a time. For example, a young newcomer describes with pleasure going for leisurely walks around the city, food shopping, walking to and from work, playing pétanque (a traditional outdoor French game similar to bowls) and socialising over drinks before dinner. In general, her activities appear to be focused on leisure, personal consumption and socialising. On the other hand, single working mothers mention having little time for leisure activities. When she is not working, this Moroccan woman of 43, working as an assistant manager (R09, 2003), prioritises her time and focuses on parenting activities, which also include home-making and making purchases for the household:

“Centquatre [a cultural centre], it’s a question of time. From time to time, my daughter goes with my friend because the centre organises some… theatre and musical events, various things; and my daughter goes with my friend and with her daughter. But I don’t have the time. It’s a question of time. Because I am the one taking care of everything, I have to do the shopping, the cleaning, and so on, and so on, and so on…”

Indeed, the decision to stay inside the neighbourhood or go further afield for ordinary activities has to do with time organisation and ways to save on the costs of everyday living. The distance between home and an activity can be a time constraint.

The neighbourhood has it all

There is a kind of ‘neighbourhood pride’ among inhabitants regarding the availability of everything they need, especially food, but also services. This feeling is most prevalent among mothers of North African origin, as the Moroccan woman cited above explains (R09, 2003):

“Everything is close by, you see. I do my groceries on foot. And also, for transport, thanks to the metro, I can go wherever I want. Even the healthcare building, there is a big one on Rue du Maroc; we have the… another healthcare centre, dentists, and some specialist doctors next to it;
it means everything is close by. We even have food markets to buy vegetables during the week, on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays; everything is close by.”

For cosmopolitan newcomers, indulging in the diversity of neighbourhood offerings is part of the appeal of living there. They are young, educated, and financially at ease. While the neighbourhood is not their only hang-out, they immerse themselves in its vibrancy and diversity for their leisure and consumption activities, frequenting the African market, the Algerian butcher, or the Jewish baker, for example.

For parents, there is great satisfaction in the variety of activities available to their children. Furthermore, their own activities, developed through their children’s schools, become an opportunity for new and diverse relations in the neighbourhood. The mutual support among mothers also helps alleviate the burdens of parenting activities and creates a deeper attachment to the neighbourhood, as this unemployed Ivorian woman of 37 (R11, 2011) outlines:

“Because I am a mum, I spend time with everyone. Everyone spends time with me as well. Therefore, the neighbourhood, honestly, we really like the neighbourhood. […] They [the district town hall] give us a space to have our neighbourhood parties… different events. We do all kinds of things together with the mums. So, there you have it: the neighbourhood is that kind of place.”

Seeking neighbourhood diversity but practising activities outside the neighbourhood
Interviewees also express ambivalence about the neighbourhood as a place for their activities. A British newcomer mentions a sentiment implied by other newcomers, that one should consume in the neighbourhood to support local vendors. Nonetheless, in reality he rarely frequents the more ‘ethnic’-oriented businesses, preferring what some would term the ‘bobo’ shops such as the new microbrewery and a bakery opened by a young couple of mixed French and Malian origins. Despite preferring to live in a multicultural, working class neighbourhood, he admits to having few social relations with those outside his inner circle: “It is true that my interactions, my relations in the neighbourhood are rather limited. It’s a shame, really” (R01).

The activities of younger newcomers are less bound to the neighbourhood than those of long-time residents. For one, they may have social relations scattered across Paris, and family in other parts of the country or abroad. But they may also feel that the whole city and beyond is open to them for exploration.

Paris is also not the only place of belonging. Residents who are French going back several generations may refer to a second house in the countryside (maison de campagne) that may have been inherited from family, the home of children that have moved out of the neighbourhood, or a little oasis they have purchased on their own. Migrants and many ‘non-White’ residents of the neighbourhoods have less access to movements of this kind, but some have kept connections in their country of birth.
4.5.2 The use of public space

The neighbourhoods’ public spaces are the places in which all inhabitants interact at one point or another. A variety of activities bring people to squares, streets and footpaths at different times of day and night, making visible the diversity of the neighbourhood. “Between purely visual contacts and friendly interactions, there is a range of encounters that may have an effect on how people become conscious of the reality of multiculturalism” (Peters and de Haan, 2011). Yet interviewees also claim to avoid some public spaces due to the presence of specific people or groups. Our empirical focus on practices reveals that it is not the people per se, but the activities they are engaged in, that are experienced as less desirable. Interviewees describe both compatible and conflictual uses of public spaces. In examining these uses, explanations emerge for contentious uses.

Compatible uses: enjoying diversity and friendly relations

The outdoor spaces of these populaire and dense neighbourhoods are much more lively than in other, wealthier areas of Paris, becoming a stage on which to carry out one’s own leisure activities, while enjoying the ambience. This young Chilean woman of 30, working as a social worker (R21, 2010), outlines this diverse and intense public life as an asset:

“All actually, it’s mostly during the summertime, but we stay a lot in the neighbourhood; it’s hard to get out because there are so many activities […] It’s not like… you see in the 15th district, with everyone on their own – there are beautiful buildings but there is no neighbourhood life. In the 19th, you see people on the streets enjoying the public spaces. And that’s what is nice about the 19th.”

This positive perception of the neighbourhood does not necessarily translate into the use of public space within neighbourhoods. Many young newcomers lack ways to actively engage with others in public spaces. On the other hand, when a “third party” (Peters and de Haan, 2011) such as children or pets are present, interactions start to occur. For instance, this Tunisian woman of 32 (R28, architect, settled in 2009), reflects on the role of a seemingly banal activity, walking her dog, as a context for meeting people in the neighbourhood:

“All the people you see there [NB: interview takes place in a café], the couple there, for instance, are people I met through walks with my dog. […] There are a lot of people I have met thanks to my dog. Some shopkeepers, when I pass in front of their stores, come to ask me: ‘What is this thing?’.”

Streets and parks used by different groups are places of interaction where children play a role in producing positive outcomes and exchanges among their parents, as this native French woman of 37 noticed (R24, civil servant in cultural policies, 2007):

“You experience that a bit during the nice summer days, when people from the suburbs come and you see all the different skin colours; people meet, mix, they are next to each other. But especially
at Éole; what a great place for it… And on top of that, there are communities from central Asia, migrants that make this place their meeting point. There are a lot of things at Éole. The kids talk to each other while playing; they share their buckets; they queue together for the seesaw. Indirectly, from time to time, there are exchanges among the parents, and that is wonderful."

These uses of public space appear to go beyond the simple compatibility of activities occurring side-by-side towards building a sense of community across diverse ways of life. The new large park called Les Jardins d’Éole plays the role the landscapers and local authorities intended.

**Conflictual uses: confronting, avoiding, ignoring**

On the other hand, a negative side effect of vibrancy is the frequent overcrowding of public spaces. A mild daily confrontation might arise over something as mundane as sharing the footpath. In particular, La Goutte d’Or attracts people from beyond Paris for its famous African market, and there are also many illegal street vendors of foreign origin that set up makeshift stalls here and there. A Tunisian woman who has lived in this neighbourhood for nearly 30 years says: “You can’t get through. An old lady, she can’t get through. A lady with a pram, she can’t get through” (R35).

Faced with these intense and diverse uses, revealing different norms, some inhabitants, mainly the elderly, just give up walking in the area. One native French woman of 82, who has lived in her neighbourhood for over 45 years, correlates behaviours such as not saying ‘hello’ with her neighbour’s cultural origins, assuming disrespect. Over time, she stopped speaking to her neighbours and avoids using the surrounding parks and squares, preferring the wealthier areas of Paris for leisure (R18, 1969).

This avoidance of local public space is gendered. Some female interviewees mention feeling uncomfortable in areas occupied by men who make remarks when they pass by. Again, there is reference to the cultural origins of the men, with gender divisions overlapping ethnic divisions, as expressed by this native French woman of 38, employed as a clerical worker (R03, 2003):

“*The Maghrebis, they… you see, they… they are always commenting on you. They look at you, you see; they always comment on you. Whereas the Africans, you can pass right through… On Rue Marcadet, there are two or three nightclubs, it looks like you are in Bamako; there are people everywhere, but you can pass by. You walk through the crowd with no problems, you see. Whereas in the [south of the] Goutte d’Or area, sometimes, you walk through the crowd and you have to deal with catcalling all around you*.”

There is a masculinisation of the streets and public spaces of these areas, especially at night. Such an absence of women on the streets enhances what a male inhabitant calls the “masculine ambience of the neighbourhood” (R01). Women with the means to do so may move away; others, especially young women who still live with their parents, stay inside and women coming from outside the area to visit friends may be reluctant to come and walk alone in
the neighbourhood. This appropriation of public spaces by young men and boys may take a variety of forms: loitering in front of apartment buildings, talking loudly, “male-to-female street remarks” (Gardner, 1980), urinating, blasting loud music, but also using and dealing drugs and occasionally stealing or becoming violent.

Yet, in many cases, the young men and boys are simply hanging out, smoking or playing ball, “just making a living” as one young student observes (R41). Nonetheless, their presence tends to be associated with delinquency, which then arouses fear and affects how some residents use public spaces.

The role played by associations as public spaces
The vast array of associations attests to the presence of a rich association-based life in these neighbourhoods (see Chapter 3). They may be managed directly by the City or the district, simply financed by it, or entirely independent. This type of public space offers important opportunities to meet and interact with diverse others. For example, inhabitants may exchange services or pitch in together to clean up a local square. For parents, participation in their children’s scholastic activities opens the door to other associations and a diversified social life, as expressed by this native French musician of 40 (R23, 2004).

“I found that it is through my kids that I experience it the most, the life of the neighbourhood. Because, as a result, it is less obvious here, but when they were at pre-school, you have the entire association-based life that revolves around the school and makes it so that one day, off you go to a cultural association, a block party, and as a result, well there it is…”

Associations provide services to struggling families; through this solidarity and support for greater social equality, they help sustain the diversity of the neighbourhood. Immigrants, whether recent or established, come for language classes, while others bring their children for educational assistance that their parents are less qualified to give. Quite a few associations are oriented towards supporting a particular population, such as low-income people or the elderly. And yet they bring together inhabitants from a range of backgrounds, transcending differences. For example, one activist got started in his local church fighting for the rights of undocumented immigrants to be regularised. His charity work was inspired by religion and effectively assisted people of all faiths and various nationalities (R46, Retired engineer, 73, French).

Newcomers also create associations catering to their preferences and lifestyles (e.g. organic food). In other cases, these inhabitants participate in local associations to bring resources to the area, which may result in regenerated parks and new cultural centres. Having the know-how to deal with the administration, their efforts can be successful and procure resources with potential benefits for the whole neighbourhood (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010).

Associations also play a critical role in reducing complaints and conflicts among inhabitants. Deeply involved in a local residents’ association, this building caretaker, a native French
woman of 62 (Ro8, 1989), tries to reduce conflicts between the young inhabitants of different neighbourhoods that have erupted into violence in the past:

“We are working so that the two neighbourhoods can do things together. So people from the other side can also come here. We started this three years ago, and little by little, well… we realise there are more people, but slowly people are managing to get along”.

4.5.3 Conclusions
Increasing mobility has extended and diversified social networks in cities, making the neighbourhood a place of activities and encounters among others. The relatively central location of our selected Parisian neighbourhoods favours access to many activities inside as well as outside ‘the neighbourhood’. In these working class and densely populated neighbourhoods, outdoor spaces are well used, becoming places of intensive activity, generating daily interactions (walking one’s dog, going to the market, sitting in the park…) and both positive and negative experiences of diversity. As the empirical study by Blokland and Van Eijk in Rotterdam shows, ‘daily routines’ create ‘public familiarity’ and encounters between diverse inhabitants (Blokland, Van Eijk, 2010).

These activities reveal the stronger importance of the neighbourhood for some groups, such as parents with young children, low-income immigrants, and the elderly (Van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). But for those who engage in schools and associations, relations are strengthened by mutual need and support.

Although many interviewees become familiar with and enjoy diversity through the use of public spaces, pavements, streets and squares are also the stage upon which the neighbourhoods’ problems play out. At first glance, these issues appear strongly correlated with seemingly ‘infrangible’ differences between groups (e.g. ideological, religious and generational differences). A closer examination reveals that underlying claims of frustration with diverse others are due to conflicts between activities in the public space: too much of some, such as street peddling and loitering outside; too little of others, such as affordable recreational spaces. Activities seen on the street may be indicators of social inequalities experienced elsewhere, in overcrowded homes, and a lack of employment opportunities and satisfying recreational activities for young people. However, in some parts of the neighbourhoods, as in La Goutte d’or or Flandre, shopping streets and public parks and gardens still play an active role in experiencing diversity.

The domination of public space by young males overlaps with ethnic differences and illegal practices. These diverse uses of public space engage different norms and values, generating conflicts and avoidance on the part of women. Nevertheless, our fieldwork highlights the role of local associations as a specific public space that favours encounters and the resolution of conflicts between diverse groups that also involve newcomers. These are very similar findings to those of Amin on the role of ‘micro-public’ spaces (Amin, 2002).
“Social cohesion can, in a very general way, be defined as the internal bonding of a social system” (Schuyt, 1997 in Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Social networks are diversified and extended to different spaces, but the role of neighbourhood ties still remains important for specific groups such as low-income populations, the elderly, and families, who are less mobile and more involved in local activities (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013; Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012).

In this section, we examine the networks of inhabitants and their mutual support practices. As traditional working class areas, these neighbourhoods can be places of mutual support (Young and Willmott, 1957) while, as increasingly hyper-diverse places, they can also produce more separated social practices and more conflicts rather than social cohesion, especially between newcomers and long-term residents (Carmina and Wood, 2009). While diversity is often considered as a problem in urban research, to what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster or hinder the development of social cohesion in the area?

4.6.1 Composition of interviewees' networks
We develop the common nodes in individual networks highlighting the different types of social ties (family, friends, local acquaintances) and the diverse spaces and groups connected through these networks. How do people connect?

Family inside and outside the neighbourhood
As argued in urban research, extensive family relations in the neighbourhood are important for immigrants and their children, specifically for those from North African and sub-Saharan African origins. Interviewees born in Paris and who are now parents demonstrate a particularly strong sense of place attachment. Their own parents, who emigrated to France decades ago, also have extensive family networks in their home countries. Family networks do not only strengthen local attachments but also create transnational relations and allegiances which may lead them to spend more time in their home country after retirement, but may also lead to ambivalent feelings about belonging, as expressed by this retired woman who moved to Paris from the French West Indies 35 years ago (R42):

“When you have been living in a place for a long time [Paris], you make friends, you have your routines, it's not the same life as over there [Martinique]. [...] So, right now, it does not appeal to me to settle down there. However, I go there every year. I spend three or four months there, sometimes six months. But as I have substantial activities here, I have to come back”.

Many newcomers have no family network in the neighbourhood, especially recently settled young inhabitants with parents living in the French provinces where they grew up. Yet, in a similar sense, they may frequently go out of town to visit family and old friends and imagine
their time in Paris as a temporary experience, as in the case of this unemployed young woman of 37 (R04), active in her neighbourhood and deeply appreciative of its diversity:

“Then, my goal would be to move back to the provinces. [...] But it's not because of here [she insists], it's because my family is there. I feel as though I am sitting between two stools.”

Friends and local acquaintances

Our interviewees describe parents’ networks as the most active networks in the neighbourhood. Even those who are not parents make this distinction, adding in some cases that it is through their friends with children that they have managed to extend their personal networks in the neighbourhood. Parents are generally in the same age range, but can be of diverse cultural origins and lifestyles. It is also through their children’s nannies that new relationships across different social groups are formed.

As shown in the previous section, involvement in associations is a common node that produces meaningful bonds in the neighbourhood based on overlapping interests or needs. These neighbours and fellow volunteers can become life-long friends, as a long-term and native-French resident (R22, 1987) tells us:

“I do have quite a lot [of friends] here. [...] These relationships were built through my children, but also, as I am involved in a lot of associations, and I advocate a lot for my neighbourhood, I have met many people who have become good friends.”

Lastly, some inhabitants mentioned making friends through their neighbourhood religious affiliation. These can be places where they can strengthen their relations within their ethnic group networks, such as the church for this retired woman of 73 (R42, 1980), from French West Indies:

“There is a little church located five minutes from my home. I like to go to mass; I am a practising Catholic. So I meet women from the French West Indies there, people of my age. We greet each other, we talk for a while [...]. It's the perfect place to meet people.”

Many inhabitants count among the people they know in the neighbourhood either shopkeepers or neighbours they encounter regularly at shops, as in the case of this retired native French man of 73 (R46, 1973):

“Since this bakery has been established, [...] when we go to buy bread, every other time we say to each other 'oh hello, you're here, what brings you here?' [...] They made a spot where you can sit and drink coffee. I have never been, but there are perhaps some people, because they are lonely, who go there to drink and chat and it creates an atmosphere.”

The less residents have networks of family and friends in the neighbourhood, the more likely they are to build their neighbourhood relations via their interactions on the street. As argued
by Blokland and Nast (2014), “recognising and being recognised in local spaces” is part of the feeling of belonging.

4.6.2 Living with neighbours
The diversified networks produce tangible outcomes for social cohesion through both bonding and bridging capital. In this section, we discuss a wide array of forms of mutual support that take place on the same floor, in the same building, on the street or in squares, and within the boundaries of the neighbourhood or in the wider vicinity. These interactions may occur across ethnicities, lifestyles, life cycles and attitudes, and reveal other forms of diversity. Yet, the picture is not rosy at all times. Some types of exclusion are revealed through the interviews, although ultimately there is a general feeling of trust and security among neighbours.

**Forms of ethnic and parental mutual support**

Interviewees recount instances of mutual trans-generational support that arise in informal person-to-person form in their apartment buildings. These practices include helping an elderly Algerian woman who wants to sell her car online, or another who cannot write in French to complete her paperwork for a work permit. Assistance can also be monetary, such as lending money to the unemployed single mother across the hall. One woman had recently lost her husband, for whom she had moved to France from Morocco. She was surprised and moved by the emotional support she received from people in her building.

One form of mutual support is perceived as bonds among persons of similar ethnicity. Some of our respondents outlined the existence of a strong African community within one of the neighbourhoods. This native French woman of 38, an employee in an NGO (R03, 2003), perceives this ‘community’ in positive ways even if it is as an ‘outsider’:

“I know that many Africans come here to this neighbourhood because they know they will find the African community, they will benefit from its solidarity, get a cheap plate of mafé [a traditional Senegalese dish], tips for places where to sleep. And for North Africans it’s quite similar. I discovered that: the migrants’ sense of community.”

Interviewees of African origin, however, do not necessarily focus on this ‘African community’. Respondents more emphatically emphasised the multicultural dimension of helping others and providing ‘bridging support’ between different social and ethnic groups, which arises, once again, through the informal parenting network; taking others’ children to activities, looking after them for a few hours, or lending another parent a pushchair. The relatively high degree of trust produced by repeated experiences of mutual support and encounters in public spaces also creates a sense of safety. Several interviewees, particularly women and mothers who are newcomers, emphasise the importance of this feeling crossing ethnic differences, as this native French mother of 38 does (R03, employee, 2003):

“I let my son play freely around here and I feel at ease about it. There are a lot of adults and a lot of people. The fact that this neighbourhood has a largely African and Maghreb’s community..."
means that the adults are all very attentive to the kids. You really can't imagine much of anything bad happening here to a child.”

Local associations, social centres and also restaurants are places of social and ethnic mix in the area, as mentioned by this young native French man of 29 (R07, graphic designer, 2013):

“There is a little Chinese restaurant next door, very nice, with quite inexpensive meals, which is cool, and it's happened before that I'm having lunch there when all of a sudden some guys will show up completely stoned. It's true that, at first, you're like 'Oh, wow, for real?'. These guys are really, really smashed! [...] They are included, you see, because the junkies here, they can go and eat at a Chinese restaurant if that's what they want.”

These ‘eyes on the street’ (Jacobs, 1961) contribute to producing a limited perceived risk of aggression in the neighbourhood, in particular for children. By looking out for each other, the migrants interviewed are in fact ‘producers’ of the neighbourhood (Galster, 2001), making it a trustworthy arena for social interaction.

‘Imposed cohesion’ through social order and social control
Forms of mutual support at times appear more like social control, giving a strong sense of safety to insiders. These ‘insiders’ could include family and friends, as this Algerian woman of 72 (R35, 1977) explains:

“Someone from outside who comes here at night might be harassed but not us. If someone touches me, the next day [...] I have my son's friends, my son… Everybody will look for the guy. We know each other.”

They can also include familiar neighbours, recognised as an inhabitant from the neighbourhood, as in this story told by a native French woman of 49 (R48, housewife, 2009):

“There were two young kids hanging around in front of the entrance. 10 p.m. and they are outside... There were also some older guys around the kids. Rather muscular guys, according to my husband [she laughs]. When he arrived, they closed the door in front of him, saying 'Where are you going?' [in an aggressive tone]. By chance, the little kids told them: 'No, no, he's the father of the twins; we know him; let him go'. He [my husband] told me that he wasn't feeling so confident about the situation!”

Sometimes, social control mechanisms protect the social cohesion of ethnic ‘communities’ by regulating relations with other groups and imposing codes of behaviour. These practices tend to promote solidarity along similar ethnic lines and divisions, especially between the ‘Blacks’ and the ‘North Africans’, ethnic categories used by this young Tunisian architect of 32 (R28, 2009):
“People don’t necessarily mix as you would expect. I’ve noticed that North Africans don’t really spend time with Africans. […] I speak to a lot of Blacks in the neighbourhood, and sometimes I have friends from Algeria, or neighbours, who tell me: ‘You talk a lot with Blacks’. Like, they don’t want me to go out with them.”

In other cases, the effect is quite the opposite, counteracting divisive attitudes. The intention is to create inclusion across ethnic and religious lines, by insisting on intergroup tolerance and civic culture, as this unemployed Ivorian woman of 37 (R11, 2001) does:

“When people say ‘Jews’, I get nervous, because we are all the same. We are mums. Whether you’re African, White… Russian… We are all the same. This year, we told the Jewish mums, ‘Why do you have your own school, and we don’t? Bring your kids to our school!’ We think it’s important to have the kids in the same schools. ‘Cause they have their own school, their food, everything is separated. That’s not good! Because people will think that they are racist, when they are not.”

4.6.3 Conclusions

Two aspects of diversity have a significant impact on social cohesion in the neighbourhood. In some forms discussed by interviewees, diversity appears divisive and the source for various conflicts. Standing out most strongly is the perception of conflicts along lines of religion and ethnicity. Interviewees mention separate schools for Jewish inhabitants, and forms of confrontation and avoidance between ‘Blacks’, ‘Whites’ and ‘Arabs’. This translates into a feeling of security for some and fear for others. Disorder is connected with marginal groups, illegal practices and intense uses of the streets.

Despite these potential social divisions, neighbourhood social networks provide forms of support and care across generations and ethnic groups. Inhabitants are both producers and consumers of neighbourhood solidarity (Galster, 2001). Our findings suggest that social cohesion may be achieved in many ways, from helping one another to social control and the imposition of norms leading to forms of domination. As argued in other research, families, communities and local ties still produce trust and familiarity, which further produces a sense of belonging and safety if you are, or feel you are, from there (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010). Diversity can be a strong asset, appearing to mitigate any one group dominating the others through its own values and forms of social control. There are ‘micro-public’ spaces of encounters (Amin, 2002) and ‘commonplace diversity’ (Wessendorf). Local social centres, NGOs, churches and schools are places that favour social cohesion while opening up to differences.

These quite positive narratives of diversity in the neighbourhoods studied do not mean that there are no conflicts or negative – or at least ambivalent – experiences of living with difference. Residents have to deal with delinquency, drug dealing in public spaces at night around Stalingrad metro station or in the stairwells and indoor spaces of Cité Michelet. Families, older people and newcomers are faced with various norms and values, as well as the high population density of the areas in question, especially in La Goutte d’Or. However, this picture of daily
routines runs counter to most of the negative assumptions that diverse groups have almost no relations with one another.

4.7 SOCIAL MOBILITY

As highlighted by Walter Benn Michaels, diversity does not necessarily mean equal opportunities for all (Michaels, 2006). This section aims to empirically question the links between diversity and social mobility, defined as “the opportunity for individuals or groups to move upwards or the risk of descending the ‘social ladder’, such as with respect to jobs, income, status and power” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster or hinder social mobility?

After developing on the role played by neighbours and local associations in helping inhabitants to find a job, we will question the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and upward social mobility. A focus on local schools sheds light on the gradual social and ethnic segregation of children.

4.7.1 Using neighbours and others to find a job

Three respondents benefited from the help of neighbours to find a job or business opportunities. One of them is a French woman aged 38 (R03), who works part-time for an NGO that offers gardening activities to adults with psychiatric problems. After chatting with two inhabitants of her building, she was invited to create a garden at the Parisian headquarters of one of the most important French charity organisations in which they are involved. Beyond this specific opportunity, she routinely hangs out around La Goutte d’Or, looking for empty spaces that she could use for her future projects, but also for new connections with local inhabitants interested in urban gardening.

The ‘weak ties’ (Granovetter, 1973) built up in the neighbourhood are not the only elements that foster inhabitants’ social mobility. Indeed, local initiatives not only provide some of them with paid jobs; they also provide help with improving linguistic skills, benefiting from vocational training and/or obtaining professional qualifications. Particularly relevant is the case of a Moroccan woman of 43 (R09, 2003). Recruited by the Régie de Quartier (‘Neighbourhood Maintenance Company’) as a cleaning employee in 2005, she became an assistant manager 10 years later, earning a better salary:

“I began my work here as a cleaning lady. Afterwards, I received training and then I became a team leader. And now I’m an assistant manager. […] Thanks to the whole team, because here we have a very cohesive team, we support each other. The headmistress, when we need some help, is here to help us. I needed a one-year training programme to become an assistant manager and had to write a report… And my problem was that I’m not so good in writing, but my colleagues helped me to do it.”
Several other respondents with an immigrant background pointed out the benefits they received from free French and literacy courses after settling in the neighbourhood. Also valuable is the help offered to deal with public institutions or apply for jobs (e.g. writing cover letters).

Associations also help foster inhabitants' social mobility by providing them with the social capital they lack to get job opportunities. This is what this young law student of 23, born in France to Togolese parents (R41, 2001), highlights:

“It’s an association which helps young people from modest backgrounds to obtain prestigious degrees thanks to tutorship. You can get English lessons, for instance. And for one year you meet a kind of mentor who has professional expertise and introduces you to the codes of professional life. [...] I had one last year, generally this lasts for one year but we still keep in touch. He comes from a wealthy family; it is interesting to chat with him. [...] He helped me a lot; he talked to the chief legal counsel. I had to pass interviews, with a lot of tests, but I think it is thanks to my mentor that I got the internship. I think I would not have been recruited if I had applied on my own.”

Providing inhabitants with the bridging social capital that they cannot find in their own networks appears to be a very efficient way to foster social mobility in working class neighbourhoods.

### 4.7.2 Neighbourhood reputation: an asset in upward social mobility?

Neighbourhood reputation is not perceived as an asset in upward social mobility. Conversely, it is often conceived as an obstacle when applying for jobs. This perception is particularly widespread among respondents with an immigrant background, who surmise that “territorial discrimination” (Duguet et al., 2010) holds back their ability to find a job, as this Senegalese man of 28 (R26, receptionist, 1986) asserts:

“And the fact that they ['les jeunes'] live in the 18th district; they send CVs with their addresses: Barbès, Marcadet. They are rejected; they do not believe in this anymore, not at all.”

Such perceptions shed another light on the reasons why the ongoing social upgrading of the study areas is looked upon favourably by low-income interviewees. Any improvement in the neighbourhood’s reputation is then considered as a potential asset for forthcoming applications, with a special concern for children’s future professional opportunities.

However, neighbourhood reputation is not the only criterion for discrimination on the labour market. As outlined by a youth educator, spatial, social and racial dimensions intersect. Conversely, a young, White interviewee of 29 who grew up in a well-off Parisian district has no doubt that her and her boyfriend’s professional careers will not be impacted by the reputation of their current neighbourhood (R06, 2013, La Goutte d’Or).
4.7.3 School, social mix and segregation

Respondents emphasise the role played by local schools in producing encounters and building social ties in the neighbourhood, regardless of whether they are parents themselves. In our areas of study, the schooling experience has a strong impact on the way parents perceive diversity. Schools are indeed an arena in which the experience of diversity is concrete and meaningful, in relation to its outcomes for children’s education and life. With this perspective, the number of different nationalities present in schools has frequently been mentioned as mirroring the diversity of the neighbourhood, like an Algerian woman of 47 insisting on “thirty-six countries” represented “in a school of two hundred pupils” (R45).

The respondents tend to perceive this diversity as fruitful for children during the first years of their schooling, as long as its impact on children’s future social trajectories is not really at stake. Children with a working class and (more or less implicitly) with an immigrant background are frequently portrayed as relatively more agitated and aggressive. Some parents thus begin to reconsider keeping their children in the local public schools. In this respect, the choice of secondary school is a key focus point for parents. The diversity of pupils in local public secondary schools is perceived as significantly lower, as many middle class and/or White children are sent to other secondary schools. The low results obtained by local secondary schools in national exams are not associated with poor teachers, but with the ‘quality’ of the school population, as expressed by this native French artist of 40 (R23, 2004):

“My daughter will enter secondary school next year and I am almost the only one among the White parents of our primary school to consider sending her to the local secondary school. And to be honest, I’m not sure that I will do it because it has quite a bad reputation… The atmosphere is unpleasant, as kids who share similar social problems are concentrated together. There isn’t the same mix or interactions that make up the richness of the local primary school experience. […] Honestly, among the relatively well-off White population, no one goes to that secondary school.”

Parents perceive that their choices are never totally satisfactory. On the one hand, choosing the local public school tends to be associated with different risks for the child. On the other hand, opting for a private school is costly, while public schools are almost free. Within the public school allocation system, parents can ‘cheat’ by indicating a different address rather than their actual residence in order to escape the local catchment area. However, sending a child to a school located outside the neighbourhood means longer journeys and weaker participation in local networks (Raveaud and van Zanten, 2007). This is why a fourth option, seriously considered by some respondents, is to leave the neighbourhood for another area with better-perceived public schools. Such choices are extensively discussed among parents; moral dilemmas arise, as it is difficult to reconcile the feeling of being both a ‘good parent’ and a ‘good citizen’ (Butler 2003; Oría et al., 2007).

This situation is perceived as unfair, as the level of academic success achieved during school years plays a decisive role in shaping future social trajectories (Van de Velde, 2008). This gradual
segregation weakens the upward social mobility of working class and ethnic minority children. This social and ethnic segregation process also produces social differentiation in the networks of both children and parents, whose neighbourhood social capital largely relies on their children's friendship ties (Weller and Bruegel, 2009).

4.7.4 Conclusions

Interviews suggest that social ties between neighbours are not a primary resource for finding a job. The role played by local associations appears to be more decisive in terms of fostering social mobility for low-income people and migrants than social interaction with the middle and upper classes. They can provide information and vocational training, but also access to bridging social capital.

Neighbourhood reputation is perceived as hindering job opportunities for working class inhabitants, especially when they have an immigrant background, as shown by certain French studies in recent years (Sari, 2012). However, several other dimensions overlap in connection with employment discrimination, such as skin colour, name, gender and social background.

Our study highlights how schools are an arena of encounter for very diverse children and parents, but also how school choices produce and reproduce an incremental segregation, especially at the secondary level. This self-fulfilling process reinforces both the negative reputation of the neighbourhood and the difficulties faced by young working class inhabitants and children of migrants in achieving social mobility. School policies are thus perceived as threatening the sustainability of diversity within schools. Consequently, significant fractions of pupils progressively escape the local public schools and sometimes the neighbourhood itself, reproducing inequalities in education and social mobility.

4.8 PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

Although diversity is not an official category of French public action, area-based policies aim to favour social integration and social mix to reduce ‘territorial inequalities’ (see Chapter 3). The City Policy and Urban Renewal programmes target disadvantaged and ‘priority’ neighbourhoods, of which the study areas are a part. Socio-economic actions are implemented through local neighbourhood management, while the Major Urban Project of ‘Paris Nord’ aims to diversify housing stock and regenerate former industrial spaces. Local initiatives for social cohesion and economic performance are handled by non-governmental organisations that receive financial as well as technical support from the DPVI (Department of City Policy and Integration) at the City of Paris. Social housing landlords, public employment agencies and community centres are also involved in these policies.

This section discusses residents’ perceptions of these indirect diversity-related policies and their expectations. What do they know, think and expect of such policies and initiatives?
4.8.1 Perceptions of policies and initiatives: what do residents know?
Residents perceive the visible physical changes involved in housing and urban-planning policies but have a much more limited knowledge of socio-economic arrangements. Social mix, meaning ethnic and racial mix, is one of the key issues they talk about, questioning the effects of housing diversification and public action on social cohesion.

Urban regeneration policies: a visible change
Almost all of the residents speak about the broad urban regeneration policies. They are aware of the changes without knowing exactly which policies are concerned. Most of them see in a positive light the enhancements to transport, improving daily lives and work commutes.

The opinions and interests of residents with regard to public action vary depending on their level of commitment to local and political life. Some of our interviewees, especially migrant newcomers, do not wish to give an opinion or judge public action. They lack access to information but also wish to keep a low profile, in some cases to avoid trouble related to the precariousness of their legal status, as in the case of this unemployed Moroccan woman of 64 (R15, 2003):

“I cannot say. Politics… I have nothing to do with it; it is far away from me… I cannot speak about it. First, I am not able to read, so why get involved in politics? It is not interesting.”

Social mix through housing diversification: an asset but a failure
Social mix policies matter to interviewees and are debated from different viewpoints. New housing developments are visible and some households have moved into them. Moreover, social mix is currently a hot political topic, particularly in light of the recent terrorist attacks in France.

One opinion is in favour of ‘mixing’ to avoid concentration and its alleged negative effects. Indeed, this native French Arabic teacher of 63 (R40, 1976), who is also an assistant mayor, defends social mix as a better solution than segregation:

“I am against stupid discourses like: ‘You create a park and of course all that it will attract are bobos, which will change the area’. So what? Does that mean that we should let it stay shitty and then we will be sure that we don’t ‘bobo-ise’ the neighbourhood? […] The fact that all the new dwellings are social housing… Elsewhere, we built in the same building 20 dwellings and 10 are ordinary social housing, five are intermediate rent level social housing and five are lower rent level social housing, so we create social mix naturally… That’s all and that’s what keeps this area ‘populaire’ and multicultural.”

Many positive discourses on social mix clearly refer to an ethnic and racial mix. Social housing allocation policy is considered part of the concentration process. Some African migrant families ask to have fewer ‘Blacks’ in order to avoid the stigmatisation from which they could directly suffer, as this unemployed Ivorian woman of 37 does (R11, 2001):

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“We should mix the families, one should not put the Blacks here and the Whites there. Blacks, Arabs, Jews, we are all the same, it is necessary to mix. The building over there, there are Whites, but more Blacks than Whites. It is not normal! When the Whites begin to leave, it is not normal! I don’t agree. We should mix.”

Conversely, the ‘old White residents’ of the Cité Michelet social-housing estate (Flandre) outlined the increasing ‘Black’ population in their buildings as part of an increased sense of distance from the neighbourhood, as expressed by this retired foreman of 80 (R38, 1976):

“Back in the past, they put a lot of French people there, and nowadays… lots of them move because they get… they don’t enjoy the environment, they do not like the area. And they put more and more foreigners, Blacks… There are no longer any French people who move into the social housing block… So, that’s why now we feel like strangers.”

Negative opinions on mixing are grounded on two main issues related to the impact of these policies on social cohesion. First, some of the households living in the mixed new housing developments highlight an experience of separation more than encounters, as in other research. This project manager, a native French man of 38 (R05, 2012), told us about the spatial separation between social and private housing:

“There are two entrances, it is the same hall but with two doors… On the left side, it is social housing, on the right side private rental housing. […] I find it symbolically ironic. You construct a building with private and social housing but you still create two separate doors with a double security system. So, you mix but… […] It is not necessarily experienced as a boundary … but indeed you do not encounter them”.

Social, economic and cultural action: how to avoid social and ethnic division
Except for those who are directly involved or targeted, residents are largely unaware of social and community neighbourhood policies. Only managers of and participants in local initiatives supported by these funds or social works identify this policy. They express a positive perception, outlining the outcomes for the integration of ethnic minorities. The arrangements focused on employment, school and community participation are the most well-known, such as the Régie de Quartier (‘Neighbourhood Maintenance Company’), shared gardens, and social centres (see Chapter 3).

White former inhabitants indicated their concerns about the aims of social and cultural action, referring to ethno-racial categories. This retired native French woman of 82, who lived in the area for 47 years, perceives social action as providing only for the ‘Asian community’. She condemns what she considers an injustice (R18, 1969):

“For instance, at the town hall, every year you can go on trips partly paid for by the social services […] But now, the Asians take priority. That’s what the lady at the town hall told me. Asians first.
When I asked why, she said that she was ordered to take them first. I think this is unfair, we paid, we worked all our life for social benefits and now they tell us we don’t have the right! I said it is not normal and it makes me quite upset.”

4.8.2 Perceptions of policies and initiatives: what do residents want?
Unsurprisingly, residents are more concerned by forms of public action that impact their daily life and environment: housing access and maintenance, cleanliness, safety, employment, and nuisance from street uses. These are their priorities.

They all agree on the need for more affordable housing in Paris and are concerned about the broad risk of gentrification, questioning their own ability to stay in the neighbourhood. This area is still ethnically and socially diverse but urban policies risk boosting the gentrification process, leading to a more homogeneous area with fewer minorities.

The second common expectation is with regard to youth (les jeunes). On the one hand, they demand from police and social landlords more regulation of delinquency, nuisance and conflicts. On the other hand, they expect better care of all young people to ensure their integration through education, professional training, anti-discrimination policies and cultural activities.

Interviewees consider that public action could strengthen diversity through urban developments, or through events and actions that promote a more diverse access to public space. Les Jardins d’Éole, a park created as part of an urban-regeneration project, is already well known. A Mauritanian youth educator of 33 (R10, 1981) regrets the invasion of this park by drug dealers and consumers and calls for a more diversified use of the place:

“They asked me and I participated and gave some suggestions on the Jardins d’Éole. My idea was that this is a big park… There are activities in certain parts but we should reinforce that, to make the most of the space… Old people, for instance, they like to play chess on little tables, you can see that in Barbès. The more it is occupied, the less the users and dealers will stay. So nowadays this garden is rarely occupied; when we go there, there are no families, no kids, just drug users and dealers, and that’s a pity.”

Cultural amenities, such as an old cinema that has been renovated by the City (Le Louxor, very close to La Goutte d’Or), could also be arenas for promoting diversity. The perception of the activities of Le Centquatre, a multidisciplinary artistic centre inaugurated in 2008 in Flandre, is nuanced. For the most rooted inhabitants, it is clearly a place oriented toward newcomers and middle-/upper-class inhabitants of other Parisian districts. However, some have noticed a change in the uses of the centre and seen it open up to a more diverse public, as this woman of 62 tells us (R08, 1989):

“We always said that it was for the ‘bobos’. Only the rich get access to culture… […] However, it has changed. Because I think that people protested loudly enough to be heard and then the
first manager left and the director changed. And it is more open to the neighbourhood and to people who live there… At least, we meet them regularly. We make proposals… As soon as there is something interesting going on, they come, they suggest it to us, whereas it was not like that before.”

However, residents also call for more urban management to ensure cleanliness and safety in their neighbourhood and buildings, echoing the lack of proximity of neighbourhood management, highlighted by research on deprived neighbourhoods (Bacqué et al., 2005).

4.8.3 Conclusions
Among the more visible urban regeneration schemes, there is particular sensitivity to transport improvements, green spaces, housing diversification and public amenities. Although the most politically engaged individuals assert the need for social mix, most of those who have experienced it in housing and public spaces express a more nuanced view on the outcomes. To a certain extent, our interviewees outline the main issues and contradictions of neighbourhood policies. First, a lot of money and energy is spent on urban policies while associations get little support and/or funding to implement integration policies. Second, priority should be given to housing affordability and accessibility instead of pushing out low-income people and minorities or grouping them together more in certain social-housing areas. Third, the benefits of social mix are difficult to achieve without reinforcing certain social and ethnic divisions. The key issues for residents could be summarised by the terms ‘safety’, ‘affordability’ and ‘accessibility’, rather than by social mix or integration policies.

Many neighbourhood initiatives are top-down rather than bottom-up in France, with public funding supporting NGOs and public services (Saurugger, 2007). Nevertheless, interviewees are aware that subsidies to NGOs working in the social sector have slowed down, despite their usefulness in these types of neighbourhoods. Broadly speaking, these inhabitants are more ready to engage with resident groups dealing with daily life and ‘living together’ than in formal local policies (Scott et al., 2012). The presence of some open-minded and civically engaged people from diverse ethnic backgrounds can be seen as a pull factor for solidarity and social regulation.

4.9 CONCLUSIONS

Defined as “the presence of a number of socio-economic, socio-demographic, and ethnic groups within a certain spatial entity” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), hyper-diversity does not appear to be a determining factor in interviewees’ decisions to settle in the area of study. Their main reasons for coming to the area are largely connected with housing affordability and accessibility and with the central and attractive location of Paris. Diversity thus appears more as an outcome of the local housing market than as a pull factor for settling in the area.

‘Diversity’ (diversité) is not a term frequently used by interviewees to describe their neighbourhood, as it is not a category of public action in policymakers’ discourses (see Chapter
The inhabitants use the adjective ‘working class’ (populaire) to describe the neighbourhoods under study and the term ‘mix’ (mixité) to describe the heterogeneity of the population. The term ‘working class neighbourhood’ (quartier populaire) refers to the specific atmosphere of traditional migrant and working class areas: busy, full of life, and still disadvantaged. ‘Mix’ connotes multiple dimensions of social distance, such as educational level, occupation, wealth, nationality, religion and skin colour. When speaking more specifically about ‘others’ they see and encounter in the neighbourhood, three main categorisations related to diversity stand out. First, in contrast with the ‘colour-blind’ approach of French urban policies, interviewees refer to religious and ethno-racial categories that distinguish between ‘Blacks’ and ‘Whites’ or construct groups such as ‘Arabs’ or ‘Africans’. Second, often mentioned is the social category of ‘bobos’, which refers to the middle class group of newcomers. Lastly, the generational category of ‘young people’ (les jeunes) is used as a label for disadvantaged young male inhabitants with a migrant background, where factors of age, class, skin colour and gender overlap. These categories of diversity refer to three features of the study areas, which include a concentration of diverse ethnic communities, an ongoing gentrification process and a dominant ‘masculine’ occupation of public spaces.

Beyond this broad view, one of the key findings of the study is the role of social and residential trajectories in shaping and varying over time residents’ experiences and perceptions of diversity. We identified four types of households which highlight the diversity of lifestyles in the area and explain housing choices as well as the degree of familiarity with diversity: 1) highly educated, young and mobile students, artists, migrants and workers under 35 at the beginning of their trajectories; 2) low-income single parents and migrant families with few resources and with trajectories featuring many constraints but supported by bonding capital and community networks; 3) middle class newcomers in the middle of their life course; 4) older residents, with low and mid-level incomes or pensions, who settled in the area decades ago.

Positive or negative perceptions of diversity are embedded in these social and residential trajectories. Interviews highlight the difficulty of considering diversity as either a pure asset or pure liability for inhabitants of ‘diverse’ neighbourhoods. Positive perceptions are mostly expressed by middle class newcomers and migrants: the former appreciate the feeling of ‘travelling’ in their own neighbourhood, while the latter enjoy its vibrant character and wide-ranging culinary items, all of which enhance their feeling of ‘home’. The daily transmission of experiences, knowledge and know-how is proclaimed as a richness that is believed to be lacking in less diverse neighbourhoods (Corbillé, 2013). Negative perceptions are more often expressed by older retired residents, whose strong local attachments appear to be threatened by the rise of new dominant norms of behaviour and self-presentation.

Openness to diversity is thus related to previous personal, professional or residential experiences, such as mixed marriages, travels abroad or living in a working class area in their childhood (Lelévier, 2013). For those familiar with diversity, seeking diversity (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010) can thus be a secondary reason to move to this part of Paris rather than to more affluent
districts. Perceptions and practices also vary according to the life cycle stages of residents, and over time, former residents complain more about diverse uses of public space when they get older and retire. The “newly acquired responsibilities of parenthood” (Boterman, 2013) tend to challenge parents’ openness to diversity through their children’s school experiences. The analysis of activities through time and space shows the extent to which “time in-between” (Blokland and Nast, 2014) or inhabitants’ daily routines are also defined by variations in life cycles, lifestyles and personal preferences.

Interviews highlight what we call a process of socialisation to diversity through previous trajectories, but also over time and through neighbourhood life after inhabitants have settled there. The daily cohabitation in local spaces appears to play a significant role in the production of an increased reflexivity and in providing “public familiarity” (Fischer, 1982; Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010) with diversity. In contrast to research claiming that mixed contexts lead to a lack of networks, our fieldwork tends to show how inhabitants get used to diversity and change their views through daily routines and encounters in schools and micro-public spaces.

Place attachment, conflict and solidarity
Conflicts may arise in relation to uses of public space, due to diverse social norms and lifestyles and manifesting in most cases socio-economic inequalities (overcrowded homes, lack of employment). In particular, respondents emphasised several negative outcomes of the high prevalence of drug trafficking in the areas of study, depicted as creating conflicts and reinforcing feelings of insecurity among certain groups.

However, place attachment is widespread, as suggested by the many forms of mutual support recounted by interviewees and a prevailing sentiment that they are better off in their neighbourhood where people are willing to help one another. As Van Eijk (2012) argues, in daily practices, some seemingly banal activities produce interactions between diverse others, and ethnic shops play a central role in the positive perception of diversity while offering a valuable resource for local migrants.

These historically working class neighbourhoods of Paris appear to be places of public familiarity, with bonding ties providing a sense of belonging (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). However, young male working class inhabitants of non-French origin (the so-called ‘jeunes’) embody the ambivalent dialectic of conflict and solidarity, as their visible presence in public and semi-public spaces tends to be associated simultaneously and paradoxically with disorder and delinquency, as well as to the lively and safe character of the neighbourhood.

This study outlines some paradoxes and ambiguities of diversity. On the one hand, interviewees sometimes attribute conflicts to differences in lifestyles, norms and values; however, their activities convey trust and solidarity along these lines. Young mobile groups and middle class families seek diversity but the encounter with ‘others’ often ends at the door of secondary school for their children (Butler, 2003; Oria et al., 2007). However, a desire to preserve diversity as
well as minor and innovative forms of redistribution among newcomers and former inhabitants, migrants and non-migrants softens this picture of tensions.

From an employment perspective, providing inhabitants with bridging social capital that they cannot find in their own networks appears to be an efficient way to foster social mobility. Associations and social centres play an important role in forging those connections as ‘semi-public spaces’ of social contact (Amin, 2002; Wessendorf, 2014). School is another central concern related to social mobility and social cohesion in our interviews. School policies and the socio-spatial hierarchies of the schools market are perceived as threatening the sustainability of diversity within schools (Oberti and Rivière, 2014). This outcome should be more seriously taken into consideration by school policies and more generally by diversity-oriented policies. Whereas French studies demonstrate negative neighbourhood effects on school performance in deprived areas (Goux and Maurin, 2007), our analysis suggests a positive neighbourhood effect on socialisation to diversity. This could be harnessed as an educational outcome in itself by evaluating the impact of social and ethnic diversity in schools on life trajectories and openness to ‘others’.

Improvements of social-housing estates, degraded private housing and derelict industrial zones, are looked upon favourably. Such operations are considered proof of the investment of public and private actors in the neighbourhood’s development and rehabilitation. However, respondents expect employment, educational and anti-discrimination policies more than physical and urban improvements. They regret the fact that while money is invested in urban renewal, associations and social initiatives receive decreasing support and/or funding. They also call for more attention to be paid to everyday life and forms of social regulation of the diverse but also deviant uses of public spaces (i.e. safety, cleaning, mediation of conflicts). In our areas of study, social centres and schools are crucial places for social interaction and cohesion.

This gap between inhabitants’ priorities and public policy aims is not new (Lelévrier, 2004). There were high hopes for the new Urban Renewal and City Policy (2014) to achieve its objective of better considering social needs and favouring a more diverse participation of inhabitants through compulsory ‘citizens’ councils’ with real decision-making power (Bacqué and Mechmache, 2013). However, after two years of implementation, the involvement of inhabitants in decision-making is still an issue.
5. ENTREPRENEURS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

High levels of economic growth and the increasing well-being of citizens (Fainstein, 2005; Bodaar and Rath, 2005) are closely connected to levels of entrepreneurship and the ability to create new enterprises. In this global era, cities compete for businesses with high economic performance and talented entrepreneurs, in addition to creating the conditions necessary for new start-ups. The literature emphasises that cities open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of entrepreneurs than those that are relatively closed to it (Fainstein, 2005; Florida, 2002; Eraydin et al., 2010). Empirical research on how economic competitiveness is connected to urban diversity, however, is quite limited and provides evidence usually only at macro level.

In this chapter, we focus on the economic performance of enterprises in deprived, dynamic and diverse neighbourhoods and the conditions that support and sustain their competitiveness and longer-term development. We aim to demonstrate the relationships between urban diversity and the success of entrepreneurs. More specifically, we want to explain and document the reasons why some neighbourhoods provide conditions for individuals or groups to strengthen their creative forces and enhance their economic performance.

5.2 METHODOLOGY

The chapter is based on a survey conducted between July and December 2015 with 40 entrepreneurs, whose companies are located in the adjacent neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or (n=19), Flandre (n=15) and La Chapelle (n=6).
For the last two decades, the literature on entrepreneurship has largely focused on the relations between entrepreneurship and ethnicity (see e.g. Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990), and on the so-called ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002; Peck, 2005). In line with these studies, we decided to pay specific attention in the sample process to ethnic entrepreneurs on the one hand, and to entrepreneurs contributing to the gentrification process (Zukin et al., 2009) on the other. We also deliberately interviewed entrepreneurs benefiting from institutional support, in order to grasp simultaneously the impact of diversity, social change and public action on economic performance.

More than eight out of 10 interviews were thus conducted with entrepreneurs belonging to one of the following three categories: 11 interviews were conducted with ethnic entrepreneurs (27.5%), 10 with newcomers to the area representative of local social upgrading (25%), and 12 with entrepreneurs benefiting from institutional support (30%). Seven interviews (17.5%) were conducted with entrepreneurs belonging to none of these three groups. The interviewees were contacted in three main ways: direct contact in their workspace or by e-mail/phone, researchers’ personal networks, and snowballing (initiated several times in order to avoid social biases in the sample).

Ten interviewees are female entrepreneurs. Nineteen are native French, while 21 are entrepreneurs with different backgrounds: North African (10) and West African (n=5), Asian (n=3), Central American (n=2) and German (n=1). The youngest interviewee was 24 years old and the oldest 63. Half of the interviewees were aged between 31 and 45. Some of the entrepreneurs interviewed grew up in the area of study or are very well integrated into local social networks. On the other hand, some interviewees had never come to the area before starting their businesses there recently. Large companies in diverse new business areas are underrepresented, while shopkeepers and catering activities are overrepresented.

5.3 THE ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR BUSINESSES

This section aims to define the main characteristics of the entrepreneurs we met during the fieldwork, as well as the main characteristics of their businesses, bearing in mind their diverse professional and personal trajectories.

5.3.1 Characteristics of the entrepreneurs

Four main types of professional trajectories emerge: family entrepreneurs; young highly skilled entrepreneurs; experienced entrepreneurs; and new entrepreneurs following career reorientation. This typology is mainly based on the period in their life cycle when they became entrepreneurs and the way they created or run their business. It highlights the fact that the diversity of entrepreneurs is partly shaped by the diversity of their family, educational and professional trajectories.
**Family entrepreneurs**

The qualification levels of these entrepreneurs are relatively low, and their ability to run a business mostly draws on the skills and knowledge they have inherited from their elders. They tend to run their companies relatively early in their professional careers, after inheriting their position from an older family member (generally on the point of retirement or facing health problems). This is the case for E36 (40, Male, Fairground material seller, Native French), who succeeded his uncle as the owner of a fairground material business created by his grandfather. He spent some years working alongside his uncle before replacing him. This has been also the case for E20 (48, Male, Indian restaurant, Indian), who came from Punjab to work with his uncle in an Indian restaurant and replaced him after his death.

One family member might also invest money and ask a relative to take care of the business. Born in India, E32 (Male, 24) is the manager of a women’s clothing store, owned by his father, and employs his own grandfather. Another way families shape entrepreneurship careers is when family-owned businesses play a training role for future entrepreneurs. E29 highlighted how he was “raised in business”: after working for one of his cousins, he created a furniture trading company and still purchases a part of the products he sells from another cousin.

**Young highly skilled entrepreneurs**

A second group is composed of entrepreneurs who created a business in their twenties or early thirties, in line with their higher-education curriculum. They are highly skilled, innovative and tend to face economic hardships during their first years of activity. During the first stage of their professional career, they share as a group several features with the young and highly educated newcomers we identified during the fieldwork on inhabitants, reflecting the ongoing social change of the area.

An archetypal case is E28 (Male, 26, Video projection software solutions, Native French), who created his company during his engineering studies, along with two of his friends who were “truly passionate about the audio-visual sector”. They developed innovative software for outdoor video projection and benefited from the material (office, financial aid) and administrative support of a business incubator within their engineering school. They have presented their work in several innovation competitions. Now they are hosted by another incubator in the Centquatre, an innovative, publicly funded cultural centre located in the case study area.

**Experienced entrepreneurs**

A third group includes interviewees whose experience mostly draws on their previous professional trajectory, with no clear relationship to their educational background. In other words, their academic qualification level played less of a role in the starting of their businesses than their work experience. Some of these entrepreneurs ran other businesses before creating their current business, as exemplified by E06 (Male, 54, Wine shop and restaurant, Native French), who has been a business owner for more than 30 years. After opening a wine shop in 1992 in a more central Parisian neighbourhood, he decided to create an online company.
selling wine. Increased competition led him to quit after a few years, and he used the money he earned to open a wine bar (2000) and then a small restaurant (2002) in a trendy Parisian covered market. He sold them both in 2008 in order to develop the importation of natural wines in Hong Kong, and came back to Paris in 2011 to develop a new concept: selling wine in bulk to urban customers. He never benefited from any specific training but draws on his personal experience, claiming that “[his] job is the wine”.

Other entrepreneurs are running their first businesses by relying on their previous professional experience, such as E05 (Male, 36, Native French) who occupied different positions in the wine sector (e.g. importer, cellar master) before opening a pizzeria/wine bar in 2014. In another domain, E08 (Female, 45, Independent designer, Native French) and her husband created a design company in line with their previous work (she was a graphic artist and he was a set designer).

Some entrepreneurs with professional work experience run a business much more by opportunity than in relation to a clear objective of becoming an entrepreneur. In some cases, their route to entrepreneurship was actually unforeseen: as an example, E40 (Male, 52, Travel agency, North African descent) was asked by the owner of the travel agency he worked for to become his associate and buy another travel agency together.

New entrepreneurs following career reorientation
In contrast to the entrepreneurs whose businesses are strongly related to their education or professional background, several interviewees created their business as part of a process of career reorientation. They are generally in the middle of their life course and have decided to radically change their career by switching from one professional world to another. Two cases exemplify these redeployment strategies particularly well: E11 (44, Male, Native French), who worked as a music artist manager for 15 years and now owns a wine-bar/restaurant, and E18 (Male, 43, Native French) who had been working in the marketing sector for a decade before deciding to create a craft brewery.

Such new beginnings can be linked to discontent with previous professional positions, as in the case of E31 (an ex-nursing auxiliary) and her husband (ex-laboratory technician), who opened a shoe store in order to escape their ‘routines’. A career change may also be provoked by a layoff, as in the case of a graphic designer who had been working for 10 years for an advertising company and decided to open a flower shop after being made redundant.

In other cases, reconversion paths are related to the successful development of an economic activity that was considered as merely secondary by the interviewees, who were earning a living by other means. Their professional careers evolved along with the acquisition of new skills and contacts, moving progressively away from their initial professional world.
5.3.2 Characteristics of the businesses, their evolutionary paths and their core fields of activity

In addition to the contrasts among the trajectories of these entrepreneurs, their businesses are differentiated in terms of the products and services they offer, and adapt to changing conditions. The employment opportunities they provide vary accordingly to their characteristics.

A large diversity of products and services
The case study areas have a diversified commercial offer. Interviews were thus conducted with the owners of different kinds of retail stores, which sell different kind of goods: clothes, shoes, furniture, mobile phones, medicines, food, wine and spirits, books. Some of them explicitly target an ethnic clientele in relation to the products they sell, such as West African food or Indian ladies wear. Others offer second-hand goods (mobile phones, books, clothes) or repair products (mobile phones). Other companies provide services to companies and individual customers, such as a travel agency specialised in Africa and the Middle East, an office equipment dealer and repair shop, an architecture agency and a video projection software solutions start-up. The highly skilled entrepreneurs we interviewed also include the co-director of a broadcasting company producing documentary and fiction programmes, mostly for French public television channels.

The restaurants and cafés can be divided into three main groups: established restaurants offering ethnic food, traditional French restaurants, and more recent places targeting new highly educated inhabitants’ tastes and lifestyles (Carfagna et al., 2014; Ocejo, 2015). These new businesses turn to organic and homemade products and promote new ways of consuming in the neighbourhood (e.g. biodynamic fruit and vegetables, natural and biological wines, high-quality locally roasted coffee). In doing so, they are part of the ‘pioneers’ of the ‘commercial gentrification’ of certain sectors of the area, along with the designers who produce and sell different kind of goods.

Businesses adapting to changing conditions
It is necessary to highlight how entrepreneurs deal with changing conditions at different scales. On the one hand, they adapt to technological changes, related for instance to the development of online businesses. In fact, the internet plays a disintermediating role, which can be a threat for traditional retail stores. Accordingly, E27 (Male, 54, Bookshop, Native French) travels around Paris in the mornings to get his books directly from the editors, in order to save time and offer his customers greater reactivity than if he bought the books through traditional distribution networks. He highlights that this is his way to “fight against the loss of customers” provoked by giant online booksellers such as Amazon. However, this can also be an opportunity for businesses to sell their products directly to individual customers, as in the case of this broadcasting company:

“The company has evolved since it was created, partly in relation to technological changes, as our relationship with the audience is not as intermediated as it was before by television channels. We
still produce a lot for television channels, but a significant proportion of our content is linked to online selling, in direct relation with customers.”
E09, Male, 40, Native French

On the other hand, businesses diversify their offer in relation to local changes, such as the appearance or disappearance of other companies in the area. Increased competition can lead to a broader offer of products and services, as well as new demand for products formerly offered by local businesses that stopped trading.

Employment opportunities
More than two-thirds of the businesses investigated are small structures with a limited number of employees (between 0 and 4). In some cases, this low number of employees is related to a specific organisation of work, as in the case of the broadcasting company, which only hires people for individual projects and never for long-term positions. In other cases, the companies cannot afford to grow and hire people other than the founders.

“At one point we hired a salesman, but it is true that… it’s difficult for a small structure. We never got to the stage of, say, attracting investors, of being able to pay someone for a long time in addition to me and my husband.”
E08, Female, 45, Independent designer, Native French

Coffee shops and restaurants are businesses with relatively higher numbers of employees (around 12 people in four different cases), who mostly occupy unskilled positions. Small family businesses often hire family relatives, be it full-time or part-time. Meanwhile, businesses engaged in higher skilled activities are attractive places for internships for students and young professionals.

Some interviewees emphasised their desire to employ neighbourhood inhabitants in order to contribute to the local economy, whereas a majority do not really take this dimension into account. On the contrary, the manager of a sportswear company explained the reasons why he prefers not to hire people living in the area:

“None of my employees live in the neighbourhood. It is a personal choice, I don’t like to hire local inhabitants, because you never know what can happen if things don’t go well. (…) If there is a problem, they can come back with friends and make a mess, but even if things go well, their friends might visit them while they are working; people hardly make a distinction between the workplace and other places. So, my choice is to avoid all those problems.”
E19, Male, 42, West African descent

5.3.3 The location and site(s) of enterprises
Three main occupation statuses for business premises emerge from the interviews. First, companies can be the owners of their physical workspace. Second, entrepreneurs can rent their
space from a private owner. Third, entrepreneurs can rent their business premises from social housing agencies, which generally offer moderate rents and easier conditions for obtaining a lease, especially regarding payment guarantees.

It is important to highlight how financial investment is shaped by the occupational status of the business premises. As an example, the entrepreneurs who rent are reluctant to invest too much in refurbishment works when the length of the lease is short. Consequently, some of them prefer to pay a higher rent and get a longer lease in order to secure their financial investment.

“We painted everything but did not make too many changes, because I only have a three-year lease, which I know won’t be renewed. So we tried to limit our financial investment, because we will have to leave anyway. (…) Recently, our draught beer machine broke and we ought to spend € 2,000 in order to repair it. The owner doesn’t want to pay, so I won’t do it, because when I leave, this machine will stay here.”
E11, Male, 44, Wine-bar and restaurant, Native French

By contrast, a significant number of entrepreneurs emphasised the substantial amount of time (up to six months) and money they spent on refurbishing their business premises. As for the case of the first middle class inhabitants who settle in a traditional working class neighbourhood (Bidou and Poltorak, 2008), these refurbishments work actively to contribute to the morphological change and social upgrading of the area.

“This place was a real slum when we bought it. We almost had to destroy everything and rebuild it. (…) It had been empty for two years, and the façade had not been repainted for decades and was really in bad shape. (…) Not a lot of people encouraged us to do it but some friends of ours are architects and provided us with very useful advice.”
E25, Female, 33, Co-working space, Costa Rican

Innovative craftspeople appreciate the versatility of their business premises, which allows them to combine diverse uses. In fact, the combination of a production space and a showroom/retail space appears to be profitable in terms of income (individual customers are a supplementary source of income), but also in terms of the free feedback they receive and can use to develop and improve production.

5.3.4 Conclusions
The conditions in which the interviewees became entrepreneurs suggest four types of entrepreneurship careers in the case study area. Family and ethnic entrepreneurs inherit at a relatively early stage an existing company and/or knowledge and financial support from the older generation, whereas young highly skilled entrepreneurs mostly develop their activity on the basis of their academic qualifications. In the middle of their life course, experienced entrepreneurs draw on their previous professional positions to launch their businesses, while new entrepreneurs following career reorientation mobilise their personal interests and networks.
The businesses the interviewees own are mostly small structures with a limited number of employees. They offer a large quantity of products and services to other companies and individual customers. Several businesses fruitfully combine retail and small-scale manufacturing. Diversity is thus present not only in the types of products on offer but also in the innovative combination of activities.

Some businesses explicitly target a local ethnic clientele, whereas others explicitly target the tastes and lifestyles of middle class ‘native French’ newcomers to the area. Along with refurbishment works, the latter often involve the growing visibility of products (design stores, craft beer) and consumption practices (trendy coffee shops and restaurants) that were formerly absent in the neighbourhood, thus contributing to its transformation. As highlighted by previous research (Van Criekingen and Fleury, 2006; Chabrol et al., 2014), ‘commercial gentrification’ is not only a consequence of changes in the composition of the local population, but is also an active part of the social upgrading process.

5.4 STARTING AN ENTERPRISE IN A DIVERSE URBAN AREA

It is well known that entrepreneurship can be a good option for migrants wishing to participate in the economy when faced with various obstacles in the labour market (see, for example, Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999). On the other hand, neighbourhoods have to be considered in terms of their ‘opportunity structure’ (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001): local markets can indeed be appealing for different kinds of entrepreneurs, among them ethnic entrepreneurs (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). To what extent might diversity motivate entrepreneurs to start a business in the neighbourhoods studied here?

5.4.1 Motivations for establishing a business

Four different sets of motivating factors for establishing a business emerge from the interviews. First, entrepreneurs can aim to fill a gap in the market. Second, they can be driven by an aspiration to professional autonomy and personal fulfilment. Third, entrepreneurship can be an opportunity for professional reconversion or overcoming discrimination. Last but not least, establishing a business can be related to an interest in different forms of political engagement.

Filling a gap in the market

Markets and profit opportunities are clearly one of the main drivers for establishing a business. The owner of a West African retail food shop launched his business after identifying the lack of a popular West African fish (such as the grouper and the sea bream) in the African commercial area of Château Rouge. Being one of the first entrepreneurs to import frozen fish from Senegal helped him to develop his customer base and then diversify his offer. In this case, the gap can also be related to the local diversity of this specific African commercial area.
Some entrepreneurs insist on the role played by their own life or foreign travel experiences in developing their ability to identify market opportunities. As an example, E03 (Male, 37, Coffee roasting, Native French) decided to create his first company selling take-away coffee after spending some months in the United States and discovering a “street food culture”. Another young entrepreneur developed an interest for fresh fruit juice bars after travelling around South America. He progressively became convinced that such a business could be successful in Paris (E07, Male, 31, Coffee shop, Native French).

In addition to mere profit opportunities, investing in new markets can ease the initial development of a business, as the level of competition is relatively low. This is exemplified by the case of the owner of a craft brewery launched in 2012 (E18, Male, 43, Native French), at that time the only one existing in the whole of the city of Paris. He highlights the ‘benevolence’ of most of his first customers, which helped him develop his products and knowledge.

**Entrepreneurship and personal fulfilment**

Entrepreneurs also explain their interest in launching a business by their desire to enjoy a large degree of autonomy at work. Indeed, most of the young and highly qualified interviewees share a negative perception of large corporations, described them as providing a boring, hierarchical and unsatisfying work experience, by contrast with entrepreneurship. Older interviewees also insist on their strong interest in a professional experience in which they work autonomously, instead of depending on managers.

> “I come from a totally different world, as I was previously working for an audit firm. I was quite fed up and bored with working for a company and could not imagine continuing with this career.”
> E26, Female, 50, Gold exchange shop, North African descent

Autonomy at work thus tends to be described as an achievement *per se*, as the accomplishment of a ‘desire’, a ‘wish’ or a ‘dream’. But the opportunity of ‘being one’s own boss’ is not only associated with a negative perception of hierarchies. Entrepreneurship is in fact frequently considered a better environment for creating and achieving original projects. Independent architects can, for instance, “make their ideas come true” (E34, Male, 43, Architecture agency, German) while independent designers “create (their) own universe” (E08, Female, 44, Independent designer, Native French) on the basis of their personal interests and experiences. This emphasis on ‘having fun’ and enjoying the combination of the professional experience with a personal ‘passion’ (e.g. for food, for music or for design) is particularly recurrent among male entrepreneurs.

Strong personal aspirations for autonomy at work and a rejection of professional routines and hierarchies can thus motivate entrepreneurs into launching a business, as well as a desire to both take advantage and develop personal interests and skills while working.
An opportunity for professional reconversion or overcoming discrimination
Starting a business has also been an opportunity for some interviewees to undertake a professional reconversion after being laid off. Six months after losing his previous job in the advertising industry, E21 (Male, 38, Flower shop, Native French) still faced difficulties in obtaining a new interesting position. He became progressively aware that these difficult times could be an ‘opportunity’ to open the flower shop he had been dreaming about for years. Entrepreneurship is actually an interesting option for someone wishing to change careers as it does not necessarily require professional qualifications, especially when it comes to retail activities. It also offers flexibility, as highlighted by the case of E17 (Male, 63, Native French), who could continue working intermittently as a lighting designer for eight years after opening his wine shop.

Starting a business can also be an opportunity for people who face institutional discrimination, as exemplified by the trajectory of E32 (Male, 24, Women’s clothing store, Indian descent). Born in India but raised in France, this member of the Sikh community got in trouble when he was not allowed to go to his public high school wearing a turban. Then aged 16, he never accepted the ban on wearing his turban and relentlessly asked his father to buy and let him manage a shop in order to secure his professional future. After considering sending his son to study in India, the father finally decided to accept his request. The shop was, significantly, named after a Punjabi word referring to resistance and E32’s aspirations to ‘live respecting (his) own beliefs’.

Entrepreneurship and forms of civic and political engagement
Some interviews also indicate that different kinds of political considerations can underlie the launch of a business. A desire to help positively change the (local) world can be a strong motivating factor. It can take a number of different forms, such as supporting cultural and artistic diversity, supporting the production and consumption of healthy food or fighting discouragement by providing local youth with positive role models. A desire to engage in the local community can actually be a driver for entrepreneurship.

Involved for years as an activist in various left-wing political organisations, E11 remained deeply disappointed by these experiences. He emphasises how much he considers his current entrepreneurial activity as an alternative way to be engaged, by appointing unemployed people facing difficulties and by buying and selling products with high ecological standards.

“I was disgusted by my experience, and will never ever again join a political party or association. This is the only way I can ‘do politics’. What I put in my glasses, what I put on my plates, and the people I work with. This is my way to do something… For me, this is political action. (…) Helps me to feel at peace with my political conscience.”
E11, Male, 44, Wine-bar and restaurant, Native French

Formerly employed in an independent bookshop, E27 also opened his own bookshop as a result of considerations linked to the common good. Indeed, his main motivating factor was his desire to help support and disseminate “books that are rarely found elsewhere”. His main goal
was to “promote a different kind of literature, different artists, and different publishing houses”. He organises diversified cultural events (contemporary theatre, poetry, photography) in order to foster original creations and help maintain a “real cultural diversity”. He is also proud to enable local inhabitants to access non-mainstream cultural goods and cultural events.

Beyond the choice of products and employees, a generous wage policy can also be emphasised as a tool to enforce ‘fair trade’ at a local level. E14 (Male, 44, Bar and restaurant, North African descent) insists on paying his dozen employees a third more than the legal minimum wage for political reasons. After working for years as an employee in the catering sector, he considers it ‘abnormal’ to offer low wages: “These were our political ideas, to create jobs and pay well”.

5.4.2 The importance of location and diversity of place

Four main factors influenced the decisions of entrepreneurs to start their business in the area of study. First, some were interested in filling a gap in the local market. Second, some were looking for premises that were strategically located with regard to the number of potential customers. Third, businesses settled in the area due to better access to different kinds of opportunities (e.g. real estate market, ethnic networks, social housing schemes). Fourth, the diversity of its population was appealing for specific entrepreneur profiles. The urban and social diversity of the neighbourhoods formed part of their decision to settle there.

Filling a gap in the market at local level

Entrepreneurs might decide to set up their business in the area in order to fill a gap in the market at local level. This strategy is remarkably well-embodied by national or international retail and catering companies looking for new locations to develop their brand. The director of a sports apparel shop that opened in 2014 summarised their strategy with the following words: “We never open shops in a neighbourhood in which we are not sure of making money” (E19, Male, 42, West African descent). They generally use market studies in order to assess and compare the potential of different locations.

With less in the way of financial and technical resources, independent businesses are also profoundly interested in the opportunity to fill a gap in the local market. E26 (Female, 50, Gold exchange shop, North African descent) explains that she settled in the area after noting the absence of a gold exchange shop despite its large population. E27 (Male, 54, Native French) opened his bookshop in the area due to the relatively poor local offer. Relying on their extensive local experience as well as “a small market study” that they conducted themselves, E31 and her husband decided to open a retail shoe store in their neighbourhood, where this kind of business was previously lacking.

“We asked local youngsters, our own siblings, a sports clothes and shoe shop about what is most appealing to them. (…) We realised that people had to go outside the neighbourhood to buy sneakers; why not bring the sneakers to where they live?”

E31, Female, 33, Shoe store, West African descent
Entrepreneurs targeting the more highly educated and wealthier inhabitants who have recently settled in the gentrifying parts of the area have also benefited from a relatively low level of competition, as in the case of restaurants, bars or fine food or wine shops. Personal knowledge of the area is thus of great help in identify changes in the population and the limitations of the local offer.

*An interest in strategically located premises*

In order to try to secure good business performance, entrepreneurs also take into account the potential customer footfall when choosing the location for their business. In particular, the proximity of public transport stations is widely appreciated, as well as the proximity of other commercial premises, private companies and public facilities such as schools. Indeed, all these factors attract potential customers.

On a wider scale, companies operating at national or international level can take into account the physical location of their competitors and/or suppliers, in order to maximise their chances of attracting more professional customers. For example, E36 (40, Male, Fairground material seller, Native French) decided to set up his family company selling fairground material close to his main competitor in order to try to capture some of his customers by offering them the opportunity to easily compare the products on offer.

*Real estate opportunities*

As observed with inhabitants, a significant number of entrepreneurs set up their businesses in the neighbourhood in connection with an opportunity to rent space owned by a social landlord. This is, for example, the case for E01 (Male, 47, Independent designer, Nicaraguan), who “did not know at all” the neighbourhood before visiting the business premises he chose out of three business proposals located in different neighbourhoods. Like E03, he was previously living in a better-off Parisian district and barely knew anyone living or doing business in the area before settling there.

Other entrepreneurs work in the area as a result of institutional initiatives to attract companies for different purposes. The start-up founded by E28 (Male, 26, Video projection software solutions, Native French) and two friends settled in the case study area because a local business incubator accommodated them. Previously working at home in a more central Parisian district, E16 (Female, 62, Fashion accessories, Native French) moved to La Goutte d’Or after receiving a proposal to rent a space partly funded by municipal institutions in order to create a fashion cluster in the area.

On the other hand, ethnic businesses highlight the embeddedness of economic action in social networks, as the choice of settling in the area can be related to opportunities offered by family members or acquaintances. E32 (Male, 24, Women’s clothes store, Indian descent) and his father were, for instance, “not specifically interested in this neighbourhood” when looking for a shop to rent, but received an acceptable offer from a mutual friend.
Buying real estate on the private market is another opportunity that can lead to companies settling in the neighbourhood, independently of customer-related concerns. The area is actually easily accessible by public transport and centrally located on the scale of the metropolitan area. In view of such conditions, relatively affordable prices are a decisive pull factor: they make the area attractive for companies looking for a workspace to buy. The financial risk associated with buying is in all cases perceived as very limited due to the ongoing social upgrading of the area.

**Diversity as a pull factor**

Defined as the presence of a number of socio-economic, socio-demographic and ethnic groups within a certain spatial entity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), diversity can also play a role in the motivations for starting a business in the area of study, which is one of the most diverse in Paris. Interviews highlight two different reasons for which entrepreneurs might be interested in setting up business in a diverse area.

On the one hand, entrepreneurs might set up in the neighbourhood because they target a diverse customer base. This is the case, for example, for E40’s travel agency (Male, 40, North African descent), which is specialised in travel to and from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. He deliberately chose to settle in what he describes as an “ethnic neighbourhood”: the ethnic diversity of the area of study actually makes it very attractive for such a business, as many potential customers live there and can also recommend the company to people living outside the area.

On the other hand, diversity tends to be used as a narrative by businesses recently settled in the neighbourhood and targeting a specific component of its population. They celebrate the coexistence of contrasting inhabitants in the same spatial area, even if the relatively high prices of their products suggest they mostly want to reach well-off customers. This positive emphasis on local diversity can be simultaneously sincere and part of a business strategy. The founder of the craft brewery, for instance, insisted on launching his business in the area “and not somewhere else”, due to two diversity-related factors: his own residential trajectory and an opportunity to incorporate the specific history of the neighbourhood into his brand. Having grown up in a very diverse neighbourhood in another region of the country, he immediately enjoyed his experience in La Goutte d’Or when he settled there in his twenties. After working for years in the marketing industry, he considered the opportunity to start a brewery in order to celebrate but also take advantage of the diversity of this neighbourhood, which is “simultaneously hyper-Parisian and hyper-cosmopolitan; a true Babel”. Diversity has to then be seen as “one of the constituent parts of the project”.

E11 (Male, 44, Native French) also insisted on opening his wine bar and restaurant in the area because of the local ‘mixed’ population. He highlights his perception of strong relations based on mutual assistance in the ‘village’ composed of different religions, skin colours and nationalities: “This is exactly what I want to do here”. He actually named his business after a book written by a poet from the French West Indies who celebrates cultural encounters.
In both cases, the interviewees fulfilled their desire to make a positive contribution to neighbourhood life by improving its image. A positive outcome related to this desire is the increased attractiveness of the area and its businesses to potential customers coming from outside the neighbourhood.

5.4.3 Selecting the line of business

We distinguished three main reasons why entrepreneurs selected their current line of business: a practical interest in continuing a previously existing entrepreneurial activity, a desire to take advantage of a professional qualification and, probably the most important factor, an attempt to adapt to changing consumption trends.

First, entrepreneurs might choose a line of business for practical reasons related to a previously existing economic activity. They want to benefit from knowledge, skills and especially social connections (suppliers and customers) that they have developed or were developed by others.

Other interviewees pursued their desire to take advantage of their previous training, such as E21 (Male, 38, Flower shop, Native French), who decided to open a flower shop six months after losing his job in the advertising industry. His main driver was then to “try to use” the professional qualification he had obtained years earlier.

Last but not least, entrepreneurs select their line of business in an attempt to adapt to changing consumption patterns. They frequently start a business because they consider specific products as particularly attractive for customers and thus profitable. A representative example is E26 (Female, 50, Gold exchange shop, North African descent), who decided to open a gold exchange shop after observing a significantly increased interest in buying and selling gold in France after the 2008 financial crisis. E37 (Male, Phone store, North African descent) insists on the “enormous potential” of a mobile phone sales and repair business: “What is our main common point? We all have a mobile phone.”

A fraction of entrepreneurial newcomers target a specific section of the local market by promoting products celebrating the ‘local’ and the ‘manual’ (Carfagna et al., 2014; Ocejo, 2015). Craft food (e.g. biodynamic fruit and vegetables) and beverages (e.g. natural wines, craft beers named after local places, high-quality locally roasted coffee) may even be selected as a business interest because of political considerations (see above), but also because they are ‘trendy’ (E18, Male, 43, Craft brewery, Native French) among highly educated and relatively well-off consumers. This growing popularity of local and environmentally friendly consumption practices sheds another light on the opening of a craft brewery in La Goutte d’Or, whose beers are named after different streets and places located in the neighbourhood (such as ‘Myrha’ or ‘Château Rouge’). Another option for entrepreneurs seeking to take advantage of these changing consumption patterns is to sell different kind of products in bulk (e.g. wine, vinegar), thus responding to consumers’ sensitivity to environmental issues (e.g. reducing the amount of waste) while also cutting retail prices.
5.4.4 The availability of advice, start-up support and finance

Entrepreneurs receive different forms of support when they start a business. In particular, members of their social networks and different kinds of institutions provide them with administrative and financial support.

Due to complex relations with the French administration, they tend to benefit from feedback from friends or acquaintances that started businesses before them. When they have better financial means, they can also choose to pay for a private advisor to help them launch the business properly. In some cases, they have access to informal forms of institutional support by benefiting from tips given by civil servants in their personal social networks.

Several entrepreneurs were able to launch their business with their own capital alone, be it the product of personal savings or family legacies. However, financial support is frequently provided by banks, friends and family members (mostly parents and siblings). Banks are often criticised for being too risk-averse, which emphasises the strong role played by social networks in supporting the launching of businesses.

The least-educated entrepreneurs frequently express distrust towards financial institutions. This explains the role played by ethnic networks in financing the launching of businesses, as exemplified by the case of E32’s ladieswear store, whose start-up capital was partly provided by his father and ‘uncles’ living in France, and partly by his father’s neighbours who live on a farm in northern India.

Entrepreneurs can also benefit from the professional experience of other entrepreneurs when they start their business. Technical skills and in-depth knowledge of products circulate among colleagues and friends, the boundary between these two categories being sometimes blurred. Interestingly, two entrepreneurs decided to join forces after having the opportunity to meet in the neighbourhood as salaried workers for different companies.

Public institutions can help finance the launch of companies, through short-term loans or temporary wages in cases where the entrepreneur is entitled to unemployment welfare benefits. Publicly funded business incubators (incubateurs d’entreprises) provide some financial support to the start-ups they accommodate; they also contribute by providing a fertile environment for developing companies. In a context of expensive real estate market prices, the City and the Region have developed these incubators over the last decade, aiming to support young companies in their quest for financial loans and social capital (CCI Paris Île-de-France, 2014).

5.4.5 Conclusions

The different key motivational factors for starting a business may overlap, as do the reasons to settle in the area of study. An interest in filling a gap in the (local) market, aspirations to personal fulfilment and political considerations can actually combine in multiple ways according to entrepreneurs’ careers and business characteristics.
It is necessary to emphasise the strong role played by real estate opportunities in shaping entrepreneurs’ decisions to settle in the area, as previously observed for the case of inhabitants. However, the diversity of its population can also be appealing for specific profiles of economic activities: on the one hand, businesses targeting a diversified customer base; on the other hand, businesses taking advantage of diversity as a storytelling opportunity. These are comparable in many respects to the “diversity seekers” (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010) among inhabitants, who are clearly potential customers. Urban diversity thus contributes to the local diversity of businesses, as it attracts entrepreneurs with different motivations, who in turn target different groups of local and non-local customers.

Interviews illustrate the embeddedness of economic action in social networks (Granovetter, 1985), which provide entrepreneurs with different forms of support and help shape their decisions. They are an invitation to delve in greater detail into the definition of economic performance, as individual and collective positive outcomes of entrepreneurship have been emphasised in most interviews, extending far beyond mere profit-making considerations.

5.5 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

Drawing on entrepreneurs’ experiences, this section aims to investigate the factors that negatively and positively impact economic performance, defined as “the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

5.5.1 Economic performance of the enterprises

Entrepreneurs’ discourses on the current performance of their enterprises make it possible to distinguish four different types of economic performance: companies with fast growth, established businesses, young and fragile businesses, and struggling businesses.

*Companies with fast growth* are relatively recently created businesses with rapidly increasing sales revenue. They often settled in the area after identifying a gap to fill in the local market: some are shops or restaurants offering high-quality food products and emphasising health and ecological benefits. Others are retail shops targeting a diverse customer base (e.g. phone shop, sportswear shop). Entrepreneurs are very satisfied with their investment, and plan to continue growing as long as they can. As an example, the owner of a wine shop and restaurant reports that annual growth in profits has exceeded 10% since he opened the shop in 2012.

*Established businesses* are older companies with a stabilised economic performance. In the most successful cases, this stability allows entrepreneurs to invest (e.g. in buying premises) and develop new projects. In less successful cases, entrepreneurs mostly insist on their satisfaction to maintain their activity and to be able to pay their employees (when they have employees) and make a living for themselves. E27’s bookshop exemplifies this type of business, with steady annual growth (1.5%) of his sales revenue since it opened in 2006, and a modest but reliable annual profit.
Young and fragile businesses have been started too recently to assess their economic sustainability. They have in common a recent launch (during the two years preceding the interview) and the fact that entrepreneurs face difficulties making a living from their work. Two subgroups can be further distinguished here. On the one hand, there are highly innovative companies in sectors that require huge levels of financial investment. This is, for example, the case of the video projection software solutions start-up founded in 2014 by E28 (Male, 26, Video projection software solutions, Native French) and two classmates of his, who reinvest most of the sales revenues in developing the products and the company. Temporarily working for free, they cannot afford to hire employees and only benefit from the help of students doing internships. On the other hand, there are recently opened and relatively expensive restaurants and retail stores that faced economic difficulties during their first year of existence. These entrepreneurs mostly aim to develop their customer base inside but also outside the area.

Struggling businesses are companies launched at least five years prior to the interview and which are facing serious economic concerns. Generally, they have had to reduce the number of employees, or do not have employees at all, except for family members working for nothing or for low wages. Their sales revenues are decreasing, threatening both their earnings and their ability to invest. They do not target ethnic customers nor the relatively well-off newcomers in the area. They struggle with both the local competition (other restaurants, other retail shops) and a depressed general economic context.

Failure factors for businesses
Companies face failure factors at different scales: some of them appear to be global or national, while others are more connected with the local level.

Interviewees doing business with Western countries frequently highlighted the negative outcomes on demand of the global financial crisis that started in 2008. Furthermore, political struggles and terrorist attacks worldwide have reduced the profitability of certain ethnic businesses, including a travel agency.

At the national level, many entrepreneurs pointed out the current level of salary charges as a failure factor for businesses. They insist on the fact that these expenses threaten the sustainability of their activity, as in the case of E35, the owner of a family restaurant opened in 1964. While its sales revenue has regularly increased during the last decade (+50% in 10 years) his personal earnings have decreased significantly. In his eyes, this reduced profitability of his business is mostly due to the high amount of charges he has to pay each year, making him seriously consider selling his restaurant.

Another risk for entrepreneurs is the behaviour of other companies. For example, some interviewees have had to deal with bad payers, a reason for which they recommend not relying too much on specific customers. Others have suffered from counterfeiting, with severe consequences on their own revenues: E08’s design company lost 70% in sales revenue after her
star product started being counterfeited by Chinese competitors. She insisted on two interacting negative outcomes of counterfeiting: on the one hand, the price of the product decreases due to competition; simultaneously, a significant portion of customers are no longer interested in the product because of the depreciation of its image.

At the local level, infrastructure and building works frequently have a negative impact on short-term economic performance, particularly on retail activities. The manager of a sportswear shop, E19 (Male, 42, West African descent), estimated that the number of daily visitors increased from 900 to 1,500 after renovation of the adjacent building was completed. Interestingly, some features of the local population also appear to play a negative role on economic performance. Recurring tensions between groups of disadvantaged local teenagers are a particular concern for entrepreneurs, who worry that their threatening presence and occasional street violence will frighten off potential customers. Such a climate appears to be negative for business, as potential customers avoid the area in connection with safety concerns.

“\textit{The neighbouring hotel works with an online booking system. You should read the customers’ feedback. (…) I mean, not concerning the hotel, but the neighbourhood. Tourists get attacked here, which is not normal. The outcome of this is negative for him, but also for us. Because the guy who sleeps in his hotel may eat in my restaurant. (…) When there are rivalries and fights over alcohol or drugs – whatever – everyone is affected. (…)}”

E12, Male, 44, North African restaurant, North African descent

Several interviewees have also highlighted the high prevalence of drug trafficking and consumption in the area of study as a deterrent for customers. This particular type of usage of public space can make potential customers reluctant to spend time in the neighbourhood, indirectly impacting economic performance. As observed more than half a century ago by Jane Jacobs, shopkeepers “hate having customers made nervous about safety” (Jacobs, 1961).

It is also necessary to note that female entrepreneurs can face specific difficulties in their entrepreneurship trajectory, in relation to motherhood issues. The time they spend in providing family care, and more specifically during the months preceding and following the birth of children, can and indeed often do have a negative impact on the economic performance of their business.

\textit{Success factors for businesses}

As for failure factors, success factors for businesses can be split into general and local factors. The opportunity to benefit from new sources of capital at key moments was frequently evoked as a positive factor. E01’s design company (Male, 47, Independent designer, Nicaraguan) provides a good example of how a virtuous cycle can start in relation to capital injection: after a friend offered to invest in the company, they could move from their personal flat and rent a space in the area of study. This move had very positive outcomes in terms of the economic performance of the enterprise. For example, interns can frequently be taken on in order to help
with daily work tasks, which gives the designers breathing space to focus on the development of new products and thus diversify the company’s offer. Meanwhile, the showroom part of the workshop generates enough revenue to pay the rent of the whole workshop. E01 has no doubt that this move was necessary: "I think the business would be dead if we had not come here".

At the local level, an in-depth personal knowledge of the neighbourhood (i.e. of the local economic life and local population) appears to be a factor that enhances the ability for entrepreneurs to identify profitable businesses to start and develop (also observed in New York City by Zukin et al., 2009). This successful strategy is illustrated by E17, who opened a wine shop in La Goutte d’Or, where such businesses had been absent for three decades. His progressive and continuous success surprised sceptics arguing that a wine shop would not be profitable in such a disadvantaged neighbourhood, but not him:

“My strong point is that I knew the neighbourhood very, very well. I knew, and I think that I still know, who I am dealing with and what I can sell. I know very well that there are poor inhabitants here, but also what I call ‘intermittent first-class customers’, who have fluctuating incomes but generally make a comfortable living and can buy a nice bottle without worrying. These are numerous in the neighbourhood.”

E17, Male, 63, Native French

Another local success factor for businesses appears to be the concentration of related businesses, which increases the total number of customers for each business. In particular, African businesses benefit from their location in Château Rouge, the Parisian ‘Little Africa’, which attracts customers from the entire metropolitan area and even from abroad (Chabrol, 2013).

5.5.2 Market, customers and suppliers
The identification of failure and success factors for businesses suggests that economic performance is to be impacted in different ways according to the geographical scale of their activity, from the very local to the global market. For this reason, it is important to try to discern the main customers and suppliers of the businesses under study, so as to shed more light on the relations between diversity and economic performance.

Targeting different customers at different scales
Most of the local companies are retail shops. They can be divided into two different subgroups, as some of them mainly target ethnic customers, whereas others mainly target a better-off and largely native French clientele.

Companies with a mixed customer base, that is to say companies targeting both local and non-local customers, are the most numerous in our sample. Their clientele significantly varies according to their line of business. Some of them have mostly individual customers, living within the neighbourhood or outside the neighbourhood (e.g. flower shop, bookshop). Restaurants are an interesting case, as they often attract and target a simultaneously local and
non-local specific clientele; the employees of other companies located in the neighbourhood, who do not necessarily live there. Other companies target both individual customers and professional customers, as in the case of for the African food shops of Château Rouge, which attract buyers from all over Western Europe as well as local African inhabitants (Bouly de Lesdain, 1999). Businesses combining a retail activity with a production and/or distribution activity also simultaneously target very different kinds of customers, from local inhabitants interested in buying goods (e.g. bottled craft beer, freshly roasted coffee, fashion accessories) or services (e.g. photocopying) to metropolitan, national or international professional customers interested in placing larger orders (e.g. home-furniture lines, photocopiers).

A company can thus develop activities at different geographical scales. However, some do not target local customers. None or almost none of the revenues of these non-local companies actually have anything to do with the area in which they are located. A good example of this type of company is E28’s video projection software solutions start-up, which “targets the international market” and whose geographically closest customers are located in the west of the Paris metropolitan area. Another case is a fairground material company, which has no customers in the metropolitan region, but mostly works with professional customers based in other regions of the country or abroad.

Companies try to extend their market shares in different ways. Entrepreneurs interested in developing nationally or internationally go to professional fairs. This is particularly true in the design and fashion industries, whereas those interested in attracting external customers organise events at their premises or in the neighbourhood (e.g. cultural events in the case of bookshops, doors open days in the case of craftspeople). Being listed in tourist guide books or reviewed by newspapers, magazines or influential blogs is also an efficient instrument for attracting external customers. Less than two years after its launching, E11 (Male, 44, Native French) estimates that his wine bar/restaurant has shifted from a situation where one out of 10 customers came from outside the neighbourhood to one where a third of his customers are from the local area. He describes the newcomers as living in wealthier and more central areas and insists on the influential role played by a positive review published in a trendy food blog.

Entrepreneurs may also try to adapt to local diversity and to the changing trends of the population. Some of the newcomers highlight their efforts to offer relatively affordable products so as to also attract low-income inhabitants: the cheapest products sold at the flower shop costs €1, and it is possible to have a coffee for the same price in a trendy bar (and a beer for twice that). In a similar vein, some traditional ethnic businesses are interested in developing their local customer base in a changing neighbourhood, as explained by this owner of an African food shop:

“We are working in order to attract the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood into our shops. If we change the way we present our products, they can be appealing for everybody.”
E15, Male, 56, African food retail, West African descent
A diversified array of suppliers
Like their customers, the suppliers of the businesses studied vary differ significantly in terms of their physical distance from the neighbourhood. Some of them are based locally, while others are dispersed around the country or even located abroad.

Some of the bars and restaurants owners have neighbourhood suppliers, providing them with some of the products they use for cooking (e.g. fresh meat) or preparing their drinks: E05 (Male, 36, Pizzeria, Native French) sings the praises of the fresh mint sold by his neighbour (“the best in Paris”), which he uses to prepare mojitos. Recently settled in the area, E04 (Female, 27, Eyewear company, West African descent) developed a partnership with a local African textile factory in order to produce her new eyewear line. She emphasised her interest in saving time and maximising interaction opportunities instead of buying at a nearby town. However, these fruitful and generally appreciated local transactions remain marginal in our sample.

In fact, the contemporary trend of celebrating the ‘local’ (Carfagna et al., 2014; Ocejo, 2015) appears to be embodied mostly in the Made in France label. A significant number of entrepreneurs insisted on buying only or mostly from French suppliers, originating from different regions of the country (e.g. Jura, Béarn, Aveyron). They have very different lines of businesses (design, fashion, catering, supplying fairground material) and a majority of them started their businesses in the area within the last decade. Their reasons for preferring national suppliers are threefold: first, they emphasise the overall quality of the products, by comparison with cheaper products produced further away. Second, they appreciate the possibility of maintaining a certain level of control over production, due to easier communication and physical access. Last but not least, political considerations partly shape their attitude, as they wish to create work for French craftspeople, in order to sustain them, sustain their skills and know-how and as a by-product encourage ecologically responsible transactions.

“It’s a choice that is consistent with our way of life, our way of thinking. (…) For us, it’s better to have long-term partners in France. Quality is high, everything is easier, and… You can find very good suppliers in China, but this does not fit with our convictions. It all sounds a bit Don Quixote and idealist but it is the way we have been doing things for 10 years now.”
E08, Female, 44, Independent designer, Native French

Here, once again, the idea arises that entrepreneurship is not just about maximising economic performance in terms of profit. Personal convictions help to shape entrepreneurs’ decisions, especially in choosing their suppliers. However, the choice to give priority to national producers has a twofold effect on sales: on the one hand, it tends to push up prices, owing to the relatively high cost of labour in France, compared with other countries. On the other hand, selling products certified ‘Made in France’ can be a way of positioning the business within the market and attracting customers for whom certain other factors are more important than purchase price.
In spite of this specific interest in national suppliers, the businesses under study also supply abroad. International suppliers were unsurprisingly listed by restaurants and exotic food shop owners: 80% of E15’s goods are imported by boat from Senegal via the port of Le Havre, while E03’s coffee-roasting company deals directly with Brazilian plantations. Nevertheless, some entrepreneurs import products that could easily be found in France, because of their lower price.

5.5.3 Relations among entrepreneurs
Entrepreneurial relations in the area of study are multifaceted, from competition to cooperation and collective action. Unsurprisingly, entrepreneurs can express distrust towards others entrepreneurs sharing the same line of business. This is the case, for example, for E12 (Male, 44, North African restaurant, North African descent), who considers that the recent opening of an oriental delicatessen has been harmful for the sales revenue of his own North African restaurant. However, other interviewees insisted on their interest in developing local entrepreneurial networks, which are particularly useful for gathering information that is fruitful for business.

Entrepreneurs partly develop their social capital, that is to say their resources deriving from social networks (Bourdieu, 1980), through clientele relationships. Local bars and restaurants are spaces of consumption frequented by entrepreneurs, helping to create a business-friendly atmosphere in the neighbourhood. They often buy goods or services from neighbouring businesses, as illustrated by case of E11 (Male, 44, Wine-bar and restaurant, Native French). This restaurant owner insists on his interest to “create work” for local businesses, reproducing at the local level the same pattern as entrepreneurs who favour national over international products. The bread he serves to his customers is for instance produced by E22 (Male, 35, Bakery, Native French), the beer he sells is brewed by E18 (Male, 43, Craft brewery, Native French) and the advertising posters for his restaurant have been designed by E08 (Female, 44, Independent designer, Native French). He is furthermore very interested by the settlement of new co-working spaces in the area, in order to develop his customer base. Another interesting case is E21 (Male, 38, Flower shop, Native French), who always offers his leftover flowers to other businesses before leaving the neighbourhood for his annual holidays: “Because, in reality, other businesses are also customers”.

As observed above for the case of Château Rouge and its concentration of African businesses, the physical proximity of other businesses tends to have positive outcomes in terms of numbers of customers. Indeed, several interviewees insisted on the fact that economic performance partly depends on other entrepreneurs’ activities, as they draw customers to the surrounding area.

“Because if my neighbour does well, I will get more customers; if I do well, my neighbour gets more customers; and vice versa. Everybody is happy. And the neighbourhood is alive.”
E12, Male, 44, North African restaurant, North African descent

Such observations shed further light on cooperative relations described during the interviews. A recurring example for retail entrepreneurs is a reciprocal redirection of customers looking for
goods they cannot supply but know can be found in other shops. A brand-new entrepreneur, E31 (Female, 33, Shoe store, West African descent) highlights the mutual support they want to implement with other local young entrepreneurs: “We try to help each other”. These cooperative entrepreneurial relations (e.g. information exchange, network development) are particularly intense within co-working spaces or business incubators.

Collective action can also be implemented in order to improve local economic performance. An example is the mobilisation of shopkeepers during the massive occupation of a square by international refugees. Humanistic but also economic concerns underlay their successful attempt to put pressure on the authorities in order to solve the problems present and relocate the refugees. Such collective mobilisations are however made difficult by the scarce time resources of entrepreneurs, who often stressed this point during interviews.

5.5.4 Long-term plans and expectations of entrepreneurs

The long-term plans of entrepreneurs are generally oriented towards financial investment in order to keep developing their business. Two main directions arise: on the one hand, the development of the products they sell; and on the other, a desire to invest in their business premises.

A first facet of entrepreneurs’ long-term plans has thus to do with the development of their products. This might include creating new lines of business, as in the case of E27’s bookshop, which aims to publish its own books, or E33’s fast food business with aspirations to extend beyond the immediate local market through the implementation of a delivery service. It might also involve developing current lines of business, as in the case of E06 (Male, 54, Wine shop and restaurant, Native French) who plans to sell in bulk other liquids than just wine and spirits (e.g. vinegar, oil). E01’s design company aspires to develop new home furniture lines, in order to specifically target more professional customers such as hotels: “our entire development strategy is based on the products”.

A second orientation in entrepreneurs’ development plans relies on investing in their premises. The growth of businesses tends to create new needs in terms of space, as underlined by E03 (Male, 37, Coffee roasting, Native French): “the more you grow, the more you need space for stock”. This is particularly true for producers, but also to some extent for restaurants and retail shops whose offer may progressively grow. Different options can be considered, from restructuring the current premises to moving to another space. However, most of the interviewees expressed a wish to stay in the area.

Interestingly, not all the entrepreneurs are interested in maximising the economic performance of their enterprise, if defined only in terms of profit maximisation. As discussed above, some of them are satisfied with maintaining their activity at its current size and do not specifically desire to target new customers. Personal well-being considerations can also come into the equation and counterbalance analysis focusing only on competitiveness. As underlined by E21 (Male, 38, Flower shop, Native French), “life and health are ephemeral”, one of the reasons for which
he plans to work hard over the next decade in order to secure his pension before quitting the entrepreneurial world. However, such considerations tend to be highlighted by relatively well-off and highly qualified entrepreneurs: in the case of E21 it is useful to remember that he had worked for years in advertising industry before opening his flower shop.

5.5.5 Conclusions
Drawing on entrepreneurs’ experiences and perceptions, we identified failure and success factors for companies at different scales. Global events (e.g. financial crisis, terrorist attacks), national policies and other companies’ behaviour can negatively impact economic performance, as well as interactions occurring at the very local level.

From this perspective, some features of the local diversity of uses of public space (tensions between local teenagers, visibility of drug addicts) can be dissuasive for customers who are not used to these kinds of contexts. The issue of safety is thus an economic stake for entrepreneurs, especially for shopkeepers. On the other hand, access to capital at key moments of a business’s development, good personal knowledge of the local sphere and the physical proximity of other businesses appear to have a positive impact on economic performance.

Entrepreneurs can try to adapt to the local diversity, by targeting different ranges of customers. However, they develop their businesses at different scales and the definitions of ‘local’ vary significantly according to the lines of business in question. Local entrepreneurial relations are thus multifaceted and partly depend on the profile of entrepreneurs, from competition to cooperation and collective action. The diversity of businesses does not necessarily produce competition alone, but also cooperation.

This chapter is also an invitation to discuss the notion of ‘economic performance’, as political concerns partly shape entrepreneurs’ attitudes towards the market. The choices they make actually have both an economic impact on other entrepreneurs’ living conditions and an ecological impact. Not all entrepreneurs aim solely to maximise profit, also emphasising personal well-being concerns and an interest in positive outcomes for their suppliers and customers.

5.6 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

The entrepreneurs we interviewed run small and medium-sized businesses, and many of them are frustrated by national administrative formalities and taxes. The main interest of this survey concerns interactions between diverse entrepreneurs and local government, in the specific context of deprived but still attractive neighbourhoods. In these contexts, what kinds of support do local government bodies provide? What types of businesses do they target? How do they take into account the diversity of situations and needs of entrepreneurs? How do entrepreneurs perceive local arrangements? What do they expect from local government and what do they
actually get? One hypothesis is that perceptions, expectations and benefits vary depending on their professional trajectory and their local attachments and roots.

5.6.1 Views on the effectiveness of business support provided by local and central government
Three types of support can be identified: national and local financial and administrative assistance for business start-ups and employment; incentives and advantages in the renting of business premises available by the City of Paris; and specific networks and arrangements implemented in deprived neighbourhoods, through City Policy.

First, central government provides financial aid for business start-ups, and employment assistance and training programmes through public services such as Pôle Emploi, a national public agency whose responsibilities include helping unemployed people access employment and/or vocational training. A significant proportion of our interviewees have benefited from different types of support targeted at small and medium-sized companies: exemption from social charges for six months or a year for unemployed people creating a business, or the possibility of hiring unemployed and/or young individuals via specific contracts, for instance.

Second, the City of Paris provides specific assistance and diverse forms of support. Sustaining and developing business is an important issue for the municipality for at least two main reasons. First, business is a financial resource via a local tax called taxe professionnelle (business tax) that companies have to pay to municipalities. Second, local shops contribute to the urban diversity, image and ambience of the neighbourhoods. So, in order to attract entrepreneurs, the City of Paris has adopted various strategies, ranging from specific training programmes and networks through the ‘Ateliers de Paris’ (‘Paris Workshops’) to business premises made available as part of the regeneration policy.

Providing affordable premises to attract new types of entrepreneurs
Regeneration policy is an opportunity to buy or build mixed buildings, including business premises, to rent out. Two intermediate stakeholders are also involved in this policy: a social housing agency (Paris Habitat) and the mixed-investment company in charge of local planning and regeneration policies in Paris (SEMAEST), both of which rent out affordable and new business premises. For small companies with not enough capital to buy their own premises, being able to rent affordable business space is a good opportunity that brings with it financial advantages.

“Here, it is the SEMAEST. They were satisfied because I am reliable, I was already settled there, I know the neighbourhood and fit within what they call ‘convenience stores’ which they want to promote in the area. (…) When I got this shop, it was quite something because… I could rent and was not forced to buy. So, that’s a real advantage, a clear financial help.”
E17, Male, 63, Wine shop, Native French
Most of our interviewees know about these opportunities for ‘business premises to rent’ at affordable prices, mainly through the city council’s website and the social housing agency’s classified advertisements. Nevertheless, some of these aid recipients express a clear feeling of there being a kind of ‘selection’ for access to this offer. E01 got the feeling he fitted the ‘right profile’ of businesses sought by the City:

“It is the City who makes the final decision about who they want… They clearly told us that they wanted us. The City deliberately chose us without ambiguity. […] We were the second, perhaps because we are designers, perhaps because we offer a product that does not exist in the neighbourhood. […] They wanted to diversify the shops and wanted to avoid new import-export companies from setting up … That’s what they told us… We don’t know exactly why but they clearly told us that our business is the right profile for the area.”

E01, Male, 44, Independent designer, Nicaraguan

This diversification policy seems to be a way to control the business development of the area. The strategy of diversification is oriented towards attracting new economic activities targeting the new inhabitants. So in this way, diversification can mean gentrification more than enhancing diversity.

A strong feeling of abandonment and injustice expressed by former entrepreneurs

Not all our interviewees expressed positive feelings towards the City Policy. Those who can be referred to as ‘former entrepreneurs’, feel as though they have been abandoned and are no longer desired in the neighbourhood. Among them, we can identify two different groups: on the one hand, old traditional French owners of ‘brasseries’, restaurants or shops who settled here when there were lots of industrial activities and craft industries in this working class area; and on the other hand, small shopkeepers selling ethnic products who settled when a large part of the population were migrants from North and sub-Saharan African countries.

The native French former entrepreneurs do not see themselves as benefiting from financial assistance and, on the contrary, criticise the City’s norms and controls. The main complaints are about taxes and the main conflicts with the City are on the use of footpaths. This sense of abandonment partly also refers to their own professional and individual trajectories: they are close to retirement and have seen a decline of their family businesses and experienced a sort of personal downgrading. They miss the ‘old times’ when workers came to have lunch in their crowded restaurants. The diversification of inhabitants and businesses does not guarantee them an increase in business, as older restaurants tend to be replaced by new ones.

The African shopkeepers express strong feelings of stigmatisation and decry a deliberate policy of displacement of ethnic shops. They perceive the hygiene inspections and administrative closures as persecution and symptomatic of a desire to push ethnic shops out of the neighbourhood.
“Today the policy of the City is to exercise their right of pre-emption on all businesses when they are sold, in order to set up something other than exotic shops. (...) Five years ago, we experienced some tough years when the police came, took our merchandise, and threw them away for no reason!“

E15, Male, 56, African food retail, West African descent

These two groups share a strong sense of abandonment, all the more so as they consider themselves to have played, or still play, a positive role in local life. This leads to a feeling of injustice and lack of recognition of their belonging to the neighbourhood. Unlike the first group, most of the ethnic shopkeepers are not inhabitants. They live in the nearby suburbs and are foreigners. So they are not able to vote and know that their local power to bring pressure to bear is limited.

Do these observations mean that businesses are just part of the gentrification process supported by the City? Our survey suggests more nuanced findings, as one of the aims of City Policy is to try to provide inhabitants with some positive economic and social outcomes through the presence of economic activities. This is why the selection process can lead to a negotiation of conditions for the right to rent, enhancing neighbourhood life. In order to rent its business premises from a social landlord, a coffee-roaster was, for instance, asked to open a coffee shop in order to contribute to local life by providing new services to inhabitants.

5.6.2 Perceptions of organisations, programmes and initiatives to support entrepreneurs
Our interviewees are aware of specific local and citywide initiatives but do not all use them in the same way, depending on, their level of qualifications, their business plans and their local attachment.

The neighbourhood project managers (locally in charge of the implementation of City Policy) play an important role in developing businesses, professional networks and training programmes. They target vulnerable small and medium-sized enterprises, the unemployed and low-skilled entrepreneurs. The idea is to enhance local economic development and encourage inhabitants’ employment while fostering the neighbourhood’s identity and image. In the last few years, for instance, the local team from the 18th district developed an innovative cluster named Les Gouttes d’Or de la Mode et du Design (‘The Golden Drops of Fashion and Design’), a project that seeks to structure the garment and fashion industries of the historic immigrant neighbourhood of La Goutte d’Or and encourage networking. Three interviewees are involved in this cluster.

Local business diversity facilitates elective and specialised networks
Our survey outlines two main findings: a sort of distance between newcomers and ‘formers’ and a gap between new business development and unemployed inhabitants. Some recent experiences of co-working and business incubators supported by the City of Paris have boosted new start-ups, providing them with shared services. Nevertheless, the types of activities
involved require specialist skills and are not really connected with the activities from former businesses or suitable for lower-skilled inhabitants. The managers of traditional restaurants have passionate views about public assistance, seeing themselves not as aid recipients and much more as the ‘victims’. Aged 54, this man feels left out of the neighbourhood’s development:

“No assistance… only harassment… For nothing, for the noise, for… the terraces… harassment and racketeering… I think some neighbourhoods were swindled by the Corsican mafia before… Now, it is the City of Paris who swindle us (…) and that’s why small local restaurants like mine, when I started there were 25 of us… Now, I am the only one remaining, the last one.”

E35, Male, 54, French traditional restaurant, Native French

Others become involved in local shopkeeper networks. One of our interviewees tries to organise resistance to what he perceives as a “wilful displacement policy” in one street full of ethnic food shopkeepers (E15, Male, African food retail, West African descent). Micro-local associations have been created to talk to city actors but have not been organised on the scale of the whole neighbourhood.

Our survey shows that the measures implemented at the neighbourhood level through ‘neighbourhood’ policy affect above all small-business owners with low skills. However, some arrangements put in place by the neighbourhood management in the 19th district have opened other opportunities, based much more on the connections between complementary activities.

5.6.3 Policy priorities for entrepreneurship

Our interviewees express a multitude of expectations. Some of them are not specific to the area of study, while others are more closely related to city and neighbourhood action. Her too, new businesses and trendy started by or trendy bars do not expect the same kind of financial and administrative support as the large chains or the former established businesses. However, they share common views on the role the City and local networks could play in enhancing economic performance and managing diversity.

Financial support for investments and administrative simplification

The most common response to our questions relating to public action was the complaint that the French national system of payroll taxes puts the brakes on their ability to hire staff and to develop their businesses. What they really want from central government is a reduction in these taxes and the creation of incentives to hire personnel. They would also like better access to credit. Two points are underscored especially. The first is the need for long-term support:

“Paris Initiative Enterprises supported us but apart from that… And they helped us when we started the business but once the business is created and when you need funding again, if you are not big enough, for small companies with small turnover like us, there is nothing. (…) And as designers, we need funding to expand our business… I’m not asking for grants, just loans.”

E01, Male, 44, Independent designer, Nicaraguan
The second point is the specific situation of ‘small businesses’. They shared the feeling that financial aid and credits were much more accessible for large companies. The expression “we are a small business” is often related to promoting the ‘local’. This ‘locality’, which should be better rewarded and recognised, can refer to the presence of products ‘made in France’.

‘Local’ can also mean being from the area and the city. According to a bookseller, the City should buy books for its public libraries from local Parisian bookshops instead of buying from large companies through the ‘public procurement system’. It is a question of ‘locality’ and ‘justice’ (E27, Male, 54, Native French).

They also call for a simplification of administrative formalities which are much more difficult, for small businesses to deal with. This kind of simplification is described as something that could potentially encourage young people to start their own businesses.

Diversity as an asset: more attention and regulation from the City

The relationship between entrepreneurs, ‘the City’ and neighbourhood representatives is rather strained. One interviewee even considers his relationships with public institutions as ‘extremely negative’ (E05, Male, 36, Pizzeria, Native French). Uses of public space, cleaning, and safety of the neighbourhood are the main topics of conflict and thus the main fields of expectations.

First, all the restaurants, shopkeepers and bars face the same problem regarding the uses of terraces. They have to pay taxes because they put tables or displays on the pavement and get fined if they go over the legally defined boundary of their terrace. The feeling is that ‘nobody is listening’ to them (E12, Male, 44, North African restaurant, North African descent). They request ‘more leniency’ and tolerance from the city controllers, especially while they are waiting for permits to extend their terraces.

The City’s behaviour is related to the misperception or non-recognition of the social and economic role that entrepreneurs believe they play in the area. Therefore, they call for more consideration and attention. The managers of restaurants and bars feel that they “serve people” (E35, Male, 54, French traditional restaurant, Native French), contributing to the “the street’s convivial atmosphere” (E12, Male, 44, North African restaurant, North African restaurant), “developing social mixing and creating jobs” (E05, Male, 36, Pizzeria, Native French). Some new entrepreneurs also feel that they invest a lot without any feedback:

“I think we play a role in the 18th district, not an important one, but one that is interesting for them. (…). They put us there and said, ‘It’s a good idea to put you here’. But they never, ever, ever came to see us to ask, ‘Can we do something for you? Is everything OK? Are there any problems?’”
E03, Male, 37, Coffee roasting, Native French

Conflicts regarding different uses of public space may also arise between formal shopkeepers and street vendors who set up in front of their stores, “bothering the customers” (E15, Male, 56,
African food retail, West African descent). This entrepreneur suggests that these conflicts could be solved through “roundtable discussions” organised by the City. They expect the City to play a mediation role between the two parties.

Second, entrepreneurs expect more cleaning and maintenance of public space. They ask for the local sanitation teams to come by more frequently to improve the cleanliness of the pavements and streets, which they find dirty. But the expression, ‘cleaning’ also refers to delinquency and contested uses of spaces by street vendors, drug dealers, and disadvantaged teenagers. The street vendors selling cigarettes give the neighbourhood a bad image and are perceived as threatening their economic performance by driving away customers. Most of the entrepreneurs call for more security at night to avoid pickpockets and drug trafficking on specific streets. Some would like to see more police officers in the area, taking more efficient action.

**A single point of contact to foster dialogue and local networks**

The City’s contribution to economic performance could be improved in at least two main directions: communication and adapting the assistance they provide. The first potential improvement could be to create an easily accessible ‘single point of contact’ – a ‘one-stop shop’ for entrepreneurs (a person or an office). This unique interlocutor would help to provide better information and improve communication, and also to reduce administrative complexity. At present, when entrepreneurs want to solve a problem of this kind, they have to deal with lots of different stakeholders, who “pass the buck back and forth”.

> “Well, what we are missing… in any case, for myself, 10 years ago, what I really would have liked was to have a reliable and clear interlocutor. (…) I wasted a lot of time when starting my own business: I wasted time because I did not want to miss out on potential aid that did not exist… And nobody was there to tell me: ‘well, no, you do not qualify for anything, don’t waste your time.’”

E17, Male, 63, Wine shop, Native French

The second improvement would be to better adapt training programmes and administrative support to the diverse range of entrepreneurs and needs. The new highly-qualified entrepreneurs do not need ‘basic’ training programmes such as internet training. They tend to find the programmes offered by the neighbourhood management team or the ‘Paris Workshops’ organised for entrepreneurs irrelevant.

The third improvement requested by interviewees is more difficult to implement and has to do with greater recognition of their social role. The newcomers would like to be better ‘welcomed’ into the area, while the former entrepreneurs would like administrative agents to be more understanding and respectful. The newcomers would like to be introduced to the neighbourhood and be informed about where they are and what services are on offer. They also would like to see more networking among local businesses and between local public economic agencies and businesses. These links could also bring unemployed inhabitants closer to entrepreneurs and jobs.
“It is this networking role that needs to be played, and which City Hall is not doing very well, I think. They should at least offer you a meeting with the local economic agency and tell you who is in the neighbourhood.”
E09, Male, 40, Native French

Therefore, the entrepreneurs expect more involvement from City Hall: a facilitator for formalities and access to quality training programmes and assistance; a mediator to regulate conflicts and problems; coordination between different departments and institutions; and networking between companies and unemployed people, between companies and public services and between business owners working in the same neighbourhood, in the same or in complementary fields.

5.6.4 Conclusions
Our interviewees know of and benefit from the common national employment and start-up assistance mainly provided by the state. But the most interesting measures regarding diversity are taken at the level of the city and the neighbourhood. Offering large and affordable business premises is obviously an efficient strategy to attract new businesses and boost their economic performance. Nevertheless, our survey confirms what has already been shown by previous research conducted in north-eastern Paris: the diversification strategy implemented by the municipal authorities leads to a selection of new businesses which meets the needs of the better-off inhabitants (Chabrol et al., 2014) and to a stricter control of the uses of public space (Milliot, 2015).

More than financial aid, entrepreneurs would like to see greater recognition of their role in the local economic development and social life. The newcomers feel that they are playing a useful role in increasing the attractiveness of the renewed neighbourhood; the ethnic shopkeepers selling North African and sub-Saharan African goods take the view that they were there when nobody wanted to come into the neighbourhood and they still serve the local population’s needs; the former traditional bars and restaurants see themselves as places of diversity, conviviality and encounter. In these deprived neighbourhoods, the shopkeepers are perhaps more than elsewhere “strong proponents of peace and order”, “great street watchers and sidewalk guardians” (Jacobs, 1961). They feel the City could mediate, facilitate, create networks and better adapt assistance to the diverse needs of entrepreneurs.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS
Results that are congruent with the research conducted among inhabitants (see Chapter 4) emerge from this survey on entrepreneurs. In particular, real estate opportunities play a decisive role in shaping entrepreneurs’ decisions to settle in the area of study: as in the case of housing, the offer of business premises owned by social landlords is relatively important, and the prices on the private market are still affordable in comparison to the rest of the city. These relatively
moderate prices, good public transport provision, and the central location of the area on a metropolitan scale are important pull factors. By contrast, diversity can only in certain cases be considered a motivational factor for starting a business in the case study area.

**Entrepreneurship and urban diversity**

Defined as the presence of a number of socio-economic, socio-demographic and ethnic groups within a certain spatial entity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), diversity generally does not appear to be a pull factor for entrepreneurs in the adjacent neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre. However, the presence of specific ethnic groups or, on the contrary, the diversity of lifestyles can be appealing for two business profiles.

On the one hand, there are activities (retail and services) that target a customer base linked to certain specific ethnic group(s) identified within the area. Their spatial concentration tends to attract customers living outside the area and increases the total number of customers for each business, as in the case of the African shops and restaurants located in Château Rouge, the Parisian ‘Little Africa’ (Chabrol, 2013). These entrepreneurs take advantage to a certain extent of ethnic settlement and can even help reinforce it. On the other hand, diversity can be used as a narrative by businesses targeting a better-off and more recently settled section of the population, as well as customers living outside the area. They celebrate the coexistence of diverse inhabitants in the same area, emphasising the positive outcomes of cultural encounters. To a certain extent, they profit from burgeoning gentrification owing to low prices for their business premises and an influx of better-off households. Comparable in many respects to the ‘diversity seekers’ among inhabitants (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010), they take advantage of diversity and sometimes brand the neighbourhood. They also insist on their desire to give something back to the local community, as observed in other contexts (Zukin et al., 2009) – for instance, by improving its image. These two profiles of businesses largely contribute to the visible diversity of economic activities in the area of study.

The growing visibility of products (e.g. design stores, shops selling biodynamic beverages or food) and consumption practices (e.g. trendy coffee shops and restaurants) formerly absent from the area contribute to its transformation. As highlighted by previous research (Van Criekingen and Fleury, 2006; Chabrol et al., 2014), this ‘commercial gentrification’ not only appears to be a consequence of changes in the composition of the local population, but also seems to be an active driver of local social upgrading. Meanwhile, the concentration of ‘exotic’ businesses in La Goutte d’Or appears to protect them to a certain extent from being threatened by changes in the local population, as a large proportion of their customers live outside the area anyway (Bouly de Lesdain, 1999; Chabrol, 2013).

Certain features inherent to the local diversity of uses of public space can have negative outcomes on the economic performance of different kinds of businesses (retail, cafés and restaurants). Tensions between groups of local teenagers, the high prevalence of drug dealing and consumption, and the temporary but highly visible presence of international refugees
looking for shelter in specific sectors of the area of study have, for instance, been emphasised as potentially deterring clientele unaccustomed to these kinds of urban contexts, especially by those entrepreneurs who have recently arrived in the area. The impact of diversity on economic performance, defined as “the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013), thus appears to be ambivalent.

Entrepreneurship and (economic) performance

Our qualitative research on entrepreneurs’ experiences invites us to go a step further and try to refine this definition of economic performance, as individual and collective outcomes of entrepreneurship have been frequently emphasised during interviews. In other words, not all entrepreneurs aim solely for profitability.

At the individual level, many emphasised their aspirations for professional autonomy and personal fulfilment. Entrepreneurs tended to oppose a positive view of entrepreneurship as less routine and hierarchical and as a better opportunity to create and complete original business projects compared to their unsatisfying work experiences.

In relation to these concerns, entrepreneurship can also be associated with forms of civic and political engagement at different scales. A desire to positively contribute towards changing the (local) world can actually be a strong motivating factor for entrepreneurs. Such desires can, for instance, materialise through the promotion of products with high ethical and/or ecological standards, support for cultural and artistic diversity, or the recruitment of local and/or disadvantaged employees. Personal convictions play a role in shaping entrepreneurs’ decisions, especially in choosing products and suppliers, inviting us to consider entrepreneurship as a way of being engaged in (local) society.

Interviewees’ frequent interest in the positive outcomes of their activity sheds additional light on the way the performance of a business should be assessed, as not all entrepreneurs are merely interested in maximising their profits. Adopting such a perspective might actually allow for other positive outcomes of urban diversity on entrepreneurship to be observed.

Entrepreneurs and public action

At the national level, many entrepreneurs pointed out the current level of salary taxes as a failure factor for businesses. They insist that these expenses threaten the sustainability of their activity, and urge central government to reduce these taxes, and also provide better access to credit. Many also highlighted a desire for administrative simplification and an improved relationship with institutions, often described as lacking flexibility, understanding and leniency, in particular with regard to the uses of public space.

However, perceptions of public action vary according to entrepreneurs’ profiles and trajectories. The long-term established French entrepreneurs and the African shopkeepers share a strong sense of abandonment and, in some cases, persecution by institutions, feeling threatened by
recent policies aiming to ‘diversify’ the current commercial offer. They tend in particular to see themselves as discriminated against by hygiene inspections or fines for prohibited uses of pavements, particularly in the cases of ethnic shopkeepers who tend to feel pushed out by the regulations in some sectors of the area of study (notably La Goutte d’Or). Other entrepreneurs believe that institutions preferred their profile, in particular when they were selected for businesses premises owned by social landlords. These are mostly newcomers, young and highly skilled entrepreneurs in innovative and developing sectors or managers in international chains, chosen by the City to contribute to urban regeneration policies. They expect the City to improve their business conditions by making efforts to clean up and regulate delinquency in public spaces.

In all cases, it is striking to observe how entrepreneurs unanimously seek institutional recognition for their positive contribution to local social and economic life. Among other dimensions, they highlight their role in enforcing social control, but also in fostering encounters in the neighbourhood, thus contributing to a safe and vibrant local life – in other words, social cohesion. Newcomers especially feel that they are playing a useful role in increasing the attractiveness of the neighbourhood, while ethnic shopkeepers make the point that they were there when the area was not as attractive as it is nowadays. ‘Former’ traditional French businesses highlight their central role in these former working class areas, as places of conviviality.

The entrepreneurs we interviewed emphasised expected improvements in the dialogue with local institutions: better information and communication via a single point of contact (‘one-stop shop’); and a better welcome to the area for new entrepreneurs, which would be useful in identifying potential local customers and suppliers and in forging links with other entrepreneurs. In addition to these points, other key recommendations for policymakers included developing more co-working spaces and business incubators for new start-ups, adapting local strategies and support to the diversity of entrepreneurs, improving neighbourhoods’ urban development and maintenance, and maintaining and supporting existing traditional and ethnic activities.
6 CONCLUSIONS: DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY

This book aims to contribute to the discussion on diversity and give empirical evidence on what it is to live with difference. It analyses how diversity is perceived and treated from a policy standpoint in the city of Paris and how diversity is perceived and experienced by inhabitants and entrepreneurs in diverse and deprived neighbourhoods. Diversity can be defined as “the mixing of population in relatively close spatial proximity, as measured by variation in income, race/ethnicity, family type and age” (Talen, 2010). In the European DIVERCITIES project, it refers to the internal diversity of ethnic groups (Vertovec, 2007) and the different lifestyles, attitudes and behaviours of individuals (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). Exploring the concept of diversity allows us to renew discussions on a key question for urban researchers, namely the spatial proximity of different social groups and their social interactions (Chamboredon and Lemaire, 1970; Amin, 2002; Beck, 2006; Valentine, 2013). This project presents diversity as a potential asset that can have positive impacts on social mobility, economic performance and social cohesion insofar as governance is concerned and can interfere.

What are the main findings of the fieldwork conducted in the three selected neighbourhoods (La Chapelle, La Goutte d’Or and Flandre) and on the subject of the governance of diversity

Photo 10 Living together with difference, a bar in La Goutte d’or, 18th, Paris: UPEC.
in the city of Paris? First, these findings are context-related. In Paris and in France, diversity connotes ethnicity and, for this reason, is problematic. To analyse how diversity is perceived, the research had to rearticulate a question to make it compatible with the French universalist context. Moreover, the research cannot provide enough long-term and empirical data to determine clearly whether diversity is an asset or a liability in the long run. However, the fieldwork helped bring the perspectives of inhabitants and entrepreneurs on diversity to the fore, and compare their perceptions with policy discourses and practices. This research therefore calls for a constant questioning of the meaning of the term ‘diversity’. Diversity does not only allow the measurement of population mix in close spatial proximity; it is also a vantage point from which to analyse the various paths that created the city we live in.

6.1 GOVERNING DIVERSITY IN THE SPECIFIC CONTEXT OF PARIS AND FRANCE

Some contextual elements are necessary to understand the perceptions, experience and governance of diversity in Paris. In France, policy discourses reflect the ambiguities of the notion of diversity that influence the public-led actions implemented at local level.

A specific context of social diversity and socio-spatial division
Paris, with its 2.2 millions of inhabitants, presents all the characteristics of a super and hyper-diverse city in terms of urban functions, housing and population profile. As a historical place of settlement for in-migrants where 20% of the population were immigrants in 2012, it is experiencing increasing super-diversity within categories of immigrants (Vertovec, 2007). As a rich capital city that is home to France’s main political and economic functions, attracting tourists and foreign investors and hosting numerous institutions of higher education, the city can be considered as hyper-diverse in terms of the differences in lifestyles, attitudes and activities that are present (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

As in other European cities, rising house prices have increased the social divide, not just between Paris and its suburbs but also within Paris. Consequently, governing diversity in Paris means governing a divided and contrasted city where the north-eastern districts concentrate a high proportion of migrants and unemployed people while the highest proportion of white-collar and highly qualified workers is to be found in the central and south-western districts. Both the central location of Paris and the social divisions in the city are important contextual elements in understanding how diversity can be perceived by inhabitants and entrepreneurs and can be governed. In this context, the north-eastern areas of Paris, under scrutiny in this book, provide opportunities for diverse social groups, such as young people, migrants, and the working and middle classes, to be within Paris proper while enjoying access to affordable business premises and housing. Second, the significant proportion of social housing in these areas (19.5% in the 18th district, 36.6% in the 19th district) is playing a vital role in sustaining social diversity in Paris and in reducing the trend of low-income families and migrants moving
Diversity, a sensitive notion in the French context

The notion of diversity is ambiguous in the French context. In French urban studies and social sciences, the concept of diversity is not really used, except when referring to social justice theories. In policies and political discourse on urban issues, the term is almost non-existent, as shown by the empirical evidence presented in this book. Social mix could be considered the closest notion in use, albeit with a slightly different meaning. Both notions are related to the issue of equality. However, diversity refers much more to the recognition of differences and rights of minorities, while social mix is based on spatial issues (segregation) and connected with housing policies.

This rare occurrence of diversity is visible in policy discourse. The notion of diversity seldom appears in French urban policies and politics. Indeed, the interviews we conducted with national and local actors reflect a consensus on the rejection of this notion (see Chapter 3). The resonance with ethnicity is the main reason why policymakers are reluctant to use it. Why? It is clear that diversity clashes with the French understanding of equality, as the Constitution of 1958 states that all citizens are equal, regardless of their origin, race or religion (Article 1). French social cohesion is based on a Republican nation-state that excludes communitarianism and is reluctant to acknowledge social and territorial differences. The politics of difference in France follow the universalist path (Chapman and Frader, 2004) and not the particularist and pluralist paths found in other European countries. “The principle of equality that structures French public law has long been an obstacle to the acknowledgement of diversity,” explains one of the national policymakers interviewed. Despite strong and recurrent debates among scientists and politicians, ethnic statistics cannot be provided in such a context. Working on diversity is thus not an easy scientific task when there is so little available in the way of data on immigrants, let alone on minorities. Nationality is the only legally recognised status, that is whether one is French or not, or becoming ‘French by acquisition’, or remaining a foreign national. Available data mainly concern ‘foreigners’, a term indicating those who are not legally French, or ‘immigrants’, a category based on the country of birth, designating those who are born as foreigners in a foreign country. Beyond the category of ‘foreigners’, the main sources of data available at the scale of cities and neighbourhoods distinguish merely between ‘European’ and ‘non-European’ individuals, with the exception of some specific studies, such as those conducted by the national demographic institute and the national census institute on ‘descendants of immigrants’ in 2008. This political and scientific debate about ethnic data is one that keeps coming back (Simon, 2003).

Governing diversity without naming it: ‘City Policy’ and ‘social mix’ policies

Diversity is not a category of public action except in recent national anti-discrimination policies formally promoting diversity and mainly influenced by the European framework (Geddes and Guiraudon, 2004). First, as in other European countries, some measures have been
implemented in the workplace to favour the recruitment of diverse employees. The Business Diversity Charter was signed in 2004 and the Diversity Label implemented in 2008 (Bereni and Jaunay, 2009; Bereni and Epstein, 2015). Second, a specific higher authority (HALDE) was created in 2005 to combat discrimination, replaced in 2011 by the “défenseur des droits” (“Defender of Rights”). These bodies aim to guarantee equal treatment between individuals and groups, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, disability, etc. Through this type of policy, diversity can be used as a category, although it is understood in conjunction with a list of 20 criteria. The introduction of diversity as a category in anti-discrimination policies does not, therefore means an acceptance of the concept of ethnicity in French policymaking.

Although diversity is not an official category of public action in French urban policies, area-based policies, called City Policy and urban-renewal policy, de facto target diversity issues and ethnic groups through an egalitarian and colour-blind approach. The audience is diverse, the 1,300 Priority Neighbourhoods covered are deprived and diverse, selected according to income and poverty criteria. The aim is to maintain a level of diversity and improve the situation of disadvantaged and unemployed people. While these policies are devised at national level, they are implemented and managed at local level. Accordingly, the urban and social cohesion contracts (2007 – 2013) and urban renewal programmes implemented by the Paris Department for City Policy and Integration (Délégation à la Politique de la Ville et à l’Intégration de la ville de Paris, or DPVI) can be seen as a policy response to diversity. An examination of the budgets for these policies highlights two interesting points. First, the City is the main source of funding, its contribution representing 55% of Social Cohesion measures. Second, 37% of the total funding is devoted to urban renewal and physical action while 63% goes on socio-economic action (2012), mainly education, youth services and sport.

The first path being taken by public action is to favour social mix and equality through the redistribution of social housing and the social management of deprived neighbourhoods. In Paris, social mix housing policies aim to maintain social diversity in a gentrified city, i.e. keep its traditional working class neighbourhoods accessible and affordable for low-income households. This is in contrast to suburban areas, where there is a tendency to demolish and rebuild large-scale social-housing estates to attract middle class tenants/owners to disadvantaged areas. In Paris, two main strategies are implemented: introducing more social housing in affluent districts, and improving the situation of the inhabitants of deprived districts through social and urban management policies. Our analysis shows that the City is still faced with a difficult challenge: how can it keep existing social housing and build new social housing without exacerbating the social divisions within the city? Keeping the existing social housing and building/creating new units would be the most efficient way to maintain social and ethnic diversity in Paris. De facto, however, the City of Paris has to achieve its target for the percentage of social housing within its boundaries, set at 20% by the Urban Solidarity and Renewal Law of 2000 and which has risen to 25% since the new law of 2013. The problem is that the affordable land for building is in the north-eastern part of the city, where social housing already represents a high proportion of housing and must be kept. The City therefore started to buy old private
buildings in well-off districts and changed the tenure of the flats, but this strategy has provided only 4,000 units in 10 years and has generated strong resistance from local inhabitants (Launay and al., 2011).

Our research on social cohesion policies and local initiatives implemented at the neighbourhood level sheds light on local ‘compromises’ and the deals that are made to govern diversity without naming it as such. In terms of governmental arrangements, the in-depth analysis of 10 initiatives located in the Priority Neighbourhoods of the 18th and 19th districts highlights the importance of state involvement in local activities: few initiatives are bottom-up and all the initiatives which have lasted have received public subsidies, public funding in support of NGOs, and public services (Saurugger, 2007). Action targeted de facto at specific ethnic groups, such as a ‘social café’ for older migrants or an Islamic cultural centre, are reframed within a universalistic discourse articulated in terms of equality. They would be presented as facilities and initiatives targeting all the population or the most socially disadvantaged, using diversity as an argument for equal access to all. Arguably, local initiatives would not benefit from the financial support of the state administration if they were seen as reserved for a specific audience. It confirms previous analyses on the impact of institutions on claim-making: non-governmental actors adopt the language of the institution in order to secure its financial support (Ireland, 1994). These ambiguities about the notion and the uses of diversity in the French context can lead to both inclusive and exclusive policies towards minorities. For example, social neighbourhood management could respond to some disadvantages or needs of specific groups and redress inequalities. By contrast, the adopted policy of providing affordable business premises for entrepreneurs could be used to select shopkeepers and exclude ‘ethnic shops’ in the name of ‘ensuring diversity’ (see Chapter 5).

So, in Paris as in France, the recognition approach is underdeveloped, to the benefit of the redistribution approach (Fincher and Iveson, 2008), mainly implemented through the allocation of social housing and access to public services. Two actors play a central role in the governance of diversity in Paris: social-housing agencies (providing affordable housing and premises for entrepreneurs) and neighbourhood project managers (supporting grassroots and public-led initiatives).

6.2 URBAN DIVERSITY AS AN ASSET OR A LIABILITY?

This research was based on the idea of diversity as a potential asset for economic performance, social mobility and social cohesion. To what extent does the fieldwork confirm these diversity outcomes? The interviews and analysis offer nuanced findings on the perception of diversity and on the day-to-day experience of living with diversity. They show the gap between inhabitants’ and entrepreneurs’ expectations on the one hand, and, on the other, the practices of local managers. It appears difficult to assess findings on the direct effects of ‘diversity’ on people’s lives and neighbourhood life. However, it is clear that each individual path influences the perception
and the experience of living with diversity. This is the most interesting result with regard to the existing literature: individual life paths and experiences – what may be referred to as ‘residential and social trajectories’ – influence the various perceptions of diversity. It also leads to some scientific questions about the definition and ambiguous meanings of diversity.

Ambivalent perceptions and experiences of diversity
Diversity is neither a relevant nor a familiar word for the 50 inhabitants and 40 entrepreneurs interviewed in the neighbourhoods of La Goutte d’Or, La Chapelle and Flandre. Most of them asked us (the interviewers) the meaning of this notion. However, when the inhabitants describe their neighbourhood as ‘mixed’, they first refer to ethnicity, in line with the representations put forward by the stakeholders. Ethnic categorisations such as ‘Blacks’ and ‘Whites’, ‘Jewish’, ‘Arabs’ or ‘Chinese’ are used to express diversity. Other social categorisations refer more to certain visible minorities who use public space for illegal and deviant practices (drug dealing, delinquency, etc.): ‘youth’ (‘les jeunes’), indicating men from working class and ethnic backgrounds; sex workers; and drug users and dealers, for example. Inhabitants and entrepreneurs also connect diversity to another social category – known as ‘bobos’ in France – namely middle class newcomers reflecting the urban and social changes under way in the studied areas.

Where it is not possible to assess through data and long-term observations the effects of diversity, inhabitants and entrepreneurs express their ambivalent views on this through positive and negative perceptions.

Interviewees first outlined the positive urban and functional diversity of these neighbourhoods, which benefit from a central location in Paris, diverse transport options, nearby economic activities and shops, and housing or business premises that are still affordable. As some previous research has argued, the secondary positive aspects of diversity refer to ‘cosmopolitanism’, where the ethnic and cultural diversity of lifestyles and food consumption habits respond to specific cultural practices of ethnic groups or open up others to difference (Corbillé, 2013). Living in a diverse area is also considered as a means of becoming more open to differences, as other empirical studies also highlight (Amin, 2002; Wessendorf, 2014) that can be benefit to local children (Authier and Lehman-Frisch, 2013). Mostly middle class newcomers and migrants expressed these positive perceptions of a so-called ‘working class neighbourhood’ (quartier populaire).

Diversity is also used as a narrative by new entrepreneurs whose businesses target a better-off and more recently settled portion of the population, as well as customers living outside the area. They celebrate the coexistence of diverse inhabitants, emphasising the positive outcomes of cultural encounters. The inhabitants and entrepreneurs interviewed express three negative perceptions. The first is connected with uses of public space and behaviours reflecting different norms and values of heterogeneous groups, leading to conflicts or limiting the attractiveness of businesses. The second expresses the adverse neighbourhood effects of social and ethnic
concentrations in terms of discrimination and access to jobs. Older, retired inhabitants or former entrepreneurs who settled in the neighbourhood decades ago more often expressed negative perceptions of religious diversity and the diversity of lifestyles present. Lastly, the third is related to the risk of losing the positive diversity and working class atmosphere of the neighbourhood through the ongoing gentrification process, visible in urban and social changes. Here, our interviewees give different meanings to diversity and have ambivalent perceptions of the benefits and the disadvantages of living in a diverse area.

The analysis of the activities undertaken in the neighbourhood does not provide such new perspectives, confirming the importance of the neighbourhood for families, low-income populations, and the elderly (Van Kempen and Wissink, 2014), the largely ‘absent ties’ of newcomers (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010), and the strong role of schools and associations as places of diverse encounter and ‘commonplace diversity’ (Wessendorf, 2010), strengthening mutual support.

Regarding social mobility, neighbourhood reputation is perceived as hindering job opportunities for working class inhabitants, especially when they have an immigrant background. The interviews suggest that social ties between neighbours are not a primary resource for finding a job. However, diversity at school and the role played by associations appear to be more decisive in terms of fostering social mobility. The associations can provide information and vocational training, but also access to bridging social capital.

The impact of diversity on economic performance – defined as “the way individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs” (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013) appears to be ambivalent. Interviews illustrate the embeddedness of economic action in social networks (Granovetter, 1985), which provides entrepreneurs with different forms of support and helps to shape their decisions. They are an invitation to delve in greater detail into the definition of economic performance, as individual and collective positive outcomes of entrepreneurship have been emphasised in most interviews, extending far beyond mere profit-making considerations. Our research invites discussion of the notion of ‘economic performance’, as political concerns partly shape entrepreneurs’ attitudes towards the market. The choices they make actually have both an economic impact on other entrepreneurs’ living conditions and an ecological impact. Not all entrepreneurs aim only to maximise profit, also emphasising personal well-being concerns and an interest in positive outcomes for their suppliers and customers, who in some cases belong to the same diverse local environment. However, entrepreneurs call for greater recognition by the City of their social and regulatory role in the neighbourhood, which can constitute another facet of ‘economic performance’: places of encounter, clusters and co-working opportunities, and the social regulation of young people.

Regarding social cohesion, everyday practices highlight lots of intercultural dialogues with acquaintances bonding over similarities in lifestyles, attitudes and activities. Place attachment is widespread among interviewees, as suggest the many forms of mutual support recounted by
interviewees and a prevailing sentiment that they are better off in their neighbourhood where people are willing to help one another. The social density and the presence of young people in the streets and public space is not only perceived as a source of ‘disorder’ but can also provide a feeling of confidence and security as soon as there is a sense of belonging, knowledge and familiarity in the neighbourhood (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001).

Schools are a central concern related to both social mobility and social cohesion. As highlighted by recent comparative research in London and Paris (Benson et al., 2015), social mix at schools tend to be valued by middle class parents in Paris, who often regret having to leave the local school. Most parents believe there are positive outcomes for their children of growing up in diverse neighbourhoods. Local preschools and primary schools actually appear as an arena of encounter for children and parents of diverse backgrounds and lifestyles. However, parents’ school choices produce and reproduce an incremental segregation of children in terms of both social class and skin colour, especially at the secondary level. The quest for diversity (Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010) seems to stop at the secondary school gate. This self-fulfilling segregating process reinforces the negative reputation of the neighbourhood and the difficulties faced by young working class inhabitants to achieve social mobility. School policies and the socio-spatial hierarchies in schools appear to threaten the sustainability of diversity within local schools, but also within local social networks, as this social and ethnic segregation has clear consequences on the forming of social ties within the local sphere.

Individual experience and the perception of diversity
Perceptions – as well as the relationships between diversity and social mobility, and economic performance and social cohesion – vary according to social groups, but also individuals. One of the key findings of the study is the role of social, professional and residential paths in shaping residents’ and entrepreneurs’ experiences and perceptions of diversity.

First, residential, social and professional paths highlight a greater diversity of the inhabitants and entrepreneurs interviewed than that perceived through their social, ethnic and professional characteristics at the time of the interview. We identified four types of households that highlight the diversity of lifestyles in the area and explain housing choices as well as the degree of familiarity with diversity: 1) highly educated, young and mobile students, artists, migrants and workers under 35 at the beginning of their trajectories; 2) low-income single parents and migrant families with few resources and with trajectories featuring many constraints but supported by bonding capital and community networks; 3) middle class newcomers in the middle of their life course; 4) older residents, with low and mid-level incomes or pensions, who settled in the area decades ago.

Interviews confirm that openness to diversity is related to previous personal, professional or residential experiences such as mixed marriages, travels abroad or living in a working class area in their childhood (Lélévrier, 2013). They also highlight what we call a process of ‘socialisation to diversity’ through previous experiences but also over time and through neighbourhood life
after inhabitants have settled there. The daily cohabitation in local space appears to play a significant role in the production of an increased reflexivity and in providing ‘public familiarity’ (Fischer, 1982; Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010) with diversity. This resonates with the findings of Amin on the role of “micro-publics of everyday social contact…” where “… people from different backgrounds are brought together with the opportunity to break out of fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of being and relating” (Amin, 2002, p. 959).

The typology of entrepreneurs’ biographies and career paths presents some similarities related to their attachments and roots in the neighbourhood. We distinguish four types of career path (social trajectories):

• family and ethnic entrepreneurs strongly attached and rooted in the neighbourhood with bonding ties;
• highly skilled young entrepreneurs, often newcomers seeking affordable business premises and diversity;
• experienced entrepreneurs taking the opportunity to develop new products and markets;
• new entrepreneurs in retraining, seeking a new lifestyle through their economic activity.

Diversity versus diversification
The interviews and analyses of discourses and practices relating to diversity in north-eastern neighbourhoods of Paris invite reflections upon the meanings of diversity. At least two different meanings, leading to different theoretical questions, can be identified.

The first meaning is clearly ethnic diversity and questions the place allocated to minorities in cities. In the French context, the issue is more about dealing with and addressing ethnic concentration and the social homogeneity of working class populations than addressing ‘diversity’. The ‘territory’, through area-based policy, is the tool used by the French government to deal with ethnic enclaves in cities (Kirszbaum, 2004; Hancock et al., 2016). There are a lot of ambiguities when we talk about diversity. In the international literature, diversity often refers to ethnic and cosmopolitan issues (Valentine, 2013). Deprived and poor neighbourhoods are taken as places of diversity because they concentrate ethnic minorities. The first ambiguity lies in the fact that these neighbourhoods, when taken as a category of public action in France, are not considered as diverse but as concentrated and homogeneous. So, in the case of France, we looked at urban policies dealing with segregation and inequalities rather than with diversity.

The second meaning is more social and questions the process of gentrification in central Paris. It is related to new social groups who come and settle in traditional working class neighbourhoods. This second meaning is less concerned with ethnicity than with income, cultural capital and lifestyles. It creates new forms of social polarisation. What we look at in the neighbourhoods targeted by urban policies is more the process of diversification than an unchanging ‘state’ of diversity. The second ambiguity lies in the fact that this diversification, driven by market forces but also an intended result of social mix policies, leads to a reduction of ethnic diversity, pushing out low-income populations and migrants from the inner city, and to
an increase in upper-class populations, leading to less and less diversity. So the question here is more about affordability and accessibility than recognition of diversity.

These ambiguities do make the concept of diversity relevant to questions about the French way of dealing with differences and governing diversity without naming it as such.

6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY: HOW CAN THESE RESULTS BE USED?

This book takes account of an ongoing gap between policy priorities and social demand: entrepreneurs and inhabitants call for social and economic action (concerning local management, housing supply, youth integration, anti-discrimination procedures, financial and administrative support for businesses, etc.), while public policies are focused on urban renewal and physical transformations with the aim of social diversification. The key issues for residents could be summarised by the terms ‘safety’, ‘affordability’, ‘combating discrimination’ and ‘accessibility’, rather than by ‘social mix’ and ‘urban improvement’.

In Paris, sectorial social policies and social-housing policy both play a major role in maintaining diversity and in redistributing resources for greater equality. The local management of neighbourhoods contributes to social cohesion. Nevertheless, the analysis of local arrangements suggests some ideas for innovative policies to develop more encounter- and recognition-led policies (Fincher and Iveson, 2008).

Creating spaces of encounter to respond to the needs of specific groups appears as an effective strategy for responding to the new challenges of the hyper-diversified cities. Effective initiatives rely on these kinds of strategies 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 in tackling social exclusion and in reducing local conflicts between different groups (in terms of origin, age and gender). They are innovative because City Policy programmes traditionally consist of providing community services or social mediation, with the appointment of ‘neighbourhood police officers’, for instance. Their main objective is to foster social cohesion.

Using art as a means of bringing together and mixing inhabitants from different backgrounds can be seen as an attempt to reduce the negative impacts of gentrification. It is related to French cultural policies that aim to extend public participation in the arts (démocratisation culturelle). Artistic initiatives are mostly top-down and funded by the City of Paris. However, they have developed innovative strategies to reach out to inhabitants who are not accustomed to visiting art venues, and to connect with local associations to facilitate their access, with mixed results.

Making connections between pre-existing strengths in neighbourhoods can be seen as an effective tool for fostering economic performance in disadvantaged areas. By bringing together
business-development skills, governmental actors allow local entrepreneurs and business owners to develop shared strategies in order to upgrade their activity. This helps to change the image of the neighbourhood.

In addition to typical requests such as reducing taxes and increasing administrative and training support, entrepreneurs are also calling for regulation and recognition, inviting the City to take account of diversity. They seek institutional recognition of their positive contribution to local social and economic life. Among other aspects, they highlight their role in enforcing social control but also in fostering encounters in the neighbourhood, thus helping to produce a safe and vibrant local life – in other words, social cohesion. Newcomers especially feel that they are playing a useful part in the attractiveness of the neighbourhood, while ethnic shopkeepers make the point that they were there when the area was not as attractive as it is now. ‘Former entrepreneurs’ traditional French businesses highlight their central role in these former working class areas as places of conviviality.

There is no doubt that the gentrification process will continue and transform the north-eastern part of Paris. Preserving social housing in Paris is a key issue but does not prevent segregation and inequalities. Paris, as a rich city, still has a capacity for redistribution that will be exercised across the wider territory of the ‘Greater Paris metropolis’. To a certain extent, the creation of this metropolis could force governmental actors to face up to issues such as the eviction of minorities and the question of their access to the city by combining notions of recognition, encounter and redistributive planning (Fincher and Iveson, 2008).
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### Profiles of the Residents Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Position in household</th>
<th>Ethnic group (or region/origin)</th>
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<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R41</td>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>French, parents born in Togo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R42</td>
<td>61-75</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Separated, one child</td>
<td>French (French West Indies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R43</td>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Algerian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R44</td>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Married, one child</td>
<td>French, parents born in Germany and Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R45</td>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, four children</td>
<td>French, parents born in Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R46</td>
<td>61-75</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Married, three children</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R47</td>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R48</td>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, two children</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R49</td>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Divorced, two children</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R50</td>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>French, parents born in North Africa</td>
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**PROFILES OF THE ENTREPRENEURS INTERVIEWED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Type of enterprise</th>
<th>Cultural background of the entrepreneur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E01</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Independent designer</td>
<td>Nicaraguan</td>
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<td>E02</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Shoes manufacturing</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E03</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Coffee roasting</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E04</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Eyewear company</td>
<td>West African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E05</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Pizzeria</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E06</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Wine shop and restaurant</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E07</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Coffee shop</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E08</td>
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<td>Independent designer</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
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<td>E09</td>
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<td>Broadcasting company</td>
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</tr>
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<td>E10</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bookshop</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Wine bar and restaurant</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>North African restaurant</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E13</td>
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<td>Asian delicatessen</td>
<td>Asian descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bar and restaurant</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E15</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>African food retail</td>
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<tr>
<td>E16</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>E17</td>
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<td>E18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Craft brewery</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Type of enterprise</td>
<td>Cultural background of the entrepreneur</td>
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<tr>
<td>E19</td>
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<td>Sportswear shop</td>
<td>West African descent</td>
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<tr>
<td>E20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Indian restaurant</td>
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</tr>
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<td>E21</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Flower shop</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bakery</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E23</td>
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<td>North African restaurant</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E24</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>West African descent</td>
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<tr>
<td>E25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Co-working space</td>
<td>Costa Rican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E26</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Gold exchange shop</td>
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<tr>
<td>E27</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bookshop</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Video projection software solutions</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Home furniture store</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
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<tr>
<td>E31</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>Shoe store</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Women’s clothing shop</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Fast food</td>
<td>Native French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E34</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Architecture agency</td>
<td>German</td>
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<td>E35</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>Native French</td>
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<td>E36</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Phone store</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
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<td>E38</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Second-hand clothes store</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E39</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Office equipment dealer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E40</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Travel agency</td>
<td>North African descent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

1 This chapter is to a large extent based on Tasan-Kok, T., R. van Kempen, M. Raco and G. Bolt (2013), Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review. Utrecht: Utrecht University.

2 Large parts of this text have been previously published in Tasan-Kok et al. (2013).

3 In this chapter, data may come from different censuses (especially regarding immigrants and foreigners) due to the limited availability of detailed data or comparable data at different geographical levels.

4 Data at the micro-neighbourhood level are not available for the same period as the regional and city data; this is why we have chosen to present them in a specific part of the chapter.

5 In all three neighbourhoods, the proportion of blue-collar workers among the total workforce (population active) was higher than the proportion of managers and professionals in 1999 (24.5% vs 14.3% in La Goutte d’Or, 20.7% vs 14% in La Chapelle and 19.3% vs 13.3% in Flandre), and even more so in 1990 (30.7% vs 11% in La Goutte d’Or, 24.7% vs 13% in La Chapelle and 22.5% vs 12.3% in Flandre).

6 Pictures of the three neighbourhoods in the appendix (3, 4, 5).

7 The law includes 19 criteria: age; physical appearance; ethnic, racial, religious and national background or affiliation (real or assumed); health situation; sexual identity; sexual orientation; pregnancy; family situation; disability; name; gender; participation in union activities; political opinions; origins; genetic characteristics and habits; and address (Anti-Discrimination Law of 16 November 2001).

8 CUCSs were later renamed City Contracts. However, the term CUCS was mostly in use at the time the analysis was conducted.

9 These data are available on the website of APUR, the Parisian Urban-Planning Workshop: www.apur.org.

10 The new ALUR law, of 18 January 2013, raised the threshold to 25%, to be attained by 2025 in cities like Paris.

11 Unlike some other European countries, French cities do not maintain population registers.

12 There is a minimum period of six months’ residency in France.

13 Paris had 100,000 m² of business-incubator premises and 50 co-working spaces available in 2015.

14 These three priority neighbourhoods located in the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} districts have a total of 103,708 inhabitants. During this project, 20 national and local stakeholders, 40 inhabitants and 50 entrepreneurs were interviewed and 10 local initiatives were studied.
This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today’s hyper-diversified cities. The project’s central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset; it can inspire creativity, innovation and make cities more liveable.