

Creativity as a tool for social integration

Case study on Les Grands Voisins, Paris



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ABSTRACT

Creativity is a notion that has been addressed in academic literature as the formulation of a novel and useful idea. It is an individual capacity that can be more or less fostered by its collective environment: it is context-dependent. Following the industrial crisis of the early 1980s, and the rise of a service-based economy, creativity has been extensively used in policy making as a strategy for economic urban regeneration. This has led to the development of creative cities, in which creative-workers benefit from creativity's economic potential, and non-creative workers are marginalized, relegated to the state of second-class citizens. In that sense, the creative city has brought new forms of social exclusion. More recently, the academic discourse on creative cities started acknowledging this problem and addressed creativity's potential for social integration. In particular, creativity has been described as a tool for developing initiatives of social innovation. Cases of creative placemaking has been studied as using creativity to empower marginalized local communities: creativity became a way to develop resilient strategy for addressing a social change. The case of Les Grands Voisins, a creative place that combines shelter housing and creative industries, addresses the problem of social exclusion. In this context, my research aims at understanding the way that Les Grands Voisins' creative workers perceive creativity as supporting the sheltered residents' social integration. Hence, this research addresses the change of discourse amongst the creative class, by looking at how specific creative workers perceive creativity as a social tool. I lead a qualitative exploratory case-study and use triangulation of data collection methods, combining semi-guided interviews, on-site observations, and content analysis. The analysis of the data shows that Les Grands Voisins is a case of social innovation, in which creative workers give creativity a double dimension: collective, seeing the space as experimental and supportive of the residents' participation in governance, and individual, as the development of creative practices with residents fosters their self-expression and empowers them. Meaning, creativity when used to answer a social need, supports the development of social dialog between segregated communities and allows social diversity. In that sense, creativity is perceived by creative workers at Les Grands Voisins as integrating the residents: it allows them to participate in the life of the community. Creative workers explain that this approach on social participation is not reflected in a broader urban context: in that sense, this research shows that creativity can represent a resilient tool for social integration, not anymore being the reason of social exclusion, but the solution to more social dialog between local communities.

keywords: creativity, creative workers, creative city, social integration, social innovation.

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I. General Introduction

The idea that modern urban economies are experiencing a change has been addressed by many researchers since the years 1980s' (Kloosterman, 2010). Using a variety of labels such as the ones of *postmodern city* (Harvey, 1989), *global city* (Sassen, 1991), or more recently *creative city* (Florida, 2002), all authors pinpoint a shift in the organization of urban economies (Kloosterman, 2010). Using different approaches, these authors however find a relative consensus in saying that service activities, digital information and communication, as well as innovation have generally replaced large-scale manufacturing activities in advanced urban economies (Kloosterman, 2010).

Amongst scholars that theorized the changing urban economies, Allen Scott developed one of the most ambitious works, addressing the growing importance of knowledge-based industries in the urban economy (Scott, 2008). Scott (2008) defines the post-1980 era organized around new economic patterns which are mostly based on new technologies of information and communication as well as on highly cognitive and cultural industries: in that sense, he explains that society is experiencing a new form of division between on the one side, the high-skilled cognitive-cultural workers who compose "the creative class or symbolic analysts" (Scott, 2014, p. 571), and on the other side, the less-skilled "marginalized social groups such as immigrants from poor countries" (Scott, 2014, p. 571).

My research is embedded in the context of this theory: creative workers represent the new dominant or ruling class, they benefit from the new economic organisation whereas non-creative classes are enduring growing social and economic inequalities in the urban space (Pratt, 2013). Therefore, creative workers become the foster of social exclusion in the city. The choice of my research topic was inspired by scholars, researchers and policies of the creative city, that recently massively interpreted the problem of social exclusion in the creative city as resulting from the cognitive-cultural capitalist organisation of urban economies.

Through this research, I want to go further in looking at how this current trend can be reversed: meaning, I make use of pre-existing recent literature to address the way creative workers can go from being an exclusive class to being the foster of social integration in the city. Going further, I want to address the role that creativity can actually play in social integration in the urban environment. To do so, I am going to study the specific case of Les Grands Voisins, the name that labels the project of temporary creative occupation of the former Saint-Vincent-de-Paul hospital in Paris. Les Grands Voisins is an unprecedented project that comports five

accommodation centres for extremely marginalized persons such as homeless people, newcomers from foreign countries and single mothers with their children. Les Grands Voisins is also renting office and studio spaces for 140 structures: creative structures, artists, start-ups, environmental projects and associations. The space is also proposing to external visitors a rich, often free, cultural agenda, with many concerts, markets, workshops... In total, Les Grands Voisins assembles 2000 people who work or live on the space (Appendix A1). It is a space that defines itself as *“dedicated to meeting the other, to sharing knowledge, and to taking care of bodies and minds through sport, culture, and arts”* (Appendix A1).

I thus use the case of Les Grands Voisins to see how the creative workers there perceive the space’s creativity as supporting the residents’ integration in society. I am looking at how these creative workers present themselves as ambitioning to contribute to the residents’ social integration, as a tool to understand what goals creative workers attribute to creativity at Les Grands Voisins. I want to see in what way the creative workers at Les Grands Voisins can represent the rising alternative doxa of the creative city, in which creative industries represent less of an economic windfall, and more of a societal tool (Grodach, 2017). Therefore, I am looking at a practical case in order to assess if the changing theoretical discourse on creative cities does echo a concrete change in the way cognitive-cultural workers consider creativity as having objectives of social integration and not only economic ones.

Therefore, the research question that I will address is:

How do creative workers based at Les Grands Voisins perceive creativity as supporting the space’s shelters residents’ social integration?

As for answering this research question, I will make use of six sub-questions addressed in the methodology section. I am leading an exploratory case study (Yin, 2009) in which I will use a qualitative method of triangulation of the data, making use of semi-guided interviews with creative workers of Les Grands Voisins, content analysis of articles from the online blog of Les Grands Voisins, as well as my own observations on site. This combination of research methods will therefore allow me to give rich and qualitative results to my research question, allowing me to study my case from different vantage points and data sources (Yin, 2009). Through this research, I wish to contribute to the body of knowledge of the creative city by bringing a concrete example to the emerging discourse on creativity and urban, local, social integration.

In the next chapter, I will engage existing literature on the topic of creativity, and especially on the notion of creative industries and creative workers in the urban policy context, addressing the place given to these notions in the different discourses on social integration in the creative city. I will then further explain the chosen research method of triangulation and my

research design, before presenting the results obtained through the analysis of the collected data. I will then conclude on the importance given by creative workers to creativity in context of social integration, going back to the existing theory to pinpoint the change in the discourse on creative cities. Finally, I will conclude on the experimental, urban character of Les Grands Voisins, saying that this project questions the relation between creativity and social integration in the city, and engaging further socially innovative projects to learn from the lessons brought up by the exploration of this case study.

II. Theoretical framework

In the following chapter, I am going to review existing literature on the topic of creativity, that goes from being an intrinsic, individual characteristic to being context-based, one's creativity thus depending on one's social milieu. This will lead me to acknowledging some of the theories that encouraged urban policy-makers to foster the development of creative milieus in the city, therefore giving a voice to the main discourse on the potential of creativity for urban economic development or urban regeneration in the postmodern city (Harvey, 1989). I will then explain that this discourse and its application by policy-makers in many postmodern cities had ignored some downsides, especially the problem of gentrification and growing social inequalities between the creative class and the less-skilled workers (Peck, 2005), I will then use the most recent academic researches on creative cities to show that the doxa on the role of creativity is evolving, going from creativity as being an economic tool to creativity as helping the integration of marginalized communities to their urban environment (Grodach, 2017). Therefore, I will explain that the creative sector, due to its link with innovation, is particularly adaptive and flexible and hence the use of creativity for social integration constitutes a resilient way to solve the problem of growing urban inequalities (Pratt, 2015). Finally, I will focus on a smaller scale, looking at theories and existing case-studies on social innovation initiatives using creativity to foster a more inclusive urban environment. Thus, I will explore the local use of creativity for community empowerment (Garcia, 2015; Sanchez Belando, 2016). In that sense, my work links back to the first understanding of creativity as being context-dependent, showing that creativity helps the creation of an inclusive urban environment, by empowering communities and allowing them to participate to local urban governance (Garcia, 2015).

II. A. Creativity: an individual process that is context-dependent.

The concept of creativity can take different stands: on an individual level, it can be defined as every-day common sense as well as true genius and ingenuity (Törnqvist, 2004). But individual creativity can also be looked at as depending on a collectively shared process that takes place in a specific environment (Scott, 2014). In this section, I will review some of the existing literature on individual creativity, and will make use of theory to explain the importance of the social context and environment in the development of individual creativity. In that sense, I will show that the process of creativity is both individual and collective, making

use of existing research to show that the context in which one is evolving has a strong influence on this person's creativity.

Creativity has been defined by Sternberg and Lubart (1999) as the ability of an individual to produce works that are both original and appropriate. The authors consider a first element of individual creativity as being that the person would present an idea that is uncommon: this idea should rely on a way of thinking that is original and new. A second thing is that this idea should be appropriate, saying that it must fit in the situation in which it was formulated (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999). Meaning, this idea should effectively be useful for solving the problem to which the individual is confronted in his daily life situation (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999).

In that sense, the authors explain that an individual who develops his creativity in the aim of solving a problem can have a larger societal impact. They explain that the societal impacts of individual creativity are that creative individuals would share their new vision to pre-existing situations with their peers (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999). In that sense, individual creativity will possibly result in the development of new artistic movements, or of new scientific discoveries (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999).

This definition of individual creativity can be completed by the research of Ivcevic and Mayer (2009) who use the same definition of individual creativity as given by Sternberg and Lubart (1999) but who distinguish three types of individual creativity: every-day creativity, artistic creativity, and scientific creativity (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009).

The authors explain that creativity as defined as problem-solving capabilities is inherent to human nature, and that therefore each individual has a potential for being creative (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009). The authors therefore suggest that individual creativity can be expressed with more or less intensity, depending on the personal traits, the cognitive capacities, and the motivation of each individual (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009). Hence, the authors are implying that even if creativity is a part of human nature, not everyone has the same chance to actually develop this creativity.

In their research however, the authors look at individual creativity through three dimensions: every-day creativity, and what they qualify as the less common artistic and intellectual types of creativity (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009). They consider every-day creativity as the use of original and appropriate ideas in daily-life situations, going back to creativity as defined by Sternberg and Lubart (1999) as being problem-solving capacities. They define artistic creativity as being the production of "works of art and achievement in the arts (e.g., completing a painting, winning an award in an art contest)" (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009, p. 154),

and finally they consider intellectual creativity as activities related to science, academic work and technology (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009).

In their definition of creativity, the authors distinguish every-day creativity and artistic and intellectual creativity by looking at two aspects: the amount of skills and know-hows that are necessary to the production of creative outputs, and the influence of personality traits on the creative development of an individual. They explain that the development of skills is not essential to individuals having a “creative life-style”, but that this type of creativity is mostly depending on a strong personality, with a sense for extraversion, spontaneity, and motivation of the individual to develop his self-expression in a social environment (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009).

On the contrary, the authors pinpoint that skills and know-hows are essential components of the artistic or intellectual types of creativity, that they explain are more specialized, and that have stronger objectives of producing qualitative works (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009, p. 164). The authors find that an individual can indeed only develop his artistic or intellectual creativity by working hard on improving his skills in the domain (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009).

Ivcevic and Mayer (2009) consider that any type of individual creativity however relies on the individual’s willingness to effectively develop a creative behaviour, and especially to the individual’s “openness to experience” (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009, p. 154). In another article from 2007, Ivcevic explains the term of “openness to experience” as gathering elements of “wide interests, imagination, flexibility, and innovativeness” of an individual (Ivcevic, 2007, p. 273).

To that extent, the authors are considering creativity as depending on the personality and the motivation of the individual, and are considering creative individuals as forming a particular type of persons. The interest of Ivcevic and Mayer’s research (2009) is that it distinguishes different types of creativity, however referring to the psychological similarities that are found as inherent to creative persons.

Landry and Bianchini (1995) also address the concept of creativity as depending on personal traits of the individual. The authors state that “genuine creativity involves thinking a problem afresh and from first principles; experimentation; originality; the capacity to rewrite rules; to be unconventional; to discover common threads amid the seemingly disparate; to look at situations laterally and with flexibility” (Landry and Bianchini, 1995, p. 18). The authors however complement this definition by explaining that creative thinking participate in innovating and in developing new possibilities, stating that the term of creativity refers to a

‘modernist’ concept for it encourages progress and change in society (Landry and Bianchini, 1995).

Pratt (1997) goes further in considering the place of creativity in its social context, saying that the concept of creativity has long been addressed as an individualistic and not as a social process. Further, the author states that the development of one’s creativity is dependent on a social context, saying that “being creative in a vacuum is not productive” (Pratt, 2008, p. 112). In that sense, in addition to the internal determinants of creativity, there is a need to address the external impacts and implications of creativity, looking at the development of creativity as being an individual process that is further linked to its environment.

The importance of the context is theorized by Csikszentmihalyi (2014), who states that a person’s creativity would only be recognized if this person’s original idea is accepted by her environment: meaning, an idea can be original but not appropriate to the situation, or vice-versa (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). The author therefore states that a person’s creativity cannot be apprehended without regard to the social and historical framework in which this person is evolving. In that sense, he considers individual creativity as being the product of three interacting systems: the person, the field, and the domain, which all three represent different moments of an individual creative recognition (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014).

The first process is the one in which the person uses the information she has on a specific domain to take action by transforming or extending this domain. The author states that this process depends on cognitive elements, on the personality of the individual, and on personal motivation; inducing that regarding these individual traits, a person is more or less likely to present an unexpected idea (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). The author considers a second step in the definition of individual creativity, which is the confrontation of the idea to the field. The field consists in the people who are controlling, or who have an influence, on the domain in which the individual developed his idea. For example, the author describes the field of art as being composed of all its “gatekeepers”, from art critics to gallery owners (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014, p. 53). The field is the one who decides on which original idea is important: only few ideas are considered as appropriate and useful to the domain. The field therefore evaluates and chooses the idea that will be integrated to the domain. Finally, the domain, which is the existing cultural sector of which the individual develops innovative elements, has to preserve the creation and to transmit it to a broader frame of time and of space (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014).

In this definition, the author insists on the importance of the social system in which the individual is evolving. He explains that each field is embedded in his own system, and that it is through this system that new ideas can be recognized as such (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). In that

sense, the author considers that individual creativity can only be expressed in a social context that allows it: using different examples, such as the ones of Paris in the 19th Century, or of New-York in the 20th, the author explains that there are specific historical and geographical contexts that foster creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). He explains this by saying that these contexts present advantages in terms of financial wealth and of time disposition: meaning, a field develops in a specific place because it is financially prosperous and because there are people who have an interest in developing it. Therefore, he shows that creativity is supported by a rich social system that is able to ensure the development of a creative field.

Scott (2014) gives more insights on individual creativity as being context-dependent, by linking back individual creativity to the presence of both internal and external factors: on the one side, natural talent and the development of skills and know-hows; on the other hand, the social context in which one could more or less develop this creativity. He states that creativity is deeply rooted in a social context, qualifying creativity as a “social phenomenon” (Scott, 2014, p. 569). This statement considers creativity as depending on social interactions, therefore implicating group dynamics in the development of individual creativity.

Scott (2014) distinguishes three different processes that occur along individual creative development: learning, creativity, and innovation. He states that learning is to be considered as a preliminary process to creativity, it is the process during which the individual internalizes elements of creativity in his every-day life environment (Scott, 2014). The author insists on the fact that an individual with a “dense transactional network” is more likely to acquire knowledge and to explore his creative potential than individuals who are socially excluded (Scott, 2014, p. 569). This learning process is resulting in the effective development of creativity, that Scott (2014) defines similarly to Sternberg and Lubart (1999) as the formulation of an unexpected idea. This unexpected idea when put in application becomes what Scott (2014) perceives as the process of innovation, and that refers to the effective appropriate behaviour as mentioned previously (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999). As a whole, Scott (2014) considers the combination between those three processes as forming the individual’s creativity, that he hence presents as relying on “education, practice, and informal socialization” (Scott, 2014, p. 569).

In that sense, Scott (2014) shows that the development of individual creativity is facilitated by a rich and dynamic environment. This statement goes back to the one of Csikszentmihalyi (2014) by showing that the development of creativity is conditioned by the social milieu of the individual (Scott, 2014).

II. B. The use of creativity in urban policies: the rise of the creative city.

In the previous section, I presented some of the literature that defines creativity as being an individual psychological process. However, I also explained that the development of individual creativity is presented as depending on the social system in which the individual is embedded, individual creativity being fostered in an environment where the individual can interact with a creative field (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014, Scott, 2014). In that sense, the previous section explained that individual creativity is the development of unexpected and useful works, that cannot occur in a context of social, economic, or cultural emptiness, but that is depending on a rich social environment. In the following section, I will make use of scholar literature that is considered as foundational for the creative cities policy discourse (Grodach, 2017), showing that the concept of creativity has been addressed in urban policies as a tool for urban regeneration. This section will explain the relation between creativity and innovation in the city, and show that due to their economic potential, the development of creative industries has been integrated to urban policies, leading to the rise of new forms of social inequalities in the city.

Writing in 1995, Landry and Bianchini are delivering one of the main theories on the new role of creativity in the city. Their theory echoes the pre-mentioned theories that consider creativity as the development of unexpected and appropriate works that can only be considered in relation to a social context (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014, Scott, 2014). Indeed, Landry and Bianchini (1995) explain that creativity and innovation are strongly related, creativity being the generation of original ideas, and innovation being the process of selecting and implementing the ideas that are perceived as useful (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). They explain that the creative idea is transformed into innovation through a process of evaluation, through which only appropriate ideas would be selected (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). This vision echoes the theory of the creative field developed by Csikszentmihalyi (2014), which also insists on the indispensability of the selection in the process of creativity. The authors further apply this theory to the urban context, saying that a city can be creative without being innovative if ideas are not actually concretized (Landry and Bianchini, 1995).

Landry and Bianchini (1995) extend this theory by considering creativity and innovation as a tool for urban policies. The authors explain that cities are facing a period of transition in terms of economical organization, saying that the traditional sectors of manufacture industries are disappearing, and being replaced by an economy in which the service sector is central (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). In that sense, the authors address the changes that occur in the urban context as being the rise of a knowledge-based economy, in which creativity and innovation take a central importance (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). In that sense, they consider

creativity in the post-industrial city, a context that also inspired the work of Scott (2008) on cognitive-cultural capitalism.

The authors consider the development of creative industries as bringing new opportunities for these changing urban systems. They explain that creative industries have a strong economic potential because they can lead to innovative productions, and say that this economical asset is placing creative industries at the centre of urban policies (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). The authors state that urban policy-makers indeed bet on creativity for developing a prosperous environment in the post-industrial city (Landry and Bianchini, 1995).

The definition of creative industries given by the British Government Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) goes in the sense of this statement, as the DCMS definition considers creative industries as being:

activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. These [are] taken to include the following key sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and television and radio. (DCMS, 1998, p. 10).

This definition indeed gives importance to “skill and talent”, assets that are considered leading to “wealth and job creation” (DCMS, 1998). Therefore, this definition considers creative industries as having economic profit as their main objective.

Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) make use of this definition, explaining that it considers creative industries as being activities that produce intellectual property in view of creating economic output, and that it therefore includes a very broad scope of activities ranging from software development to the antiques market.

The economic aspects of creative industries echo the definition given by Peltoniemi (2015), who however considers the term of “cultural industries”. The author defines cultural industries as being industries that produce goods having purposes of “entertainment, identity-building and social display” (Peltoniemi, 2015, p. 43) and that aim at “the consumer market via mass distribution” (Peltoniemi, 2015, p. 43). Through this definition, Peltoniemi (2015) highlights the commercial objectives of cultural industries, and include “film, music, book and magazine publishing, TV and radio, fashion and video games” (Peltoniemi, 2015, p. 43) as belonging to these industries.

The distinction between the terms of cultural and creative industries is made by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) who explain that the term of “creative industries” has been

mostly popularized by policy-makers in the 1990s', replacing the term of "cultural industries" which was usually used since the 1960s' in the field of progressive policy-making (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011, p. 4). Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005) explain that the shift from 'cultural industries' to 'creative industries' does not have to do with semantics, but that is rather a political strategy aiming at reinforcing the positive image of this economic sector in public opinion. As Pratt (2008) put it, 'Creativity is universally seen as a positive characteristic: who wants to be uncreative?' (Pratt, 2008, p. 113), whereas culture was carrying the image of a high-class, elitist sector. In that sense, policy-makers considered the term of "cultural industries" as narrowing down the scope of activities to the ones with a high degree of artistic and symbolic value, whereas the term of "creativity", by essence linked with the one of innovation, was allowing the integration of a panel of non-artistic activities that have important economic objectives (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011).

Creativity as being a vector of economic development for cities has indeed been extensively addressed by authors and policy makers of the urban field, but this concept has also brought important debates on how to interpret it and how to put it into application (Scott, 2006). American scholar Richard Florida (2002) is considered as one of the main theorists of the creative city, his work found at the time much popularity amongst urban policy makers (Hospers, 2006).

In this publication, Florida (2002) explains that economic development is driven by creativity and innovation: acknowledging that individual creativity is context-dependent, he states that creativity can best evolve in an urban context. He therefore states that cities facing urban challenges must have a dynamic creative class in order to find economic development. He explains that the creative class includes all individuals who live with money earned through their creative thinking and producing (Florida, 2002). The author states that the creative class is mostly composed of young, childless, "bohemians" individuals (Florida, 2002, p. 24). He explains that they participate in the regeneration of cities' economies by investing in cheap, pauperized neighbourhoods, and stimulating these neighbourhoods with creativity and innovation (Florida, 2002).

He therefore considers a vibrant environment as an environment in which the creative class can develop its lifestyle, based on a dynamic nightlife and numerous cultural facilities, that participate in building a tolerant and diverse environment (Florida, 2002). He explains that cities must help the development of these elements in order to regenerate and find urban economic prosperity (Florida, 2002). Indeed, Florida (2002) argues that there are three factors, that he calls the "3 Ts" - technology, talent and tolerance – that are the key factors for attracting

the creative class to a city. The author thus proposes a “creativity index” that ranks American cities with regard to their attractiveness for the creative class, creating an interurban competition in which the city’s image becomes of prime importance (Mayer, 2013).

Florida’s model (2002) influenced the work of many policy makers first in the United States, then in Europe, who considered the creative class as a determinant element for urban economic competitiveness. Florida’s theory (2002) therefore considers individual creativity as generating economical profit for the city, explaining that in the urban context, the creative class becomes the new owner of economic power. In that sense, Florida (2002) suggests that the creative class is the “fountainhead of innovative energy and cultural dynamism in modern urban society” (Scott, 2006, p. 6).

In that sense, following Florida’s theory (2002), cultural regeneration strategies supported the development of creative environments that correspond to the creative class’ taste, and implicating the development of creative labour pools, or creative clusters (Asheim et al, 2006). Meaning, urban policies favoured the concentration of creative industries in neighbourhoods in need of revitalization, seeing that “one can create specific assets by linking complementary and competing actors who operate in the same techno-economic field” (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2009, p. 204). Seeing creative industries as the new leading sector of economy, policy-makers apprehended the development of creative environments in the city as supporting the creation of specific economic assets, such as “collective innovativeness, the sharing of inspiring information, and other positive outcomes, such as joint initiatives in staff training, supply and service purchasing, and systemic marketing” (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2009, p. 205). Florida (2005) further supported the idea that creative clusters concentrate the creative class in one area, and therefore allow to rapidly mobilize talents, which is an asset for the time-driven creative economy.

The theory on the creative city that was previously presented, and its practical application by policy-makers, has then been largely criticized by authors of the field (Darchen and Tremblay, 2008). Metaphorically, this theory considers “the city as a machine for the production of economic wealth and consumption, where individual creativity is a key engine for competitiveness” (Garcia, 2015, p. 1). If this theory did bring the attention of public stakeholders to creativity as being a new potential source of economic development, it did not accredit the existing downsides of this model of development, such as gentrification and socio-spatial exclusion (Darchen and Tremblay, 2008). For instance, by asserting that the presence of creative workers regenerates pauperized neighbourhoods, Florida (2002) does not immediately include the process of gentrification that comes along with the urban regeneration process.

Critics have been made saying that Florida's theory (2002) does not recognize that there is in creative activities an intrinsic value of quality that attracts the creative class to a specific place (Pratt, 2008). Rather, what Florida (2002) considers is that creative industries are only attracted to a location because policy-makers developed their city as a sideshow for the creative class (Pratt, 2008). In this sense, Florida's work appears for some theorists as not very far from traditional geographical determinism arguments (Pratt, 2008).

Meaning, rather than having positive impacts on urban development, the creative city policies has been considered as working "quietly with the grain of extant 'neoliberal' development agendas" generating gentrification and social exclusion (Peck, 2005, p. 740). In that sense, Florida recently formulated a work in which he acknowledges the development of a new urban crisis resulting from this gentrification process (Florida, 2017). In this publication, the author explains that gentrification is a "process in which a neighbourhood gains wealth and sees its population become more affluent, whiter, and younger" (Florida, 2017, p. 115). In this sense, the author states that the division between creative and non-creative workers is mostly visible in areas that have been targeted by urban cultural regeneration policies, pinpointing that the development of a vibrant creative neighbourhood comes with a rise of housing costs (Florida, 2017). In that sense, the author recognizes that the development of a creative class with strong economic objectives brought up new urban divisions, especially economic segregation and growing social inequalities.

This theory links back to Scott's notion of cognitive-cultural capitalism (2008, 2014), considering that creative workers possess strong "human capital assets" such as "advanced technical knowledge, analytical prowess and relevant socio-cultural know-how" (Scott, 2014, p. 571), that assert them a more powerful social position than non-creative classes (Scott, 2008). On the one side, the high-skilled creative workers are at the centre of this knowledge-based economy, and benefit from the cognitive-cultural capitalist system; on the other side, the less knowledge-based classes are marginalized from the new urban system (Scott, 2008).

Pratt (2008) thus criticizes not the concept of knowledge economy per se, but the discourse that evolves around it and that "presents the creative economy as a higher (and critically, the next) form of development" (Pratt, 2008, p. 110)

Other authors such as Mayer (2013) consider this new urban system as having created "highly uneven and differentiated geographies of enclaves of wealth and new regions of deprivation, dispossession and marginalization" (Mayer, 2013, p. 10). Pratt (2008) pinpoints that many studies addressed creative industries as playing an important role in reducing social

exclusion and enhancing community development, however the author highlights that those are not the ‘flashy’, economical windfall industries described by Florida (2002).

Therefore, in this section I have demonstrated that the concept of creativity has been addressed in literature as being a tool for urban economic development, hence leading to urban policies seeing this economic potential and supporting its development, a strategy that indeed presented economic advantages for the creative class but that also led to new forms of exclusion of non-creative classes. In the next section, I will explain that in context of cognitive-cultural capitalism, in which non-creative workers are excluded from the vibrant urban environment, some authors of the creative city formulated a new approach to the concept of creativity as being at service of community development. In that sense, I will use literature to show that the theories on creative cities as supporting the exclusion of non-creative classes led to the development of new theories in which creativity becomes a more sustainable tool for developing a socially inclusive urban environment.

II. C. Re-appropriation of the concept of creativity in theories of community building: creative workers as cohesive place-makers.

Looking at the practical application of creative city policies, Scott (2014) explains that creative workers themselves start acknowledging the need for new urban approaches that would be socially inclusive, saying that creative workers are calling for a change in policies, creating a new ‘doxa’ of the city even though their economic interest is more likely to be found in the existing policies of the creative city (Scott, 2014). The author states that these creative workers are denouncing an urban gap in the creative city, between the creative class who is celebrated for its “well-honed cerebral and affective human capital” (Scott, 2014, p. 572) and the non-creative class who is increasingly excluded economically, socially and spatially from society (Scott, 2014). The author pinpoints the fact that although theories on the creative city often celebrate diversity and tolerance (see Florida, 2002), urban cultural policies much likely did not support social integration or income redistribution. This statement is supported by Pratt (2012) who explains that in practice, the economic model of creative industries largely differs from its normative expectations: often perceived as inclusive and diverse, the creative industries are in reality more exclusionary, and more socially and economically homogeneous, than many other sectors of the economy.

Mayer (2013) explains that the development of the creative class as a knowledge-based class dominating the cognitive-cultural capitalist economy (Scott, 2008) emphasized the expansion of a low-wage, often homeless and undocumented ‘(racialized) so-called underclass’

(Mayer, 2013, p. 16). This group is considered as very heterogeneous, and therefore its members struggle to initiate a common movement to address the problem of social integration in the 'flashy' creative city (Mayer, 2013).

Nonetheless, Pratt (2010, 2011, 2012) explains that exist various models of the creative city, and that not all answer to the script of the creative economy as theorized by Florida (2002).

Pratt (2012b) therefore concedes that the notions of 'creative class/cities' (Pratt, 2012b, p. 9) are far more complex than their usual vibrant economic understanding, because these notions by essence possess non-commercial dimensions. The author indeed later apprehends creative industries as having particular interests for economic, but also social and cultural issues, that he considers as being the sector's "very life-blood" (Pratt, 2015, p. 63). In that aspect, the author stresses that commercial and non-commercial objectives of creative industries are two co-dependents, but also conflicting, "representations of 'value'" (Pratt, 2012b, p. 10).

Tremblay and Pilati (2013) follow this analysis by saying that multiple theories (Throsby, 2001, Sacco et al., 2007) have argued that the creative city does not solely represent an economic windfall, but that it is also a foster for social development. In that sense, the creative city when not destructive for the pre-existing local communities, can be a source of social cohesion and solidarity (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013).

In regard to this situation, Scott (2014) recognizes three challenges that need to be tackled globally by the creative city in order to fully develop its capacities, and to counter the "frankly rapacious and narcissistic qualities" (Scott, 2014, p. 571) that have created urban economic and social exclusion. These three imperatives are first the rescaling of institutional frameworks to local levels, second, the rectification of "the huge discrepancies of incomes and life chances that currently distort the social landscape of large cities all over the world" (Scott, 2014, p. 571), and third, the democratization of the urban environment and the redevelopment of community life (Scott, 2014). By stressing these three desiderata, the author participates in a change in the discourse on creative cities.

Grodach (2017) also considers a change in the discourse, contextualizing this turn in the post-2007 financial crisis that limited the means of action of public institutions and generated urban austerity. Indeed, the recent financial crisis induced the reduction of state investments, and especially the cut on non-primary state functions such as culture and urban development (Pratt, 2012). Therefore, the austerity policy called for more interventions of the communities for the improvement of their own urban space (Grodach, 2017). The author acknowledges that

from 2007 onwards, communities developed different movements of appropriation of the public space (Grodach, 2017).

The post- 2007 change in the creative city discourse to community development initiatives is extensively addressed by Mayer (2013), who explains that on the one hand, the post-2007 recession budget cuts left many creative workers in situations of economic fragility, as well as reinforced the pauperization of the already marginalized classes. On the other hand, the author states that it has allowed the development of these community-based creative clusters that were often instrumentalised by city marketing as being alternative and innovative (Mayer, 2013). In that sense, the author considers that the 2007 financial crisis brought up new opportunities for the development of creative, community-based and inclusive initiatives; but also highlights that urban policies are also using these new creative places for improving their image, without subsidizing them (Mayer, 2013).

This aspect is also mentioned by Pratt (2013), who adds that governments use the creative sector's social achievements to ameliorate their reputation in context of the legitimization crisis that arose after the financial crisis and the subsequent growing inequalities. Governments are in that sense offloading major tasks such as social integration to local actors such as the community itself, showing a shift in their mode of governance (Grodach, 2017). Social integration, which is usually resented as the responsibility of public institutions, is therefore out-sourced to local actors of the community (Grodach, 2017).

Mayer (2013), Pratt (2013, and Grodach (2017) therefore all address the new fragility of the creative sector, and explain a change in the urban public discourse saying that the creative space's precariousness is now contributing to the branding of 'cool cities' (Mayer, 2013, p. 17). In this context, some European cities especially have started to provide creative workers with the temporary occupation of non-subsidized, but free, vacant land, before the appointment of (more economically profitable) long-term investors (Colomb, 2012, as cited in Mayer, 2013).

In that sense, Pratt (2012) explain that the understanding of the notion of creative industries must not fall into the spectrum of sole economic productiveness: it is a sector that, like the entire economy, has recently undergone change, but that is continuing to evolve towards a more reasonable and sustainable development. The author states that creativity is by essence linked to the concept of innovation, and because of this relation creative industries are more adaptable to change than other economic sectors (Pratt, 2007, 2012). In that sense, creativity becomes a tool for the construction of a better urban environment: Pratt (2013) refers to creativity as a mean to solve the problem of economic and social tensions in the creative city.

Pratt (2015) therefore explains that the use of creativity is particularly relevant for

developing resilient strategies, seeing that the concept of urban resilience has gained popularity after the recent economic recession (Pratt, 2015). Pratt (2015) explains that urban resilience can have different interpretations, ranging from the ability of an urban environment to overcome a shock, to its capacity to anticipate a possible threat. He states that the interest of the concept of urban resilience is that it implies immediate reaction to a problem, therefore stating that urban resilience defines problem-solving in situations of emergency (Pratt, 2015).

Pratt's definition of urban resilience is dual (Pratt, 2015): the first type of urban resilience that he acknowledges, mode A, lies in the idea of perpetuating the same activity with fewer resources: in that sense, Pratt considers mode A as a strategy of resistance to change, meaning, cutting expenses by outsourcing some activities (Pratt, 2015). Pratt (2015) explains that this strategy is not sustainable, as it is displacing the problem and ignoring external consequences, such as precarious employment situation.

Therefore, the author prefers to highlight another type of resilience, that he calls mode B, and through which he defines the ongoing change in creative industries (Pratt, 2015). This type of urban resilience has ambitions of sustainability: it is a mode of action that the author defines as *"a process of organization and adaptation to work in harmony with others, the surroundings, and the wider world: one that enables adaptation and thriving."* (Pratt, 2015, p. 62). Pratt states that this understanding of urban resilience is highly relevant for addressing the issues faced by creative industries, because it considers creativity as a way to enable adaptation by finding flexible solutions to urban problems (Pratt, 2015).

In that sense, Pratt (2015) argues that the new creative economy must be regarded as embedded in this form of urban resilience, that he replaces in context of 'local capacity building' strategies. The author defines local capacity building as *"the investment in skills, training, education and infrastructure such that industries are 'scalable'; that is, they can grow and operate in a wider context"* (Pratt, 2015, p. 65). In that sense, local capacity building constitutes a resilient answer to the new challenges brought up in the creative city: a part of the creative class becomes the solution to a problem that was mainly brought up by the creative economy (Pratt, 2015).

For instance, Grodach (2017) explains that the recent financial crisis has led to the development of new forms of creative urban development that he calls 'creative placemaking'. Creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) is a movement that appropriates traditional creative city strategies for further developing place and community-based urban initiatives (Grodach, 2017, p. 86). The concept of creative placemaking echoes the more traditional concept of 'placemaking' which promotes people and community-centred urban planning (Jacobs, 1961,

as cited in Grodach, 2017). He explains that this movement ambitions to go beyond the economic aspects of creative industries, looking at outcomes such as bringing “diverse people together to celebrate, inspire and be inspired” (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010, p. 5, as cited in Grodach, 2017).

In that sense, the creative placemakers are alternative creative actors, that contrast with Florida’s (2002) vision of the creative class because what they do is intended to the community and the neighbourhood’s needs (Garcia, 2015). The creativity of these actors is thus embedded in social, cultural, and economic local development (Garcia, 2015). As argued by Pratt (2011), these alternative creative workers are challenging the more traditional opinion on creativity and the creative city (Pratt, 2011, in Garcia, 2015).

Thus, creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) defines a change in the standards of the creative city, by shifting the focus from economic objectives to local development objectives. In that sense, creative placemaking is a strategy that targets goals of urban governance, as it allows governments to promote (cheap) models of ‘self-help and capacity building’ (Grodach, 2017, p. 84).

The author refers to Ponzini and Rossi (2010) to explain that the concept of creative placemaking better fits with non-commercial initiatives than creative city policies do, saying that creative placemaking aims more at developing communities than at developing economical assets (Grodach, 2017). Creative placemaking therefore considers the use of creativity to tackle the urban inequalities that were first brought up by the cognitive-cultural capitalist economy (Scott, 2014), and then enhanced by the post-2007 austerity measures: creative placemaking is seeking to provide creative and community-based approaches to social exclusion (Grodach, 2017). Therefore, creative placemakers are by essence very much based on community participation, proposing new approaches to local cultural expression (Grodach, 2017).

All in all, in this section made use of literature to explain that the notion of creative industries and the underlying notion of creative workers are not to be understood solely as representing economic windfalls for public policy-makers, hence supporting social, spatial, and economic inequalities in their urban context. Rather, a most recent evolution emerged from the post-2007 financial recession, theorists of the creative industries further addressed the role of creativity in community development. Public policy-makers changed their view on the creative industries’ potential, seeing that this sector’s approach to urban change was resilient, using local placemaking to support the social integration of marginalized urban communities. In the following section, I will therefore present the notion of social innovation as defining initiatives that use creativity to promote social participation, further leading to the notion of empowerment

of local communities. I will link back this aspect to the first understanding of creativity as being context-dependent, showing that the empowerment of communities also supports individual creativity in the urban social environment.

II. D. Local creative initiatives: social innovation or the use of creativity as empowering local communities.

Creativity has become a key concept of social cohesion policies, being considered as an opportunity for creating exchange between individuals of the local urban community (Garcia, 2015). Thus, creativity is to be apprehended as a resilient tool for supporting social integration, which has been acknowledged as being a crucial point for constructing a better city (Garcia, 2015). In this context, local initiatives rose up as proposing new solutions to an urban crisis, constituting a change of scale in urban policies.

In regard to the current context of social and economic crisis, the term of social innovation spread around in theories of the creative city (Sanchez Belando, 2016). Garcia (2015) indeed explains that the strategy of social innovation aims at developing an alternative position to the one of market-driven creative city policies that have shown limits: therefore, social innovation's approach to the creative city is fostering the emergence of an alternative creative class that wants to counterbalance the new social exclusion that arose in the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Garcia, 2015).

In that sense, Tremblay and Pilati (2013) explain that in context of the cognitive-cultural, knowledge-based economy, more and more researchers address social innovation as fostering a local, social, and economic development. The authors consider that creativity is a fundamental aspect of social innovation, as it allows the development of flexible and new forms of social governance (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013). Therefore, the authors refer to MacCallum et al. (2009) to define social innovation "as a social relation, as collective agency, as empowerment" (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013, p. 67). They consider social innovation as being "about improving social relations and tackling social problems as well as meeting social needs" (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013, p. 67), in a situation where communities, or the "concerned people" (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013, p. 67), are directly consulted.

In that aspect, Garcia (2015) explains that social innovation thus considers not only the outcomes of a creative policy, but mostly the process during which creativity fostered the development of an innovative practice, meaning, social innovation addresses the way that the different actors of a community come together to develop an innovative project. Garcia (2015) considers that social innovation defines a participatory approach that "seeks to augment the

cultural capability of the local community” (Garcia, 2015, p.4). Therefore, the author stresses that socially innovative projects must first be looked at not only for their concrete outcome in terms of production, rather, for the way that individuals of a community interact throughout the process (Garcia, 2015).

Hence, the term of social innovation is designating both a collective initiative that has a precise aim, and the informal, collective way in which a community can address a social change (Sanchez Belando, 2016). In that sense, social innovation is a notion that lays in the field of resilient urban development, making use of creativity and its problem-solving capacities to address a change in the urban context (Pratt, 2015).

All in all, social innovation initiatives combine three different processes: first, a response to social needs, second, the empowerment of marginalized populations, third, a change in governance mechanism (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood and Hamdouch, 2013). Social innovation defines the creative combination of these three processes, meaning, it refers to a collaboration between civil society, creative workers, and public policy-makers that aim at the empowerment of local communities and the reduction of situations of social exclusion (Pradel et al., 2013).

Jennings et al (2006) define empowerment as “individuals, families, organizations, and communities gaining control and mastery, within the social, economic, and political contexts of their lives, in order to improve equity and quality of life” (Jennings et al., 2006, p. 32). In that aspect, empowerment becomes an important element of social integration because it refers to the idea that individuals of a community come together to decide for themselves, and therefore that they take an equal place in the social context they live in. In that sense, empowerment through local creative development induces that marginalized non-creative classes participate in the cognitive-cultural capitalist economy from which they were excluded (Garcia, 2015).

In that sense, Sasaki (2011) explains that, in context of the current financial and social crisis, creative city theories and policies must look at creativity as a tool for empowering and integrating communities, rather than as a foster of social exclusion. He supports this statement by saying that if knowledge-based economies have brought up social discrimination towards non-creative class, they should now focus on bringing social participation to their urban policies agendas (Sasaki, 2011). Sasaki (2011) considers through the case of Osaka the power of social participation for empowerment in the creative city. He explains that in 2007, Osaka Municipality created the Creative City Osaka Citizens’ Council through which citizens were consulted on how to develop a network of creative places throughout the city (Sasaki, 2011).

The author highlights that a more diverse range of citizens participated in the project than what was expected, stating that creativity can stimulate participation, dialog, and social inclusion (Sasaki, 2011).

Going back to the definition of empowerment, it is therefore considered as being first an individual process, that can upscale and have a larger impact on a community (Jennings et al., 2006). In that sense, the use of creativity for empowerment links back to the development of individual creativity as being a process that is fostered by a social context (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). Considering Csikszentmihalyi's theory on creativity (2014), the approach taken by social innovation initiatives constitutes a broadening of the creative field; as it allows more individuals to decide on which idea is important (Garcia, 2015). The traditional vision of the field and its "gatekeepers" is thus changed for a more inclusive version in which individuals of all urban communities can participate in the creative development of their environment.

Accordingly, this section served as to conclude this theoretical framework, showing that creativity can also serves for social innovation initiatives to develop social participation and thus empower individuals and communities.

All in all, the concept of creativity defines a context-dependent process, that in context of the creative city can be at service of a place's economic competitiveness or at service of social integration. The first understanding of creativity and the creative class as being an economical windfall for cities has shown downsides in terms of social integration, marginalizing non-creative workers at profit of socio-spatial exclusion, a phenomenon that was reinforced following the recent economic austerity. However, the adaptability of the creative sector, as being by essence linked to innovation, has permitted the resilient development of smaller-scale, local creative placemaking that aims at fostering local capacity building. Therefore, creativity can also be a tool for the development of social innovation, in which social integration is tackled through the involvement of marginalized communities in the process of decision-making. In that sense, creativity serves as to empower communities by allowing them to be actors of the creative city. In that sense, it appears that local creative initiatives are working for social integration in large cities (Garcia, 2015).

Looking back on my research topic, this theoretical framework enlightens the context in which my case-study is embedded. I made use of literature to give comprehensive insights on the key-concepts that I am researching, namely, creativity as a process of individual development that is however embedded in its social context, creative industries and the underlying creative class as representing the conflicting, but also co-dependent, values of economic or societal potential. Finally, I showed that the notion of creativity has more recently

been presented in literature as having societal impacts, particularly being useful for the social integration of marginalized urban communities.

In this context, I am considering Les Grands Voisins as an alternative form of creative development in the creative city: the space, hosting both creative workers and marginalized groups, defends its position as a foster for diversity (Appendix A1). I am therefore considering that creative workers at Les Grands Voisins do not support the vision of the creative class and its economic value as described by Florida (2002), but that they hold the belief that creativity can participate in the social integration of Les Grands Voisins' marginalized residents. In that sense, I research the perception that these creative workers have on the impact of their creative initiative in terms of social integration: I want to understand in what way the creative class can serve non-economic urban development by fostering social innovative projects, and how these creative projects can indeed be seen as reducing the growing inequalities of the cognitive-cultural capitalist city.

II.E. Justification of the theoretical framework.

The choice of this specific theoretical framework therefore results from the consideration of Les Grands Voisins as being a socially innovative project based on the (in France unprecedented) cohabitation between shelter housing for different marginalized, homeless communities, and office renting for many start-up, creative, cultural, crafts or environmental structures (Appendix A1).

This theoretical framework serves to explain the evolution of the discourses on creativity in the city. It places Les Grands Voisins in the context of the recent discourse on creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) as being a resilient tool for local capacity building and social integration. In this research, I investigate Les Grands Voisins' case with regard to the notion of social innovation, as a way to use creativity in a resilient paradigm, from being an economic tool to fostering local social development.

The academic contribution of my research is that it I am looking at the role of creativity in the creative city through a rather emerging research angle, in which creativity is considered not for prospects of public policies for economic regeneration, but for its capacity to support the development of local initiatives that aim at fostering a more inclusive urban space.

I follow Tremblay and Pilati (2013) who state that if the recent literature extensively theorized the topic of creative policies for local development, this literature is not yet supported by a sufficient amount of case studies that can validate the practical functioning of creativity as

enhancing social innovation and as an efficient tool for social development. Therefore, my research on Les Grands Voisins fills an existing gap in the literature, by effectively addressing the concrete application of these theories. In that sense, the academic relevance of my research is that I am assessing whether or not a concrete case of creative social innovation can foster the development of an inclusive social urban space.

With support of existing literature, I work towards the understanding of creativity as being a tool for local capacity building, raising awareness on the fact that such initiatives can “grow and operate in a wider context” (Pratt, 2015, p. 65). In that sense, through the studying of the case of a temporary, experimental, creative space, I want to broaden the perspective on creative placemaking’s resilience and utility, and the necessity of pursuing their development in the urban context, on a longer term.

This lead me to the explanation of the societal contribution of my research. As previously mentioned, my research is embedded in a context of social and economic crisis, in which social exclusion becomes a growing issue (Grodach, 2017, Mayer, 2013, Pratt, 2015). I am in that sense addressing a societal change, a societal problem that the creative city must urgently solve. Which is why, based on theories of urban resilience, I am exploring a potential solution in which creativity becomes the key-element for a more inclusive creative city. Through this research, I want to contribute to the acknowledgement of more inclusive modes of governance in the creative city, and participate to the idea that creative industries are socially exclusive.

In the next chapter, I will explain the operationalisation of the previous theories and concepts in context of my exploratory case study (Yin, 2009). I will thus present my sub questions as leading the path of my case study, and finally I will develop on the chose methods of data collection methods and justify this choice of triangulation of the research methods.

III. Methods

III. A. Introduction

Les Grands Voisins is the name given to the temporary occupation project of the former Saint-Vincent-de-Paul children hospital. This occupation started in February 2015, as a space combining shelter housing for persons in situation of emergency, office spaces for artistic, creative, associative or environmental structures, and cultural and creative events attracting public visitors. Les Grands Voisins at the Summer of 2015 is hosting more than 1000 residents, 140 structures in the offices, and another 1000 people who work on the site. In total, at the Summer of 2015, 2000 people work and live at Les Grands Voisins, a number that is increased with the presence of external visitors: on some days, it can be more than 4000 people that come and go on the 3.4 hectares of Les Grands Voisins (www.lesgrandsvoisins.org, n.d.). It is a space that defines itself as “*dedicated to meeting the other, to sharing knowledge, and to taking care of bodies and minds through sport, culture, and arts*” (www.lesgrandsvoisins.org, n.d.).

The project of Les Grands Voisins, supposed to end in 2017, generated much enthusiasm amongst policy-makers and the local communities, therefore, the project was reconducted until 2020 on the portion that was not yet concerned construction work. In that sense, Les Grands Voisins has experienced a short closing period from the 22nd of December 2017 to the 1st of April 2018 to take time to relocate activities on a smaller-scale of occupation. During this time, the accommodation centers were still functioning, and partly, other activities continued running: La Lingerie, which is the space’s restaurant, bar, and concert venue, and La Ressourcerie Créative, a creative recycling studio that proposes workshops. The three piloting associations selected a reduced number of structures that were to have a workspace in the second phase of the project. These structures were selected for capacity to contribute to the project of Les Grands Voisins. In that sense, the reduced version of the project might make it even more of an interesting case, because Les Grands Voisins goes further in the implementation of its global project. My research is exploring two dimensions of Les Grands Voisins: the physical location of Les Grands Voisins as a creative occupation; and the groups that compose Les Grands Voisins, looking at the group of creative workers and addressing the way that this group understands his impact of the social integration of the space’s residents (Yin, 2009). Therefore, I am leading an exploratory case-study (Yin, 2009) through which I want to understand how creative workers perceive creativity at Les Grands Voisins as a support for the sheltered residents’ social integration.

III. B. Sub-questions.

I deconstructed my main research question into six main sub-questions, as guiding my study of Les Grands Voisins. I explore the way that creative workers there understand creativity as a foster for the residents' social integration. In that sense, I research the place as a case study on a potential social innovation, following Garcia (2015) and Sanchez Belando (2016) on their study of creative social innovation cases.

I address through these questions the three-indispensable of social innovation: an original governance, an answer to a social need, the empowerment of marginalized communities (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013, Garcia, 2015, Sanchez Belando, 2016). I address the way creativity at Les Grands Voisins supports their development: ultimately, this allows me to confirm or not Les Grands Voisins as being a case of creative social innovation (Garcia, 2015).

These questions also address the way creative workers perceive the upscaling of Les Grands Voisins' model, as to give perspective on Les Grands Voisins' possible impact on the future of the creative city.

These sub questions will be answered in the results' chapter, following the triangulation of the collected data analysis, and will thus support the answering of my main research question.

Sub question 1a.

Who are the different groups involved in Les Grands Voisins?

Sub question 1b.

What is the overall objective of Les Grands Voisins?

Sub question 1c.

How do creative workers fit in this objective?

Sub question 2:

What creative initiatives do creative workers develop with the residents at Les Grands Voisins?

Sub question 3:

What are the goals and objectives of these creative workers when developing creative initiatives with the residents at Les Grands Voisins?

Sub question 4:

What importance do creative workers give to the residents' individual creativity?

Sub question 5:

How do creative workers consider the residents' individual creativity as supporting their social integration?

Sub question 6a:

How do creative workers perceive the temporary aspects of their approach?

Sub question 6b:

How do creative workers scale up the model of Les Grands Voisins to a broader context?

III. C. Research design.

I decided to adopt a qualitative research method that would allow the understanding of the way that creative workers consider the way that Les Grands Voisins' creativity can foster the residents' social integration.

In order to answer the sub-questions, and ultimately to find concluding results answering my main research question, I have decided to follow a combination of three research methods, following Bryman (2001) on the methodology of the triangulation research. I made use of qualitative semi-guided interviews, participant observation following an observational protocol (Creswell, 2007), and content analysis of online articles issued from Les Grands Voisins' blog. This method of triangulation was used as a way to get a fuller perspective on how creative workers consider the role of creativity in supporting Les Grands Voisins' residents in their social integration.

III. C.1. Content analysis.

III. C.1. A. Description of the method.

First, I make use of content analysis as a source of data for my research. In order to give a valuable background to my interviews and observations, and to deepen my perspective on the perception of the social integration objective of Les Grands Voisins, I decide to use qualitative content analysis of online documents that were posted on Les Grands Voisins' blog. Indeed, this blog is one of the main communication tool that Les Grands Voisins uses to reach out to the external public, therefore it is a good platform to explore when looking at elements of the space's own perception on its objectives regarding social integration. By this content analysis, I consider the pre-mentioned that participating to the collective project of Les Grands Voisins is a prerequisite condition for structures to rent a space on the site. Therefore, this content analysis serves as a tool for understanding how creative initiatives in link with residents can be considered as participating to the project of Les Grands Voisins. This implies that my content analysis will look at the way Les Grands Voisins perceives the use of creativity with residents as part of a collective objective of the site.

In using this research method, I decided again to follow the approach proposed by Bryman (2001). The author explains that content analysis is a good method for collection of secondary data, that works by analysing the information contained in written documents. He also states that qualitative document analysis is useful when researching the presence of underlying concepts.

Bryman (2001) also highlights the importance of the status of documents that are to be analysed. He argues that in doing content analysis, the researcher is tempted to assume that the concerned documents are revealing valuable insights on a social reality. In that sense, the researcher often assumes that in analysing the documents of an organization, he will obtain information about the organization's reality. Bryman (2001) hence says that the researcher would think that the documents tell concrete information on the organization, such as its culture and its ambitions. However, with use of critical theories, Bryman (2001) formulates a sceptical view on this statement. He makes use of Atkinson and Coffey (2011) to warn the researcher on two elements. First of all, the context in which the analysed documents were produced, and secondly, their targeted readership. In that sense, Bryman (2001) says that the analysis of online documents is a significant method when looking at the impression an organization wants to give. Therefore, using content analysis in my research is a good strategy because it allows me to get insights on the organization's own image and perception on its activities and overall goals.

As explained by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p.304), content analysis is "the study of recorded human communications". Therefore, the choice of using content analysis as one of my three sources of data collection is made as a way to give the research further understanding on the way Les Grands Voisins presents its objectives, and the way that the development of creative practices with residents is considered as contributing to these objectives. Hence, content analysis is considered as a tool to understand the overall goals of Les Grands Voisins.

III.C.1.B. Justification of the chosen sample.

The documents I am analysing are articles that were published on Les Grands Voisins' online blog. This blog was created in October 2015, simultaneously to the actual opening of Les Grands Voisins' space. The blog is accessible through the website of Les Grands Voisins, and is managed by the team of Yes We Camp. Yes We Camp is one of the three associations that pilots the project of Les Grands Voisins. It is specifically dedicated to the opening of Les Grands Voisins to external visitors: this association is responsible for the organization of events opened to the external visitors at Les Grands Voisins, which is why the team is also responsible for updating the website and the blog. In that sense, in my analysis of blog articles, I am bearing

in mind the fact that the blog is managed by an organization whose goal is to promote Les Grands Voisins and to attract visitors to participate in Les Grands Voisins' events.

I looked through all of the articles that have been published on this blog since October 2015. I was searching for articles that were explicitly mentioning Les Grands Voisins' sheltered residents and the link between these residents and Les Grands Voisins' structures.

The first step of my qualitative content analysis was to select a sample of analysis. I looked at all of the 308 articles that have been published on Les Grands Voisins' blog, however not reading all of them as not all are relevant to my research. A lot of articles have a purpose of advertising upcoming events or sharing pictures and videos, therefore my sample was automatically divided by three. The first selection I made was through the titles and the tags under which the articles were listed. Indeed, the blog is organized with different tags: "travail et insertion", "art et création", "nature en ville"¹ are three of them for example. These tags organize the content of the blog around themes that are central in Les Grands Voisins' activities.

I selected all articles that were addressing the residents of Les Grands Voisins. The first finding is that amongst all articles of the blog, only 30 articles are explicitly mentioning the shelter housing residents. Then, I read this sample of 30 articles, and I selected the ones that were addressing creative practices as defined in my theoretical framework as activities that participate to developing creativity, as defined by Sternberg and Lubart (1999).

Consequently, I had a sample of 16 articles that were all addressing the residents' participation in creative practices on the site of Les Grands Voisins. I first classified the documents in a table (Appendix A2) from the oldest to the most recent publication. In this table, I listed the web links of each article, their titles, the categories under which they were posted on the website, and the creative initiatives they were referring to.

In a second time, I read the sample of articles and extracted codes from the key-terms that appeared emerging from each article. The use of this method of open-coding came out as following the guidelines suggested by Bryman (2001), saying that qualitative content analysis allows unsearched elements to emerge out of the analysed sample, meaning that new categories can be created throughout the data analysis. This content analysis led to the finding of main codes that were then gathered in 8 code groups, which serve as categories for grouping the codes extracted from the analysis (Appendix A3).

This analysis of online documents served to actually understand how Les Grands Voisins presents the development of creative initiatives with residents as targeting the space's

¹ « work and insertion », « art and creation », « nature in the city »

collective objectives. My analysis of online content is therefore a tool for further describing how Les Grands Voisins communicates on the use of creativity with the residents as supporting the space's objectives: compared with other collected data, it allows me to get a better vision on Les Grands Voisins' discourse on creativity.

III. C. 2. On-site observations.

Secondly, I followed the method given by Creswell (2007) for leading on-site observation, and I used an observational protocol to record them. I used on-site observation to study the behaviour setting of social relations between the different groups in their daily environment at Les Grands Voisins (Goffman, 1959). In that sense, I wanted to look at how different groups at Les Grands Voisins, particularly residents and creative workers, interact with each other in their environment. I did not want to participate in any specific workshop, because I wanted to see how the different groups on the space of Les Grands Voisins share their environment together, questioning the potential cohesiveness or segregation between them. Therefore, I wanted to see how they use creativity in their daily-life environment: my interest was to look at the emergence of spontaneous creative projects on the space.

I used an observational protocol recording the physical settings of the space, the groups involved in my observation, the behaviours and interactions between them, oral and non-oral communications, my own reflections, and my personal behaviour during the observation.

I planned to be a complete observer in the first place, because I knew no one at Les Grands Voisins, and thought that as I was also doing my interviews with workers on the site that week, I would not have time to interact with other people. However, what happened is that the fact of doing my interviews on the site, always outside on one of the terraces because of a demand from my interviewees, a lot of people saw me interacting with creative workers and were intrigued by this. In that sense, I did pass from the role of complete observer in the first days to being, if not a complete native, at least an active participant (Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I & Shaw, L.L., 2001).

I was present at Les Grands Voisins from the 29th of April to the 8th of May 2018, every day, from around 11AM until often quite late in the evening when there were night events. I had therefore the occasion to meet many different members of Les Grands Voisins besides my interviewees, either because of a snowball effect, one interviewee introducing me to other persons at Les Grands Voisins, either because I would spontaneously interact with people. I met residents and stakeholders alike: throughout the week, I was an active participant in some activities especially along with researcher P., I participated in a pamphlet distribution, a

barbecue with residents, and other convivial and spontaneous events, especially occurring at night. I learned extensively about the site's physical organization, visited spaces that are open to external visitors as well as ones that are reserved to the persons who live or work at Les Grands Voisins, I experienced the food cooked and sold by residents on the space, and I saw concerts happening in La Lingerie.

All in all, I created relations with actors of the site as being an active participant of the space, and our informal conversations as well as my participation to spontaneous creative projects contributed to collecting valuable data on Les Grands Voisins' social context.

III. C. 3. Qualitative interviews.

III. C. 3. A. Description of the method.

Finally, I decided to use qualitative interviews as the element that will compose the core of my research's data collection. As explained by Bryman in his *Social Research Methods* (2001), qualitative interviews pay attention to the point of view of the interviewee, which is what I intend to look at in my research. Indeed, my research does not only rely on tangible elements as I am addressing elements of perception. In terms of concrete operationalization of the concepts I am addressing, I therefore ask about the practices that are creative workers develop in link with the residents and the way they interpret these practices as playing a role in the residents' integration.

What I am looking at are the objectives targeted by creative workers when developing creative initiatives with the residents: my interest is more driven by understanding the way that creative workers see creativity as playing a role in a process of social integration. In my research, I make use of semi-structured interviews in order to avoid what unstructured qualitative interviews often lead to, meaning that the interviewee goes off the path of the interview guide (Bryman, 2001). Indeed, personal life stories do have their interest in my research as giving background information on the motivations of creative workers when developing projects with Les Grands Voisins' residents, but they are not either a central element of my research. More likely, I am interested in the way creative workers consider the use of creative initiatives as proposing elements of social integration, meaning that I also address what respondents understand as social integration.

The fact that I begin my investigation with a focus that is quite developed, clear and supported by a solid theoretical framework, is also one of the reasons why I choose to use semi-structured interviews. Indeed, Bryman (2001) explains that the semi-structured interview method is a better way to address specific issues than an unstructured interview method would

allow. I therefore constructed an interview guide (Appendix A5) that addresses the different concepts of my theoretical framework by asking questions about the creative workers' own activities and perception. As stated by Bryman (2001), the semi-structured interview method implies that questions from the interview guide will be asked with similar wording from one interviewee to the other, a method that gives the same importance to each question from interviewee to interviewee. I conducted one expert interview, as a way to ensure a fuller and deeper perspective on the space and its objectives. This particular respondent was asked different questions (Bryman, 2011).

I dissociated the questions from the concepts they were addressing in order to get concrete answers, asking practical questions about the creative workers' activities and objectives. The interview guide is composed of a total of 25 questions, however not all were asked to every respondent as eventually I adapted my behaviour to each situation: for instance, if I was interested in the way one interviewee was addressing an experience or a topic, I tried to go deeper into the subject. Bryman (2001) explains that qualitative interviewing encourages rambling, or going off to different interview paths, as the author considers this method as giving insights on what the interviewee would himself consider as important. Which means, as I am researching elements of perception, I hence intended to be lively and reactive, as Bryman (2001) suggests that a good way to lead a semi-guided interview is to know when to adapt the questions to the received answers. Therefore, I operationalized the concepts I am researching by asking respondents specific questions that relate to their perception of creativity on the site of Les Grands Voisins.

I first wanted to know about how the respondents perceived Les Grands Voisins as a creative location and what they considered as the space's main objective, as well as how their structure related to this objective. This was made to understand the different visions that creative workers at Les Grands Voisins relate to, and to see how they can create conflict in the modes of governance.

Secondly, I operationalized the concept of social integration by asking respondents about the creative practices they started in link with residents, and what they wanted to achieve through them, asking about their will to engage a dialog with a marginalized group and their will to create social link, revealing their different understanding of the concept of social integration.

Then, I addressed the concept of individual creativity, looking for creativity as a foster for the residents' self-development and for creating relations between the residents and other actors of Les Grands Voisins.

Finally, I operationalized the concept of social innovation by questioning respondents on how they see Les Grands Voisins as experimental space, and how they imagine the upscaling of this short-term urban laboratory to a broader urban context.

All in all, the operationalization of these concepts served as to understand how creative workers perceive creativity as serving the residents' social integration (Appendix A6).

III. D. Justification of the chosen sample of analysis.

My sample of analysis is creative workers from Les Grands Voisins. I first consider as creative workers all individuals who live with money earned through their creative thinking and producing, following Florida (2002). But I take a turn from this definition by looking at a specific group of creative workers are not only to be characterized by their economic dimension, but who participate in Les Grands Voisins' project which is a project of creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) and local capacity building (Pratt, 2015). Therefore, I observed creative workers that represent a change in the creative city discourse (Mayer, 2013), because they use creativity not only for its economic potential but also for its societal potential.

For the sample of interviews' respondents, I dealt with anonymity by asking them to sign a consent form for them to be recorded (Appendix A9), but some of them forgot to return it. However, I anticipated this situation by the fact that before each interview, respondents were asked for permission to record our conversation. Even if no respondent asked me not to divulge his identity, I decided to use the first letter of their first name. For the other persons that I cite, meaning persons that were mentioned during the interviews or in the blog articles, I just mention their activity, as it is what matters for the readers' understanding.

In practice, les Grands Voisins hosts a multiplicity of creative structures, ranging from associations, start-ups, craftsmen, or artists. All of them, by the fact that they are located on a creative place that has objectives of social integration, are participating to the change of discourse on the creative city and its possibilities in terms of social integration.

Concretely, I decided to look more specifically at Les Grands Voisins' creative workers who specifically make use of creativity to create social relations with the space marginalized community of residents. Meaning, my research functions on a double scale: one general understanding of Les Grands Voisins as a creative location, and one specific focus on how creative workers make use of specific creative projects with residents; as a result, how creative workers consider both dimensions of creativity as participating to the residents' social integration.

Therefore, my interviewees are creative workers based on the site of Les Grands Voisins who started a creative project with residents. As a way to decide on my sample of analysis, I looked at all cultural and creative initiatives located at Les Grands Voisins from the first phase of the project (2015-2017) and from the second phase (2018-2020). All structures have to contribute to the project of Les Grands Voisins, however, not all choose to do it by creating a project with residents. Due to the fact that Les Grands Voisins is working as an accommodation centre, most creative initiatives tried to relate to social inclusion by proposing activities to the sheltered persons, but some other for example choose to organize a public event, and exhibition, a free concert... From all these creative structures, I searched for the ones that expressly organized activities and work with sheltered people. I therefore have a sample of interviewees composed of persons who are economically dependent of their creative thinking (Florida, 2002), but who can also be social workers or members of associations working with creativity with the sheltered residents.

In my sample, I have some activities that are meant for the most basic integration of marginalized people: it is the case of La Maraude Ouest for example, whose objective is to help the people in urgent life situations by fulfilling their physiological needs, however, this association based at Les Grands Voisins also organizes creative workshops for the residents on a weekly basis. There are other structures that are less related to this idea of emergency, but that have as their core activity the reinsertion of marginalized persons, for example it is the case of Afrikatiss that is an association that develops activities of textile and fashion design with refugees. I also interviewed structures that do not have social integration as the core of their activity, but that chose to contribute to the collective project of Les Grands Voisins by specifically developing creative initiatives with sheltered people. It is the case, for example, of Adrien, who is an instrument maker but started proposing guitar lessons to the residents. In the different organizations I actually interviewed, I had all three categories represented, as shows *table 1* below.

I also had the opportunity to interview an expert, who is a researcher in science of education writing a PhD on Les Grands Voisins addressing the power of action in socially innovative spaces. To lead his research, he chose to become a resident of one of Les Grands Voisins' accommodation centres, therefore I considered his input as very valuable for my research. The fact of interviewing an expert who is leading a long-term observation on the site and its functioning was useful for getting more global and distanced vision on the project Les Grands Voisins.

These are all the structures that responded positively to my interview request, I contacted them through email, explaining my research and why I wanted to interview them particularly. Besides from these positive answers, I was confronted to some refusals, organizations telling me that they were very busy with their activity. I finally could obtain 8 interviews of a total of 8.03 hours. I conducted my interviews between the 29th of April and the 8th of May 2018, six of them were conducted on the site of Les Grands Voisins. In the following *table III.1*, I classify all of the respondents. All of the interviews were conducted in French as all interviewees are of French Nationality. I transcribed the interviews in French, and translated the parts that I wanted to quote in my research to English.

Table III.1. Classification of the interviews' respondents

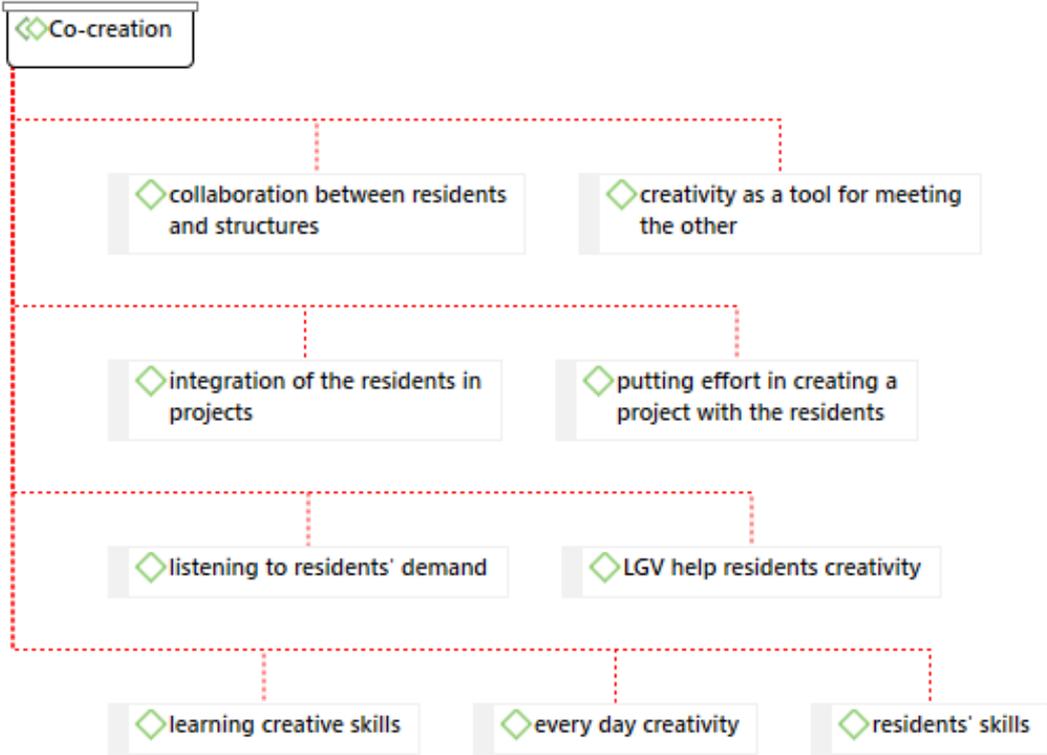
Name	Structure	Occupation	Initiative with residents	Still working on the site
P.	None	Researcher	No particular	Yes
C.	Yes We Camp	Creative worker and part of the piloting team	Food project + outdoor spaces	Yes
M.	Afrikatiss	Creative worker	Textile-fashion design project	Yes
A.	Independent	Instrument maker	Guitar lessons leading to music band KaceKode	Yes
O.	Ecran Voisin	Film programmer	Free access to the residents	No
V.	L'alternative Urbaine	Creative-social worker	Visits of Les Grands Voisins	No
D.	Aurore	Creative-social worker	Arts and Crafts workshops	No
S.	Aurore	Creative worker in social structure	Graffiti project + music writing project	Yes

III. E. Interviews' data analysis

The collected data from the interviews was processed through the program Atlas.ti who is designed for qualitative research. I used open coding following Charmaz (1983), as a way to sort and summarize the collected data.

These documents were all processed through the qualitative analysis program 'Atlas.ti'. Initially, open coding was used, I obtained a total of 90 codes. I followed Charmaz (1983) method of coding analysis of focused coding to address my concepts and hypothesis, following this combination of open and focus coding, I grouped my codes into 9 code groups.

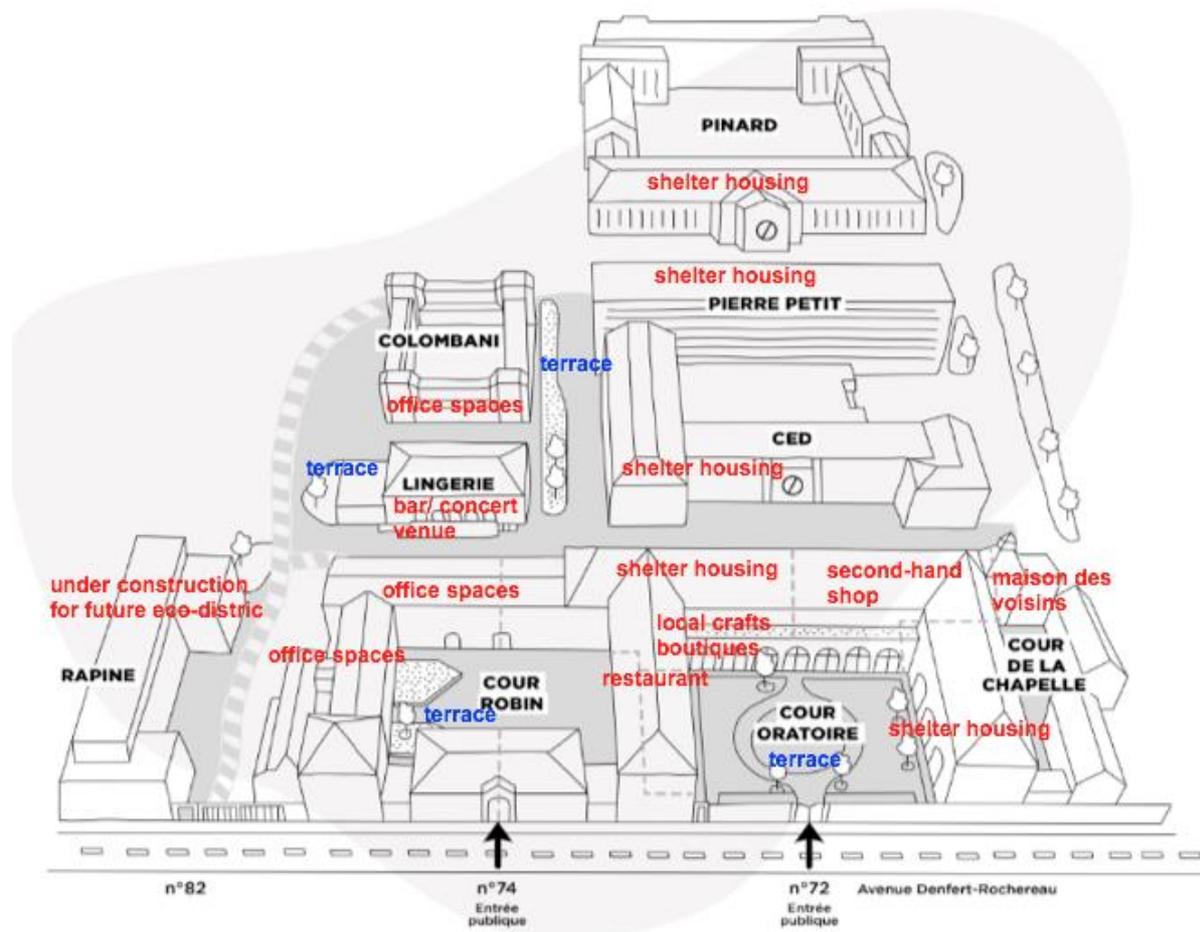
For instance, I present below Graph III.1. as an example of one of my code-groups under the form of a code tree, while my complete code book is to be found in Appendix A7.



Graph III.1. Code tree of the code group “co-creation” made with Atlas.ti

IV. Findings

First of all, I would like to insert a map of Les Grands Voisins that I edited with use of on-site observations, following the observational protocol (separate Appendix) as to give concrete information on the place's spatial organisation.



Map 4.1. Les Grands Voisins' spatial organisation

IV. A. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data I collected on the case-study of Les Grands Voisins. The three types of collected data, meaning, blog articles, observations, and interviews, are analysed and merged in this chapter, following the method of triangulation presented by Bryman (2001). The main source of data collection and analysis is the interviews, the two other methods support the analysis of the interviews (Bryman, 2001). Precisely, this study aims at exposing the way that Les Grands Voisins' creative workers perceive the impact of their initiatives on the residents' social integration. As of following the chosen theoretical

framework, these results aim at highlighting the role that creative workers reckon creativity plays in Les Grands Voisins' residents social integration process. My research is an exploratory case-study on Les Grands Voisins' creative project as constituting a case of social innovation. Therefore, the structure of this chapter follows the structure of my theoretical framework, it is divided in four sections that reflect the creative workers' different perceptions and understandings of creativity at les Grands Voisins.

I will look first at Les Grands Voisins' on a large scale as a case of creative placemaking, analysing the space's innovative methods of governance, showing that the structures' different values and objectives reflect the theoretical and policy debate on the role of creative industries in a city's development.

In the second section, I go further in considering the creative workers' understanding of creativity as being a foster for social dialog between them and the residents. Les Grands Voisins' and their understanding of their reality. Therefore, in this category I am analysing the perception of creativity as bridging different social groups at Les Grands Voisins. This section composes one of the largest code groups of my research: most of the creative workers mentioned the use of creative activities as a tool for creating this encounter.

In the third section, I pursue my analysis by exploring the understanding of creativity as empowering the marginalized social groups of Les Grands Voisins' residents, looking at the development of co-creation between residents and creative workers. In this category I address the way creative workers consider creativity as empowering the residents, giving them the opportunity to formulate their own creative, innovative outcomes.

In the fourth section, I address the creative workers' perception on creativity at Les Grands Voisins as fostering local capacity building and social integration (Pratt, 2015), questioning the transfer of this local social integration to a broader urban context.

A final section serves as a conclusion of this chapter, it addresses the way creative workers imagine possible improvements of the situation. This category draws back to the stakeholders' different visions on Les Grands Voisins' objectives and missions, and condensates their perception on future challenges. This category contrasts the embedment of Les Grands Voisins in a resilient strategy by questioning the limits of the model.

IV. B. An innovative mode of governance

This section addresses governance of Les Grands Voisins. It serves to answer the first sub-question of my research that addresses the governance of the space. It addresses sub-questions 1a, 1b, and 1c: *Who are the different groups involved in Les Grands Voisins? What*

is the overall objective of Les Grands Voisins? How do creative workers fit in this objective?

First of all, I created an organisational chart (diagram IV.1.) of Les Grands Voisins with use of my observations' and interviews' analyses. As for the previous map, this organizational chart aims at giving concrete information on the place's structural organization, it illustrates the answer to sub question 1a.

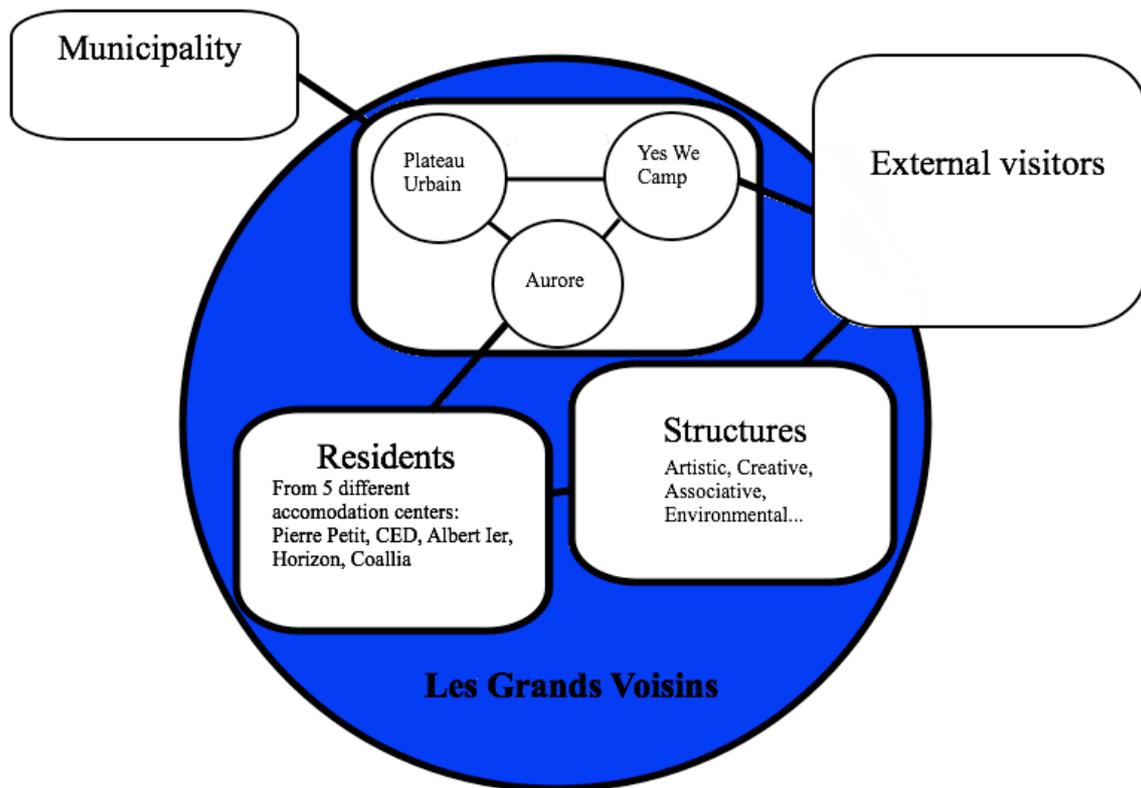


Diagram IV.1: organizational chart of Les Grands Voisins

IV. B. 1. The narrative of Les Grands Voisins' construction: a situation of emergency.

I have addressed the narrative of Les Grands Voisins with use of Les Grands Voisins' website in the previous methods chapter. However, the analysis of the expert interview data gives a different narrative on the construction of the space, this historical approach to Les Grands Voisins is not present neither on the website or blog of Les Grands Voisins, nor explained in leaflets or billboards presented on-site. Here, the triangulation of research methods allows to create a richer analysis and highlight some contradictions in the space's discourse. The expert explains that the Saint-Vincent-de-Paul hospital was created in 1800, but was closed in 2011 because of general dysfunctions due to the spaces' obsolescence. In 2011, the public owner 'Assistance Publique - Hôpitaux de Paris' (AP-HP) sold the space to the public company

‘Paris-Batignolles Aménagement’ who is appointed by the Municipality to create an eco-district on the site of Saint-Vincent de Paul. Seeing that the construction will only start in 2017, the director of the AP-HP agrees with the director of the emergency housing association ‘Aurore’ on a temporary occupation of the space, following a long tradition of sheltering the homeless in the hospital’s empty rooms during the winters. In the winter of 2011, Aurore thus starts using the buildings for emergency housing, but the association is overwhelmed by the size of the site, and cannot prevent squatting of non-occupied buildings. The Parisian Municipality therefore appoints guarding services; and the police is also conducting inspections of the space to expel the squatters. One of their strong expulsion actions in 2014 led to the death of one individual who tried to escape by jumping from a window.

In that context, the association Aurore immediately alerted the Municipality on the urgent need to find a solution to the problem of the space’s ghettoization. The Municipality and the association Aurore therefore decided, in 2014, on the occupation of the buildings by other associations, that would open the space to the external public to stem the ghettoization of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. The Municipality therefore appointed ‘Yes we Camp’ as an association that had already been a partner of the public administrations in projects of occupation of the public space. Yes We Camp defines itself as an association that “explores the possibilities of constructing, inhabiting, and using shared spaces by proposing temporary innovative, useful and inclusive equipments”². Another structure, the association of urbanism Plateau Urbain was appointed for taking care of the relations with the future occupant ‘Paris-Batignolles Aménagement’. The three associations became the project holders and piloting structures of Les Grands Voisins, a creative combination between shelter housing, offices and studios for workers of creative industries, cultural events, restaurants, and welcoming outdoor spaces.

Therefore, this answers sub-question 1b: Les Grands Voisins’ first objective is resulting from a prerogative given by public policy-makers, namely, to stem the space’s ghettoization. The underlying element is that Les Grands Voisins intervene in a context of social emergency.

IV. B. 2. A multiplicity of stakeholders that have to work together to create an inclusive environment.

In addition to the three piloting associations and the Municipality, Les Grands Voisins has other stakeholders: the artistic, creative, associative and environmental structures that rent

² « Yes We Camp explore les possibilités de construire, habiter et utiliser les espaces partagés en proposant des équipements temporaires innovants, fonctionnels et inclusifs. » www.lesgrandsvoisins.org

a work space at Les Grands Voisins; the residents that are sheltered in the five emergency accommodation centres; and the external visitors.

Most of the interviews' respondents mentioned the multiplicity of actors that are part of Les Grands Voisins as having different visions on the space's objectives. Les Grands Voisins' three piloting associations indeed gave office spaces to 140 structures with as many different professional activity, but the piloting associations chose them for their will and capacity to contribute to the Les Grands Voisins' first objective of fostering social diversity. One of the interviews' analysis shows a particularly explanatory quote about the numerous actors of governance at Les Grands Voisins:

“There were a lot of things to experiment, all of the structures arrived almost at the same time, 250 structures, it's a lot, the fact of organizing a life in common, of... to make it efficient and impacting, well-conceived, concerted and that... that we don't miss some of the things at stake”. (M.)

This quote highlights the conception of creative workers on the place's collective ambition, and the multiplicity of stakeholders that have to work together towards this objective. I analyse this element as confirming the idea that Les Grands Voisins' creative stakeholders are conscious of having a shared objective, therefore contributing to the first understanding of Les Grands Voisins as a case of social innovation: it is a collective creative initiative that has a precise aim (Sanchez Belando, 2016). However, Sanchez Belando (2016) completes this definition with the fact that in social innovation, the community comes together to address a social problem. In that sense, to validate Les Grands Voisins as a case of social innovation, the entire community must be integrated in the project. In that sense, I need to further define the residents and investigate their integration in Les Grands Voisins community.

The persons that are sheltered in the accommodation centres of Les Grands Voisins are qualified in the sample of blog articles as 'victims of exclusion', 'marginalized groups', 'vulnerable', and 'away from employment'. However, if Les Grands Voisins' residents do belong to the less knowledge-based classes that are marginalized from the urban system (Scott, 2008), on-site observations as well as interview' analyses show that there is a tremendous diversity of profiles amongst residents. This aspect that was addressed by almost every respondent. Only one of the interviewees did not mention the fact that there were very various profiles amongst the residents.

The interviewed expert who is explicitly researching conditions of life in the shelters was the most consistent on that aspect, explaining that there were five different centres on the site, each being home to one specific public. He mentioned an important point, which is that

these shelters have a policy of uncompromised acceptance, meaning that residents cannot be expelled, whichever be their behaviour. This element is part of Aurore's policy, who promotes 'the unconditional sheltering and support, not only individual, but global'³. Except for this one common point, shelters on-site are very different, for instance, one of the respondent states that *"in a shelter of 200 persons, the 200 persons each have different profiles"* (C.).

Through on-site observation, I learned that three shelters are reserved to older persons (40+) who have lived a long period of homelessness, and who have small chances now to reintegrate private housing because they are very far from employment.

Two shelters are addressed to migrants waiting for their regularization: some of them but not all were of African ethnicity, mostly the ones I met were from Ivory Coast, Senegal, Cameroun, and North-Africa.

One shelter is addressed to young people between 18 and 30 years old who have experienced small periods of homelessness, but who are working on their professional project.

In that sense, almost all creative workers of my sample perceive residents as having each their own identity, their own life history, and their own culture. Meaning, creative workers consider the residents as being very diverse and avoid generalizing on their social situation.

In link with this, creative workers very often highlight the residents' different individual problems. Firstly, interviewees mention the administrative problems that many residents are facing. Indeed, it is often said during the interviews that many residents are migrants who did not yet obtain to legally stay on the French territory, meaning, they are awaiting their regularization, a situation that two respondents qualified as being vector of anxiety.

Secondly, almost all interviewees considered the health problems of the residents. Meaning, without me asking about this topic during the interviews, respondents spontaneously and often very extensively discussed the fact that many residents were in poor health situations. Respondents distinguish physical symptoms from psychic symptoms, including problems of addictions. Especially, the creative-social worker who has an expertise on the subject explained that it is often the case that when getting out of the streets, individuals would discover diseases or develop post-traumatic diseases, he also says that sometimes being ill is the reason why individuals get off the streets. In that sense, some of the interviewees also address the fact that there is amongst residents quite a significant part that has difficulties getting out of their rooms.

³ « L'association Aurore promeut un accueil inconditionnel et un accompagnement non seulement individuel, mais global » www.lesgrandsvoisins.org

Respondents also largely address symptoms of toxicology; often perceiving this element as reducing the possibility of creating a real contact with the person.

Health situation was not originally part of my research. However, respondents largely gave importance to this elements during the interviews, meaning, this element consists in a finding in terms of social reality, that I did not perceive through my theoretical framework but that is a foster of social exclusion. In that sense, if residents are indeed part of a marginalized group in context of cognitive-cultural capitalism (Scott, 2008), they are not either a cohesive group themselves: they are multicultural, and more or less excluded professionally and socially.

Looking at the different social realities of the residents, many respondents addressed the fact that they were not familiar with the reality of shelter housing before moving their professional activity to Les Grands Voisins. For instance, one of the creative workers says: *“we didn’t really know how to enter in the shelters, we didn’t want to be intrusive”* (C.). For the expert, who lives in one of the shelters for more than one year, *“many (creative workers) have a form of fear, a form of apprehension and mostly a huge misconception... am I allowed to go in the shelter or not, what can I say to someone...”* (P.).

Therefore, the understanding of shelters and their functioning seems to have been a challenge for most of the respondents. A rather small amount of the respondents considers that their first contact with residents was spontaneous and natural, the others explain that it was difficult to interact with them in the first place. The question of discovering a different reality was raised by more than half of the interviewees, which confirms that the sphere of creative workers and the one of shelters residents are socially and spatially segregated in context of the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Scott, 2014). In that extent, Mayer (2013) considers this clash between the two realities as essential for the development of an alternative, inclusive societal model. Indeed, the author explains that linkages between “privileged city users” and “growing advanced marginality” can only be meaningful if there is a “shared awareness” of the different conditions and levels of privilege between the two ladders, the consciousness of these inequalities naturally create some tensions and conflicts, that are essential for creating a more cohesive social environment (Mayer, 2013, p. 17).

Further observations and interviews demonstrated that the bridging between the different groups is still a source of tensions. Especially, it appears that the commercial objective of Les Grands Voisins, that means the presence of external consumers, does not much engage those who cannot participate in the consumption, namely the residents, to participate.

IV. B. 3. Tensions between social and commercial visions that complicate the collective development of an inclusive space.

The vision of Les Grands Voisins as being completely devoted to the integration of residents in their social environment must be nuanced by acknowledging some existing tensions between this social goal and the economical imperatives of the space. Some interviewees explained that shelter housing spaces are the only publicly subsidized structures of the space. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal of creating a diverse and inclusive environment, the piloting structure Yes We Camp, who is responsible for opening the space to the public, had to engage expenses to make the space more welcoming for all of the stakeholders. Meaning, they had to arrange the outdoor spaces, to make small renovations and construction works, and organize creative and cultural events. The analysis of the interviews showed that creative workers perceive a tension between the main social objective of Les Grands Voisins and the economic imperatives of Yes We Camp.

Not making any value-judgement on Yes We Camp, most of the respondents recognize that the situation of emergency in which Les Grands Voisins was created forced Yes We Camp to find a very time efficient way to finance the project. Respondents however deplore that there was not enough time to define a plan of action on how to gather funds without applying a consumerist model on the site.

Amongst the creative workers I interviewed, half formulated reservations about the space's commercial bar La Lingerie, which is managed by Yes We Camp who re-injects most of the financial outcomes in Les Grands Voisins. Respondents explain that this bar as attracting too many external visitors, who, if generating economic profits, were qualified multiple times as 'invading' and excluding residents from a part of Les Grands Voisins.

On-site observations showed that La Lingerie is indeed a 'hip' bar, restaurant and concert venue. I observed La Lingerie for five evenings: one board-games night, one night of electronic music, one night of jazz music live band, one regular night when no particular event was organized, and one barbecue night only for residents and workers of the site. I noticed that the space was often packed, attracting a very large number of groups, in majority composed of young, white, and 'trendy' people. I never saw residents participating in these events, except on the barbecue night when La Lingerie was not open to public visitors. On these nights, I observed that some young residents were spending time on-site, on the terraces, but never going very close to La Lingerie.

Concretely, most of the respondents explain this situation by saying that the prices practiced at La Lingerie are excessive for the residents. Respondents also largely agree on the fact that the musical events proposed at La Lingerie during the weekends attract a large crowd of visitors, whom are perceived by most respondents as lacking awareness on the existence of shelter housing at Les Grands Voisins. Also, some respondents explain that La Lingerie's cultural programming does not fit with the tastes of the residents, one respondent even saying that residents should be consulted on this cultural programming. Mainly, interviewees mention the fact that most external visitors come to Les Grands Voisins because it is perceived as a trendy, hip place with welcoming outdoor spaces. More than half of the respondents were reticent to the presence of such a big number of external visitors, sometimes described as lacking a social conscience. Meaning, the vision that respondents have on visitors is interpreted as implicitly acknowledging the existence of shared norms and values on the space, that support the objective of social integration at Les Grands Voisins.

Going back to my theoretical framework, this element points to the conflicting social and commercial "representations of 'value'" that exist in the field of creative industries (Pratt, 2012b, p. 10): external visitors see in Les Grands Voisins a creative, commercial space; whereas creative workers see in Les Grands Voisins a creative, social space that belongs to the people that live and work on the space. In that sense, some respondents consider that the balance found on the site of Les Grands Voisins can be somehow troubled by the fact that external visitors do not share the same social conscience and objectives, or do not respect these norms and values. Going further in analysing Mayer's theory (2013), I understand that creative workers perceive a conflict between external visitors and the local stakeholders who work, live on the space. It seems therefore that external visitors and this social entity did not bridge: there is no 'shared awareness' of these two social groups' realities (Mayer, 2013, p. 17). In that sense, it seems that external visitors can represent a threat for achieving the space's objective of inclusion, but that local stakeholders do share this awareness of each other.

IV. B. 4. A shared motivation: to develop an inclusive creative place.

What has been found in this analysis is that despite showing a difficulty to balance between social and commercial objectives, structures at Les Grands Voisins do share a will to collaborate to the development of an inclusive creative space. Indeed, most of the respondents first mention the fact that the piloting associations are selecting structures who have a will to participate in the project of Les Grands Voisins. For all respondents, the motivation to participate in the collective project of Les Grands Voisins was seen as an essential dimension. Interviewees confirmed the statement that Les Grands Voisins was selecting structures with

regard to their will to contribute to the space's collective project. For instance, one of the creative workers I interviewed, who is also from the piloting team of Les Grands Voisins, stated that:

“Of course, we don't force anyone to participate, however when we recruit structures (...) the goal is to select people that want to invest themselves, to get involved with the shelters, that have an idea in mind or that want to get involved in Les Grands Voisins' project in general” (C.)

In regard to my research topic, the fact that wanting to get involved is almost a prerequisite for renting out space at Les Grands Voisins shows that if considering different methods of action, stakeholders share an objective that lies in their will to participate to the creation of an inclusive social environment. Considering my sample of analysis, most of the creative workers reckon having an interest in the project and it being one of the reasons they decided to base their activity at Les Grands Voisins.

Almost all of my respondents consider their presence at Les Grands Voisins as resulting from their own sensibility to the problematic of social integration. In my analysis, I distinguish three different categories in regard to this element. Firstly, the respondents whose professional activities are embedded in the problematic of social integration. It is the case of respondents who are working in associations that combine creativity with ambitions of social integration. Secondly, respondents that for personal reasons are interested in problematics of social integration (e.g. A., who created an association for social integration through music following his experience at Les Grands Voisins). Thirdly, only one respondent (responsible for the film programming) who did not himself want to engage a social work with the residents, but who still supported Les Grands Voisins' project of social integration as sharing his personal norms and values.

Hence, Les Grands Voisins' creative stakeholders are in the first place chosen for their will to participate to the common project. This answers sub question 1c: the creative workers fit in Les Grands Voisins' objective of integration because they want to go beyond the economic aspects of creative industries: they are therefore alternative creative actors (Grodach, 2017) who are working for bringing “diverse people together to celebrate, inspire and be inspired” (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010, p. 5, as cited in Grodach, 2017). They thus contrast with the more traditional vision of creative workers as economically-driven (Florida, 2002) but rather, they intend at helping a community and respond to social needs (Garcia, 2015). In that sense, these

creative workers fit in the project of Les Grands Voisins because they challenge more traditional opinions of the creative city (Pratt, 2011, as cited in Garcia, 2015).

To achieve its goal, Les Grands Voisins is neither using a bottom-linked strategy, defined by Garcia (2015) as a situation “when citizens' collective initiatives result in agreements with local institutions that enable and sustain such initiatives through sound, regulated and lasting practices” (Garcia, 2015, p. 1), nor a top-down strategy in which urban policy makers unilaterally develop a project: Les Grands Voisins uses a mixed strategy, in which policy-makers supported the use of a creative strategy by appointing Yes We Camp to the project, but let the three associations develop their own strategy for the occupation.

Thus, Les Grands Voisins proposes an innovative mode of governance. It is thus a case of creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) as the stakeholders have an alternative vision on creativity's potential. I analyse this element as confirming the idea that Les Grands Voisins' creative stakeholders are conscious of having a shared objective, and that the governance of the space works towards achieving this need.

Les Grands Voisins hence responds to the two first aspects of a case of social innovation as explained by Tremblay and Pilati (2013), Garcia (2015) and Sanchez Belando (2016): it uses an original mode of governance, and it tackles a social need. In the following section, I will focus on more tangible aspects, looking at how creative workers concretely apply the use of creative practices for fostering social integration; meaning, I address the perception creativity as helping local social diversity, and allowing the development of a model of ‘self-help and capacity building’ (Grodach, 2017, p. 84).

IV. C. Creative workers and the collective objective of integration: creative practices, social, economic, or hybrid goals.

Respondents applied Les Grands Voisins' project of social integration by setting up creative activities with residents. In this section, I address these creative practices, and answer sub question 2 and 3: *What creative initiatives do creative workers develop with the residents at Les Grands Voisins? What are the goals and objectives of these creative workers when developing creative initiatives with the residents at Les Grands Voisins?*

These creative workers organized a variety of activities that I classify in *table IV.1.* regarding their economic outputs for residents. This tables illustrates the answering of sub question 2: *What creative initiatives do creative workers develop with the residents at Les Grands Voisins?*

ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES	SOCIAL OBJECTIVES
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> Cooking activities (Yes We Camp) Guided tours of Les Grands Voisins </div>	Arts and Crafts workshops Cooking activities (Aurore) Creative writing workshops Graffiti art workshops (Terrace) construction workshops Film projections Guitar lessons Textile creation ┆

Table IV.1. Creative initiatives of the sample and their economic output for residents

Some of my respondents expressly explained that they set up creative activities with respondents with an objective of economic integration, meaning, the residents' participation in these activities was ensuring them a small remuneration. I realise however that most of the respondents qualified the fact of developing creative projects with the residents aimed at stimulating the creation of social link between them. I also analyse two activities that are mixing both dimensions: their first objective was to foster social link, however, they resulted in a small economic income for the participating residents.

In the following section, I address all three types of creative practices that were developed in link with the residents. I therefore analyse the way creative workers understand the development of creative practices as participating to the residents' integration: meaning, do they understand integration as social, or as economic? In what way do they see creative practices as a useful tool for achieving this goal?

I will start by looking at the main category of my sample, which is analysing the activities that creative workers started for especially the creation of social link. I look at the ways these creative workers perceive creative practices as being a tool for developing a dialog with the residents.

IV. C. 1. Creative practices as a tool for creating a social dialog

First of all, many respondents qualified the fact of developing creative projects in link with residents as being a way to stimulate the creation of a social dialog with them. For instance,

when asked about the objectives of the creative practices implemented with residents, one of the creative workers answered:

“I think that the first objective was quite modest you know, but finally, it’s not so spontaneous. It was... to have an occasion to meet each other, to have an occasion to meet each other because for example Pierre Petit, it was the building where us structures were, at the 5th and 6th floors, the residents were on 1-2-3-4th, but they enter through one door and us through another, and they have their own elevator and we have ours, and we can spend two years like this without crossing each other’s road and without having ever learned to know each other. So first, very humbly, it was to have a pretext to meet each other” (M.).

In that sense, the first reason that creative workers gave for developing creative practices with residents was to create a first link to avoid the creation of a segregated environment in which residents would live in a creative place without participating to its development.

For instance, in my sample of interviewees, the creative activities that were created with residents are very diverse but all were organized weekly or bi-weekly, therefore fostering contact between the participants. Respondents perceive the fact of meeting regularly, sometimes once a week, or several times a week, as creating a dynamic that allows residents not to be in a situation of total loneliness.

Engaging creative activities with residents also came out as helping the communication between creative workers and residents. Some of the interviewees explain that being focused on one same activity can allow the development of topics of conversation, which these respondents consider as helping to know each other. Indeed, having mentioned that creative workers and residents have very different realities, engaging the conversation can appear as being difficult. Indeed, multiple respondents highlight the fact that by developing creative practices in link with residents, they could truly find a way to communicate. One of the respondents explains:

“it is easier to create a link with a person that is very far from your reality if you are both painting a wall and you have an object of discussion than if you just end up facing each other and you tell this person, here we are, tell me about your life” (C.).

Hence, creative practices are considered as having the advantage of being concrete and tangible, therefore opening on concrete conversations on a subject, and therefore that help creating an informal relation with the residents.

This aspect is backed with content analysis, seeing that multiple blog articles insist on the fact creative practices developed with residents create conviviality, therefore perceiving

creativity as participating to the creation of an informal, shared festive environment. Therefore, this element helps recognizing that Les Grands Voisins gives to creative practices the asset of supporting the development of a convivial and unformal atmosphere.

Not only giving unformal conversation topics around one shared interest, some interviewees consider the use of creative practices as useful for developing manual and corporal dialog, that can come as a complement to verbal dialog in some situations, especially with residents that speak a different language. Indeed, some respondents explain that creativity allows residents to express themselves through another form than verbal expression. One respondent very well explains this specific view:

“creativity is important (...) because when it’s not necessarily expressed through words, which is already a language that is codified and not necessarily adapted to every culture either, (...) when it’s a process that is creative it goes beyond the (...) cultural and social frames” (S.)

In that sense, this respondent explains a vision that is often shared by other respondents in which creativity allows a different kind of self-expression, that can be very valuable for some of the residents that have difficulties with verbal expression, first because some have a limited knowledge of French language, but also because some are facing health difficulties being physical or psychic that can sometimes make verbal expression uncomfortable.

I find an echo to this in the analysed articles: in them, it is mostly the multicultural dialog that is addressed, and that creativity is also described as a tool for supporting the development of this dialog. For example, one article addresses the initiative of an artist that started painting a mural with the residents. This article states:

“(the artist) first helped the emergence of the project: after the first shy discussions, everyone spontaneously evoked his country of origin and the idea of painting a world map. (...) For (the artist), ‘by doing something together, we can surpass the language barriers and we learn how to communicate in another way’”⁴

Therefore, many creative practices in link with the residents at Les Grands Voisins firstly aim at the creation of a dialog between the group of creative workers and the group of residents, and this dialog can take other forms than the verbal dialog that is sometimes reducing the possibilities of dialog for the residents.

⁴ « (L’artiste) a d’abord aidé le projet à germer : après des premières discussions timides, chacun a spontanément évoqué son pays d’origine et l’idée de peindre une carte du monde (...) Pour (l’artiste), ‘en faisant ensemble, on peut dépasser les barrières de la langue et on apprend à communiquer autrement’ ».

IV. C. 2. Creative practices as a tool for professional integration.

Other creative practices aim at the economic integration of residents. Two interviewees gave to the development of creative practices with residents a goal of professional, or economic, integration. Meaning, in these activities the residents are principal members of the projects and have complete responsibilities in their organization. In that sense, these residents are considered as employed, they are financially rewarded, and can therefore be considered as part of the structures that compose Les Grands Voisins.

One of the examples that was given by multiple respondents is what they call the food project. This project emerged from discussions between residents and the chef of Les Grands Voisins' restaurant, who noticed that many residents had valuable cooking skills and were chaotically selling food to external visitors on the space. Therefore, the piloting association Yes We Camp constructed six different counters from which residents could prepare and sell their dishes. This project was considered by many respondents as developing concrete economic integration as it demanded the residents' constant involvement and a quasi-professional organization. This project led to the development of one particular initiative, the opening of one of the residents' restaurant, that was mentioned in multiple interviews as demonstrating the potential of economic integration for the residents at Les Grands Voisins. I quote one the respondent from Yes We Camp who explains this initiative:

“The objective of this project was to form them, not only to sell, it was more a professional support, it was a big success, this project, the residents were so happy to be able to sell, and... there was a real professional integration, it resulted to (one resident), who was a resident at Coeur de Femmes (CED) who used to sell at the counters, and she applied for having a restaurant on the phase 2, and she had it so now she sells food on-site” (C.)

This example was used several times during the interviews, as for creative workers it truly grasps the social integration possibilities that they perceive in Les Grands Voisins.

From on-site observation, and informal conversations with residents and creative workers, I understand that many residents are obviously interested in earning some money, and ultimately in being financially independent. For instance, I observed during the time I spent at Les Grands Voisins that there is a local money on the site. This project is labelled under the name of “money-time”⁵, and is used to reward the residents that give some help on the site: for instance, if a resident helps cleaning up or constructing something for one hour, he would

⁵ « monnaie-temps »

receive a one hour ticket that allows him to buy a meal or a non-alcoholic drink at La Lingerie, or second-hand items at the shop. However, this system is not very popular amongst residents, because, as explains the respondent from Yes We Camp:

“It allows them to have access to things on-site, but it is not money either, it never replaced money, it never aimed at replacing money, it was more a way to value their work, but we never really could complete this project because it asks many questions, the residents were sometimes saying that we were exploiting them...” (C.)

It appears that residents do not value this initiative because it can make them feel exploited, an assumption could be that residents might feel that they are subordinated to less-skilled jobs, and therefore reproducing the social situation of cognitive-cultural capitalism (Scott, 2008) in which they are a marginalized, non-creative class.

In that sense, the third type of creative activities that I address are the ones that combine social and economic objectives, as representing the real potential of creative activities for the integration of residents, because they acknowledge residents' skills as producing revenue.

IV.C.3. Creative practices for social dialog resulting in financial outcome: showing the potential of creativity for fostering local economic integration.

Some creative workers consider their creative initiatives with residents as combining both economic and social objectives. Indeed, two specific respondents state that their initiative with residents started with the vocation of creating dialog with the residents, but however resulted in the development of a professional project and the remuneration of the residents. The guitar lessons engaged by Adrien led to the creation of a music band that was sometimes paid for its performance, the textile and fashion project led to the creation of a small fashion collection that was sold in Les Grands Voisins' shop, as well as to a project of clothes repairing for people on-site.

During my observations on-site, many people that I met and talked to about my research project immediately told me about these initiatives, maybe showing that they are considered as the most complete achievements of Les Grands Voisins' project. Indeed, this type of creative practices is valued by respondents because they use the residents' own skills to produce an economic outcome. In that sense, residents become themselves creative workers as, in the sense of Florida (2002), all individuals who live with money earned through their creative thinking and producing. In that sense, these creative practices are creating new economical dynamics, changing the dimensions of the creative city in which the creative class and the non-creative class are two opposite groups: in that case, it seems that the two groups are porous (Mayer,

2013). Therefore, creativity becomes the foster of a local economic dynamic, showing that when integrated to creative projects, marginalized classes (here, the residents) can contribute to the economic development of the creative city. In that sense, marginalized classes when supported by a local capacity building (Pratt, 2015) can become an asset rather than a threat for a more innovative creative city, participating in the development of a resilient environment.

Findings however show that it is not solely the economic aspect of these activities that make them successful and therefore integrative, but rather, the fact that they truly give value to the residents' skills, and therefore motivate them to participate. Respondents acknowledge that residents indeed feel more motivated to participate in projects when they found a personal interest in them, that can be economic or not. In that sense, a large part of the creative workers in my sample communicated about the importance they give to the residents' desires when developing a creative practice with them.

Meaning, residents are interested in participating in creative practices that acknowledge, either socially or economically, their personal creative input. In that sense, creative practices are motivating for the residents when they value and encourage the development of their own creativity. The following category will therefore address the perception of co-creation as fostering the empowerment of the residents.

In that sense, the previous sections answered my third sub question: the goal of creative workers when developing initiatives with residents is to foster integration, it being social in the sense of creating dialog, economic as bringing financial income to the residents, and ultimately, a combination of both. Indeed, residents value initiatives that either reward their participation with a real financial income, or that create a social dialog between them and creative workers. Creative initiatives that were aimed at creating social link, and that resulted in an economic output, are the ones that are perceived as the most achieved.

IV. D. Co-creation as empowering: giving value to the residents' individual creativity.

This category considers the process of co-creation as motivating the residents to participate, interact, and bring their own individual creativity to the project. In that sense, this category considers the vision of creative workers on co-creation as being empowering for the residents, on an individual level. It serves as to answer sub-questions 4 and 5: *What importance do creative workers give to the residents' creative development? How do creative workers consider this creative development as supporting the residents' social integration?*

IV. D. 1. Giving importance to the residents' creative skills.

First of all, co-creation is a process that values the residents' own creative skills, with no relation of subordination in which the residents would be learning from the creative worker who has "human capital assets" such as "advanced technical knowledge, analytical prowess and relevant socio-cultural know-how" (Scott, 2014, p. 571). The development of co-creative projects shows that creative workers do not consider themselves as experts of creative practices that would teach techniques to the residents, and therefore participate in their social integration. Rather, they consider the use of creative practices as co-developing skills and techniques.

Indeed, what came out from the data analysis is that respondents extensively and almost unanimously declare that the learning operates in both directions, meaning, if residents do gain skills learning from creative workers, creative workers also insist on the residents' skills and on the fact that they equally learn from them.

Indeed, as I was asking respondents about the importance of learning, most addressed the fact that they were not giving workshops, stating for instance: "I don't know if we teach them something, (...) we actually learn together rather than doing it as an academic course" (V.). It therefore appears that some respondents are having a perception of the workshop as being a practice in which they would be teaching and residents would be learning.

Most of the respondents insist on the fact that the learning of skills and know-hows is a mutual process, sometimes highlighting the learning of techniques from different cultures. One respondent explains:

"Matthias learned guitar in Burkina-Faso, but I teach him how to read the chords, and Luciano, he comes from South Sudan, he teaches me how to play guitar Sudan-style and I teach him how to read the chords but we're both equally teachers" (A.)

Meaning, creative workers are enriched by the residents' knowledge, an aspect that shows that creative practices can create a valuable exchange for both social groups.

The analysed blog articles also address the process learning new skills as being mutual: to quote one of the blog articles on the 'food project', "They (the residents and the chefs) share their knowledge and their know-hows, while learning about the functioning of a professional kitchen: to organize a kitchen counter, compose a menu, arrange a plate".⁶

In that sense, Les Grands Voisins does not consider its project as only aiming at developing the individual creativity of residents, but also the one of creative workers, and in that sense, Les Grands Voisins is a project that fosters collective creativity. Relating to my

⁶ « Ils partagent ainsi leurs connaissances et leurs savoir-faire, tout en apprenant le fonctionnement d'une cuisine professionnelle : organiser un plan de travail, composer un menu, dresser une assiette ».

theoretical framework, the development of individual creativity indeed depends on a context: a rich creative environment fosters the development of self-creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). This echoes the idea that creativity is a “social phenomenon” (Scott, 2014, p. 569), it depends on social interactions and group dynamics that supports individual creativity.

In that sense, respondents largely present the fact that developing creative activities with the residents is more about working towards the remobilization of their capacities and the exploitation of their potential, rather than aiming at giving them a real professional formation. Respondents often described one particular case of a resident’s creative remobilization that impacted them, for instance, one creative worker explains:

“He’s someone who always had a particular mind-set... someone who used to be a craftsman, (...) a skilled factory-worker, (...) who ended up in the streets but who always had... he used to paint a bit but then he ended up in the street, I mean he always had something creative but then he stopped because of life incidents, he didn’t have the strength to do it, or even the material possibilities... But then, here at Les Grands Voisins, seeing everyone doing it, he found back the strength and the desire, and the possibility because there is so much available here”. (O.)

Meaning, creative workers largely express the idea that residents are motivated to developing their own creativity because they are included in processes of creativity. In that sense, residents at Les Grands Voisins are remobilize their competencies because they are encouraged to do so: they are less considered as marginalized, unskilled workers, than in the global context of the creative city (Florida, 2017).

IV. D. 2. Giving importance to the residents’ desires and demands.

Going further, it seems that not only the skills of residents, but also their own demands and desires are acknowledged by creative workers when developing creative initiatives. More than half of the creative workers I interviewed mentioned the fact that they took time for meeting with people who were interested in their creative project, and to exchange with them on their expectations and desires, before formulating together a concrete creative initiative.

Almost all respondents address the idea of co-creating a creative project with the residents as being more stimulating for the ladders (residents), and more demanding for them (creative workers) than proposing an already set-up creative activity.

Hence, one creative worker explains that he did not particularly tried to co-create a project with the residents, because his activity did not have a social vocation. This creative worker was the initiator of the cinema project at Les Grands Voisins, he was in charge of the

film programming, and he chose to give residents free access to all of the film programs. He explains that not much residents attended the cinema, stating that “either you really build a bridge between you and them, kind of in an explicit manner, either...but maybe the film programming did not necessarily match their interests” (O.). This element confirms that creative workers consider projects of co-creation as more attractive for the residents, acknowledging that residents need to find a specific motivation to participate in a creative initiative.

Amongst all of the respondents, more than half mentioned that they co-developed creative projects with the residents, meaning that they put their creative competencies to use in collaboration with the residents’ formulation of particular demands and existing skills. For instance, the musician who started a band with the residents explains that he spent a lot of time building up this project with them. He emphasizes the fact that it was sometimes very difficult to collaborate with residents who were facing diverse personal issues, but that he put a lot of effort in this project because he felt that it was meaningful to him and to them.

Consequently, some creative workers developed creative practices especially after these demands. This is mainly the case amongst social-creative workers who are specifically appointed for developing creative practices with residents. For instance, one of them states that she developed practices of graffiti and of rap music writing because residents she interacts with mentioned that they wanted to express themselves through these canals. The fact that creative workers with a social vocation are the one who develop the most this process of co-creation shows that co-creation can be perceived as the most impactful way to use creativity for the residents’ integration.

Hence, this section answers my fourth sub question, saying that most creative workers perceive the residents’ individual creativity as an essential element when developing creative practices with them: the residents are acknowledged for their own capacities and opinions. This echoes the research of Sasaki (2011) which shows that when asking their opinions to local communities on the development of creative placemaking mobilizes a larger, and more diverse range of citizens, therefore stating that co-creative initiatives can stimulate participation, dialog, and social inclusion (Sasaki, 2011). In that sense, creativity empowers communities who are encouraged to participate in shaping their urban environment.

IV. D. 3. Allowing residents to develop their own creative project: creativity as empowering.

Going further in my analysis, I would highlight that most respondents find valuable the fact that residents are encouraged and helped in developing creative outputs for themselves. Meaning, not only being included in co-creation projects, but also developing their own. Many respondents explain that it is important to give the opportunity to residents to build their life space as they want, for instance, when observing Les Grands Voisins, I saw many murals and graffiti that were made by the residents, who put their own creativity in their life space.

In that sense, some respondents explain that it is gratifying and motivating for residents to see that they are encouraged to do something for themselves. For instance, one of the social-creative worker explains that cooking is not part of every residents' social realities, mentioning those who experienced a long time being in the streets and therefore who have a very different vision of daily-life activities. Therefore, cooking can represent a creative practice as it involves learning and result in the production of an innovation (Scott, 2014). In that sense, the fact of participating in this activity of cooking can be very gratifying for residents, because they do something that really participate in their well-being. The example of cooking has been extensively used by respondents in the interviews, but another example could be used which is the one of the terrace that was built by residents and creative workers in front of the Pierre Petit shelter. This example was given by the researcher, who explains that residents got highly mobilized around this creative project because it involved the creation of something that is intended for their own well-being.

Multiple creative workers address the fact that residents have had complicated life realities and that for this reason, some residents have very little self-confidence and lost interest in themselves. In that sense, a social-creative worker considers that creativity is a tool for reaffirming the centrality and importance of one's own person and own well-being, meaning that creativity can help to gain self-confidence.

It appears very often in the content analysis that articles also describe the use of creativity as helping the development of self-esteem and self-expression amongst the residents. Meaning, Les Grands Voisins considers one of its social objective as being to develop the residents' personal expression and personal characters. In that sense, Les Grands Voisins addresses the use of creativity as contributing to the residents' personal development, especially explaining that creative practices can appear as liberating, dynamic, mobilizing, therefore acknowledging the fact of making something as being valorising for the person. One article

addresses the organization of an exhibition of the work done by residents in an arts and crafts workshop. This article states: “(this exhibition) is about raising the residents’ awareness on their capacities and their responsibilities”, in that sense supporting the idea that creative practices foster self-esteem and the recognition of the self as valuable.

Therefore, these findings help me answering my fifth sub-question, saying that creative workers consider the development of the residents’ own creativity as empowering them, as it is defined in theory as “individuals, families, organizations, and communities gaining control and mastery, within the social, economic, and political contexts of their lives, in order to improve equity and quality of life” (Jennings et al., 2008, p. 32). Therefore, the residents of Les Grands Voisins are perceived as empowered by the development of their individual creativity, so they can themselves formulate unexpected and useful ideas that allow them to solve problems and thus improve their daily life (Ivcevic and Mayer, 2009). Hence, creativity is perceived as allowing them (the residents) to gain mastery on their life environment, to shape it to their own decision, and to thus decide for themselves to improve their well-being. In that sense, this category confirms the third aspect of a social innovation case that makes use of creativity (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013, Garcia, 2015, Sanchez Belando, 2016): it empowers the local community of residents, which is marginalized from the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Scott, 2008). In the next section, I will explain how creativity is fostering this development and how this strategy can be applied in a larger urban context.

IV. E. Creativity as an inclusive notion: fostering the development of an experimental integrative social innovation.

Following previous findings, this section comes as to conclude this chapter by addressing Les Grands Voisins’ social innovation and its impact on a broader urban context. In this part, I will address the fact that Les Grands Voisins does not reproduce the social domination of the creative class on marginalized non-creative workers. I will answer sub questions 6a and 6b: *How do creative workers perceive the temporary aspects of their approach? How do creative workers scale up the model of Les Grands Voisins to a broader context?*

IV. E. 1. Creativity as fostering the experimentation of a social innovation .

Many interviewees mentioned that creativity played a big role in developing an experimental case. This echoes Tremblay and Pilati (2013) who explain that creativity is fundamental for the development of social innovation, as it allows to experiment flexible, new

forms of social governance. Meaning, creativity as by essence linked to innovation and problem-solving, allows the formulation of resilient strategies addressing social governance problems (Pratt, 2015).

At Les Grands Voisins, creativity is encouraging all individuals, part of the creative class, or part of the non-creative class, to participate in the placemaking (Grodach, 2017). This refers to social innovation as being the improvement of social relations, the solving of urban problems, in a situation where the concerned people (here, the residents) are directly consulted (Tremblay and Pilati, 2013).

Thus, the traditional vision in which urban creative development benefit to a creative class that gets richer, and excludes a non-creative class therefore enhancing social inequalities (Peck, 2005) is not reproduced at Les Grands Voisins. On the contrary, creativity is used for reinforcing the social cohesion between different groups.

Creativity at Les Grands Voisins shows the triple level of social innovation addressed by Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood and Hamdouch (2013):

First, a response to social needs, meaning the public need of stemming the development of a ghetto of poverty on the site of Saint-Vincent de Paul.

Second, the empowerment of marginalized populations, with use of co-creative projects between them and creative workers.

Third, a change in the governance mechanism, by the hybrid combination of different approaches to the piloting of the project - social with Aurore, creative with Yes We Camp, and urban with Plateau Urbain.

Hence, this serves to answer sub question 6a: respondents mostly agree that the short-term, temporary scale of Les Grands Voisins favours the development of experimental projects, because it is encouraging fast formulation and application of ideas. Multiple respondents for instance mentions that this short-term occupation allows them to test many different practices and models that do not have to conform to institutional frameworks, sometimes qualifying the place as a 'laboratory'. Meaning, respondents address this experimental approach as offering new possibilities in terms of social integration, emphasizing the importance of spontaneity and informality in the development of projects at Les Grands Voisins.

In that sense, going back Csikszentmihalyi's theory on creativity (2014), at Les Grands Voisins, there is less of a creative field that selects which ideas are valuable, but individuals are more encouraged to experiment for themselves the value of their project. This element constitutes a broadening of the creative field; as it allows individuals to decide themselves on which idea is important (Garcia, 2015). The traditional vision of the field and its "gatekeepers"

(Csikszentmihalyi, 2014) is thus changed for a more inclusive version in which each member of the community can participate in developing a creative environment.

Hence, not only creative practices in their strict definition participate in creating an inclusive environment, but rather, respondents consider the space as encouraging individual innovative behaviours. In that sense, creative workers acknowledge the role of creativity in a short-term project as supporting the development of a more permissive, experimental environment.

IV. E. 2. Creativity as fostering urban resilience and sustainability.

Hence, creativity at Les Grands Voisins fosters the emergence of resilient solutions to urban problems, by experimenting a new social organization in which groups are considered as equally organizing the community life. In that aspect, Les Grands Voisins proposes an experimental model of a sustainable urban environment, in which all groups benefit from the creative city. The topic of sustainability finds an echo in the analysis of blog articles, as many documents relate to a social and solidarity economy, the term of “*économie circulaire*”⁷ is addressed extensively and supposes that the production of creative outputs is made with the available human and physical capitals, meaning with respect for the products and producers. This element shows that Les Grands Voisins communicates on the importance of having a sustainable behaviour in developing creative industries. In that sense, Les Grands Voisins does not follow the dominant discourse on creative industries as an intensive production sector with a strong economic windfall (Florida, 2002, 2005), but rather, as a sustainable sector that makes use of its innovative potential for developing a resilient, integrative urban environment.

This element echoes the vision of the UNESCO declaration of cultural diversity as given by Garcia (2015), which promotes culture and creativity as key-concepts in addressing the social and economic dimensions of poverty as developed in the cognitive-cultural capitalist, postmodern city (Scott, 2008, Harvey, 1989). In this context, UNESCO considers culture and creativity as providing innovative solutions to urban problems, because they have a potential for fostering dialog between communities, and their mutual enrichment (UNESCO, 2014, as cited in Garcia, 2015). In that extent, economic and environmental development should always have a social justice approach (Krueger and Buckinham, 2012, as cited in Garcia, 2015). Hence, the author explains that the creative sector is a key-sector for the development of a sustainable future, as it is a crucial factor of economic development and social cohesion in cities (Garcia,

⁷ « circular economy »

2015).

Therefore, multiple respondents consider Les Grands Voisins as being a space in which there is a stronger sense of solidarity than in the general urban context. From my observations, I was very surprised myself to experience such kindness, goodwill, for instance regarding the sharing of belongings, the constant greetings or the frequent complimenting of each other. Multiple respondents also say that Les Grands Voisins is not representative of the global urban context, one expressively saying that “it is not like real life” (C.). Respondents, in that context, often address the fact that what works in terms of social integration at Les Grands Voisins depends on the personal, individual relations that were created, and the cohabitation between such different publics in such a small space, and would probably not be reproducible in a broader context. Therefore, Les Grands Voisins is an intermediary space in which the cognitive-cultural capitalist (Scott, 2008) model of exclusion do not apply.

This vision is echoed in the analysed blog articles, which extensively address the space’s longer-term societal ambitions. The term of “*France de demain*”⁸ was mentioned in multiple articles of my sample, in that sense, it seems important to say that Les Grands Voisins perceives the project as working towards an objective of experimenting and showing that a different societal organization is possible. Other terms that were used in the articles are the ones of “*tendance sécuritaire*”⁹ and “*refus de l’accueil*”¹⁰, meaning, Les Grands Voisins shares an opinion on the current social order of withdrawal and exclusion. In these articles, Les Grands Voisins therefore takes a stand for the global French society to open to other communities, therefore showing that Les Grands Voisins promotes diversity and dialog of the communities. It seems that this element shows Les Grands Voisins’ longer-term ambition to support the change in the social norms for more integrative, less excluding ones.

IV. E. 3. About the possible enlargement of this model: the creative city for solidarity?

Garcia (2015) considers the development of a broader sustainable urban environment as depending on the support given by institutions to cases of collective social innovations. The author cites for instance the importance of having public policies that enhance the development of open public space, of access to housing, and of collective initiatives in the public space (Garcia, 2015). In that sense, the case of Les Grands Voisins as having demonstrated his social

⁸ « France of tomorrow »

⁹ « securitarian tendency »

¹⁰ « refusal to welcoming (refugees) »

potential, raises the question of applying these strategies to a broader urban environment. Namely, respondents do not consider that the demonstrated social integration of the residents on-site is echoed outside of Les Grands Voisins.

The transfer of the residents' level of integration on-site to a broader context raises doubts amongst many respondents. Namely, half of the respondents mentioned the fact that it was difficult for them to perceive the residents' social integration in a larger context. This echoes the fact that many residents are facing difficulties of either administrative or medical order, therefore giving the impression to creative workers that only the most motivated residents could actually benefit from Les Grands Voisins' creative approach in a broader context (meaning, being financially autonomous, living in private housing, etc.). One of the respondents especially addressed the fact that she could not bring concrete solutions to the residents' expectations outside of Les Grands Voisins, noticeably when looking at their (future) economic imperatives. She states:

“For us, it’s a bit heavy as well, because this (participating in creative activities at Les Grands Voisins) somehow creates expectations that we are not able to fulfil, they will work on their self-development but as long as they still are in a situation of survival, and that they can be expelled (from the country) any day because their situation is not regularized... is it not somehow a bottomless pit (...) we can do self-development for life but if the person has a sword of Damocles that means that the person can go back home any day...” (M.)

This quote mirrors the idea mentioned by many respondents of feeling personally involved in the residents' difficult situations, reflecting elements on the relations of solidarity, community, and friendship that creative workers say were developed at Les Grands Voisins.

Hence, some of the respondents explain that they recently created a movement that they called “Sans toit, Pas sans nous”¹¹, that wants to raise public awareness on the problem of social exclusion in Paris. The researcher that I interviewed participated in creating this movement, and in context of my on-site observation, I participated with him in distributing pamphlets to visitors at Les Grands Voisins. This pamphlet (Appendix A8) explains that on the one side, 58 emergency accommodation centres are closing at the end of June 2018 in Paris, which induce the expulsion of 2816 persons with no proposition of relocation (A8). On the other side, there are in Paris 205 000 vacant dwellings: this movement asks public institutions to facilitate the reconversion of these buildings into shelter housing. The pamphlet states that:

¹¹ « Without a roof, not without us »

“Les Grands Voisins is the proof that the sheltering of vulnerable persons in the center of a city is generating new forms of solidarity. When this sheltering is doubled with associative and artistic activities, it becomes the testifier of a new attractiveness for a neighborhood, and of a local economic development. We ask for such innovative dispositive to be heard by the government as a possible answer to reproduce in other vacant spaces, as a way to stem the actual social emergency while permitting the existence of innovative urban experiments”¹²

Therefore, this constitutes the answer to my last sub question: Les Grands Voisins recognizes the efficiency of its model, and uses its striking force to demand the development of more innovative forms of emergency housing in the city. Not only considering this method as stemming social exclusion, it also recognizes the positive local impacts of such initiative. This vision echoes Pratt’s definition of local capacity building as a resilient strategy that considers “the investment in skills, training, education and infrastructure such that industries are ‘scalable’; that is, they can grow and operate in a wider context” (Pratt, 2015, p. 65). Meaning, creative workers consider the enlargement of the model as depending on the will of public policy-makers to invest on creativity as being a foster for social integration. Hence, creative workers see in Les Grands Voisins a creative, meaning a novel and useful way (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999) to solve the problem of urban exclusion and ghettoisation, using creativity to change it into a resourceful, economically and socially rich environment.

Ultimately, it means that creative workers at Les Grands Voisins not only see creativity as having a potential for the social integration of the space’s residents, but for fostering broader urban solidarity between communities, therefore approaching urban problems in a resilient way, using an urban social problem to create an urban social asset (Pratt, 2015).

Looking back to the theory, the challenge then is to convince public institutions to authorize the reproduction of Les Grands Voisins’ model, without them using these initiative for the branding of a ‘cool’, resilient and innovative city: this would mean reproducing the mistakes of Florida’s (2002) flashy creative city in which creativity would be an instrument for the city’s attractiveness (Mayer, 2013, p. 17).

¹² « Une expérience comme celle des "Grands Voisins" est la preuve, depuis 2015, que l'accueil de personnes vulnérables en centre-ville est générateur de nouvelles solidarités. Lorsque cet accueil est couplé avec des activités associatives et artistiques, il devient le témoin d'une nouvelle attractivité de quartier et d'un développement économique local. Nous demandons que ces dispositifs innovants puissent être entendus par votre gouvernement comme une réponse possible à dupliquer dans les espaces vacants afin de réduire l'urgence sociale actuelle tout en permettant l'existence d'expériences urbaines innovantes. »

Indeed, the case of Les Grands Voisins shows that the success of its social innovation depends on a collective will to participate in the project. The equilibrium between the different groups that was found at Les Grands Voisins is threatened by external visitors, who are not conscious of - and do not participate in - the space's social innovation project. The risk is to see that an excessive branding of such spaces lowers their possibilities of local community development: the challenge is to bring the awareness of external visitors to the social project behind these 'hip' places (Mayer, 2013). Only then, social innovation cases like Les Grands Voisins could develop a more sustainable, cohesive urban social environment (Pratt, 2012).

V. General conclusion

This research addressed the way creative workers at Les Grands Voisins perceive the spaces' creative approach as supporting the social integration of sheltered residents. What emerged from this study is that Les Grands Voisins was created in a context of social emergency, in which public policy-makers appointed three associations, respectively of creative, urban and social vocation, to stem the development of a ghetto of poverty in Paris' central area.

This mode of governance is innovative: it is not bottom-linked, as described by Garcia (2015) as an approach in which citizens' initiatives result in a collaboration with public institutions that enable their viability, neither is it truly a top-down strategy in which governmental institutions would organize the project's development. Rather, Les Grands Voisins is a hybrid project, in which public institutions ensure associations with the free disposal of the site, in exchange for these occupants to participate in fulfilling a social need. In that sense, Les Grands Voisins uses a creative and experimental urban governance that tackles a social need. This observation echoes the two first dispositions of what Tremblay and Pilati (2013), Garcia (2015) and Sanchez Belando (2016) define as social innovation, the third being that the initiative should not exclude, but on the contrary, empower local communities.

To prevent the ghettoisation of former Saint-Vincent-de-Paul hospital, the three piloting associations started a project of creative occupation of the space, proposing a rich cultural agenda to attract visitors, and renting out work spaces to creative, innovative structures ranging from environmental associations to independent artists. The originality of Les Grands Voisins' case is that despite being a creative place, it is not to be considered only as a creative cluster, as defined as "linking complementary and competing actors who operate in the same techno-economic field" (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2009, p. 204) in order to develop their economic efficiency through "collective innovativeness, the sharing of inspiring information (...) joint initiatives in staff training, supply and service purchasing, and systemic marketing" (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2009, p. 205).

Indeed, we can consider that the notion of creative cluster applies to Les Grands Voisins, but what does not apply is the underlying creation of socially exclusive milieus: creative clusters' development in the city participate to attracting the so-called creative class (Florida, 2002), who does not interact with pre-existing local communities but rather modify and further exclude these communities from their own urban environment (Peck, 2005). The term of gentrification labels this situation of spatial segregation (Florida, 2017). This exclusion is however not only spatial: local communities, who are not perceived as participating to the economic development of the creative city, are considered as having less "human capital assets"

than creative workers, who have “advanced technical knowledge, analytical prowess and relevant socio-cultural know-how” (Scott, 2014, p. 571). In that extent, this situation is defined by Scott (2008) as the cognitive-cultural capitalist system: it defines a change in the urban social system, skilled creative workers becoming more powerful, and unskilled non-creative workers more marginalized (Scott, 2008).

Les Grands Voisins comes as an initiative that addresses this problem of socio-spatial exclusion: by bringing together, in a same life environment, the most deprived individuals who are sheltered in the accommodation centres, and creative workers, the project aims at developing an urban alternative to the model of the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Scott, 2008). In that sense, Les Grands Voisins’ objective is to experiment a better use of creativity in the city.

In that sense, the creative workers at Les Grands Voisins represent an alternative to the traditional ‘creative class’ as presented by Florida (2002). Indeed, they choose to participate in a creative placemaking (Grodach, 2017) that has a goal of social integration: they go beyond the economic aspects of the creative industries, by engaging themselves in a process of local capacity building (Pratt, 2015). These creative workers therefore choose to use creativity to create a social link between them and the sheltered residents.

These creative workers thus volunteer to develop creative initiatives with the residents, first to create a social dialog between these two social groups that do not share the same social reality, then ultimately, to foster the professional and economic integration of the residents. It appears that mostly, creative workers consider that initiatives of co-creation between them and the residents are the most successful in terms of integration, because it gives residents the opportunity to explore their own creative potential. In that sense, creative workers perceive the residents’ individual creative development as giving value to their skills and know-hows, reaffirming the centrality of their own well-being, in sum, looking back to the theory, as empowering them (Jennings et al., 2006).

Therefore, confirming Les Grands Voisins’ dynamic of empowerment of marginalized communities, I can address Les Grands Voisins as responding to the three characteristics of the notion of social innovation as defined by Tremblay and Pilati (2013), Garcia (2015) and Sanchez Belando (2016). By ensuring local social diversity and access to creativity, social innovation initiatives participate in meeting social needs in a resilient and sustainable way, meaning, they represent a valuable tool for addressing urban problems (Tremblay and Pilati, 2016).

Consequently, what results from this research is that creative workers at Les Grands Voisins consider creativity as a foster for the residents' social integration on two different levels:

First, the collective creativity of the location, as being a temporary, experimental space, that allows the spontaneous dialog and the development of co-creations between creative workers and marginalized individuals, as two groups who are segregated from one another in the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Scott, 2008).

Second, individual creativity that is fostered by the extensive creative agenda of the space: creative workshops are offered to the residents' on-site, meaning, they are encouraged to develop their creativity, a situation that contrasts their exclusion from creative spheres in the cognitive-cultural capitalist context (Scott, 2008).

Hence, it appears that Les Grands Voisins uses creativity to reverse the trend of creative exclusion: looking at it with a theoretical angle, it appears that Les Grands Voisins constitutes in itself a field of creativity in the sense of Csikszentmihalyi (2014), as being a rich creative environment that fosters the development of one's individual creativity. However, what is different from Csikszentmihalyi (2014) at Les Grands Voisins is that this field does not have 'gatekeepers': it is an innovative space in which individuals are all equally considered as legitimate to participate in the process of selection of the creative ideas. In that sense, individuals and groups have more freedom to experiment themselves the relevance and usefulness of their creative idea, rather than being submitted to the approval of a pre-established field.

Therefore, creativity fosters social integration on-site of Les Grands Voisins by supporting the development of an experimental space in which each stakeholder has the same legitimacy, meaning everyone has equal opportunities to participate.

This outcome should be nuanced by addressing the problem of external visitors on the site of Les Grands Voisins: it appears that most external visitors come with a (festive) mind-set that do not acknowledge the social ambitions of Les Grands Voisins: some behaviours are perceived by creative workers as invading, and not respecting the place's value of inclusion.

In that sense, the study of the case of Les Grands Voisins suggests that the problem of social exclusion in the current urban environment rely on the gatekeepers' preconception, in which creative workers are considered as more skilled, and therefore more useful to the creative city development. This perception is not shared by the creative workers of Les Grands Voisins: this case-study also questions the pre-conceived ideas that administer the making of public opinion. For instance, I want to nuance the discourse of Scott (2008) who considers non-

creative classes as being less skilled: my findings suggest, on the contrary, that the residents have many competencies, but have lacked opportunities to mobilize them.

It appears that the problem of social exclusion rather relies on a lack of equity. Meaning, not every social group is given the same opportunity to participate in the creative city-making: therefore, social exclusion could be stemmed by the development of local, consultative creative initiatives. Through this outcome, I therefore substantiate the work of Sasaki (2011) which suggests that to resolve the problem of social exclusion, public policy makers should focus on bringing social participation to their urban policies agendas.

It is also what Les Grands Voisins' movement "Sans toit, pas sans nous" claims, by asking public institutions to facilitate the development of local initiatives of social innovation. Therefore, it seems that the broadening of Les Grands Voisins' model of social integration requires the collaboration of public institutions, who should see the resilient and sustainable potential of local social innovation projects as being (cost-)efficient and community-based. The case of Les Grands Voisins shows that local creative initiatives can experiment different ways of living together in the cognitive-cultural capitalist city (Scott, 2008).

However, my own research looks at the perception of creative workers on their own environment, and on their own initiative. If this research is relevant for addressing the change in the discourse on the creative city, a further research could go more in depth into the scope of perception by addressing the vision of shelter inhabitants on the impact they give to creativity in their process of social integration. This avenue is promising, because it would address the other dimension of this social context: I extensively address this social group in my research, with whom I had the occasion to meet during on-site observations, however, I did not formally analyse their discourse on Les Grands Voisins.

Studying this group's perception on the same question would ask more time and knowledge on the reality of shelter housing than I have acquired, but it would also add more value to the field of social innovation. Indeed, researchers of the creative city, because of their own sensibility, often tend naturally to look at what they feel closer to. In my situation, my mental pre-conceptions made it seem easier and more spontaneous to address the perception of creative workers, because we share the same social reality; than to address shelter inhabitants with whom I (mistakenly) thought that I would have more difficulties to communicate.

I lost these pre-conceived ideas during my time of active participation on-site, as I realised that residents were often very willing to share their opinions and to dialog with me. This element of my own reflexivity maybe demonstrates the biggest achievement of Les Grands Voisins, and the biggest challenge for achieving social integration: it appears that the

stimulation of contacts between different social groups changes the preconceptions that one group had on another. Maybe, in that sense, creativity could help societies to limit these prejudgements, and therefore allow the development of a more participative, less exclusive city.

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Appendices

A1: leaflet of presentation

Infos pratiques

La Lingerie

Café - Salle des fêtes
Un lieu ouvert à tous. Jeux, piano, micro-ondes et chats sont à votre disposition. Aucune obligation de consommation pour profiter des lieux.
Lundi et mardi : 12h30 - 14h
Mercredi à samedi : 10h - 23h
Dimanche : 11h - 19h

Restauration

La Lingerie
Distribution des plats par la Conciergerie Solidaire, un dispositif d'insertion de l'association Aurore.
Du lundi au jeudi : 12h30 - 14h

Cuisine maison à base de produits frais et de saison, proposée par Yes We Camp toute la journée.
Du vendredi au dimanche : 2h30 - 14h
Brunch samedi & dimanche

A emporter chez Food de Rue.
L'association promeut l'insertion et l'initiative économique des publics en situation d'exclusion en leur permettant de créer leur propre micro-entreprise.
Du lundi au vendredi : 12h30 - 14h

Espaces de travail & salles à privatiser

Coworking : Mon Premier Bureau, LBMG WorkLabs
Locations ponctuelles : L'Amphithéâtre, le Magasin Général, la Médiathèque, salles de réunion...
Informations en ligne.

Les Grands voisins
Ancien hôpital Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, 82 avenue Denfert-Rochereau 75014 Paris
bonjour@lesgrandsvoisins.org - www.lesgrandsvoisins.org

Les boutiques

La Boutique des Grands Voisins
Productions et créations des Grands Voisins
Du mercredi au vendredi : 16h - 20h
Samedi et dimanche : 14h - 20h

La Ressourcerie Créative
Réemploi d'objets et de matériaux
Mardi, mercredi et vendredi : 11h - 19h
Samedi : 10h - 19h

Manufacture Pasteur
Créations et ateliers d'art.
Samedi : 11h - 13h et 14h - 19h

Mama Petula
Concept store végétal
Samedi et dimanche : 14h - 20h

Recyclerie Sportive
Équipements et matériels sportifs
Du lundi au vendredi : 9h30 - 19h

Carton Plein
Récupération et revente de cartons, déménagements à vélo
Du mercredi au samedi : 13h - 19h

Boulangerie Chardon
Pains au levain naturel pétri à la main
Du mercredi au vendredi : 17h - 20h
Samedi : 12h - 14h & 17h - 20h

Label'Chaussures
Maître cireur
Mercredi et jeudi : 2h - 17h
Vendredi et samedi : 10h - 17h

Hylla - Penderie partagée
Location de vêtements
Jeudi et vendredi : 17h - 20h



Vous entrez ici dans un espace particulier. Nous espérons que cette expérience aux Grands Voisins vous plaira et vous donnera envie de revenir. Nous sommes dans l'ancien hôpital Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. Peut-être y êtes-vous né-e ?

Les Grands Voisins, c'est, depuis 2015, le nom de l'occupation temporaire du lieu, avant que ne débutent les travaux du projet urbain prévus dès janvier 2018. Grands comme l'ambition de partager des valeurs d'hospitalité et de générosité ; Voisins comme un lieu d'échanges et de sociabilité. Avec comme vocations la lutte contre l'exclusion et l'expérimentation de nouvelles manières de vivre en ville, l'initiative ouvre au public 15000m² d'espaces extérieurs, accueille près de 600 personnes en centres d'hébergement, et offre des espaces de travail à près de 200 associations et entreprises innovantes.

Au fil des semaines, le site continue à se transformer et s'enrichit de nouvelles activités et de constructions originales.
Bonne visite et à très bientôt,



Être bénéficiaire
Contribution à la vie du site. Renseignements à : benvoie@lesgrandsvoisins.org

La Maison des Médécins
Lieu de vie partagé avec une programmation participative pour les résidents des centres d'hébergements.

Le Trocshop
Une monnaie locale pour favoriser les échanges de biens, de services et de compétences contre du temps.

ÊTRE SOLIDAIRE
La Conciergerie Solidaire
Dispositif d'insertion par l'activité économique des personnes en situation de précarité.

Les Jeudis alternatifs
Cycle de conférences « Travail et société »
Magasin Général - bâtiment Créaline

Université Populaire
Cycle de conférences et débats tous les mercredis
Amphithéâtre - bâtiment Lelong

Les Mardis pro
Partage de compétences professionnelles un dimanche par mois
Magasin Général - bâtiment Créaline

Prendre soin de soi
Danse, yoga, méditation, massages
Banya (bain de vapeur russe)
Distribution de paniers de légumes
Salle de sport de la Recyclerie Sportive Terrain de football et basket, pétanque, agrès sportifs en accès libre tous les jours

Ateliers Partagés - bâtiment Lelong
Céramique, lithographie, couture, DIY et tricot, jeux, clubs de lecture
Avec des structures installées

Cours de pratiques artistiques :
vidéo, dessin, photo, reliure, écriture de scénario

Créer, fabriquer, jouer
Cours de pratiques artistiques : vidéo, dessin, photo, reliure, écriture de scénario

Arts
Expositions, performances, spectacle vivant, tous les samedis

Musique
Concerts, DJ sets, tous les week-ends
En extérieur

Le Marché
Solidaire et zéro déchet, un dimanche par mois

UN ESPACE-TEMPS PRÉCIEUX ET PARTAGÉ

La Coopérative Plateau Urbain vient en appui à Aurore sur la définition du modèle économique global. Elle contribue au choix et à l'accompagnement des occupants - artistes, associations et entreprises - ainsi qu'à la coordination technique de la gestion du site.

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Qui travaille ici ?
Les Grands Voisins, c'est aussi plus de 200 structures résidentes dans les 2000 personnes qui travaillent économiquement. Elles contribuent au choix et à l'accompagnement des occupants - artistes, associations et entreprises - ainsi qu'à la coordination technique de la gestion du site.

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UN LIEU DE VIE ET DE TRAVAIL

A2: Content analysis sample

WEBLINK OF THE BLOG ARTICLE	TITLE OF THE ARTICLE	UNDER WHICH CATEGORIES?	WHICH INITIATIVES?
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Au programme	Multiple actors
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Visites guidées avec l'alternative urbaine	Au quotidien, Travail et insertion	Alternative Urbaine
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	La maison des médecins	Au quotidien, Travail et insertion, Les voisins	La Maison des Médecins
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Adrien Collet, artisan luthier et ses voisins	Art et création, Les voisins	Adrien Collet
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	La maraude ouest propose des ateliers	Art et création, Au quotidien, Travail et insertion	La Maraude Ouest
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Place au social! 1-4 décembre 2015	Au programme, Travail et insertion	Multiple actors
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	La fresque de l'oratoire, une collaboration	Art et création, Au quotidien, Les voisins	Béatrice Boutignon
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Journée de réflexion: accueillir différemment	Accueil et hospitalité, Au quotidien, Nouveaux usages	Multiple actors
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Elan Interculturel facilite l'intégration	Au quotidien, Travail et insertion, Les voisins	Elan Interculturel
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	La "face cachée" des Grands Voisins	Accueil et hospitalité, Au quotidien, Les Voisins	Elan Interculturel
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	L'université populaire, le nouveau modèle	En programme, Engagement citoyen	Université Populaire
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Trois questions à Antonio le cinéaste	Art et création, Les voisins	Ecran Voisin
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Atelier "retouche" pour les hébergés	Au quotidien, Travail et insertion, Valorisation et réemploi	Afrikatiss
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Trois questions à Sébastien de la Cour	A la une, Travail et insertion	Conciergerie Solidaire
https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2015/	Trois questions à Angélique Béranget	A la une, Accueil et hospitalité, Travail et insertion	Cœur de femmes
http://lesgrandsvoisins.org/2018/	Fleurs d'ici, le bouquet local et de saison	A la une, Les Voisins, Nature en ville, Travail et insertion	Fleurs d'ici

A3: Content analysis code groups

Convivialité	Apprentissage	Développement durable	Dialogue interculturel	Intégration	Estime personnelle	Les Grands Voisins	Societal vision
Activités Ambiance Animation Convivialité Œuvre collective Rencontre Se faire plaisir	Apprendre Culture et tourisme Echange Formation Imagination Innovation Partage de compétences Projet individuel Savoir-faire	Développement durable Ecologie Economie circulaire Economie sociale et solidaire Recyclage	Citoyenneté Dialogue interculturel Identité Immigration Mixité culturelle Pays d'origine Rencontre	Appropriation des lieux Contact extérieur Dispositif Premières Heures Exclusion Gratuité résidents Intégration Marginalité Œuvre collective Personnes éloignées de l'emploi Plus vulnérables Tremplin Victimes de l'exclusion	Communication Confiance Entraide Estime de soi Expression personnelle Imagination Libérateur Œuvre collective Reconnaissance Redynamisation Remobilisation Se faire plaisir Tremplin Valorisation Vie digne	Double temporalité Ephémère Espaces extérieurs Innovation Répondre à des besoins	France de demain Refus de l'accueil Solidarité Tendances sécuritaires Travail social

A5: Interview guide

- Could you please tell me more about your organisation?
- When did you start this project?
- What is the main objective of your organisation?
- What are other objectives of your organisation?

- Did your project start at Les Grands Voisins or did you have any previous experiences?
- Why did you decide to take part in Les Grands Voisins?
- What kind of objectives did you see in Les Grands Voisins' project?
- How did your project share these objectives?

- Could you tell me more about the activities you developed/are developing in link with the sheltered people at les Grands Voisins?
- Why did you decide to offer activities for the residents?
- How would you describe the way the residents welcomed your initiative?
- In the project you developed with the residents, what were you trying to accomplish?

- In what ways would you say these activities participated in integrating the residents within Les Grands Voisins?
- In what way would you say that this contact through the activities you proposed allowed the creation of some social link between residents and external audience?
- More generally, do you think that these projects participated in integrating the residents in the global society or would you limit their impact to Les Grands Voisins?

- In the activities you developed, why did you choose to give such a central role to creativity?
- Yourself working at Les Grands Voisins, how do you apprehend creativity as important elements for the creation of social link on the site?

- In your work with residents, what importance did you give to developing skills and competences?
- In context of these activities, did you feel that the creative process or the learning of new skills reinforced the participants' self-esteem?
- What role would you give to creative practices in the residents' self-development?
- Do you have any example of a particular resident's self-development experience in link with your creative activities?

- How did you apprehend the short-term aspect of Les Grands Voisins, in relation with the longer-term process of social integration of the residents?
- In what way would you say that a temporary space like Les Grands Voisins gives you more freedom for experimenting new projects for example?

- How do you perceive Les Grands Voisins' solidarity model as applicable to a larger context?
- How do you feel about the idea that Les Grands Voisins could be a symbol of a society that is an alternative to the one we live in?

A6: Operationalization of the concepts in interviews

Concepts	Dimensions	Topics
Role of the creative space	Own objectives	<p>Could you please tell me more about your organisation? When did you start this project? What is the main objective of your organisation? What are other objectives of your organisation?</p>
	Objectives in link with the ones of Les Grands Voisins	<p>Did your project start at Les Grands Voisins or did you have any previous experiences? Why did you decide to take part in Les Grands Voisins? What kind of objectives did you see in Les Grands Voisins' project? How did your project share these objectives?</p>
Social integration	Engaging dialog with a different group	<p>Could you tell me more about the activities you developed/are developing in link with the sheltered people at les Grands Voisins? Why did you decide to offer activities for the residents? How would you describe the way the residents welcomed your initiative? In the project you developed with the residents, what were you trying to accomplish?</p>
	Creating social link	<p>In what ways would you say these activities participated in integrating the residents within Les Grands Voisins? In what way would you say that this contact through the activities you proposed allowed the creation of some social link between residents and external audience? More generally, do you think that these projects participated in integrating the residents in the global society or would you limit their impact to Les Grands Voisins?</p>

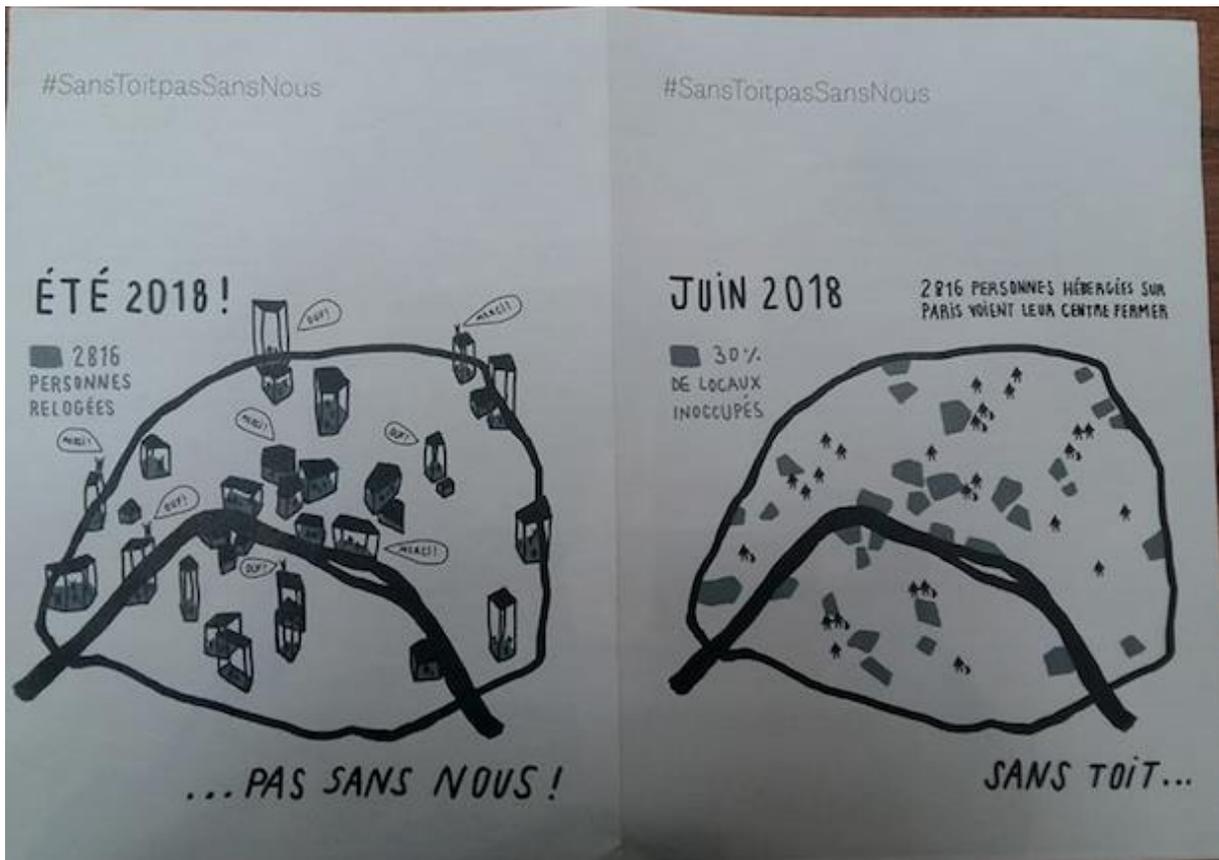
Individual creativity	Creativity for self-expression	<p>In your work with residents, what importance did you give to developing skills and competences?</p> <p>In context of these activities, did you feel that the creative process or the learning of new skills reinforced the participants' self-esteem?</p> <p>What role would you give to creative and cultural practices in the residents' self-development?</p> <p>Do you have any example of a particular resident's self-development experience in link with your creative activities?</p>
	Creativity for integration	<p>How do you perceive the utility of these creative activities in the residents' social integration?</p> <p>During your experience at Les Grands Voisins, how did you perceive the evolution of relations between the residents and the external audience?</p>
Broadening to further social innovation	Les Grands Voisins' experimental short-term project	<p>How did you apprehend the short-term aspect of Les Grands Voisins, in relation with the longer-term process of social integration of the residents?</p> <p>How did you adapt your activity to this short-term aspect? In what way would you say that a temporary space like Les Grands Voisins gives you more freedom for experimenting new projects for example?</p>
	Les Grands Voisins in a longer-term urban ambition	<p>How do you perceive Les Grands Voisins' solidarity model as applicable to a larger context?</p> <p>How do you feel about the idea that Les Grands Voisins could be a symbol of a society that is an alternative to the one we live in?</p>

A7: Code book of interviews analysis

Code	Code Group 1	Code Group 2
"stronger together"	Empowerment	Social link
administrative barriers	Limits - Short-term approach	
ameliorating LGV	Limits - Short-term approach	
arranging the space	Experimental	
balance residents/creative workers	Creative workers	
balance residents/public	Commercial public goal	
co-creation	Co-creation	
coexistence	Social link	
collaboration between residents and structures	Co-creation	
collaboration between structures	Governance	
commercial goal of LGV	Commercial public goal	Governance
community enlargement	Limits - Short-term approach	
contributing to the project of LGV	Creative workers	
conviviality	Multicultural	
creating for themselves	Empowerment	
creative practice	Creative workers	
creative vs. marginalized class	Empowerment	Limits - Short-term approach
creative workers facing bigger stakes	Short-term approach	Creative workers
creativity and specific need	Empowerment	
creativity as a tool for communication	Empowerment	Multicultural
creativity as a tool for meeting the other	Co-creation	
creativity as basic need	Empowerment	
creativity as integrating	Social link	
cultural programming	Creative workers	
difference between the people on the site	Multicultural	
differences between the residents	Multicultural	Governance
different visions of the structures	Commercial public goal	Governance
difficult first contact	Multicultural	
dispositif premières heures	Social link	
economic issues	Short-term approach	Social link
emergency	Experimental	Limits - Short-term approach
empowering	Empowerment	
every day creativity	Co-creation	Experimental
experimental space	Experimental	
expulsion of residents	Limits - Short-term approach	
festive space	Experimental	
getting out of a bubble	Multicultural	
ghettolisation	Social link	
giving time to the other	Multicultural	
going towards the other	Creative workers	
health problems of the residents	Multicultural	
hybrid space	Experimental	

hybrid space	Experimental	
imposing art	Creative workers	
imposing creativity	Creative workers	
informal	Social link	Multicultural
integration of the residents in projects	Co-creation	
la lingerie	Commercial public goal	
lack of economic resources	Limits - Short-term approach	
lack of social awareness of the public	Commercial public goal	
learning creative skills	Co-creation	
LGV help professional integration	Social link	Governance
LGV help residents creativity	Co-creation	Empowerment
LGV objectives	Governance	
listening to residents' demand	Co-creation	
main professional activity	Creative workers	Governance
many stakeholders	Governance	
meeting the other	Multicultural	
multiculturality	Multicultural	
neighbourhood	Commercial public goal	
new urban system	Limits - Short-term approach	Experimental
original space	Creative workers	
permissive space	Experimental	
personal investment of creative workers	Creative workers	
personal relations	Social link	
phase 2	Limits - Short-term approach	
pierre petit	Multicultural	
piloting LGV	Commercial public goal	Governance
preconceived ideas	Multicultural	
presentation of the project to the public	Commercial public goal	
public	Commercial public goal	Governance
putting effort in creating a project with the residents	Co-creation	Creative workers
regularly meeting	Creative workers	
relation public/local	Multicultural	
remobilize residents	Empowerment	
residents' exclusion	Limits - Short-term approach	
residents' motivation	Empowerment	Limits - Short-term approach
residents' self-confidence	Empowerment	
residents' self-expression	Empowerment	
residents' skills	Co-creation	Empowerment
sensibilize public to the situation	Social link	Commercial public goal
short-term encouraging experimentation	Experimental	
short-term project	Limits - Short-term approach	Experimental
short-term projects vs long-term stakes	Limits - Short-term approach	
social integration	Social link	
solidarity	Creative workers	
trendy place	Commercial public goal	
understanding the shelters	Multicultural	
choosing structures who participate	Governance	

A8: Pamphlet "Sans toit pas sans nous"



Monsieur le Président,

Entre mars et juin 2018, 2816 personnes hébergées sur Paris voient leurs centres fermer sans propositions sérieuses et globales d'hébergement.

Vous annonciez fin juillet 2017 lors d'un discours à Orléans que vous ne vouliez plus, d'ici la fin d'année « avoir des femmes et des hommes dans les rues, dans les bois ». Force est de constater non seulement l'échec de cette promesse et l'aggravation de la situation.

Pire, les coupes budgétaires annoncées de 80 millions d'euros dans le secteur de l'hébergement d'urgence sur l'année 2018 menacent la qualité de l'accueil et de l'accompagnement. Dans le même temps, votre gouvernement n'engage aucune action permettant l'utilisation des multiples espaces vacants en Ile-de-France.

Face à ce constat, nous, citoyens engagés, dénonçons le double discours de votre gouvernement dont les orientations contredisent les promesses électorales d'hier. Nous demandons une réaction rapide permettant à ces milliers de personnes d'avoir, encore demain, un toit et une insertion sociale possible.

Nous formulons trois demandes urgentes, pour repartir du bon pied.

- 1. Garantir le respect de la loi**
Pour respecter le code de l'action sociale et des familles, les pouvoirs publics sont dans « l'obligation de proposer des solutions d'hébergement adaptées à la situation de chacun. » Nous demandons que chaque personne en situation se voit proposer des solutions d'hébergements dignes dans les meilleurs délais.
- 2. Revenir à un niveau de financement des centres d'hébergement acceptable**
L'annonce d'une coupe budgétaire de 80 millions d'euros impactant l'ensemble des solutions d'hébergement pour l'année 2018 en Ile-de-France menace directement les conditions d'accueil et le respect de la dignité humaine. Elle réduit les chances de réinsertion sociale et professionnelle des personnes les plus fragiles. Nous demandons de revenir sur cette annonce et de revaloriser le financement des centres d'hébergement dans leurs missions d'accompagnement vers l'insertion sociale.
- 3. Faciliter l'accès aux espaces vacants**
Pour rappel, l'Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme recense en 2017, 205 000 logements inoccupés à Paris - sans compter les bureaux, équipements, hôpitaux, casernes... Pour exemple, une expérience comme celle des « Grands Voisins » est la preuve, depuis 2015, que l'accueil de personnes vulnérables en centre-ville est générateur de nouvelles solidarités. Lorsque cet accueil est couplé avec des activités associatives et artistiques, il devient le témoin d'une nouvelle attractivité de quartier et d'un développement économique local.

Nous demandons que ces dispositifs innovants puissent être entendus par votre gouvernement comme une réponse possible à dupliquer dans les espaces vacants, afin de réduire l'urgence sociale actuelle tout en permettant l'existence d'expériences urbaines innovantes.

Collectif Citoyen,
#SansToitpasSansNous

SANS TOIT PAS SANS NOUS

Distribuer à partir du 15/06/2018
« Un toit pour les 2816 personnes dont les centres d'hébergement ferment d'ici fin juin »

A9:

CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH

FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:

Joanna Haddad, joanna_haddad@hotmail.fr, 0031620667941

DESCRIPTION

You are invited to participate in a research about Les Grands Voisins. The purpose of the study is to understand the impact of cultural and creative initiatives on social integration and urban resilience.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. In general terms,

- the questions will be related to your cultural initiative

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use a tape for the interview. You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

RISKS AND BENEFITS [alternatives A and B are presented below, but there may be further variations]

As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. Yet, you are free to decide whether I should use your name or other identifying information [such as XXX] not in the study. If you prefer, I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by using a pseudonym.

I will use the material from the interviews and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications.

TIME INVOLVEMENT Your participation in this study will take one hour. You may interrupt your participation at any time.

PAYMENTS

There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS

If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact –anonymously, if you wish— Erasmus University Rotterdam, Faculty of History, Culture and Communication.

SIGNING THE CONSENT FORM

If you sign this consent form, your signature will be the only documentation of your identity. Thus, you DO NOT NEED to sign this form. In order to minimize risks and protect your identity, you may prefer to consent orally. Your oral consent is sufficient.

I give consent to be audiotaped during this study: Name Signature Date

I prefer my identity to be revealed in all written data from this study: Name Signature Date