

**Does France's colour-blind policy model survive decentralisation?:  
A look at migration-related diversity and policy in two of Paris's *banlieues*.**

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*Summary:* This research takes a look at the demographic realities of Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, two of Paris's banlieue cities, which boast high levels of migration-related diversity. It attempts to examine the ways in which this feature of the local context can be found to shape policymaking in housing and education, despite France's historical legacies of Republicanism and its subsequent colour-blind and spatialized policy approaches.

## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the main challenges facing the modern state is migration. This ranges from the way it is problematized and presented as a threat to the actual practical challenges it poses for the nation-state, and the ways in which it attaches meaning to difference. In Europe, migration raises questions regarding the way states view their own societies. France's approach to migration and integration is distinctive and deeply rooted in historical legacies dating back to state formation and the French Revolution, as well as the revisions to the Constitution that occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, while multiculturalism has characterized much of the rest of Western Europe's response to immigration for years, France has long been characterized by its assimilationist framework (see for instance Brubaker, 1992; Scholten & Entzinger, 2014). This is a result of the country's Republican model, in which the state recognizes its members solely in their capacity as citizens, with an emphasis on their equal nature, disregarding their differences. In that sense, the French national model is a colour-blind one, where ethnicity for example can never be the focus, or form the basis of target groups for policies. These differences in the way France understands the place in society of first generation migrants, but also of French nationals with an immigrant background, compared to the rest of Europe is not simply conceptual: it has clear impacts on the way policy is devised and implemented (Bozec & Simon, 2014). In practice, the recourse to mainstreaming policies for example is a natural extension of this wholly egalitarian, "blind" approach that is sharply different from the use of target groups in multicultural societies. More than this, France's practice of *jus soli* has also allowed for an automatic inclusion into the French state of children born in France of foreign parents, thus further erasing any need for "integration" or special attention to certain populations indirectly linked to migration: one is either a component of the French state as a bland citizen that is unrecognizable from the others, or not.

The reality of France's increasingly multicultural society as a result of migration flows, however, puts immense pressure on this model. Indeed, the absolute invisibility of difference that the French system demands is not only antecedent to the actual proliferation of difference

that present-day society displays, but it is also increasingly discarded in the way public actors like the media or politicians approach and comment on many societal and political issues. In that sense, tension arises from these changes, as they relate to the way the French state perceives and understands itself, as well as its link to its citizens, including in policymaking. With the rise of majority-minority or "superdiverse" cities (Vertovec, 2007) in Europe in recent years, this phenomenon of changing demographics and the question of the type of policy response they demand is bound to occupy an even bigger place, and perhaps even force France to re-examine the way it views its society and its governance apparatus.

A set of reforms of the way the French state operates have actually been put in place over the last decade and brought into even sharper focus by the most recent Macron administration (Louis, 2017). The historically highly centralised French state is to cede more of its power to its bodies at the local level through a series of decentralisation practices. This new development is central to current discussions on public policy in France. Indeed, the rigidity of the French system is to be loosened by more independence at the local level.

While the geographical concentration of people with an immigrant background into urban areas and their periphery is not a French phenomenon, the notion of the *banlieue* is. These towns, which form the predominantly suburban areas around big cities, and especially around the capital, are the main prism through which France deals with these questions of immigration and proper integration (Doytcheva, 2007, p. 15). Indeed, through political and media portrayals, these areas have served as the background to mostly tacit negative and problematized perceptions of immigration. Their being for example the theatre of the 2005 uprisings of a number of the disenfranchised and excluded youth after occurrences of police brutality, is an example of the way "social disorder" is associated with specific places, which both influences and is influenced by the type of area-based policies France puts in place (Simon, 1998, p. 42).

Combined with their connection to immigration, *banlieues* are linked to notions of spatial and economic exclusion, as well as questions of mobility and social inequality in general. A lot of the policy topics many countries link to migration in some way, France, because of its Republican model, only approaches as class-based. Indeed, the *banlieue* itself forms the perfect example of the way France focuses policy issues in terms of class. The "Politique de la ville" (France's urban policy), and the existence of the "zone de priorité" (policy priority zones), are examples of this class-based approach that extends into policy fields as central as housing or education.

This study proposes to delve further into these issues and unpack the current state of France's assimilationist model in a decentralised context, and given the migration-related diversity-related changes to its society. It will do so by looking at the way migration-related diversity can be seen to actually impact the policy process, or not. It will therefore work to answer the following research question:

*In what ways can the high levels of migration-related diversity in Paris's banlieue cities be found to shape the way housing and educational policies are devised by the local government?*

This research will therefore serve to assess the extent to which the French state is coherent in its implementation of the assimilationist model at all levels. The context of decentralisation mentioned above serves as the backdrop for this topic, in that this assessment is linked to this newest development in governance. If this research finds evidence of a local level that incorporates elements of its diverse reality into policymaking, this could help advance the theoretical and societal understanding of the way France deals with migration-related diversity. Indeed, the look at education and housing policy as deliberately general fields adds depth to the analysis because they correspond to the type of element which would be precluded from acknowledging migration-related diversity. In that sense, finding that migration-related diversity does indeed shape policymaking in these fields in specific ways should help to advance the field. This would thus question the appropriateness of having elements of assimilationism continually referred to on the political scene, the state's relationship to "integration", as well as the way the literature approaches France's relationship to migration-related diversity in practice.

This paper will start by developing the theoretical framework that will form the basis for this research to answer the research question presented above. It will then move on to exposing the research design that will be used to carry it out, before presenting the results of the data collection. Finally, it will delve into an analysis of these results, before concluding on the topic as a whole.

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section presents the theories forming the framework within which this research operates.

### Definitions and context of the research

#### *Migration-related diversity*

One of the central concepts this research is based on is diversity, and more particularly "migration-related diversity". The concept of diversity is linked to changes in the composition of the population of a given society that mainly occur through migration flows. Indeed, diversity tends to be linked to international migration (see for instance Nathan, 2011; Putnam, 2007; Vertovec, 2007). These flows see the cohabitation of various ethnicities and nationalities before each eventually integrates the mainstream, in a process that is older than appears for Western societies (Nathan, 2011). In France, as expressed by Bozec and Simon (2014), this takes the form of an immigration flow dating back 150 years, and is now qualified by a greater diversification of the people coming in (p. 50).

This take on diversification has been fleshed out of late with a portion of the literature focusing on a more local understanding of diversity (in major European cities for example), in order to expand on its *multidimensional* nature (see Vertovec, 2007; Tasan-Kok *et al.*, 2013). Vertovec's (2007) conceptualization of "superdiversity" in particular *starts off* with the key notion of a *proliferation* of ethnicities and nationalities, where no clear majority emerges. In that sense, "superdiversity" is also very much embedded in an understanding of diversity as a concept inherently tied to migration (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1028). It however builds on this "diversity as a plurality of nationality groups" conceptualization to envisage diversity as an even more fragmented reality, which is mainly focused on a *diversification* of characteristics. This ranges from country of origin to elements like channel of entry or legal status in the new society, and takes into account gender or the practice of transnationalism. This complexity in terms of the dimensions of diversity, and in the sheer number of nationalities represented at this local level which hinders the formation of target groups, has clear implications for policymaking. The inclusion of this policy puzzle in Vertovec's (2007, p. 1025) conceptualization constitutes one of its primary appeals for this research, even though this paper focuses on migration-related diversity in the sense of the plurality of nationalities and

countries of origin. Moreover, "superdiversity"'s relevance as a *local*-level tool of analysis, as well as its account of migration-related diversity as a multi-faceted concept that is not confined to notions of ethnicity that are arguably analytically limited and difficult to operationalize, but extends to the legal status awarded to newcomers in society for example, make it particularly relevant for this study of France.

In a sense then, Vertovec's (2007) "superdiversity", in its account of diversity's multidimensional nature, forms the main theoretical understanding, a background of sorts, for this research's discussion of diversity. In practice however, in its discussion of "migration-related diversity", this study does not look into dimensions such as gender or educational attainments, but remains focused on the idea of the plurality of nationalities and countries of origin, where a multitude of places are represented in a population, with no clear majority. This latter aspect is also found in another conception of diversity, focused on the local level especially, where "minorities" can sometimes be observed to form the *majority* of the population (see Crul, 2016). This conceptualization of diversity as a reality that concentrates difference is also highly relevant for this study, because it focuses on the way a national framework of assimilationism is translated all the way down to places in which its colour-blind premise seems almost impossible to be convincingly applied. As discussed in Crul (2016), "superdiversity", can be understood as a framework of analysis of diversity itself. With assimilationism being both a central component of such a framework (Crul, 2016; Putnam, 2007), as well as the main qualifier for France's relationship with migration-related diversity, "superdiversity" appears as the most fitting framework for this research. As expressed, some elements of migration-related diversity that are accounted for in "superdiversity", such as diversification of occupations, do lie beyond the scope of this research. This research, in talking of "migration-related diversity", means the multiplication of different countries of origin for the people living in specific local areas, and a proliferation of difference. In other words, this research uses what "superdiversity" as a framework has to say about the diversification of nationalities, and the proliferation of difference for its definition of "migration-related diversity".

### *The "banlieue"*

The concept of the *banlieue* is an inherently French one, that really bears no perfect equivalent in other countries. It refers to the cities lying on the outskirts of a metropole,



typically around Paris. More importantly however, they are spaces, as discussed in Balibar (2007), that are associated with a double exclusion through class and race (p. 57). Balibar's (2007) work on the *banlieues* also focuses on the different aspects that distinguish them from other types of spaces like the ghetto (p. 48), also linked to notions of spatial or economic exclusion. This question of the validity of the ghetto comparison when talking about the *banlieues* seems indeed to constitute much of the theoretical debate surrounding the topic, with this question also cropping up in Blanc's (2010) work, where its link to the concept of segregation, and its policy ramifications are discussed. In any case, the *banlieue* tends to be associated with notions of periphery and exclusion which make them central to the area-based policy approach that is characteristic of much of France's urban policy.

There is an understanding that these *banlieue* spaces are synonymous with a number of phenomena, including migration-related diversity in the plurality of places of origin, which make them additionally interesting to look at when trying to assess the way policy functions in France (see Balibar, 2007). Indeed, this has repercussions in the policy domain, as expressed by Dotcheva (2007), who emphasises the importance of the "reputation" of these territories in orienting elements of educational policy for example (p. 61). It is then legitimate to wonder whether the appellation of the "banlieue" itself might make the subject of migration-related diversity, or the specific relationship to education or housing policy more salient for policymakers and possibly intervene in the way local policies are devised.

### *Assimilationism and Republicanism in France*

France's adherence to an assimilationist model of integration forms the context in which to understand this research. French assimilationism is well-documented, and primarily consists of the specific way in which it views the relationship between state and newcomers and how they are expected to integrate. In that sense, it can be distinguished from other models like multiculturalism (see Entzinger & Scholten, 2014), which present other perspectives on the place of difference within society, and the manner in which it is to be expressed as an extension of the state or not. Assimilationism puts emphasis on migrants themselves needing to integrate and assimilate into the mainstream culture, through language acquisition for example (Bozec & Simon, 2014). Assimilationism in the French case is well-documented and its link to France's territorial citizenship model and Republican identity is oft-discussed (see Alba, 2005; Brubaker, 1992; Doytcheva, 2007). One of the cornerstones of

Republicanism is a commitment to the equality of all members of the polity (Doytcheva, 2007, p. 24). As expressed by Balibar (2007), the very institution of the Republic also has a history of being inherently tied to questions of citizenship, and, in its present iteration, to its unattainability for descendants of immigration despite a commitment to perfect equality. Indeed, he underlines the fact that what pushed the succession of different Republics was the question of who to include into its conception of citizen (p. 59). This differentiation, because of France's practice of territorialisation in policymaking which will be described below, takes on a spatial quality which orients this research's focus on the *banlieue* space, and those especially known to host high levels of migration-related diversity. Doytcheva (2007) however talks of the possibility of there being a multiculturalism "à la française", and cites hijab controversies as evidence of there being antecedents for a less than perfect assimilationist *practice* (p. 6; p. 8). Indeed, a number of elements in the literature point to the lack of efficiency of this ambiguous official relationship to difference given the realities of such elements as schooling, and so education policy (Kleinman, 2016, pp. 275-276). This paradox is central to this research and begs the more general question of the extent to which these colour-blind approaches still prevail in practice, and so the extent to which it remains theoretically valid to address French policymaking as linked to those elements (see also Raveaud, 2008). In that sense, if this research finds that there is consideration for the element of migration-related diversity in the elaboration of local policy, it would serve as evidence that maybe this understanding of France as embracing an assimilationist model *is* somewhat passé, and perhaps that a reformulation in the academia, as well as in the political sphere, in terms of discourse for example, is needed.

The element of "colour-blindness" in France's structural and institutional context is another expression of the way it views (or does not) categories such as race or ethnicity, and the way this relates to policymaking. It refers to the perceived "unconstitutional" nature of policies that target features such as race, religion or ethnic origin (Safi, 2017). This extends beyond the state itself: from the permeation of action and policy well into the private sphere, to become a part of the culture (Safi, 2017). As expressed by Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018), the colour-blind approach can be seen to contribute to the "maintenance of a racial order of things", including in policy implementation (p. 12). Indeed, the colour-blind approach is problematic because certain individuals are automatically placed as antecedent to the conception of the undistinguishable citizen, including immigrants (Kleinman, 2016). Despite questions of the extent to which some room is left for forms of multiculturalism in the French public sphere (Doytcheva, 2007), there is no question that the official understandings

of policy practice are still very much assumed to correspond to these colour-blind models, with this research seeking to determine whether this is actually the case or not. Indeed, much of the literature on this rapport France has with its own diversity is based on attempting to reconcile the "paradox of implementing such policies within a generally colorblind institutional and cultural context" (Safi, 2017, p. 1). In practice, terms like "diversity" and "ethnicity", are excluded from official policy processes, with evidence showing that diversity is understood as an *impediment* to equality (Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier, 2018, p. 6; p. 7). One of the manners in which this invisibility of difference for policymaking has been circumvented has been through the targeting of specific areas. Indeed, as expressed by Safi (2017), "The concentration of minority populations [in these areas] allows this territorial targeting to indirectly reach out to second- and third-generation immigrants, often referred to as 'youth in disadvantaged neighbourhoods'" (p. 2). This is crucial to understanding the French context for urban policy: the defining feature of inequality that guides its design is income (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018). This means difference is articulated and tackled through that lens because, in policy understandings, it forms the basis for all inequality. Safi (2017) talks of two contrasting paradigms of equality in France: the "indifference to differences" versus the recourse to diversity policies, which are framed as pertaining to an "equality of opportunity" (p. 11). In that sense, for Safi (2017), this second paradigm (here, in terms of diversity policy in the field of employment) is a modification of traditional colour-blindness which has created a space for diversity to become visible in policymaking. Schematically then, this research is focused on the same space in order to determine the equivalent in the seemingly impervious to migration-related diversity policy fields that are education and housing.

With the main contextual elements to this research having been exposed above, the next section will present the elements of the literature that form its theoretical foundation, by grounding these defined concepts into a policy outlook.

## Policy perspectives

### *The historical institutional perspective*

This research is concerned with studying the relationship between the high levels of migration-related diversity in banlieue cities and the ways in which it may shape policy at the local level. Public policymaking in itself, as expressed in Howlett et al. (2009), can be summarised as "constrained actors attempting to match policy goals with policy means in a process that can be characterized as 'applied problem-solving'" (p. 4). Moreover, this process contains both a technical dimension, where the matter is finding the right tools to achieve the policy goal, as well as a political one, because not all the actors involved agree on what tools are appropriate (p. 4). Part of this understanding is also the idea that the government is the primary agent of policymaking (p. 5), which is highly relevant given the central interest in this study to the prevalence of the assimilationist framework.

This study takes an institutionalist approach to policymaking (see Hall & Taylor, 1996; Thelen, 1999; Schmidt, 2010). This type of approach emphasises the role of formal and informal rules (institutions) in driving and structuring the policy process. More specifically, these institutions are formed of the "formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy" (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 938). These institutions constitute a setting which structures the decisions of actors (Schmidt, 2010). In historical institutionalism, these institutions are born out of historical developments, and so any policy process which is naturally structured by these same institutions is linked to past conflicts and what emerged from them. As a result of this link to historical developments, these institutions are also understood to evolve and change over time (Thelen, 1999, pp. 382-383). Moreover, the concept of critical junctures is central to historical institutionalism, and designates events which shift the path on which institutions were set (Schmidt, 2010, p. 5; Thelen, 1999), provoking a change in them.

This research in particular is concerned with incorporating the *context* of policymaking (assimilationsim) into the analysis of the policy itself. For that reason, theories of historical institutionalism can serve to form its theoretical background best (Thelen, 1999, p. 370). Indeed, this notion of the institutional change is crucial given the topic of this research, where much of the institutional context is assumed to be compliant with colour-blindness, yet what is examined is the manner in which this might have been modified enough to allow for an inclusion of difference into local policymaking. Additionally, and as expressed

above, theories of historical institutionalism emphasise the dynamics of policy processes as gradual and linked to historical developments (Schmidt, 2010; Thelen, 1999; Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutional legacies and their level of stability are notions crucial when wondering about the way France deals with migration-related issues given its policymaking context. This is in part linked to the state's history of policy processes operating at high levels of centralisation ("Qu'est-ce que", 2016), which necessarily implies incremental changes, where historical developments influence policymaking. More than this, because migration-related issues are tied to demographic advancements which evolve over time, they naturally point to an incremental form to changes of practice. The ban of religious symbols in schools in 2004 comes to mind as an example of an institution (the concept of *laïcité*) taking on a specific meaning after historical evolutions (the plurality of religions present in modern France compared to at the concept's inception in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the negative way in which politicians viewed Islam in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century), which influenced policymaking.

Since this research is embedded in current changes in France's system of governance as it shifts towards decentralisation, understanding its policy process as entrenched in the rules that form an institutional setting, can help explain the way changes in policy practices can arise when a historically rigid system is reformed. Indeed, historical paths form a sort of restriction on actors when it comes to the policy process (Schmidt, 2010). Furthermore, as expressed in Hall and Taylor (1996), historical institutionalism is inspired by structural functionalist understandings about the way the polity forms an "overall system of interacting parts", where the institutions are what structure this system (p. 937). In that sense, policies, as they are influenced by institutions necessarily work as a reflection of the overall institutional context of the polity, and therefore are necessarily always coherent with it. This is highly relevant to this study's look into France's overall institutional context of assimilationism and *whether* it translates in the denial of diverse realities in local policymaking, or not.

This research is also compatible with the type of hypothesis formulation that is consistent with historical institutionalist perspectives as they incorporate rationalist elements. Indeed, in this type of perspective, the questions tend to stem from situations where "observed behaviour appears to deviate from what the general theory predicts" (Thelen, 1999, p. 374), as would be the case when looking at the ways in which diversity might shape policymaking in France.

Expectation: Historical legacies of Republicanism and colour-blindness have formed a rigid institutional context in French policymaking, which emphasises an understanding of diversity as an invisible aspect of society, that would prevent migration-related diversity to intervene into or shape policymaking. Yet, **demographic realities can be expected to have conducted to incremental changes in these institutions** of the practices of policymaking, where **a space will have been opened at the local level to allow for the element of migration-related diversity** (which used to belong outside the French institutional context framing policy decisions) **to intervene and shape policymaking.**

### *Decentralisation in France*

Central to this research is the notion of the appropriateness of France's assimilationist model: both in terms of how coherent it is for the state to understand itself as following an assimilationist model of integration, but also in terms of how relevant it is for the academic world and theories to refer to it as such. Indeed, as expressed by Doytcheva (2007), the changes that flow from the realities of migration-related diversity in France's society, in the way it is approached by the state with certain policies put in place to answer this pluralism, as detailed above, while also somewhat sticking to the frameworks of assimilationism and Republicanism that the country embraces, are inherently tied to the current transformation in the way public interventions are carried out (p. 8). Here, Doytcheva (2007) evokes the possibility that the state's recent partial notice of difference is not a result of a reformulation of the "national project" or assimilationism, but rather is made possible through changes in the institutional mechanism that seeks to balance between local and supranational (p. 8). In other words, decentralisation could offer the opportunity for more diversity-aware policies. Thus, one of the main contextual elements of this research is this development in decentralisation in France.

France has a history of operating at a high level of centralisation (Epstein, 2005, p. 98; "Qu'est-ce que", 2016), so the earliest laws regarding decentralisation started in the early 1980s. This also marks the occurrence of a number of urban policy changes with the elaboration of the "Politique de la ville" ("policy of the city"), which concerns *banlieues* in specific ways that will be discussed in the next section. The French state sees decentralisation as the process of transferring some of the executive and resource power from the central state to the territorial authorities ("Décentralisation", 2012). Amongst these earliest changes, a

number of reforms aimed to extend some jurisdiction to local authorities, especially in terms of funding for schools. In general, education tends to be a field particularly prone to decentralisation efforts (Bozec & Simon, 2014). By the end of 2002, France's ministerial council discussed a constitutional law proposal aimed at including the decentralised organisation of the state into the Constitution, which was passed in early 2003. Once again, the point was to give more financial freedom to the local level so they could direct these funds however they saw fit ("Décentralisation", 2012). The "Politique de la ville" also saw changes in 2003 with the Borloo law: "based on a top-down approach", objectives and contents are devised at the national level, and adapted to each local context (Bozen & Simon, 2014, p. 15). Since then, the question of decentralisation has been somewhat represented by the intermediary idea of the "territory" that combines the local authorities' competencies to form a more general project ("Décentralisation", 2012). This spatialization of policy constitutes the phase in decentralisation that this research looks at. Indeed, Doytcheva (2007) expresses that political systems now amount more to a centre-less universe in which diverse actors participate; an expansion of this system characterized by a blurring of the borders between national and local for example (p. 9). This is tied to common understandings of the rise of "governance" as an alternative to legacy governments that relied on highly centralised centres of decision-making. Common understandings of "governance" point to the proliferation of a multitude of actors in the process of defining and answering policy issues as a defining feature of this type of "governing" (see Kooiman, 2000). Indeed, the elaboration of platforms for negotiation and cooperation in order to develop or implement policies, which Doytcheva (2007, p. 10) also details as a feature of this new phase of decentralisation, is central to this research's attempt at determining the amount of moving-room the local level benefits from, in re-thinking the place of difference for example. In other words, this research wonders if this new conception of decentralisation can be tied to a new conception of a colour-blindness that would have less grip at the local level. The pursuit of decentralisation processes saw further developments since the 2010s and is also a feature of the current Macron administration's "Action Publique 2022" objectives ("Les grandes dates", 2018; "L'action publique", 2018).

Efforts in decentralisation have the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the French state (Louis, 2017), and this is tied both to reforms in the governance system, and to the specific territorialisation of policy understandings that are characteristic of a new method of functioning which this research takes as the starting point to wonder if migration-related diversity is as excluded from local policymaking as might be expected (see for instance Doytcheva, 2007, p. 56). As also discussed in Alexander (2003, p. 412), the process of

decentralisation delocalises the responsibility of integration to the local, while also including more actors into the field. His look at local-level organisations working with migrants is also found in Downing's (2016) discussion of the ways in which "difference-oriented" policies have benefitted from an amount of freedom through the flexible structure of the French state and its local extensions. In that sense, his argument is also that France's apparently rigid model of the managing of difference is much more "untidy and ad hoc" because it extends to the local-level which benefits from a decentralised state structure to accommodate the type of organisations that can work against racism for example (p. 453). The argument presented in this research that decentralisation is linked to the supposed suspension of France's Republican framework when dealing with difference, is therefore made all the more plausible by such previous works. The inclusion of the dimension of heightened governance processes in this new local space, as discussed above, is crucial to understanding what elements of this decentralised context help bolster a shaping of local policymaking by high levels of migration-related diversity. Indeed, this research tackles migration-related diversity by moving away from the traditional nation-state focus on assimilationism, to look at the local level, and determine the ways in which decentralisation might help policymakers operate in a more nuanced way. More importantly, this research hopes to see what this process means for France's national narratives and its Republican approach to society.

The decentralisation processes put in place in France of late, are linked to the issues discussed in this research in two ways. Firstly, decentralisation should leave room for the previously peripheral local government to act more independently and thus eventually include elements like the nationally overlooked notion of migration-related diversity into its policy process. Secondly, the shift to decentralisation itself is also motivated by the type of obstacles to governance that France's traditionally wholly top-down approach has built, which may include the debatably unreasonable neglect of the realities of diversity. This is especially visible in Epstein's (2005) analysis of decentralisation as linked to specific "quartiers" (neighbourhoods), and its hand in forming the new paths the government has taken to deal with these territories. In that sense, the room that is available in practice to an inclusion of difference despite France's rhetoric of colour-blindness is decidedly linked to processes of decentralisation in the literature. Indeed, despite the "amenable" way in which the local might apprehend difference-oriented policy, Downing (2016) still recognises the "conservative influences" of higher levels of governance on these innovative policies (pp. 453-454). In that sense, the questions addressed in this research are still crucial in understanding exactly the amount of grip that national frameworks enjoy when looking to the local level and the amount



of wiggle-room it benefits from through decentralised processes. In his theory on host-stranger relations and the increasing independence with which European cities can tackle the policy challenges of diversity, Alexander (2003) also links decentralisation and migration-related diversity, by raising the question of decentralisation providing pathways for policies that acknowledge diversity to be devised, and whether this then signifies a breakaway from the assimilationist model (p. 421). This is significant because the aim of this research is in a sense to unpack the process of decentralisation as a recent development of the context in which policy operates, and the way it opens possibilities to include a diversity-aware approach to policymaking. Indeed, it expects evidence of a tension between the top-down understanding of the integration paradigm and decentralisation processes.

Expectation: Given the historical institutionalism understanding of policy that this research embraces, it expects **decentralisation to act as the critical juncture that changes the institutional setting enough to include new policy practices** (such as those related to migration-related diversity) into the local policymaking process.

### *Mainstreaming and French urban policy*

Assimilationism as a *model* of integration also leads to specific policy practices that *organise* this approach. Indeed, the way the target groups of policies are determined is significantly different than in countries following a multicultural logic for example. France's approach to urban policy (here, housing policy) has been tied to a focus on a "redistribution-based approach" rather than a "recognition-based" one that qualifies the use of ethnicity as a marker for target groups (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018, p. 8). The recourse to mainstreaming as a policy approach to integration in French policymaking is widely discussed (see Bozec & Simon, 2014; Scholten et al., 2017), and fits in with this notion of a "blind" state that applies policy based on features like income rather than the level of migration-related diversity of a neighbourhood, for example. As expressed in Bozec and Simon (2014), "integration issues have been mainly tackled indirectly in France through more generic policies directed to priority neighbourhoods". They argue these forms of mainstreaming constitute a form of "replacement strategy" to answer the demographic realities of immigrants' needs, yet fit into colour-blind proceedings (p. 5).

France's area-based manner of targeting is embodied in practice with the establishment of the "zones de priorité", including the "zones d'éducation prioritaires". These zones are part of the "Politique de la ville", the urban policy devised during the 1980s which often targeted the *banlieues*, and places with higher levels of migration-related diversity (see Alexander, 2007; Jacquier, 2001). Concretely, it was an "urban development programme targeting disadvantaged neighbourhoods" (Blanc, 2010, p. 264). As expressed by Blanc (2010), the focus of these programmes fluctuates between spatial and social issues. One of the policy's crucial features for this research however, is the notion that each local programme has "its own specificities and priorities" (Blanc, 2010, p. 265). In that sense, the fight against social exclusion can take a multitude of forms depending on the local level's inclinations. This national framework of the "Politique de la ville" is therefore *decentralised* in practice to the expertise of the local level. Moreover, Blanc (2010) details such local actions as including "housing improvement schemes", as well as social inputs dealing with education and "multicultural coexistence" (p. 265). Similarly, in Bozec and Simon (2014), the "Politique de la ville" is seen as the path through which migration-related policies underwent a process of mainstreaming (p. 14).

The "Politique de la ville" qualified French urban policies for years. However, the recourse to mainstreaming policies in general is often linked to the rise of superdiversity, which, as described above, qualifies the diversification of the population at the local level in terms, amongst other features, of ethnicity and origin (Vertovec, 2007). In that sense, the blind model France has displayed in policymaking for years is now part of the policy apparatus of places dealing with high levels of diversity, like Paris' *banlieues*. The question of whether policymakers are conscious of this, and how much diversity actually intervenes in the process is therefore evident. Moreover, Bozec and Simon's (2014) work on the way mainstreaming policies might serve to actually *bolster* the assimilationist model by looking at the cities of Saint-Denis and Lyon, reveals that integration issues have been "indirectly tackled, and potentially eclipsed" (p. 49) through the type of social policies that target these "zones of priority". A very similar understanding is evoked by Doytcheva (2007), where indirect policies are actually in charge of ethnicity topics as they would be qualified in other countries (p. 15). These include housing policies, as those Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018) look into for their work on Paris' urban policy, as well as the education policies the Bozec and Simon (2014) study focuses on.

Overall, studies on the *banlieues* actually focus on these types of policies, and the notion of the class-based approach to urban areas that characterises much of France's policy

framework (see Alexander, 2007; Simon, 1998). This notion of the periphery is crucial to understanding the analytical place of the *banlieue*, and forms the basis for many of the research that has been undertaken on these areas regarding the residents' spatial and social exclusion (see Balibar, 2007; Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018; Jacquier, 2001). The primary design of the deployment of these urban policies at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was to "fight the formation of 'ghettos', understood as the unequal concentration of poverty in specific urban areas" (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018, p. 4). Therein lies the link between banlieue and urban policy in general: these policies, that are about income-inequality and no other form of difference are actually about those geographical spaces, that happen to also display other forms of difference, most notably in terms of their general high levels of migration-related diversity. As expressed by Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018), the "French area-based approach to equality and redistribution therefore allows for a measure of recognition of the multidimensional aspect of diversity" (p. 11).

Expectation: This research can be expected to show that **mainstreaming in the context of decentralisation has opened up avenues for migration-related diversity to shape the policy process**. This goes against the expectation that mainstreaming provides a way for policymakers to *avoid* the link between questions of educational inequalities or housing needs and migration-related diversity rates, **by bolstering the policy focus on the territorial context**, which then may well include migration-related diversity.

### *The place of migration-related diversity in housing and education policy*

In dealing with housing policy in France, typical discussions centre around practices of exclusion and segregation, as well as the virtues of social mixing as a concrete policy answer to these issues which predominantly touch the type of spaces which this research deals with: the *banlieues* (see Blanc, 2010; Rose, Germain, Bacqué, Bridge, Fijalkow & Slater, 2013). Indeed, one of the most consequent recent changes to housing policy in France, is the requirement for every municipality to have a minimum of 20% of social housing in its housing stock (Blanc, 2010, p. 257). The specific dimensions of French segregation, which motivate such social mixing logics, provide the main prism through which this research can touch upon the actions of migration-related diversity on housing (and education) policy. As evoked earlier, socio-economic factors such as income shape the French mind-set's singular

avenue in guiding policy answers to social issues. This angle on equality disregards the overlap of and interaction between inequality factors, especially in those spaces that boast higher levels of migration-related diversity than other localities, and where other features of inequality might serve to influence policy if it were not for France's colour-blind framework. Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018), who look at the place of such diversity in Paris's housing policy, emphasise the role of equality as a product of national level "neighbourhood policies, with a universalist scope" (p. 4), and the *focus* of these frameworks for housing policy. In that sense then, looking for the way housing policy in the *banlieues* answers notions of inequality, should also indicate the possible interference of migration-related diversity in such policymaking, where such concerns are *disguised* under frames of "equality of income". They look specifically at urban policies which aim to answer the dual objective of rectifying the unsuitability of the housing stock, and reducing social conflict, and argue they are about transferring resources from richer to more disadvantaged spaces (p. 4). Thus, according to them, social mixing policies are "unofficially targeting immigrants and their offspring" just by virtue of the concentration of migration-related diversity in certain areas that systematically qualify as disadvantaged (prompting this research's focus on the *banlieues*), and thus benefit from these policies (p. 5). This sentiment is echoed by Blanc (2010) who asserts that in practice, policies of social mixing are recognised in the literature as having as much to do with social class as with ethnic mixing, though it cannot be named as such (p. 268). Blanc (2010) also links this to the notion of "equity", where equity-based social mixing policies aim to "improv[e] the absolute well-being of the disadvantaged" (p. 259). In that sense, there is a clear focus on what *actually* helps those most in need in deprived neighbourhoods, which is not necessarily contact with other groups. Indeed, Blanc (2010) is explicit in talking about the polarisation in housing situations, not only in spatial and social terms, but as also tied to an "ethnic" component, because low-income tenants are the ones ending up in stigmatised suburban social housing estates "and they increasingly come from 'immigrant' [...] groups" (p. 263). While Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018) focus on Paris, for Blanc (2010), segregation is also directly linked to *banlieue* spaces, because those who are the most in need end up in stigmatised housing in "forgotten neighbourhoods" (p. 262). In that sense, the elaboration of housing policy has a concrete stake in the levels of migration-related diversity, and the correction of these territorial disparities in economic terms through policies touching upon the housing stock for example, therefore also involves answering migration-related diversity concerns. That is the essence of the French paradox, which Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018) see as "not saying that immigrants are the main targets of area-based

policies, but implementing actions that take into account their cultural background and specific needs at the neighbourhood level” (p. 12). Thus, there is a clear expectation that migration-related diversity does have an incidence on local policy.

In order to carry out this research, attention needs to be paid to *where* exactly in housing policy, migration-related diversity could manifest itself, if it is to have an influence on local policymaking. From the above, it is clear that elements of segregation are central to this. Aside from policies of social mixing which correspond to such segregation issues, there are other elements of housing policy included in the literature that are important in this research. As expressed in Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018) and Safi (2017), France's commitment to equality, tied to its Republican ideal of society, is one of the main lenses through which to view policy and its association with migration-related diversity. Accordingly, the relevant policies also need to be tied to the socio-economic factors and objectives of "equality". Such policies include those dealing with insalubrity and decent housing standards, as well as more general concerns with the managing of social housing and the make-up of the housing stock (see Blanc, 2010; Doytcheva, 2007; Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018). Hence, looking at such policies that refer to the diversification of the housing stock, or the motivations expressed alongside plans to build new social housing, are relevant in this study. In this, elements of the *vulnerability* of the very poor in France's system of stigmatised housing estates, which overlaps through the frame of "equality" with notions of ethnicity, is what needs to be traced in order to determine the role of migration-related diversity, if any, in such policies. In practical terms, as expressed by Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018), "indicators of socio-economic vulnerability are used as proxies for the description of immigrant populations, and notions of “social exclusion” or “social vulnerability” work as periphrases to refer to processes that affect immigrant families primarily" (p. 5). Using terms linked to ideas of "redistribution" could also be seen as a sign of a migration-related diversity-inspired policy according to Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier's (2018) work. Moreover, Escafré-Dublet et Lelévrier (2018) talk of how migration-related diversity can manifest itself in housing policy through support provided to non-governmental actors who are able to target certain groups and provide efficient services in a way that public actors cannot (p. 10). This is tightly linked to this research's angle on decentralisation, that underlines the role of the evolution of governance practices, in a manner which can be argued to force a change in institutions, per historical institutional understandings of policy processes. Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018) also talk of the ways in which migration-related diversity can be purposefully left out of policy discussions, and point to emphasising

other "neutral" aspects of diversity like the idea of the diversity of uses of public spaces to do so (p. 11).

As expressed above, segregation and practices that aim at reducing it, whether through social mixing policies or improvements of living standards, have been closely tied to housing policy in the literature, and their link to migration-related diversity as it pertains to this research has been expressed. Similarly, education policy in these areas is closely tied to these notions of exclusion in the literature, and disparities in this policy field also seem to stem from the segregation of certain spaces (see Doytcheva, 2007; Kleinman, 2016), which disproportionately concerns populations linked to migration, as Blanc (2010) expresses. Doytcheva (2007) for example discusses how multiculturalism as a policy outlook is spatialised, and territorialised in France, through the types of "Politiques de la ville" this section has already addressed, and is embodied in the educational policy fields in the establishment of the "ZEP" (literally "priority zones of education") for example (p. 14). As Doytcheva (2007) further expresses, the types of educational measures implemented in these spaces are however designed to promote mainstream culture, and not accommodate for different ones, with any attempts at the recognition of multiculturalism in education being seen as a "promotion of ethno-religious communities" (Bozec & Simon, 2014, p. 28). This of course fits closely into Republican ideals, and shows that the space awarded to migration-related diversity in policymaking remains, on paper, constrained by national frameworks. However, the action of decentralisation on the educational policy field is expressed by van Zanten (1997) as "allowing more diversity among public school, more autonomy to school staffs" (p. 360). In general the responsibility that falls on local authorities for these types of policies linked to disadvantaged territories, as also mentioned in Doytcheva (2007, p. 33), supports this research's decentralisation thesis. The combination of this with the question of the penetration of national frameworks in actually constraining the intervention of migration-related diversity in policymaking as mentioned above, fits in perfectly with the expectations formulated for this study.

This fight against exclusion, including in the education policy field, Doytcheva (2007) argues, actually corresponds to France's take on the type of affirmative action policies found in other models (p. 15). This is tied to the equality framework discussed above in the context of housing policy (see Raveaud, 2008, p. 86). For example, the ZEP were initially conceived as a way to fight social inequality (Doytcheva, 2007, p. 57). Moreover, in discussing them, Doytcheva (2007) also refers to the guiding principle of the "equality of chances", in order to

point out that the type of education policies that the awarding of a priority zone allows, can rather be seen as a guarantee of "equality of results" (p. 21). Doytcheva (2007) sees in this a definite shift from typical French policy approaches, and in that sense, it acts in this research as a marker for where migration-related diversity might serve as an influence on local policymaking. The pursuit of "equality", whether it be as a frame or the focus on socio-economic factors in detailing education policy, can therefore be considered as a marker for some intervention of migration-related diversity in education policy, similarly to its role as a framework of analysis in the case of housing policy. The question however remains of the actual ways in which it *shapes* the policy.

Concretely, and much as social mixing policy is one of the guiding elements of this research's design for the housing policy field, policies linked to priority education, through additional positions in schools, compensations and larger resources (Doytcheva, 2007, p. 57; Alexander, 2003, p. 412) serve as markers for further detection of migration-related diversity's influence on local policy. Bozec and Simon (2014) somewhat nuance the socioeconomic frames applied to educational policies aimed at righting the fact that inequality belongs to the realm of migration-related diversity-associated policies. They argue that these have a blurring action and hinder effective policy according to needs (p. 22). However, Bozec and Simon (2014) mention specific types of policies like the "Educational Achievement Programme" that centre around notions of equality in socioeconomic terms, and through their support of children from disadvantaged areas, can be expected, in the context of this research, to include an acknowledgement of migration-related diversity, albeit indirectly (p. 24). Hence, these would fit the "equality" framework this research relies on as the first step of analysis before further interpretative work. Moreover, Bozec and Simon (2014) reference certain policies more evidently linked to the presence of high levels of migration-related diversity. These particularly include attention to language support policies, including for allophone children (p. 22; p. 26), and should be seen as signs of migration-related diversity's influence on local policymaking. There are also precedents in policies designed to provide intercultural exchanges (p. 22), programmes highlighting the promotion of immigrants' role in France's history (p. 25), or "citizenship education" programmes (p. 39). Additionally, policies designed for creating a link with parents can be explicitly linked to migration-related diversity, and other mainstreamed action designed at preventing school dropouts or helping disadvantaged youths join certain academic and professional positions are cited by Bozec and Simon (2014, pp. 26-27; p. 30). These general policies, as Alexander (2003) expresses "can be identified as *de facto* 'migrant policies' in terms of their selective effect on the migrant population" (p.

420). In that sense, they show an awareness at the local level of a concentration of migration-related diversity, and prove its role in shaping policy. Lastly, anti-discrimination actions can of course signify the awareness of migration-related diversity from a policy standpoint (see Bozec & Simon, 2014, p. 28; p. 31). Education policies which have been tied in the literature to children with immigrant backgrounds remain primarily expressed as pertaining to "school difficulties", as befits this research's "inequality" framework for the action of migration-related diversity on local policy. Particular difficulty simply "happens" to be expected to arise in certain territories, where socio-economic background *overlaps* with high levels of migration-related diversity. Hence this research's aim in tracing the ways and extent to which these elements may have found a way to be taken into account in policy by local policymakers.

The very choice of these two policy fields for analysis should serve to exemplify the opacity of the official relationship France entertains with migration-related diversity. Indeed, there is firstly no specific policy field that deals with matters of "integration" or diversity, even in cities boasting such high levels of migration-related diversity. In that sense, education and housing are the most plausible fields to allow for a tracing of the way migration-related diversity shapes local policymaking. Indeed, these two specific fields are particularly telling in formulating France's manner of tackling difference and, even more crucially, inequality. Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018), for example, see housing policy as part of the "main policies concerned with issues of diversity" amongst French urban policies. Diversity in this is "articulated in terms of social diversity", meaning income or family size, which then end up affecting migrants who tend to belong to lower social classes and live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (p.11). Given the focus on populations with an immigrant background, these two policy fields also seem appropriate as the gap between such minorities and the majority group is particularly evident in terms of educational and socio-economic positions (Bozec & Simon, 2014, p. 10). Moreover, in works like Blanc's (2010), housing opportunities are linked to processes of segregation which tie into the specific French context of the banlieue. In that sense, the intersection of class disparities with other individual features of the child or household in both fields, is ideal in trying to delimitate the actual grip of this income-based understanding of inequality and its result in area-based policies, and the extent to which high levels of migration-related diversity in these areas, which are technically excluded from national action and narratives, are actually absent from policymaking. The choice of these two fields for carrying out this research is also based on the fact that they seem to correspond to



the aspects most mentioned in studies that look at the context of the *banlieue* (see Bozec & Simon, 2014; Simon, 1998). They also form capital policy areas at the national level, while exhibiting a direct vocation to be implemented and re-invented at the local level of the policy process. Moreover, both have been linked to processes of mainstreaming and general practices of area-based policies (Bozec & Simon, 2014), which accounts for the importance, in this research's theoretical foundation, of the way income-based understandings follow from France's colour-blind institutional context. Another backing of this choice of policy fields can be found in Alexander's (2003) work that looks at decentralisation and integration policies across Europe, and includes housing and education. In many ways, the literature suggests that if migration-related diversity can be found to influence local policymaking, it is most likely to show up in the education and housing policy fields.

Even within these fields however, and per the works discussed in this section, there are a number of sub-areas of education and housing that have no cause for including this type of variable. In general, because migration-related diversity is a demographic factor of the managing of cities, any policy plan that bears no mentions to plans concerning the *population* is outside the scope of this study. For instance, policy plans to acquire certain parcels, and other urbanism decisions, unless they are explicitly linked to social housing schemes, are not relevant, as they would not bear any mention of the levels of migration-related diversity of the city even under more open frameworks for difference. Similarly, policies targeting families or welcome centres for children that do not incorporate education *programmes*, are not inherently tied to the type of education policies tackled in the literature and therefore also lie outside the realm of this study. Overall, this study's purpose is to determine the ways in which migration-related diversity can be found to shape local policymaking, as it more openly does in other contexts, *despite* it being precluded from the way France conceives its policy process and the way its state and society function. In that sense, it is "inconspicuous" policy fields that are of interest to see to what extent realities at the local level change the way these are conceived. Hence, the fields of the managing of the "quartiers" and any actual mention of proceedings with migrant organisations for example are also outside the scope this study.

As evoked above, the French context for urban policymaking is centred around inequality and difference as it arises from income or general class disparities, while ignoring other features of difference and sources of inequality, such as race or ethnicity (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018). As expressed in the literature that seeks to reconcile public policy and migration-related diversity in the French context (see Bozec & Simon, 2014; Escafré-

Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018), this means difference in all its forms is tackled through that same lens articulated around income. In other words, per historical institutionalism, this understanding forms the institutional basis and context for policymaking. This means that a varying understanding of difference is impossible for policymakers operating in such a context, which should preclude the inclusion of migration-related diversity in any way that does not correlate with income inequality from local policymaking. In admitting decentralisation processes may provoke incremental change in this setting however, this research seeks to determine if any wider inclusions of migration-related diversity into policymaking exist. In that sense then, both a "classic" approach that constitutes of socio-economic factors as euphemisms of sorts for other forms of difference and inequality, *and* more specifically diversity-related indicators are expected to signal the intervention of migration-related diversity in the local policymaking process, then left to be interpreted. This would go against the supposed rigidity of the institutional context described above, and signify that there's already been a shift in France actual *practice* of assimilationism. This dual action of migration-related diversity would constitute the "ways" in which it is expected to influence local policymaking, and hence answer the above-cited question.

Expectation: As a result of **migration-related diversity's overlap in specific territorial spaces with poverty and forms of class inequality** in learning and housing, its **action on policy is identifiable by its proximity and near-equivalence with the use of socio-economic and equality frames, as well as more specific references to the plurality of origins.**

## Overview

One of the primary purposes of this study is to examine the relevance of the assimilationist model in practice, and the extent to which the Republican model of colour-blindness is actually followed through at the local level. From the literature on France's national model of colour-blind policies, the expectation is that policy implementation is not linked to the level of diversity displayed in the municipality's population. Indeed, historical legacies have created a set of rules for policymaking where migration-related diversity realities are ignored and never intervene in the policy process, and policy targets are determined along different criteria such as income. These types of institutions can however be expected to have changed over time to account for these demographic realities at the local level. Indeed, the space that can be expected to have been opened for high levels of migration-related diversity to matter in policymaking can be linked to decentralisation processes acting as a critical juncture for these institutions. Indeed, more free reign for local government may suggest such interpretations of policymaking as might include migration-related diversity. If this element of the research were confirmed, it would constitute an important analytical addition to the field at a time where European countries struggle to come to terms with their diverse societies. Indeed, as expressed above, the French territorial approach to policy in the context of the *banlieues*, through policy practices of mainstreaming for example, could have opened up avenues for these elements to actively shape policy. This is tied to these territorial spaces' overlap with matters of socio-economic deprivation and income inequality which affect such policy fields as housing and education. By highlighting the use of equality frames, and the manner in which attention is drawn to socio-economic indicators of vulnerability, and by making evident some more direct references to migration-related diversity in seemingly inconspicuous policy fields, this research proposes to bridge all these elements to show the different layers through which migration-related diversity could shape policymaking at these local levels. The aggregation of these concepts is to be verified through the research design detailed in the next section, and consists an important step in re-examining France's relationship to migration-related diversity in policy practice.

### III. RESEARCH DESIGN

#### Research question and sub-questions

As expressed above, this research seeks to answer the following research question:

***In what ways can the high levels of migration-related diversity in Paris' banlieue cities be found to shape the way housing and educational policies are devised by the local government?***

In answering this question, it will therefore seek to determine whether the presence of a significant amount of migration-related diversity within the city pushes local policymakers to include it into the policy process, despite national frameworks that erase such differences from these processes.

Key to answering this question, as expressed above, are understandings on France's manner of deviating from matters of migration-related diversity in the sphere of policymaking through the use of "area-based" types of policies. Such policies are best exemplified in the key policy sectors of education and housing (examined by Bozec & Simon, 2014; Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018). Moreover, because this research is explicitly focused on explaining the tension between the national discourse on the invisibility of difference and the realities of migration-related diversity at the local level, it is also tied to decentralisation processes. Accordingly, and to account for these elements that play a role in answering the research question exposed above, the following sub-questions have been elaborated:

- 1. Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding housing?***
- 2. Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding education?***

The sub-questions detailed above were formulated to follow the logic of what this research seeks to find out about the inclusion of migration-related diversity in local policymaking in Paris' banlieue cities. Indeed, they will answer (1) whether diversity is included in local policymaking at all, contrary to the dispositions of France's assimilationist model, (2) what exactly is migration-related diversity's role when it is included, and (3) verify the theoretical framework-based expectation on the role of decentralisation in this inclusion.

Accordingly, a set of questions that aim to serve as guidelines for data analysis were created, in order to specify the first two sub-questions some more:

*Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding housing?*

- In which aspects of housing policies is migration-related diversity taken into account?
- Are direct references to migration-related diversity made or does the recourse to equality frames constitute the primary manner in which to understand its influence on housing policy?

*Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding education?*

- In which aspects of educational policies is migration-related diversity taken into account?
- Are direct references to migration-related diversity made or does the recourse to equality frames constitute the primary manner in which to understand its influence on education policy?

The configuration of the data collection, which will serve to answer these questions, will be explained in more detail in the methods section below.

## Towards operationalization

The definitions of a number of the elements that play a role in this research need to be exposed. This research looks at migration-related diversity in a couple of municipalities around Paris. In practical terms, a *banlieue* represents a municipality that is attached to an "urban pole" (INSEE, 2016). The selection of the cases, and the discussions on their high-level of diversity is based on secondary data made publicly available by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE). More precisely, it will use the data from the latest census undertaken by the INSEE in 2014 (sometimes aggregated later). The attainment of a "high" level of migration-related diversity is determined *relatively to other municipalities* across the country, and will be further described in the case selection section.

When looking at the population of these *banlieue* cities and to account for the idea of "migration-related diversity", this research will look at people with the status of "immigré", according to the INSEE itself. This category encompasses both the "étranger" denomination ("foreigner"), which refers to people having been born abroad, whose nationality is foreign and remain so when living in France, but also includes the people born abroad who have acquired French citizenship at some point in their life (through marriage or naturalisation for example). In the same way, this qualification of the "immigré" excludes any person born in France (INSEE, 2017). The recourse in this research to the number of "immigrés" in each municipality, rather than the number of "étrangers" is linked to its interest in migration-related diversity in general. Including people having acquired French nationality accounts for diversity in terms of a diversification of people's situation in a more direct way than looking at people who are technically always to be excluded from the French polity because of their citizenship, which is the case of the "étranger" categorisation. In the absence of any means, under the Republican model, to account for the second or third generations, this consists of the best iteration of diversity available to this research. Indeed, these descendants of immigration are wholly viewed as French if they are born in France, and so, in the French understanding, would never even be seen as elements of diversity.

To further specify the terms of the questions this research seeks to answer, it should be noted that in a context such as France's, "taking migration-related diversity into account" for policymaking means to acknowledging difference based on such characteristics at any point in the policy plan. In that sense, certain types of target groups are of course an indicator that migration-related diversity shapes policymaking, but simply including the existence of high

levels of diversity in the city in introducing it can also attest to policymakers' acknowledgment of it as an important contextual factor for their work. This range of forms of acknowledgment constitutes what will be searched for in the data collection phase of this research: mentions of diversity or ethnicity specifically, but also considerations on the area-based nature of some policies. From the presence of these wide-ranging references to migration-related diversity, the analysis section of this study can extract the "ways" in which it shapes policymaking, and answer its main research question.

In talking of the way "policies are devised by the local government", this research looks at two specific policy fields: housing and education. Through these two policy areas, it seeks to determine exactly how migration-related diversity can be seen to shape local policymaking. Indeed, the inclusion of these fields might reveal that one of the policy issues is more influenced or recognised as linked to diversity than the other. As expressed in Chapter II, these policy fields have been heavily linked in the literature to the context of the *banlieue*, as well as processes of mainstreaming and general practices of area-based and local policies (see for instance Alexander, 2003; Bozec & Simon 2014; Simon, 1998). This look into housing and education policy at the local level takes the form of any expression of policy intention, as well as implemented policy.

Moreover, this research is concerned with the *ways* in which migration-related diversity can be found to shape local policymaking. In that sense, the potential ways in which this type of context may have an impact on policies need to be specified. The inclusion of migration-related diversity in housing policy, per the assumptions detailed in Chapter II, is to be understood as a gradation from an adherence to the "equality" frame for policy, to the outright acknowledgement of migration-related diversity in policy documents. Accordingly, the emphasis on the need for "equality", even above the references to socioeconomic factors, which guide all policy in France, appears to form a euphemism for the different forms of inequality, including those linked to migration-related diversity. In that sense, it could be concluded that migration-related diversity holds *some* peripheral action in shaping policy. Even drier approaches would tend to signify (if anything) that migration-related diversity merely acts as a passive context or backdrop to local policymaking. Overall then, the "ways of shaping policy" refer to direct references, or more contextual influences.

## Design

In terms of methods, this research was carried out **qualitatively**, through policy document analysis and interviews. Indeed, since this research is centred on an elusive aspect of French policymaking, in the form of migration-related diversity, the interpretivist epistemological position of qualitative research which leaves room for interpretation of the relationship between policy process and assimilationism, seems fitting for this research (Bryman, 2012, p. 380). Additionally, because this research is concerned with the *ways* in which migration-related diversity shapes policymaking, qualitative research fits best because it can help account for all aspects of the process.

### *Case selection*

Paris's numerous *banlieues* present rather similar diversity levels: these rates tend to be much higher than in other French municipalities, including for the "descendants d'immigrés" which is the appellation for the second generation (INSEE, 2016). In order to determine in what ways the level of migration-related diversity in the banlieue affects policymaking at the local government's level, this research will therefore constitute of a **comparative design** between two of these *banlieues* (Bryman, 2012). More precisely, it will constitute a **similar case study design**. Since this research is concerned with the *ways* in which migration-related diversity influences policymaking, looking at similar cases rather than dissimilar ones, allows to trace this influence more directly by drawing comparisons. Indeed, given the rigidity with which the French system supposedly deals with acknowledging it in policymaking, the expectation is that by looking at two almost identically highly diverse *banlieues*, the patterns in the way migration-related diversity might be included in the policy process can be best identified.

Based on this, the two cases selected for this research are **Saint-Denis** and **Aubervilliers**. While many of Paris's *banlieues* rank as some of the French cities with the highest rates of foreign residents according to the INSEE ("Les villes", 2014), these two specific cases were selected firstly according to the availability, through the INSEE database, to access the breakdown of their population by country of origin, which is not the case for all municipalities. Indeed, both have big enough total populations that this information is made



available. The two cases selected present particularly high and similar levels, as well as *patterns*, of migration-related diversity, and other characteristics including in their both being qualified as "banlieues", political affiliations ("Election municipales Aubervilliers", 2014; "Elections municipales Saint-Denis", 2014), and the socio-economic background of their populations, in terms of housing situations (INSEE, 2018), or the existence of priority schools ("Liste des écoles", 2015). In that sense, they correspond to the two biggest Parisian *banlieue* cities that combine *both* the highest share of "immigrés" in their population ("Les villes", 2014), *and* a wide range of countries of origin amongst these. Thresholds in this are determined in terms of (1) the percentage of "immigré" population and (2) the range of nationalities this rate includes. A brief description of how Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers fit into this can be found below:

For (1), examination of the 2014 INSEE data places this threshold at 30% of "immigrés" (a third of the total population), with cities exceeding this being predominantly either very small border villages or outside of mainland France ("Les villes", 2014). Another clue as to the level of diversity can be seen in the number of people "below 15 years old" that are listed as "immigrés", as once again these numbers do not even include descendants of immigration ("Population de Saint-Denis", 2014; "Population d'Aubervilliers", 2014).

**Saint-Denis.** In 2014, the INSEE reports a population of over 110 733 people, of which 38,5% are "immigrés" ("Population de Saint-Denis", 2014), which brings the total of *immigrés* living in the municipality to 42 660 (INSEE, 2017). The only readily available ranking of French cities in terms of proportion of foreign-born residents places Saint-Denis in 53<sup>rd</sup> place, 41<sup>st</sup> when solely looking at cities in mainland France, thus excluding the 12 Guyane municipalities ranked higher than Saint-Denis in this respect ("Les villes", 2014). This ranking refers to these cities' "étrangers" populations (which, once again, is a qualification that the wider "immigré" term encompasses), which is not the precise purpose of this study but gives a good impression of the high level of migration-related diversity the case of Saint-Denis presents.

**Aubervilliers.** Also located in the Seine-Saint-Denis department North of Paris, the town of Aubervilliers is smaller than Saint-Denis but has a slightly bigger proportion of *immigrée* population. Indeed, with a total population of 80 273 people in 2014, its *immigrée* population is of approximately 34 444 people (INSEE, 2017), which represents 42,9% of the locality's total population ("Population d'Aubervilliers", 2014). With this percentage, it also presents one of the highest rates of *étranger* population in the country ("Les villes", 2014), ranking a

little higher than Saint-Denis: 22<sup>nd</sup> place overall, and 13<sup>th</sup> when solely looking at mainland France. Indeed, while Aubervilliers's *immigrée* population represents a lesser number of people than Saint-Denis, it does refer to a higher proportion of the city's total population. Lastly, similarly to Saint-Denis, Aubervilliers holds a majority French-born population ("non-immigrée") which counts 45 829 people.

For (2), the inclusion of several stand-alone countries, with numbers reaching a significant portion of the total population, as well as the recourse to "Other" sections because of the wide variety of nationalities and countries of origin have qualified both municipalities as having high levels of migration-related diversity as intended in Chapter II ("Population de Saint-Denis", 2014; "Population d'Aubervilliers", 2014). The extent of this diversity can be seen in the numbers below:

**Saint-Denis.** Saint-Denis also boasts an extremely diverse population, with a huge range of places of birth amongst its *immigrée* population. Amongst these, a particularly high number of people are born in the North African Maghreb region, which represents the largest group: 16 148 people in total. This is spread out between 9 153 people from Algeria, 4 376 from Morocco, and 2 619 from Tunisia. The next largest single-country group is Portugal with 2 021 people, while the rest of Europe (EU and non-EU combined) present 3 923 people, a number which excludes Italy and Spain, with 355 and 638 people respectively. The last single-country group whose numbers are detailed here is composed of 489 people, for Turkey. Lastly, "other African countries" represent 12 756, and the remaining 6 328 people hailing from a range of unspecified "other" countries. Saint-Denis also nonetheless holds a majority native population (INSEE, 2017): 68 073 people (only referring to people born in France). Additionally, it is estimated that approximately 20% of Saint-Denis' population are of second or third generation (Bozec & Simon, 2014, p. 6).

**Aubervilliers.** Similarly to Saint-Denis, Aubervilliers presents an extremely large range of countries of origin, with seven countries included in the INSEE breakdown, and more accounted for in the "Other" sections. Just like its neighbour, its biggest regional group is formed by people from the Maghreb region with a total of 11 991 people. This is divided into 5 947 people from Algeria (once again the largest single-country group), 3 195 from Morocco and 2 849 from Tunisia. Residents from Portugal form the next largest single-country group with 1 486 people, while Italy and Spain are both represented by over 300 people each, and the rest of Europe (EU and non-EU combined) presenting 3 474 natives. Turkey, the only other single-country group to be included in INSEE's summary, represents 682 people, while

"other African countries" account for 7 727 people. The remaining 8 323 come from other unspecified countries (INSEE, 2017).

To put these numbers by country into comparison, not only do Maghreb countries represent the largest groups in both cases (and Algeria the most represented country), they also account for about the same proportion of the wider "immigrés" group in both municipalities: approximately 37,9% for Saint-Denis versus 34,8% for Aubervilliers. Similarly, Portugal (to take the next biggest single-country group after each Maghrebi country in both municipalities), accounts for approximately 4,7% of Saint-Denis' total immigrant population and 4,3% of Aubervilliers'. More than observing the similar patterns of migration-related diversity in both municipalities, it is even more telling to underline that in both cases the group hailing from the Maghreb region account for approximately 14,9% (Aubervilliers) and 14,6% (Saint-Denis) of the municipalities' *total* populations. The average for French cities' overall proportion of *immigrée* population is 9% ("Population d'Aubervilliers", 2014), which clearly demonstrates the high levels of migration-related diversity found in both cases chosen for this research, as the numbers described above only represent *one* of the many groups forming each municipality's total "immigrée" population.

## Hypotheses

The hypotheses for this research, derived from the expectations formulated in the theoretical framework and the research design, are as follows:

1. France's colour-blind policy model does not match with the demographic realities of high levels of migration-related diversity.
2. In places with high-levels of migration-related diversity like Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, there is bound to be an influence of this on local housing policy.
3. In places with high-levels of migration-related diversity like Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, there is bound to be an influence of this on local education policy.
4. Decentralisation processes have heightened local government's competences, which means policies can be influenced by the local context. This includes high levels of migration-related diversity, like in Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers.

## Methods

### *Data collection*

This research relies on secondary data on each of the cases' immigrant populations. It will use the available data on each of the examined municipalities' population breakdown from the 2014 INSEE census. The national narrative of housing and education policies is also based off of secondary data from the literature, as explored in Chapter II. As briefly mentioned above, the data collection on the ways migration-related diversity shapes policy will mainly be done through policy document analysis in the fields of housing and education. An interview with a local housing policymaker from Aubervilliers will help provide supplemental information. These methods of data collection will facilitate a dive into the precise manner in which policy is conceived in those localities. In that sense, it will allow not only for an examination of the elements that are deemed relevant enough to include in the policy documents, and more specifically of course whether or not migration-related diversity is one of them, but can also help give some context as to the mindset in which policymakers approach migration-related diversity.

### **Policy document analysis:**

The first phase of data collection is policy document analysis. As the primary tool for analysis, it will serve to answer the sub-questions outlined in the previous section. The policy documents to be analysed were found directly on the municipalities' official websites. Indeed, the amount of time and resources available for this research has somewhat limited the selection of these policy papers to the publically and readily available documents. Amongst these, the three categories of documents that will be analysed in this research are: (1) accounts of municipal council deliberations, (2) statements by the municipality ("communiqués" in French, similar to press releases), and (3) resource documents on each of the two policy fields, when available.

The documents examined have been selected based on a set of precise criteria, as follows. Firstly, all the documents examined are not dated any later than the last three years, because older documents tend to be archived, and unequally available in both municipalities, which hinders comparability. Amongst these, of course, only the documents referring to either housing or education policy were selected.

In Saint-Denis, the municipality offers the possibility to access the agenda for each municipal council, as well as a copy of the deliberations that took place for each topic on the agenda. The sessions' agendas were used to flag the sections in the "deliberations" document that purported to education and/or housing. The actual "policy document" to be analysed as part of the **type (1) documents** are therefore the relevant sections of the much longer "deliberations" document. For Aubervilliers, each deliberation is separated under each council's page, with a short summary of what they refer to. These summaries served to select those referring to education and housing, which were then included into this analysis. In that sense, any municipal council that did not list any deliberation linked to housing or education was not included. Moreover, because this research deals with the demographic component that is migration-related diversity, those documents that fit the selection criteria for analysis spoke to the target population of the policy. As expressed in Chapter II, this means executive decisions on urbanism plans where no mention is made of the housing vocation of the buildings treated, or plans and budgets pertaining to physical changes to schools do not qualify, unless they relate to demographic components of the students. For example, a deliberation regarding the logistical merging of two social housing offices was not included, but long-term expressions of housing-related plans were. Similarly, deliberations concerning organizations dealing in childcare were not included unless mention was made of their educational purposes. Yearly "budget orientations" documents were also examined for mentions of education and housing policy. The selection of these sub-categories in the educational policy field is also linked to the number of elements that still fall under the centralised state's jurisdiction (Bozec & Simon, 2014, p. 29). Since Saint-Denis only presents councils' deliberations dating back to November 2016, the earliest Aubervilliers deliberation documents to be included in this analysis were dated to the same period. In both cases, the last document selected dates back to March 2018. In aggregating the different deliberations depending on the date of the council they relate to in the case of Aubervilliers, a total of 103 documents were gathered in this manner: 56 for Saint-Denis and 47 for Aubervilliers.

All *communiqués* (**type (2) documents**) available on each of the two municipalities' websites that mentioned either housing or education were initially selected for inclusion into the pool of policy documents. Those to be analysed were determined as those relating specifically to education or housing in terms of the managing of these fields at the local level. For example, a press release regarding violence in one of Saint-Denis' schools was not included as it does not pertain to the way education is conceived, or what aspects of it are put

forth for that specific locality. In the end, the *communiqués* whose purpose was to declare policy views or intentions held by the local level regarding housing or education, mostly as a result of policy activities at the national level, are the ones which were included in this second phase of policy document analysis. Moreover, because Saint-Denis only displays more recent press releases, were only selected *communiqués* dating back to the beginning of 2017 for the case of Aubervilliers too, with an end date for selection in May 2018. This brings a total of such type (2) documents to 12: 7 for Saint-Denis (the earliest dating back to 7<sup>th</sup> November 2017), and 5 for Aubervilliers (the earliest dating back to 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017). These tended to address the same topics across both municipalities, for example the ALUR law for rent control, or the question of school timetables, which enhances comparability.

The **type (3) documents** analysed serve as additional information on the way housing and education policies are viewed in both municipalities. Indeed, they present the local government's intentions with these policy fields, and are relevant in exposing the way these are framed in local communications. Their supplemental nature results from their being no systematic way to select these documents: all those deemed relevant were included. Two such documents were gathered, one per municipality: education "guidelines" for Aubervilliers, and a "journal of engagements" on housing for Saint-Denis.

The inclusion of such varied types of documents in the data collection allows for a sound appreciation of the *ways* in which migration-related diversity intervenes in local policymaking. Indeed, looking at municipal council deliberations will allow for a clear measurement of the type of socio-economic indicators corresponding to the equality dimension of the inclusion of migration-related diversity into "official" policymaking, discussed by Escafré-Dublet and Lelévrier (2018). The more direct ways in which the municipalities can address their policy priorities or wishes in official *communiqués* will then allow for an appraisal of the extent to which the context of high levels of migration-related diversity in the municipality informs the way they communicate about policy but also shapes these policy views themselves. Lastly, any more concrete references to migration-related diversity as a policy factor may be found in the even more specific additional resource documents.

In total, this research looks at 117 pieces of text. All the documents that were analysed for signs of migration-related diversity's influence on local policymaking were given a code name for convenience, a list of which can be found in the Annex (A).

## **Interview:**

This research only led to one interview with a policymaker working on housing policy in Aubervilliers. The people to be interviewed were contacted through the Mayor's office in both cities, after information on the identity of housing and education policymakers in each was gathered through their respective websites. A set of demands were made both by phone and email to set interview dates. Unfortunately, the restricted number of "interviewable" people also meant the lack of response led to a too-restricted number of interviews to be used as a central part of the data collection. The interviewee therefore represents the only person to have answered persistent and repeated demands for interviews. The interview was conducted on 5<sup>th</sup> June 2018 in Aubervilliers. It started with asking the participant if they were willing to be recorded. An informed consent form (Bryman, 2012, p. 140) was given to the willing participant to sign *after* the interview, a copy of which is available in the Annex (B).

The interview questions were designed in English in order to reflect the notions the theoretical base of this research deals with, but the interview itself conducted in French as it is the native language of the policymaker, making the discussion easier. The questions remained open in order to assess how the policymaker himself included the city's level of migration-related diversity into the discussion, and thus really determine the ways in which it intervenes in the policy process. The interview itself was conducted in a semi-structured manner, in order to allow the researcher to bounce off of the interviewee's mentions of concepts related to migration-related diversity and its manifestation in their work. The questions themselves were divided into four sections titled "Policy process", "Decentralisation", "Housing" and "Migration-related diversity". This was done in order to reflect the different angles from which this research proposes to look at the policy process, and thus outline the potential intervention of migration-related diversity in it. By delimitating the questions in this manner, more general aspects of local policymaking could firstly be inquired about, before more specific features such as the specific field of housing or the novelty of decentralisation were addressed. Additionally, these questions were designed to only progressively address migration-related diversity directly, in a manner consistent with "funnel shaped" interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 130). Thus, the set of questions had been carefully worded so as to cover all the aspects in which migration-related diversity might intervene in the policy process, thereby opening up multiple opportunities for the policymaker to bring it up, while also avoiding putting the words in their mouth. *If* migration-related diversity is relevant in their policy process, it therefore has the space to appear in policymakers' answers, but it is only explicitly acknowledged as an element of interest for the researcher at the very end of the



interview (hence the consent form signing at the end). This type of precaution is to guarantee that the this research could ascertain whether migration-related diversity would have organically started playing a more predominant role in local policymaking, for instance through decentralisation and/or as a general feature of area-based policies for certain policy fields such as education or housing. In other words, for it to determine what truly is its role in local policymaking, if it holds any, and in what ways it shapes it, as expressed by the local policymakers himself. The interview guide, containing the questions to be translated into French can be found in the Annex section (C).

This interview phase of the data collection was particularly intended to answer the third sub-question this research proposes on decentralisation. Indeed, a key aspect of this research targets the ways in which the local government re-works national policy for implementation at the local level. Through the interview, this process may have become evident in the manner in which the policymaker explained their reasoning, described what elements of the local are taken into account in developing each policy, and talked about the policy process in general, making this question of decentralisation more evident than in policy documents. The questions therefore also left room to account for the changes that the recent processes of decentralisation might have brought about.

### *Data analysis*

Since this research is conducted qualitatively, and moreover deals with a rather elusive subject that may well be expected to be absent from rationales of local policymaking, the methods of data analysis had to be rather open, in order to leave space to interpret it and its link to migration-related diversity effectively.

### **Policy document analysis:**

The type of analysis that will be used in this research is closed coding: a set of codes linked to the indicators from the theoretical framework were established ahead of time, and applied to each document in turn. The codes used in the policy document analysis can be found below, and were applied using the Atlas.ti software. Leaving room for some interpretative work in going through the documents, the indicators listed served as a basis and are more examples than an exhaustive list.

	<b>Interpretative frame</b>	<b>Variables from theory</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<b>Housing policy</b>	Equality frame	Social exclusion	Social class "exclusion"
		Vulnerability	"fragile" References to the population of the city's particular position vis-à-vis social issues Needing help
		Mainstreaming	Redistribution-approach
		Housing quality	"decent housing" "insalubrity" Renovation policies
		Social mixing	"PLS housing" Social cohesion
		Non-governmental actors	Partnerships with non-profit and other associations to aid with housing
	Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity	N/A	"different nationalities" "countries of origin" Language issues
Absence of indicators	<i>Mainly deals with cases where indicators of migration-related diversity could have been related to the policy discussed but are left out.</i>	N/A	
<b>Education policy</b>	Equality frame	Fighting social exclusion	Social class "exclusion"
		Mainstreamed actions	(Supporting educational achievement) Tutoring programmes "school drop-outs"
			(Priority education) Extra resources Priority schools

Programmes directly connected with migration-related diversity's influence	Language support	Language tutoring classes Mentions of language difficulties	
	Parental link	Schools engaging with parents Information sessions	
	Teaching about immigration and diversity	Programmes mentioning immigration or diversity explicitly	
	Citizenship and common culture	Educational programmes described as "citizenship education" Social cohesion Education to the world's cultures Mentions of school as helping to develop a common culture	
Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity	N/A	"different nationalities" "countries of origin"	
Absence of indicators	<i>Mainly deals with cases where indicators of migration-related diversity could have been related to the policy discussed but are left out.</i>	N/A	

Additionally, attention had to be paid to mentions of decentralisation processes. Indeed, references to the municipality's relationship to the central powers were also flagged. This included talks of financial jurisdiction, as well as expressions of discontent for national policy directives.

In terms of interpretations of results, a document that explicitly talks of "diversity" make this element a much more official part of the policy process than a document that does not. This type of degree of formalization constituted a first step in assessing the way French *banlieue* cities could be seen to include migration-related diversity into their local policy

proceedings. Given the type of denial of the element of migration-related diversity which the national Republican model implies, and because the documents selected for analysis were assumed to *probably* include it (those deemed wholly impervious to the inequality framework having been excluded from the selection in the first place), those that did *not* present any mention of the above-listed codes, have also been flagged, because this is relevant for the analysis. This is especially the case for documents that can be considered to have *omitted* an obvious reference to migration-related diversity from the exposition of the policy. Interpreting the results was then done according to the presence and frequency of the indicators. The context in which they are presented by the municipality also holds some importance in interpreting the data. For example, education programmes that can be tied to migration-related diversity, that would be offered as part of leisure centres for children hold a different interpretative meaning to the implementation of similar education policies in the municipalities' public schools. Indeed, the latter holds a much more official nature, and was therefore seen as a higher indicator of the inclusion of migration-related diversity at the local level, while the acceptance and perhaps accompaniment of such programmes put in place by non-public organisations, while also significant as a sign of accommodating migration-related diversity, showed a recourse to governance mechanisms to solve the issue of reconciling demographic realities of diversity, with the lack of space in official frameworks to answer them. In general though, the direct indicators of migration-related diversity's influence on education policy such as language support classes tended to be interpreted as a stronger and more direct influence of the high levels of migration-related diversity in policymaking, than mainstreamed actions that might still signal a form of acknowledgement of the various inequalities persisting amongst the populations. For housing policy, a lot of the indicators have to do with the socio-economic components mentioned in the theoretical framework, which made direct references to the city's diversity more valuable in the analysis. For the type (3) documents in both fields, the analysis actually focused on more specific references to migration-related diversity and its direct indicators. Indeed, the purpose was to see whether or not that medium allowed for a more outright mention of migration-related diversity, as it related to the intended target of Aubervilliers' educational programmes in its multicultural student population, or Saint-Denis' social housing recipients, than in official policy documents. This is similar to the way in which the *communiqués* were approached, in terms of what can be expected as far as openness to diversity-related topics, compared to the official deliberations of the council. The Aubervilliers guide's introduction section written by the Mayor was analysed, and attention was then paid to all the programmes that may evoke the

city's diverse nature. For Saint-Denis, the booklet was read for mentions of the city's levels of migration-related diversity or "equality euphemisms" which may directly refer to it.

### **Interview:**

The interview was coded along the same table of indicators that was described above for the policy document analysis, as befits its role as an additional source of information. In terms of interpretation, spontaneous mentions of migration-related diversity by the interviewee for example hold a specific value, compared to prompted mentions of it. More importantly, the framing of policy as linked to equality objectives were marked out, and interpreted to determine the action of the levels of migration-related diversity in potentially participating in the way such income-driven policies are devised. In terms of the interpretation of answers, the interviewer answering positively to the question *Does the presence of a large proportion of people with a foreign background in your city influence the way you devise policies?* in the fourth section, but having not demonstrated any other inclination to include migration-related diversity as an intervening factor in the shaping of policy before, would have led to a more nuanced assertion of its action on local policymaking than in the opposite case.

A full transcript of the interview is available in the Annex section of this paper (D), while the most relevant parts of the policymakers' answers were translated into English, and presented in Chapter IV as citations to be analyzed. While the transcriptions are faithful to the words used by the interviewee (digressions included), those citations have been edited to exclude repetitions and hesitations (Bryman, 2012, p. 485).

## Validity, reliability and replication

The validity of the research has to do with the "integrity of the conclusions that are generated" (Bryman, 2012, p. 47). The main two forms of validity that are relevant for this particular study are internal and external validity. Internal validity is about making sure that the causal relationship presented in the research's conclusion holds, that the phenomenon that is ascertained to influence another one does actually do so (Bryman, 2012). To guarantee internal validity, this research offers the idea that all indicators were derived and compiled together from previous research. External validity is concerned with the generalizability of the research "beyond the specific research context" (Bryman, 2012, p. 47). The level of generalizability here is understood insofar as it relates to the very specific and unique context of diversity in France. The results should not be limited to the two *banlieues* examined here, and can bear some understanding for the way the local level relates to the national level in general in France because of its grounding in decentralisation processes.

The level of reliability of this research concerns whether its results are "repeatable" (Bryman, 2012, p. 46). While close to the concept of reliability, replication is more concerned with whether all the information regarding the manner in which the research was undertaken has been provided in case another researcher decides to replicate it (Bryman, 2012). That this analysis was comprised of clear indicators from the theoretical framework compiled by the researcher should ensure reliability. Additionally, the detailed information provided in terms of case selection and the rationale behind it, as well as the references compiled regarding the documents used in the analysis should ensure replication is possible. Indeed, since this research relies heavily on readily available data in the form of the policy document analysed, the standard of replication seems upheld.

## Ethical considerations

This research does not touch upon much potentially ethically problematic areas. However, one of the main elements to take into account is a consequence of the delicate nature of the notion of "diversity" in the French context. As a result of this, policymakers may view the acknowledgment of migration-related diversity as a problematic admission, and refrain from referencing it on purpose or talk around it. It is the interviewer's responsibility to ensure this does not happen and interviewees feel at ease in answering the questions. Some precautions in the manner of operationalization have been taken, given this context, to ensure the conclusions drawn from the interviews are not arbitrarily determined to refer to notions of diversity by the researcher. Moreover, the availability of a transcribed account of the interviews themselves from the audio recording made on the day should ensure the analysis made of the data was not compromised by the researcher's bias (Bryman, 2012, p. 482).

More importantly however, because this research is focused on getting information on migration-related diversity's manner of informing local policymaking from participants in the interview phase of the data collection, *if it actually is part of their process*, some amount of deception regarding the main topic of the research they are participating in is required. This is to ensure that migration-related diversity is only brought up when and if the questions asked by the researcher genuinely point to that element in the participants' minds. In that sense, the full picture of what is being measured, aside from the "process of public policy and its link to decentralisation", as the participants were told, was only disclosed at the end of the interview, with the last set of questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 143). While this question of deception is part of the ethical landscape of this particular study, it seems as though the procurement of informed consent forms once the true topic of the data collection was "revealed", and the overall minor character of the omission as the other elements of the study were fully disclosed from the start, ought to have ensured the overall ethical soundness of the research.

## IV. RESULTS

This section presents the results of the research described above. Once again, this section uses shortened code names for the documents it references, but a complete list of these can be found in Annex A.

### Housing

#### *Saint-Denis*

#### **Equality frame**

The references to the equality frame which were found in Saint-Denis' housing policy documents were mainly part of documents referring to territorial inequalities, and dealing also with education policy for example. In SD4 for example, mention is made of the objective of making this working-class city one where everyone has "his place", as well as to the idea of the "right" to housing, which falls under the equality frame, and serves to justify a policy focus of the access to housing. In SC4 too, several references to "equality" are made (also in SR1), most notably in the context of housing policy when mention is made of the need for policies that would "rebalance between rich and poor *banlieues*".

<b>Equality frame</b>	<b>Social exclusion.</b> The framing of housing policy around the social situation of those it benefits can be found with the specific references to the population's income (SD4) or "purchasing power" (SD8). Additionally, references to the "working-class" nature of the city can be found numerous times in its housing policy documents (SD7.2, SD8, SCHO2). Policies like public rent control are also deliberated upon (SD8), and discussed in SCHO1, that insists on its crucial nature so that the lower classes can find decent housing. SCHO3 also deals with expulsions which highlights the dire situations some people the municipality is confronted with are in. Moreover, SC4 also clearly expresses this idea of social exclusion by affirming that "the residents of working-class neighbourhoods do not recognise themselves in the vision of President Macron, and its [...] over-uberisation", a clear reference to their being far from the type of economical empowerment it advocates. Lastly, SC4 highlights the fact that "working-class areas always suffer more than other places", which also serves to underline their exclusion.
	<b>Vulnerability.</b> A clear reference to the specific features of



	<p>vulnerability that the city suffers from is found in SD4, in talking of housing policy which would prevent the "geographic isolation of the most fragile". SD4 also mentions the fact that residents of working-class neighbourhoods tend to be the "first victims" of the degradation of spaces, as well as talks of directing policy to the "more disadvantaged". SD7.2 also talks of the high unemployment rates in the city's priority neighbourhoods, and uses the term "precariousness". The vulnerability of the population is also discussed in SC4 with the notion that "here more than in other places", there is a "need for public services", and a highlighting of the city's "39% of the population living under the poverty line", as well as the situation of its "8000 social housing applicants". In SD8, mention is also made of the way Saint-Denis' population would be "particularly impacted" by the reduced APL funds ("Personalised Allowance for Housing"), which "38,8%" of the population receive, before further highlighting that "40% of the city's households live in social housing", and that "80% of the total population of the city is eligible" to receiving this financial aid.</p>
	<p><b>Mainstreaming.</b> A direct example of mainstreaming can be found in the municipal advocating for the policy of rent control to be generalised in SChO1. The municipality's focused policy approach on bettering its population's "residential progress" (SD6.1), which refers to its housing situation and the possibility for example of owning their dwelling, also fits this mainstreamed approach to housing policy. Similarly, rent control policy presents features of mainstreaming in allowing wide portions of "lower and middle class" people to find housing solutions, and the municipality addresses it in SChO1. Lastly, references to the way "Politiques de la ville" are managed are also indications of a mainstreamed approach to policy (SD7.2). Moreover, elements of a redistribution-based approach to target groups, as they relate to the specific territories Saint-Denis is a part of, were found in SC4 for example, where mention is made of the need for the "Politique de la ville" to be applied at a higher scale in order for there to be a "rebalancing between rich and poor banlieues". The notion of "priority neighbourhoods" that need more resources is also expressed in SD7.2 and SD11.</p>
	<p><b>Housing quality.</b> A great number of policies centred around housing quality and the general renovations to be made on the housing stock, to grant "access to decent housing" as expressed in SD4. Such policies include SD8, SD10.6 or SD11. The priority nature of this type of policy is also exemplified by its inclusion in the "budget" documents as central policy objectives (SD4 and SD12.1). They are dealt with in further detail in SChO2 which deals with renovations to act upon the "degradations of part of the private and public housing stocks" through works of "rehabilitations", as well as in SC4 ("dignified and appropriate housing").</p>
	<p><b>Social mixing.</b> Evidence of a desire to diversify the housing stock to accommodate households that are too well-off to afford classic social</p>

	<p>housing was found in documents SD1.1 through SD1.3, as well as in SD10.2 and SD10.4 in references to "PLS" housing. Moreover, SCHO2 explicitly mentions the "diversification of the housing supply" as a policy objective, and SC4 talks of the other cities that choose "selfishness and isolation", a reference to the lack of compliance to the minimum 20% of social housing every municipality needs to have.</p>
	<p><b>Non-governmental actors.</b> For Saint-Denis housing policy, 8 mentions of non-governmental actors were recorded, all social landlord companies which were involved in some of the city's housing plans (SD6.2, SD8 and SD10.2 through SD10.7).</p>
<p><b>Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity</b></p>	<p>A few of these references were found in SC4's sections dealing with housing policy. Indeed, it refers to Saint-Denis as being a "welcoming land for all", talks of fighting discriminations, mentions the fact that the territories affected by the changes to the "Politique de la ville" it discusses are "open to the world", before highlighting Saint-Denis' "diversity" as one of its strengths. In SD4, mention is also made of its "multi-secular" city centre amongst different references to housing and urban policies. Lastly, and perhaps more unclearly, SD12.1 mentions the necessity to "value the richness, identity and memory of the territory".</p>

### **Absence of indicators**

SD12.2 fell under the scope of this research's data collection but bore no relevance to the indicators extracted from the theoretical framework as it deals with the allocation of staff housing. All others fit under at least one of the categories discussed above, albeit sometimes in more superficial ways, like SR1 which briefly mentions the equality frame while exposing a social housing plan.

### **Decentralised relationship**

Some dissatisfaction in the decentralisation relationship is found in SD8 which states that neither social landlords nor the territorial authorities in charge of housing have been made aware of the government new "housing strategy". This discontent translates into calls at the end of the document for future consultation with those representatives. The overhanging authority of the state in housing policy is also highlighted by the municipality in SCHO3, which deals with expulsions and calls the State the "guarantor" of housing, making it its responsibility to re-house people. Furthermore, disappointment in the state's "disengagement" in financial contributions to territorial authorities is highlighted in SD4, as well as its

"shortcomings" in terms of housing, once again showing the strain in that relationship, as well as giving evidence of the municipality's dependency on its directives.

*Aubervilliers*

**Equality frame**

The notion of a common "right" to housing can be found in AD2.3. Moreover, "more equality, dignity and equity", "for all" are widely claimed as the driving elements of Aubervilliers' housing policy (ACHo2). In concrete policy terms, the document mentions that the desire to "ameliorate the equality in treatment" in social housing allocations has been met through the establishment of a points system. Additionally, the interviewee did refer to the need to guarantee equal access to housing for everyone as an imperative in their work.

<p><b>Equality frame</b></p>	<p><b>Social exclusion.</b> The focus in AD10 on denouncing the decrease in APL subsidies highlights the types of social exclusion which the municipality experiences, underlining how it forms a "fatal blow to their economic balance", and the general reliance on social housing and such services amongst the population (evoked in AD13.1 and AD13.4). Additionally, the number of policies designed for providing assistance to people in situations of "great precariousness" (AD1.5) demonstrates high levels of exclusion amongst the population the municipality has to deal with (including AD2.3, AD9.2, AD9.3, AD9.4, AD9.5, AD11.4, AD11.5, AD12.1, those dealing with emergency accommodation). Numerous mentions were also found to the "working-class" nature of the area (AD10, ACHo1).</p> <p>The recourse to socio-economic frames in discussing housing policy was prevalent throughout the interview, and introduced from the very beginning. Indeed, to the first question asking <i>What aspects of the city render the conception of public policy different than in other municipalities?</i>, the interviewee directly mentions having to act depending on the "local reality" of Aubervilliers before saying it is "a very poor population". They then centered their answer around the social housing shortage and insalubrity. To the second question on <i>whether his work therefore mostly consists on expanding the social housing stock</i>, the policymaker explains that "building social housing that is adapted to the population's revenue" is their priority, as opposed to "PLS housing".</p> <p><b>Vulnerability.</b> One direct mention was found of the specific vulnerabilities the population of Aubervilliers suffers from: in AD15.1 reference is made to the city as a "disadvantaged municipality".</p>
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Additionally, two documents serve to expose the council's "wish for a favourable housing plan for working-class areas" (AD10 and ACHo1). In these, references are made to the parts of its population that would suffer from a reduction of the APL, thus highlighting the city's population specific exposition to social vulnerability. Similarly, the municipality's choice to engage in certain policies for matters of "social emergency" (AD11.5), the fight against slumlord practices (AD11.7), or the several references to accommodating people leaving "slums" (AD2.3 or AD11.4) also speaks to the type of social vulnerabilities it comes across.

The interviewee expressed "fears" that the French housing model would start resembling the British one where "social housing is only destined to the poorest". They also talk of the potential issues that may arise from the proliferation of co-owned housing which when they present degradation risks and are operated by people who cannot deal with them properly can be extremely problematic, mentioning the recent fire in Grenfell Tower in London to illustrate this.

**Mainstreamed actions.** The combination of housing policy with ideas of emergency accommodation and "social assistance" is found in a great number of documents (AD2.3, AD9.2, AD9.3, AD9.4, AD9.5, AD11.4, AD11.5, AD12.1), and fits under the socio-economic frame consistent with the idea of mainstreamed actions targeted at people in a "social emergency" (SD9.4, AD11.5) in general. Another example of such mainstreamed action is the decision to reinforce "transparency" in allocating social housing (AD13.2), the subsidisation of general legal assistance services on housing law (AD13.3), as well as subsidising measures to accompany people in getting settled or continued residence in a certain place when they already benefit from the "Departmental Housing Action Plan for Disadvantaged People" (AD13.4). Policy objectives in the safeguarding of housing landlords also serve this idea of mainstreaming (ACHo1).

Additionally, references to the redistribution frame included the idea of "priority neighbourhoods" (ACHo2), and a policy objective for housing plans that would be "in favour of" working-class neighbourhoods (ACHo1). Lastly, this notion of redistribution is also present in the advocacy for "equity" in housing policy (ACHo2). This not only fits under the wider "equality" frame corresponding to mainstreaming actions, but is also a feature which highlights the necessity to essentially "redistribute" starting point situations in terms of housing.

One of the core elements of the city's housing policies is also said by the interviewee to be "the question of residential progress, meaning there needs to be housing for everyone: [...] a range of housing that corresponds to the sociological and social reality of the population".

**Housing quality.** Numerous references are made throughout to policies designed to improve housing quality through renovations and general ameliorations (AD2.2, AD9.1, AD10 and AD11.6), which

	<p>AD8.4 also refers to ensuring the "long-lasting rehabilitation" of these buildings. Specific references to the fight against "undignified housing" (the most popular turn of phrase for it) were the subject of AD9.4, AD10, AD11.5, AD11.7, ACHo1 and AD4, and plans for the demolition of "insalubrious" housing were evoked in AD13.1. Moreover, in ACHo1, the municipality links housing quality to its "housing plan in favour of working-class areas", while ACHo2 mentions "dignity" in housing as a major policy plan, talks of the assistance of the "communal service for hygiene and health" in this, and addresses their "3<sup>rd</sup> protocole to fight against undignified housing".</p> <p>The interviewee makes insalubrity one of the central aspects of his work, also mentioning that their work in the private stock mainly has to do with this. Moreover, in the section explicitly concerned with "Migration-related diversity", the interviewee highlights the fact that "many [people from a diverse background] are sometimes from really disadvantaged environments", and sometimes warzones which they say is "another reason why we work towards having decent housing" both for new arrivals and those who have been in Aubervilliers "[forever]".</p>
	<p><b>Social mixing.</b> Two separate references were made to the necessity for all municipalities to "abide by the SRU law" which requires all cities to have a minimum amount of social housing (to avoid geographic segregation): in AD10 and ACHo1. Additionally, one of the housing policy documents is about establishing PLS housing (AD13.1).</p> <p>In the section explicitly concerned with "Migration-related diversity", the policymaker was asked about <i>what elements of diversity was taken into account in the elaboration of social mixing policies</i>. They evoked the points system which was recently established. Its features according to them include insalubrity, health-related concerns in the applicant, dwelling over-occupancy, expensive rates, de-cohabitation, emergency housing, and how old the demand is. They then drew attention to making sure that no "cité" (priority neighbourhood) has a much higher population of children than adults, saying that it is important for there to be that type of balance "despite the context of social difficulty". They also talk of there needing to be familial stability amongst the households, as well as a balance between the unemployed and the employed. To summarize, they say that "for us, social mixing mainly has to do with the employment factor", before highlighting the fact that they operate "without positive discrimination". They extend this train of thought by saying that they "make sure that there isn't one specific community from one nationality" in any particular neighbourhood through anonymous applications. Mention is also made that Aubervilliers is a place where "socially favoured" people coexist with others that know "[social] difficulties".</p>
	<p><b>Non-governmental actors.</b> A total of 6 references to non-governmental bodies as aids for carrying out housing policy were recorded in Aubervilliers' policy documents. One of these was found in</p>

	<p>AD9.2 and referred to a social landlord companies. The rest however described partnerships between the municipality and a number of aid organisation such as the "Catholic Relief" (AD9.5) or Emmaüs (AD12.1). For both of these, as well as AD1.5 which describes a partnership with France Horizon and the SIAO ("Integrated Service for Welcoming and Orienting"), and AD4 that deliberates on working with the women's organisation "SOS Femmes 93", the municipality is dealing with social help that goes along with sometimes emergency or transitory housing and accommodation. For their partnership with ADIL 93 (AD13.3), it is about providing people with judicial services regarding housing law and their rights. Overall, the municipality uses such actors to assist in dealing with people in highly vulnerable and precarious situations.</p> <p>In the interview with the policymaker, the question of <i>whether there are aspects of policy that are impacted by decentralisation processes, in the recourse to non-governmental actors for example</i> was answered through a brief mention of the "rich" voluntary sector, and mostly references to the "delegations of public services" to social landlords. Mention was made of the potential strain on the relationship between the municipality and social landlords as a result of a new national directive to regroup them into bigger entities.</p>
<p><b>Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity</b></p>	<p>No such references were flagged for Aubervilliers's housing policy documents.</p> <p>In the interview, direct references to migration-related diversity were made only once prompted. To the first question of the "Migration-related diversity" section, <i>what the term "diversity" in Aubervilliers evoked for him, and what elements it calls on</i>, the interviewee actually started by asking what was meant by that term. Eventually, when asked about the mixing of nationalities, and <i>whether that aspect of diversity has a direct influence on their policies</i>, the interviewee starts off by saying that their city is "particular" in that it encompasses "120 nationalities from different origins", which means they can't "go there" otherwise "we'd never manage". They then list a number of "big communities" found in the city: Chinese, Algerian, Moroccan, Senegalese, more recent communities of people from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, Eastern Europeans, "as well as the 'French people with French origins' you could say". They go on to say that there tends to be a strong local identification, where "of course everyone has their origins and their culture" but people feel primarily that they are from Aubervilliers "before they feel like they are a certain nationality", because the city is a place of "first arrivals, a welcoming land", where people are sent from Paris because that is where the social housing and residential shelters are located. Lastly, the interviewee was asked <i>whether they therefore view migration-related diversity as more of a part of the context in policymaking</i>, and replied that while they "can't get into [this multitude]", Aubervilliers sees "a really strong investment in education, to have a common culture, and things to share".</p>

### **Absence of indicators**

All the documents examined for Aubervilliers fit into one of the above-listed categories, even if by only mentioning social housing plans. However, it may be noted that several of the documents mentioning "slumdweller" or describing the policies associated with emergency accommodation and extremely disadvantaged people (including the women of AD4 for example), make no particular mention of their potential link with (recent) migration trends.

### **Decentralised relationship**

A reference to the a national-level policy's influence on local policy is found in AD7, which deals with the PNRQAD ("National Programme for the Rehabilitation of the Ancient Degraded Neighbourhoods"), an urban policy which has some features in the housing field. Similarly, a State-municipality partnership for social assistance is the topic of AD1.5, AD9.4 and AD11.5, while AD10 and ACHo1 "ask[s] the State to come back on its project" of the decrease in APL subsidies. AD15.1, in its introduction, denounces the process of "contractualisation" which they see as a "turning-point in the relationship between the State and municipalities" because it contributes to a "weakening of the autonomy of the municipalities and the place of public services".

Additionally, the "Decentralisation" portion of the interview with Aubervilliers' housing policymaker sought to find out the manner in which decentralisation processes might allow for an inclusion of migration-related diversity into the otherwise rigid institutional context of colour-blind policymaking. The very existence of decentralisation processes was generally met with some scepticism: "we hear about decentralisation, but in actual fact competences are increasingly taken away from municipalities". The current situation is described as more of a "re-organisation", resembling more a "recentralisation and a distancing of power when it comes to decision-making". When prompted on whether this can be considered like a "third phase" of decentralisation, the interviewee said Aubervilliers' representatives are trying to fight that, and refers to the fact that the city is pushed into making operational savings "independently from the city's demographic logics, where the city for example has an increasing population". Prompted again, and asked whether there are aspects of the local context that this "recentralisation" allows them to exploit, his sentiment is that there are not.

## Education

### *Saint-Denis*

#### **Equality frame**

Saint-Denis displays a commitment to equality in education (SD7.2, SD3.2), seeing it itself as a means to *accessing* equality (SCEd1), and with a focus on making sure students across all territories are granted the same chances of academic success (SD12.3). In SC4, the municipality talks of the lack of resources in their department which affects education, with "38% of young people between 15 and 25 leav[ing] school with no diploma" in Saint-Denis itself, which they qualify as a "rupture of equality". This focus on the territories which are behind in terms of equality is also found later in the same text that highlights how there needs to be an end to these "territorial inequalities that were too long considered immutable", as well as in the declaration "We don't need charity, we need equality", or in SD12.3 which appeals to the Minister of Higher Education to "guarantee equality amongst all students, across France, through a real framing of diplomas, and the same application fees regardless of the university". The idea of the "right" to education for everyone (SD7.2, SD4, SC4) is also mentioned several times, as well as phrasing on prioritising "each" child (SD4).

<b>Equality frame</b>	<b>Fighting social exclusion.</b> A number of policies are framed as belonging to the realm of the fight against social exclusion, like SD5.2 which provides subventions to a programme linking "educational and social actions" in one of the priority neighbourhoods. A number of socio-economic references are also made to justify policy positions, like in SD12.3 regarding the price of university applications. Similarly, references to the priority nature of a number of neighbourhoods highlights the necessity to give them access to success, as in SC4 which even appeals to the state for this. Moreover, the theme that school provides a way towards emancipation, and a bridging of "social class" is addressed in SD4.
	<b>Mainstreamed actions.</b> <b>Supporting educational achievement.</b> Direct references to preventing "school drop-outs" (SD5.1, SD6.5, SD11 and SC4) or programmes designed for "educational sponsorship" (SD5.3) and "support" (SD5.5) were mentioned 6 times across all documents examined, along with a reference to the desire to "prioritise the success of each child" (SD4). Other policies such as subsidies for one of the school's educational programmes titled "curriculum for excellence" (SD10.8), or providing financial aid to



	<p>students engaged in the city's associations (SD7.1) also fit in with this idea of the focus on all students' achievements.</p> <p><b>Priority education.</b> One direct policy plan was found to allocate more resources to Saint-Denis' schools: SD5.6 details the approval of a subsidy for the implementation of 10 volunteers in 5 of the city's "REP+" middle schools (the appellation for a higher level of priority education). Additionally, in SC4 mention is made of the need for better qualified professors to right the way in which students come out of these schools not as well-trained as in other places.</p>
<b>Programmes directly connected with migration-related diversity's influence</b>	<b>Language support.</b> None of the examined documents for Saint-Denis made mention of programmes linked to language acquisition, or references to potential issues with language amongst the students.
	<b>Parental link.</b> One reference was found amongst Saint-Denis' documents regarding a consultation with parents regarding school timetables (SCEd2).
	<b>Teaching about immigration and diversity.</b> No such programmes were found amongst Saint-Denis' education policy documents.
	<b>Citizenship and common culture.</b> Policies with the aim of "accompanying [young people] towards citizenship" were mentioned in SD11, while SCEd1 stresses university access as the path towards "empowered citizenship", and SCEd3 describes an "eco-parliament" initiative for students as an "education to citizenship".
<b>Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity</b>	In SD4 which gives information on the municipalities' various policy outlooks before its budget is detailed, reference is made to "valuing diversities" in a list which also talks of "emancipation through education". It also explains that the city prioritises education because it is "central to build a city that brings together people of different origins".

### Absence of indicators

Three documents bore *no* reference to any of the elements described by the theoretical framework. Two of these had to do with subventions to specific educational projects (SD5.4 and SD5.7), and the last one to the set-up of the "eco-parliament" project (SD9), although the *communiqué* addressing this last one did frame it as linked to citizenship education (SCEd3).

Additionally, quite a large number of documents seemed to address educational actions which might encompass migration-related diversity-related features without explicitly

fitting under the indicators detailed in this research design. These include subventions to the GFEN ("French Group of New Education") in SD1.4, or programmes of "sensibilisation to the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century" (SD6.7 and SD10.15). Reference is also made in SD7.2 of the role of associations in "working-class municipalities" in "reinforcing local public services" in matters including education, which might refer to their ability to include certain dimensions of education like migration backgrounds, which the municipality is constrained in covering.

It is also important to point out that a number of policy documents (SD6.4 to SD6.14 and SD10.8 to SD10.14) list educational projects, some of which are relevant to the socio-economic frame that this research is interested in, but very few of which actually deal explicitly with migration-related diversity. Similarly, mentions of the priority nature of education policy bear very little reference to the type of indicators which would be "directly connected" to an acknowledgement of migration-related diversity (for example in SD4). Lastly, SD3.1, which talks of the re-balancing of school populations, might be connected to logics of social mixing but this is not addressed in the policy document, and a programme designed to encourage access to books and reading was found in SD4, but its description provided no element of interest.

### **Decentralised relationship.**

As expressed above, SD4 highlights disappointment in the state's lack of financial help including for education. Evidence can be found of some room in decision-making to be left for municipalities when it comes to the students benefitting from aid (SD7.1), while SD3.2 simply mentions a partnership between the State and the municipality for the digitisation of schools (one of the primary visions it has for education policy according to SR1).

### *Aubervilliers*

### **Equality frame**

AR1 lists educational programmes and clearly references the aim in this of "reducing the inequalities of access to cultural practices", as well as a "territorial policy for artistic, cultural, athletic and civic education accessible and open to all". Additionally, ACed1 discusses the shortcomings of a policy whose aim was to "combat inequalities" yet leaves some schools behind, just as ACed3 denounces the "reinforcement of inequalities" of the new university application system, before announcing a commitment to making their municipality "a territory

of success for all" (a notion that also forms the basis for the conclusion to this *communiqué*). Lastly, AD2.1 references the "fight against the inequalities and discriminations faced by people with an immigration background".

<p><b>Equality frame</b></p>	<p><b>Fighting social exclusion.</b> Documents like AD1.3 deal with social projects that include aiding with education. A focus is indeed put on education in a number of policies dealing with people "cumulating difficulties" (AD1.5). In AD11.3, the municipality awards financial aid for young people's projects, including a number of education-related ones like diplomas or study abroad. In ACED3, the municipality highlights its intention to accompany its high school students in the face of the higher education policy changes which they think creates a "social triage" that particularly impacts Aubervilliers' students. The new policy they talk about is therefore a clear question of fighting this social exclusion ("territorial discrimination" which is "strengthening") that no longer concerns only those in extremely precarious social situations, as summed up by this other citation: "injustice adds to the already glaring inequalities in the education system".</p> <p>Other references to socio-economic factors for policy, or the social class of the student population include: AD1.4 which talks of Aubervilliers as being "traditionally presented as suffering from an economic and political deficit", or AD15.1 that addresses affordable school lunches by highlighting "the reality of Aubervilliers' population's revenues".</p>
	<p><b>Mainstreamed actions.</b></p> <p><b>Supporting educational achievement.</b> References to "educational support", "tutoring" (AD1.2), or other "programmes for educational success", such as the one in AD15.2 that proposes the "unique" set-up of a "local contract for education accompaniment", were found in a number of documents. Indeed, several of the policy documents are <i>about</i> tutoring policies: one hosted in the municipality's schools (AD8.2), and a few others about partnerships and subsidies to organisations which provide such services (AD1.2, AD2.1 and AD11.1), which also demonstrates this mainstreamed lens through which educational policy can reach the populations that need help most. In ACED3, the municipality also proposes a service to help high school students with the new national system for university applications and mentions their desire to "accompany" students in the rest of their studies. Lastly, AD15.1 mentions the subsidisation of welcome centres that provide educational support.</p> <p><b>Priority education.</b> Mention is made of priority education in ACED1, where the national directive for CP classes of REP+ schools to be split in order to be capped at 12 students per class is discussed (also</p>

	<p>referenced in AD15.1). This is said to leave behind the other students of the city in REP schools (lower level of priority). Another disposition discussed in this communiqué which falls under the idea of awarding extra resources to certain places is the appointment of two teachers per class in 11 other classes.</p>
<p><b>Programmes directly connected with migration-related diversity's influence</b></p>	<p><b>Language support.</b> A great number of references to language acquisition support were made in the description of educational programmes for the city's nursery and elementary schools in AD1.3. Indeed, a number of projects' relevance was justified as their being crucial in "answering difficulties in the field of language, written and spoken", or their use in helping "master the language" (mentioned 5 times). This carried on in the description of programmes for secondary schools, with mentions of a slam poetry writing programme designed to help "reading, writing, saying", and another which should help students "express themselves orally" (AD1.4).</p> <p><b>Parental link.</b> Two of the programmes described in AD1.3 have amongst their objectives to "develop exchanges with the families", or "develop school/families relations". Moreover, in ACED1 for example, the municipality invites families to join a public debate, and participate in the decision regarding school timetables.</p> <p><b>Teaching about immigration and diversity.</b> Amongst the educational programmes described in AR1, made available by the municipality for professors to sign up for, a couple have to do with migration-related diversity. A play for example, deals with "immigration policies based on barriers", another show is described as being about young women living in a working-class area and "born of immigrant parents", and an exposition is said to aim at "preserving, safeguarding and valuing France's history of immigration". Other programmes such as the "Parcours Cinégalité jeune public" were designed by the city of Aubervilliers to accompany teachers' work in teaching about discriminations, or helping children recognise their own prejudice.</p> <p><b>Citizenship and common culture.</b> A great number of the educational programmes detailed in AD1.3 are linked to notions of citizenship, and use expressions like "civic education" or becoming a "responsible citizen". These notions of the promotion of citizenship education are also found in the Mayor's introduction to the AR1 document where she talks of their objective of the "access to citizen practices". In AD15.1, which details the city's budget, references to the orientations of its educational policy are also primarily linked to citizenship education: "foster the citizenship education of the youngest".</p>
<p><b>Direct references to the city's level of migration-related diversity</b></p>	<p>A number of explicit references were made in education policy documents to Aubervilliers' student population's diversity. In AD1.3 for example, the description of an educational programme mentioned the use of "songs from the students' languages of origin". In AD1.4, another</p>

	<p>programme based on African music was said to be a chance for some students to "rediscover their roots". Additionally, one programmes detailed in AR1 proposes to call on the "cultural perceptions of students, by involving their knowledge of familial traditions", while another's description refers to the fact that the department of Seine-Saint-Denis has always been a place where "people originating from various countries" have settled, and brought "their music, their dances and their cultures".</p> <p>Concurrently, AD2.1 describes a partnership between an organisation called ANGI, which stands for the "New Generation of Immigrants' Association" and proposes programmes to help children with school, as well as language classes, though these are not specifically targeted at children. In talking of this partnership, the policy document mentions it recognises the organisation's participation in helping the integration of migrants, and its contribution in weaving a social bond.</p> <p>The interviewee diverged from discussing housing policy and made two references to schooling in terms of the consequences that high levels of migration-related diversity in Aubervilliers had on policymaking. Indeed, to the question of <i>whether they view migration-related diversity as more of a part of the context in policymaking</i>, mention is made of Aubervilliers' strong commitment to investing in education, as a direct consequence of this level of migration-related diversity, in order to "have a common culture, and things to share". Another such reference to schooling is found in discussing the type of differences that people in the city display, notably in terms of "levels of education", to emphasise the idea that the social position of "people with diverse origins" (newcomers) is contrasted with that of other residents of the city.</p>
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### **Absence of indicators**

Two educational policy documents bore *no* reference to any of the elements described by the theoretical framework. One had to do with organising a ski trip (AD8.3), while the other dealt with the project of a school between two municipalities (AD11.2).

A number of documents seemed to deal with educational programmes that may include elements of migration-related diversity (in the form of "citizenship education" for education or programmes addressing immigration at large for example), but which were not directly addressed. These include two references in AD1.3 to programmes highlighting "humanist culture" or a reference to "opening [students] to culture and the international" which was too vague to include in the section on direct references to migration-related diversity. Additionally, in AR1, one programme deals with "different cultures and religions", with no mention of the target population's links with them.

Lastly, a few places were flagged where references to migration-related diversity would have been "natural", but were omitted. These include a discussion on school sectorisation (which school residents of each area of the city attend), that lists the stakes in long-term sectorisation but does not mention social mixing logics (AD6). In general, references in AD5.1 and AD15.1 to the priority nature of education also tended to remain vague as to what characteristics of the population may push for particular investment in this field, aside from occasional remarks on social exclusion.

### **Decentralised relationship**

The national origin of a priority education policy mentioned in ACEd1 is acknowledged and its shortcomings are denounced, while ACEd2 also denounces the lack of consultation opportunities for the question of school timetables. AR1 however highlights in its introduction the collaboration between municipality and State in elaborating the educational actions described in that guide.

## V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section will offer an analysis of the results of this research, found in the previous chapter.

### Analysis

#### *Housing*

This section serves to answer this research's first sub-question: ***Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding housing?***

The focus on socio-economic indicators of exclusion appears central to housing policy in both cases, where numerous references to the population's income or the reliance on social housing were found. In a number of places, these more general references to socio-economic frames seem to link directly to notions of migration-related diversity, illustrating quite clearly the way in which it influences policymaking. In a sense indeed, migration-related diversity can be understood to fit seamlessly into the existing framework of housing policy, as an extension of sorts. This both underlines the theories exposed in Chapter II, in the way mainstreaming allows for an indirect tackling of migration-related issues, and can also be argued to constitute the first layer of the *ways* in which high levels of migration-related diversity shape policy. Indeed, not only could emphasis to the disadvantaged and "working-class" nature of both cities be found, there were also numerous references to the specific ways in which this socio-economic situation is particular compared to "other places", including in the interview which heavily hinted at the specific realities of their local context. In a lot of ways, these types of emphasis do serve to disguise migration-related diversity: they hint at it while only referring directly to socio-economic factors. The way equality frames were used is arguably the most evident way in which this can be seen, with an emphasis on the "rich versus poor" cities. This is linked to the redistribution-based approach evoked by Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier (2018), and the type of mainstreamed actions which were also observed in the data collected, which for example include Aubervilliers' focus on dire social emergencies, which allowed it to include non-governmental actors into the implementation of policy, in a potential bid to sidestep the local government's inability to properly deal with such populations. Indeed, the dimensions of exclusion and vulnerability in housing policy tended not only to be based on factual evidence, such as figures on the percentage of people relying on social housing

benefits, but also on the "territorial" facet of these exclusions. This element of the "territory" is what tends to bolster actual references to migration-related diversity, like in Saint-Denis talking of its status as a "welcoming land".

In terms of outright references to migration-related diversity in housing policy, these were only found in Saint-Denis' documents: mainly in the *communiqués*, which constitute a more general format for policy where grievances with national directives can be addressed. This is relevant because it hints at more difficulty in expressing such notions in the more rigid format of the official deliberations. For Aubervilliers, no direct references to migration-related diversity were found in the documents, or even mentioned (unprompted) by the interviewee. Even when asked, the policymaker was not only reluctant to understand the term "diversity" as related to migration, but also diverted some of the discussion to diversity in age groups and occupation, by focusing their answer on the elements behind the city's social mixing logics. This seems to uphold the notion of a policy setting that would be very opaque to those matters of diversity, as well as directly illustrates the theories discussed in Chapter II that exposed the diversion of migration-related diversity concerns through socio-economic frames. When eventually the plurality of nationalities in the city is mentioned, it is firstly through the lens of social mixing policies, where it is tediously made a part of the criteria for social housing allocation (which involves avoiding placing entire communities in the same neighbourhoods). The interviewee emphasises a certain lack of practicality in "getting into" this multiplicity of nationalities on the policy front, which ties into the acknowledged lack of a framework that may accommodate this. Yet, they also mention how pursuing "decent" housing (insalubrity being another key aspect of housing policy in both cases) for everyone is at least partly motivated by the number of newcomers the city of Aubervilliers hosts, a rather contradictory statement. While this does point to a direct shaping of policy by migration-related diversity, this comment also serves to highlight the established use of common socio-economic aspects of housing policy to address it some more. Based on these findings on the aspects of housing policy that include more direct references to migration-related diversity, it can be asserted that this dimension of inequality is *understood*, in documents and by the policymaker interviewed, as being rather (only) part of the *context* of policymaking. The framework of colour-blindness still holds a strong footing in housing policy practices, in terms of the *official* approach to migration-related diversity, where it appears in policy in a rather disguised manner, through socio-economic indicators and notions of territorial inequalities. This implies that it *is taken into account in the local-level policies for housing*,



where it can be argued to hold an important role in shaping *policymaking*, but almost disappears from concrete policy, except in its spatialized declination.

### *Education*

This section serves to answer the second sub-question: ***Is migration-related diversity taken into account in the local-level policies regarding education?***

The main element that can be drawn from this research's results in terms of education policy is the fact that migration-related diversity tends to be found in policies setting up educational programmes. In Aubervilliers' documents especially, the diversity of the student body is highlighted to emphasise the appropriateness of certain programmes dealing with subjects of diversity for that particular audience. In that sense, when migration-related diversity is found to take on an active role in policy, beyond being a shaping or contextual factor for it, it tends to be found in that aspect of education policy. Not only was the use of diversity-related terms flagged in the results, but the implementation of a number of actions like language support or heightening parental links, were found too. As with housing policy, outright references to diversity in education policy for Saint-Denis were only found in general documents like SD4, which tends to suggest a lack of embodiment in concrete policy changes, as several can be deemed to include elements of diversity which were never dealt with as such or in the same capacity as in Aubervilliers' detailing of educational programmes. Such mentions of diversity also tended to be closely followed by a re-focus of the statements to socio-economic indicators, illustrating the notion that this is the lens through which the realities of difference in these spaces are expressible. For Saint-Denis then, the influence of migration-related diversity has more so been highlighted as part of *mainstreamed* types of educational programmes, with a clear focus on educational achievement policies through tutoring programmes for example, and the idea of the righting of territorial inequalities, both also prevalent in Aubervilliers. As an equivalent of sorts to social mixing in housing policy (linked to notions of segregation and thus highlighting various forms of territorial inequalities), the focus on priority education in policy documents has been found to signal migration-related diversity's influence in shaping policy in the theory and in the findings, through its link with redistribution-based approaches (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018). Indeed, such mainstreamed actions that can *de facto* be considered linked with migrant populations because of the territorial overlap of inequalities, as expressed in Alexander

(2003), were extremely present in the data collected, mainly in terms of the need for more resources, and tended to be embodied in these considerations on territorial inequalities. Moreover, this territorialisation was also found in social exclusion indicators in both cases, with references to these municipalities' populations' situation vis-à-vis the price of university applications, or the idea that educational inequalities act as a form of social triage for these disadvantaged youths. *Migration-related diversity is taken into account in the local-level policies for education*, mainly in educational programme-setting policies, including mainstreamed actions, as well as in more explicit policies than for housing policy.

Before moving on to a comparison between the two cases, there are a couple of important analytical elements to highlight.

Firstly, both municipalities were found to use their policy documents to denounce the features of national policy which predominantly affect their populations, given their specific characteristics. This is a clear demonstration of the type of relationship they entertain with the national level, and a denouncement of the specific failures in decentralisation which they suffer from, as they complain of limited means, and a lack of consultation for policy. An extremely common feature which is central to the overall conclusions drawn from these findings, is the manner in which the territorial nature of policy, where the local level "knows better", constitutes the main frame through which policy is expressed. In that sense, the expectations that decentralisation would act as the critical juncture to provoke an incremental change in the institutional setting of the policy process (per historical institutionalism), can be slightly modified. Indeed, it can be argued that it is not the awarding through decentralisation of a freer space for local decision-making to incorporate features like diversity that led to this change in the institutions. Rather, the failures of the system in dealing with the spaces that overlap various forms of inequality (such as the two cases presented in this research), has created, through the spatialization of policy as a feature of decentralisation, a form of disengagement from national frameworks in practice. The spatialization of policy, as a central aspect of French mainstreaming policy approaches, therefore forms this space to alter the institutional setting for diversity to shape policymaking. It is this feature of a local clairvoyance that can clash with national directives, and leads to this highlighting of the specific characteristics of the local context that do not align with mainstreamed policy (including direct references to its levels of migration-related diversity), which is found time and time again in the policy documents analysed. In that sense, one of the other expectations

exposed in Chapter II, regarding mainstreaming in the context of decentralisation having opened up avenues for diversity to shape the policy process through a policy focus on territorial contexts, is also upheld by these results.

Secondly, it is possible to nuance each policy field's relationship to migration-related diversity. France's approach to "obligatory, free and laic" schooling (a common formulation) can be argued to make it far less of a social class-related field than housing policy in the first place. Indeed, because of this, it can be argued that education policy provides less of an opportunity to "disguise" migration-related diversity concerns under notions of socio-economic equality than in housing policy where these are much more central to the field itself. Given the still-persisting framework of the denial of difference, illustrated by the interviewee's hesitations in speaking about migration-related diversity upfront when asked about "diversity" for example, it may be argued that housing policy presents an "easy way out", a built-in bypass of other features of inequality in its reliance on socio-economic indicators. To illustrate this, one can recall the interviewee's rather paradoxical declaration that they are not able as policymakers to "get into" nationality differences so "that is why [they] invest so strongly in education". In that sense, education policy seems to be assumed as more tolerably linkable to questions of migration-related diversity.

### *Case comparison*

One of the striking similarities in the way both cases deal with education policy is the focus put on the equality of *access* to proper education. This is extremely revelatory of France's relationship with these matters. Indeed, while using rhetoric that refers to the "equality of chances", the combination in both municipalities with policies dealing with priority education calls back to Doytcheva's (2007) perception that such policies actually are a break from typical French policy approaches by fostering an "equality of results". This is why the language remained centred on the "rupture" of equality across the country, framed in terms of the *access* to these services, but actually concerned with the lack of results in their municipality (students leaving school with no diplomas for example in SC4), compared to other places. The heavy territorialisation of these questions of access and the "right" to education in both cases is also extremely revelatory of the still-pervading French approach. Indeed, in a way this signals that the local level *can* underline its difference, but it still needs

to do so through the preferred form of shapeless social inequality. The intersection of the high levels of migration-related diversity with questions of class is a real element of the French context. Given the results of this study, the embodiment in specific territories like the *banlieues* of this overlap, combined with the policy approach of spatialization, can be argued to be the prompts for migration-related diversity's inclusion in policymaking. The fact that this territorialisation is found in both cases, both of whom frame their population's particular vulnerability to the decrease in APL subsidies around this for example, is extremely revelatory. Indeed, this territorialisation in policy can be understood both as the main manifestation of migration-related diversity (in highlighting local specificities) and as providing the main opportunity for this dimension of inequality to "enter" technically colour-blind policies. Even as migration-related diversity has not been found to be expressed in the same way in both municipalities, as will be expressed below, this element of the territory is a common and central feature. Moreover, both these municipalities appear to see their territory as one of "first arrival". This is relevant because it can be argued to place policymakers in a specific mind-set, and so might play into the tolerability of including migration-related diversity. The focus on education which the housing policymaker interviewed evokes as the need to "invest" in the creation of a "common culture" for example, can be argued to show migration-related diversity shaping policymaking, but in focusing on a swift assimilation.

For Aubervilliers, one element of analysis that comes out of the data collection is the almost surprising way in which migration-related diversity is both comfortably included in education policy, while simultaneously being omitted in housing policy. This also transpired from the interview, as the questions on migration-related diversity specifically, and in the context of housing policy called on comments regarding schooling, and the municipality's focus on education. This seems to suggest that a position of partiality is assumed where, in the education field, an acknowledgement of migration-related diversity is acceptable and potentially necessary, while housing policy calls on a stricter adherence to national models of colour-blindness. Indeed, not only did Aubervilliers present a number of policies consistent with the indicators found in Bozec and Simon's (2014) work, such as language support or the implementation of educational programmes dealing explicitly with immigration, it also highlighted its students' *background* in migration, and their diverse origins numerous times. In contrast, Saint-Denis almost entirely shied away from these policy indicators. No references were neither made to the diversity amongst its student population, and a number of the programmes which could have been explicitly linked back to that feature, such as the few

citizenship-focused ones, never were. More than this, the extent to which Saint-Denis could be found to allude to migration-related diversity directly in both housing and education policy can be argued to have both been both more tenuous than in Aubervilliers, and more consistent between the two fields. As mentioned, outright references to diversity were entirely absent from Aubervilliers' housing policy documents, but a central factor in a number of its educational programmes. On the other hand, Saint-Denis' documents across both fields tended to homogeneously reference elements of inequality and vulnerability, in a manner that emphasised the *specificities* of the local context, and stressed the various features of its social exclusion. Yet, they made limited direct references to the territory's relationship to migration-related diversity, and seemed to wholly omit the type of policy devices (in education policy especially) that may serve to redress that dimension of difference. In that sense, the way in which migration-related diversity influences policymaking in each municipality appears to vary.

The idea that this can be explained through each municipality's political affiliation does not seem to hold water at first glance given the fact that both cities are affiliated to Far Left and Leftist parties ("Election municipales Aubervilliers", 2014; "Elections municipales Saint-Denis", 2014). Rather, it appears that the influence of migration-related diversity on the shape of policy is not as systematic as might have been expected. This realisation of sorts is tied to the question found in Alexander (2003) of whether an increase in diversity-aware policy through decentralised spaces actually signifies the end of the assimilationist model. Indeed, what this research's results seem to suggest is that the theory evoked in Epstein (2005) that saw decentralisation processes (and the territorialisation of policy in general), as a mechanism for the government to be able to manage the territorial spaces whose features of inequality it would otherwise be unable to deal with, is wholly correct. Indeed, as expressed by Bozec and Simon (2014), the focus in decentralisation processes on priority neighbourhoods where each locality can set its priorities (Blanc, 2010), forms the path through which migration-related diversity undergoes a process of mainstreaming. This is found in this research's results overwhelmingly pointing not even to a simple "classical approach" in the inclusion of migration-related diversity through socio-economic frames, but in their highlighting the *territorial* nature of inequality. That feature can therefore be understood as the main way in which migration-related diversity shapes local policymaking.

In a lot of ways, one can even argue that the main conclusion to be drawn from this research is that the institutional setting which has hitherto hindered a full consideration of migration-related diversity in local approaches to policymaking is in fact the lens of socio-

economic difficulties and inequality that has been applied to all forms of difference, as a *result* of the even older colour-blind historical legacies. Indeed, while attempts at directly including migration-related features into policymaking are found through this decentralised process of the territorialisation of policy, they remain inconsistent amongst policy fields, and across otherwise almost identical municipal contexts.

## Hypotheses verification

### **1. France's colour-blind policy model does not match with the demographic realities of high levels of migration-related diversity.**

The very inclusion of migration-related diversity into housing and education policy, as it was found through this research, demonstrates the inconsistency that exists between France's supposedly wholly colour-blind framework for policy, and the realities of policymaking in a local context of high levels of migration-related diversity. Hypothesis 1 is thus *verified*.

### **2. In places with high-levels of migration-related diversity like Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, there is bound to be an influence of this on local housing policy.**

Though the way in which each municipality incorporates migration-related diversity in housing policy differs, these high levels have been found to influence local policymaking in both cases. Hypothesis 2 is thus *verified*.

### **3. In places with high-levels of migration-related diversity like Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, there is bound to be an influence of this on local education policy.**

Though the way in which each municipality incorporates migration-related diversity in education policy is different, these high levels have been found to influence local policymaking in both. Hypothesis 3 is thus *verified*.

### **4. Decentralisation processes have heightened local government's competences, which means policies can be influenced by the local context. This includes high levels of migration-related diversity, like in Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers.**

Through a focus on the spatialization of policy which forms part of decentralisation's action in the French context, and the territorial overlap of high levels of migration-related diversity with inequality, decentralisation does allow for an inclusion of such aspects of the local context in policy in both Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, thus *verifying* Hypothesis 4.

## Answer to the research question

This study sought to answer the following research question: ***In what ways can the high levels of migration-related diversity in Paris' banlieue cities be found to shape the way housing and educational policies are devised by the local government?*** Overall, this study did find that migration-related diversity played a hand in shaping education and housing policy at the local level. Both direct references to this aspect of the demography, and the recourse to the type of policy features that the literature flagged as manifestations of its influence were found across the board. The focus on the *territory* has been found to be the main lens through which direct references to both cities' population's mixed backgrounds could be expressed in policy. This upholds this research's expectation that the overlap of inequalities in learning and housing in specific places is what signals an inclusion of migration-related diversity in these policy fields despite France's colour-blind model. Concretely, the ways in which high-levels of migration-related diversity could be found to shape the manner in which housing and educational policies were devised by the local government in Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers, are in their being embodied in territorialisation approaches. Indeed, the focus on the territory and its specificities, and the concept's central place in French policy approaches of the "Politique de la ville" and mainstreaming, places it at the crossroads of the different components of this research: between the equality and socio-economic frames, and direct considerations on the population's levels of migration-related diversity. Notions of territorialisation were found to both introduce and bolster references to diversity. In that sense, the territorialisation of difference constitutes its way of entry into influencing housing and education policy.



## Discussion

This section presents elements of discussion related to the findings of this study before its conclusions can be exposed.

One of the most salient points for discussion in this study is the notion that the proven inclusion of migration-related diversity in such capacity in local policymaking processes, and the concluded departure from France's official assimilationist framework, can only ever be considered a partial subscription to the type of "multiculturalism" which qualifies the approach of other countries. Indeed, France's framework still wholly precludes the formation of target groups along ethnic lines for even more targeted policy confection, for example. The admission that there is such a thing as difference along national or cultural lines that deserves a place in policymaking, is not the same as acknowledging the multiple forms these differences take. In that sense then, France's departure from assimilationism when it comes to local policymaking should be seen as a true product of pragmatism in the face of demographic realities, more than a fundamental move away from Republican logics of uniformity. The very fact of there being a difference in the way both municipalities see their extremely similar motif of migration-related diversity shape policymaking is instructive. Indeed, while migration-related diversity *is* found to shape policymaking, this has more to do with the type of *ad hoc* situation described by Downing (2016) than an actual radical shift. However, given its tendency towards exclusion, if France only adapted its interpretation of Republicanism and moved from "equality to equity", in a manner consistent with the discussion presented in Doytcheva (2007) where the meaning of the "equality of chances" is subverted in French policymaking, the specific needs of certain groups, and not only those linked to migration, but also the social groups which the current framework centres, could be addressed in a more direct manner.

Following this, studies could be undertaken on the few policies that centre specifically around questions of integration and migration may provide more insight on the actual ramifications of this understood shift in colour-blindness. Indeed, depending on the amount of resources available to researchers, access to the municipalities' archives might help make this type of research a more longitudinal one than what is proposed here. Similarly, studies paying attention to the specific political affiliations of municipalities (perhaps several dissimilar cases), and examining that variable as it influences the way migration-related diversity can be expected to be incorporated into policymaking for places boasting high levels of migration-

related diversity, should prove useful in re-examining the field's perhaps over-rapid tendency to directly view France as an example of a different kind of model than most other countries. Lastly, in order to determine the extent to which high numbers of migrants within a municipality actually makes a measurable difference in local policymaking, future research could include cities with *varying* amounts of diversity, in order to see whether those with higher levels of migration-related diversity have more diversity-oriented policies than those with little to no such diversity. Similarly, while the context of the *banlieue* presents a unique opportunity to address questions of social exclusion, especially as this lens has proven so central to theories dealing with the manner in which migration-related diversity can actually be found to bypass France's rigid colour-blind policy practices, and the way these spaces display a clear overlap of class distinctions with migration-related difference, a study that would incorporate other types of cities with highly diverse populations, in a comparison to see how the type of migration-related diversity (European versus international for example) can change the willingness to incorporate it into local policymaking, would also help develop the field.

One last element of discussion worth mentioning, is the existence, as discovered in the data collection phase of the policy document analysis, of a number of policy topics in municipal council records, especially in Aubervilliers, that deal explicitly with migration or "integration". Indeed, while both municipalities drafted a letter to oppose France's handling of migration, and demanding more humane treatment, Aubervilliers, in accordance with the results of the data collection regarding their somewhat readier recognition of migration-related diversity in policy documents, also have a number of policies acknowledging the population's ties to Algeria or funding for organisations helping with the integration of migrants. The very existence of such policy topics exemplifies the paradox of France's colour-blind Republican model. Indeed, the realities in the city's demographic make-up do seem to push for some inclusion of these topics onto the policy agenda, for them to be included in municipal council deliberations. Because this study sought to determine to what extent the local level could break free from national understandings, and operate more independently, which would allow it to pay more attention to its demographic realities, and perhaps adapt national frameworks of the invisibility of difference for better governance, it needed to look at "inconspicuous" and general policy fields, like education and housing, and the way demographic realities influence policymaking. Regardless of the results in terms of the way migration-related diversity influences *these*, the fact that the municipalities acknowledge this diversity through other policy issues is consequent. Aside from the *communiqués* that express

the localities' own understanding of their multicultural nature (with mentions of the "welcoming land" for example), the fact these topics are matters on the policy agenda is consequential, and a departure from the French *discourse* on society, if not yet a true finding for the way in which it does policy, which is what the use of the inconspicuous housing and education policy fields specifically in this study sought to trace.

### *Limitations*

The concrete limitations to this research also need to be exposed here, the main underlying reason behind them being its scope as a Master's thesis with limited resources and time. One of the main issues this has created is the fact that only one interview could be carried out. This limits the potency of the conclusions reached through this particular method of data collection, as it hinders the possibility to draw definite conclusions from what was said, and has led to an imbalance in the data collection for both cases. Indeed, although the theoretical framework allowed for the indicators to be mainly identifiable in policy documents, elements of the interview like the virtual absence of direct mentions of migration-related diversity, until the subject was explicitly broached, would have been useful to obtain across both policy fields and municipalities, in order to further nuance the answers to the research question. Most importantly, this lack of input from the three other possible policymakers has hindered the capacity to conclude on the third sub-question, and verify to the fullest extent the theory-based considerations regarding decentralisation. Being able to decidedly pinpoint decentralisation processes as having played the central role in opening up space for migration-related diversity to influence policymaking is undoubtedly a central limitation to this study. As a simple "additional source of information" however, the interview did complement and secure some of the conclusions drawn from the primary data collection for Aubervilliers, as precautions were taken in order not to draw central conclusions from that particular phase of data collection. The use of a recording device during interviews has also been known to provoke alarm in interviewees (Bryman, 2012, p. 484), but this does not appear to have tainted the information provided in the interview.

Additionally, this research relied heavily on secondary data collected in a rather rigid context regarding what information can be gathered concerning the population, because of the Republican nature of the state. This also impacted the distinctions that could be made between different types of migrants in this study, as illegal migration, individuals' specific legal status

or how long they have resided in France for example were not taken into account, because unavailable through the INSEE. This research was indeed restricted to the *available* secondary data, which also has other implications because of the relative invisibility of the second and third generations, which are however very much part of the literature on the *banlieue* in general.

This research's link to notions of "integration" is also somewhat limiting. Indeed, it has long been discussed (see for instance Favell, 2010) that considerations on processes of "integration" may be misguided in that they assume a vaguely described and potentially inexistent whole into which the newcomer is to acclimate, regardless of the "model of integration" (Entzinger & Scholten, 2014) that the country follows. Additionally, because of this, it also buys into the nation-state paradigm (Favell, 2010; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002), which refers to the always present entity of the nation-state as an assumed variable when looking at topics such as migration, even when this is a questionable link to be made (ie. do migrants ever integrate at the national level). This is true for this research which primarily deals with the demographic realities of the local-level and their influence on policymaking, but was somewhat balanced by the interest in the decentralisation process, which naturally implies looking at the national level as well.

## VI. CONCLUSION

This research has worked to answer the following research question: *In what ways can the high levels of migration-related diversity in Paris' banlieue cities be found to shape the way housing and educational policies are devised by the local government?*

First and foremost, concrete evidence of migration-related diversity playing an important role in policymaking was found, both through direct references to the population's history of migration in education policy, or the indicators gathered through the literature on the topic and ranging from the recourse to non-government actors in housing policy to bypass colour-blindness, to the establishment of language support programmes in education. This in itself goes against the over-played academic assumptions on France's rigid colour-blind policy model. Secondly, the observed contrast in the degree to which "migration-related diversity" is directly referenced in education in comparison to housing policy, can be understood as a result of the ease for policymakers to bypass this notion that is still technically excluded from policy frameworks, in housing policy, in order to focus on the apparently neutral socio-economic factors which result from the nature of the policy fields' direct relationship to revenue. Of course, this still demonstrates an attention to the vulnerabilities of specifically territorially bounded populations, which has been seen to constitute an important feature of migration-related diversity's influence on local policymaking.

Through the policy document analysis, as well as the information gathered by interviewing a local housing policymaker in Aubervilliers, this research found that the territorial component of policymaking in France linked to processes of mainstreaming can be seen as the main way in which migration-related diversity can both afford to shape policymaking, and is effective in pervading policy itself. Doytcheva (2007) expresses that multiculturalism is spatialized in France through the recourse to the "Politique de la ville". The fact that migration-related diversity has been found to intervene in policymaking as intimately linked to this notion of the territorialisation of inequalities, is key in demonstrating that this shaping of policy by such features of the local context does constitute a break with national models of colour-blindness. While not specifically signalling a new "multicultural" way for French policymaking, it does highlight the fact that in spaces like the *banlieue*, which combines socio-economic position with other forms of inequality, demographic realities do not match up with national frameworks for policy, and have led to new policy practices. Through this lens of the "territory", the pursuit of equality and the fight against the dimensions of their social exclusion is shown to be linked with the high-levels of migration-

related diversity, which Saint-Denis and Aubervilliers also display. While the rigid framework for policymaking that impacts both housing and education policy pervades, these fields' link with the segregation dimension of the notion of "territory" (expressed in the theoretical framework) means that local spaces are opened for policymaking that takes into account these features of inequality as may include migration-related diversity, which has been shown to be at the very least a part of the context of local policymaking, to right the entire territory's exclusion.

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# ANNEX

## A. TEXTS USED IN POLICY DOCUMENT ANALYSIS (117 texts in total)

### (1) Municipal council deliberations (103 total: 56 for Saint-Denis and 47 for Aubervilliers)

<b>Saint-Denis</b>	
Municipal Council of the 24 <sup>th</sup> November 2016  Affaire n°B11.1 Affaire n°B11.2 Affaire n°B11.3 Affaire n°B13	SD1.1 SD1.2 SD1.3 SD1.4
Municipal Council of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> February 2017  Affaire n°B31 Affaire n°B33	SD2.1 SD2.2
Municipal Council of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> March 2017  Affaire n°B15 Affaire n°B16	SD3.1 SD3.2
Municipal Council of the 30 <sup>th</sup> March 2017  Budget primitif 2017	SD4
Municipal Council of the 27 <sup>th</sup> April 2017  Affaire n°A1.8 Affaire n°A1.12 Affaire n°A1.18 Affaire n°A1.20 Affaire n°A1.24 Affaire n°A1.29 Affaire n°A1.30 Affaire n°B2 Affaire n°B8 Affaire n°B12	SD5.1 SD5.2 SD5.3 SD5.4 SD5.5 SD5.6 SD5.7 SD5.8 SD5.9 SD5.10
Municipal Council of the 29 <sup>th</sup> June 2017  Affaire n°B9 Affaire n°B14 Affaire n°B18 Affaire n°B19.1 Affaire n°B19.2 Affaire n°B19.3 Affaire n°B19.4 Affaire n°B19.5 Affaire n°B19.6 Affaire n°B19.7	SD6.1 SD6.2 SD6.3 SD6.4 SD6.5 SD6.6 SD6.7 SD6.8 SD6.9 SD6.10

Affaire n°B19.8 Affaire n°B19.9 Affaire n°B19.10 Affaire n°B19.11	SD6.11 SD6.12 SD6.13 SD6.14
Municipal Council of the 28 <sup>th</sup> September 2017  Affaire n°A3 Affaire n°B23	  SD7.1 SD7.2
Municipal Council of the 19 <sup>th</sup> October 2017  Affaire n°B19	  SD8
Municipal Council of the 30 <sup>th</sup> November 2017  Affaire n°B7	  SD9
Municipal Council of the 21 <sup>st</sup> December 2017  Affaire n°B6 Affaire n°B17.1 Affaire n°B17.2 Affaire n°B17.3 Affaire n°B17.4 Affaire n°B17.5 Affaire n°B17.6 Affaire n°B19.1 Affaire n°B19.2 Affaire n°B19.3 Affaire n°B19.4 Affaire n°B19.5 Affaire n°B19.6 Affaire n°B19.7 Affaire n°B19.8	SD10.1 SD10.2 SD10.3 SD10.4 SD10.5 SD10.6 SD10.7 SD10.8 SD10.9 SD10.10 SD10.11 SD10.12 SD10.13 SD10.14 SD10.15
Municipal Council of the 25 <sup>th</sup> January 2018  Affaire n°A1	  SD11
Municipal Council of the 29 <sup>th</sup> March 2018  Budget primitif 2018 Affaire n°B18.1 Affaire n°B22	  SD12.1 SD12.2 SD12.3

<b>Aubervilliers</b>	
Municipal Council of the 17 <sup>th</sup> November 2016  Question n°215 Question n°216 Question n°223 Question n°224 Question n°225	  AD1.1 AD1.2 AD1.3 AD1.4 AD1.5

Municipal Council of the 15 <sup>th</sup> December 2016	
Question n°235	AD2.1
Question n°252	AD2.2
Question n°261	AD2.3
Municipal Council of the 26 <sup>th</sup> January 2017	
Question n°006	AD3.1
Question n°007	AD3.2
Question n°008	AD3.3
Municipal Council of the 23 <sup>rd</sup> February 2017	
Question n°023	AD4
Municipal Council of the 23 <sup>rd</sup> March 2017	
Budget primitif 2017	AD5.1
Question n°051	AD5.2
Question n°062	AD5.3
Municipal Council of the 27 <sup>th</sup> April 2017	
Question n°073	AD6
Municipal Council of the 18 <sup>th</sup> May 2017	
Question n°108	AD7
Municipal Council of the 29 <sup>th</sup> June 2017	
Question n°128	AD8.1
Question n°135	AD8.2
Question n°136	AD8.3
Question n°138	AD8.4
Question n°139	AD8.5
Municipal Council of the 20 <sup>th</sup> September 2017	
Question n°162	AD9.1
Question n°177	AD9.2
Question n°178	AD9.3
Question n°179	AD9.4
Question n°180	AD9.5
Question n°181	AD9.6
Municipal Council of the 18 <sup>th</sup> October 2017	
Question n°208	AD10
Municipal Council of the 15 <sup>th</sup> November 2017	
Question n°218	AD11.1
Question n°226	AD11.2
Question n°227	AD11.3
Question n°228	AD11.4
Question n°229	AD11.5
Question n°230	AD11.6
Question n°231	AD11.7
Question n°235	AD11.8

Municipal Council of the 13 <sup>th</sup> December 2017	
Question n°251 Question n°271	AD12.1 AD12.2
Municipal Council of the 17 <sup>th</sup> January 2018	
Question n°006 Question n°012 Question n°013 Question n°014	AD13.1 AD13.2 AD13.3 AD13.4
Municipal Council of the 14 <sup>th</sup> February 2018	
Question n°036	AD14
Municipal Council of the 28 <sup>th</sup> March 2018	
Budget primitif 2018 Question n°072 Question n°075	AD15.1 AD15.2 AD15.3

(2) *Communiqués* (12 total: 7 for Saint-Denis and 5 for Aubervilliers)

<b>Saint-Denis</b>		
Housing	29/11/2017 Annulation de l'encadrement des loyers – La mairie de saint-Denis demande l'application de la loi ALUR et la generalisation du dispositif	SCHo1
	01/12/2017 La mairie de Saint-Denis agit pour rénover l'habitat	SCHo2
	29/03/2018 12 maires s'associent contre les mises à la rue	SCHo3
Education	07/11/2017 L'université doit rester ouverte à toutes et à tous	SCEd1
	04/01/2018 Rythmes scolaires à Saint-Denis – Réunion d'annonce des résultats de la consultation des parents d'élèves	SCEd2
	01/03/2018 Saint-Denis – 11ème Eco-parlement des écoliers: éducation à l'environnement et à la citoyenneté	SCEd3
Contains elements of both education and housing policy	26/04/2018 Les conditions de la réussite du Plan Borloo pour les banlieues	SC4

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<b>Aubervilliers</b>		
Housing	19/10/2017 Voeu pour un plan logement en faveur des quartiers populaires	ACHo1
	19/01/2018 Aubervilliers adopte de nouvelles mesures pour le droit au logement	ACHo2
Education	01/09/2017 Rentrée scolaire 2017: La municipalité s'engage pour toutes les écoles d'Aubervilliers	ACEd1
	23/01/2018 Rythmes scolaires: Aubervilliers choisit la semaine de 4 jours	ACEd2
	28/05/2018 SOS Parcoursup: Aubervilliers se mobilise aux côtés de ses lycéen-ne-s !	ACEd3

(3) Additional resources:

For Saint-Denis, the document is called "Le journal des engagements de la municipalité 2014-2020: Saint-Denis s'engage pour le logement" and deals with housing.

Code: SR1

For Aubervilliers, it is the "Guide 2017-2018 des actions éducatives: Ecoles, collèges, lycées", which treats of education programmes.

Code: AR1



## *B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS*

### **Formulaire de consentement**

Je tiens à vous remercier d'avoir accepté de participer à ma recherche au sein de l'Erasmus University Rotterdam (Pays-Bas), dans le cadre de mon Master en Administration Publique.

Le but de mon mémoire est de retracer les processus de politiques publiques au niveau local afin de déterminer dans quelle mesure certaines caractéristiques de la ville peuvent influencer la façon dont les politiques publiques y sont élaborées. Plus précisément, ma recherche porte sur la façon dont le niveau local poursuit le modèle républicain de politiques publiques basées sur des indicateurs socio-économiques. Ce modèle ignore d'autres formes potentielles de différence ou d'inégalité en terme de diversité par exemple, à la différence de la majorité des autres pays européens. C'est le lien entre les réalités démographiques dans chaque municipalité par rapport à ce cadre national, et la façon dont les processus de décentralisation peuvent influencer l'élaboration des politiques publiques, qui est centrale à cette étude, et fait l'objet principal de cet entretien.

Les informations que vous aurez partager dans le cadre de cet entretien seront utilisées à des fins de recherche académique uniquement, et ce sous couvert d'anonymat.

Je soussigné \_\_\_\_\_, autorise Ciara Cazuc à utiliser les informations recueillies au cours de notre entretien du \_\_\_\_\_ dans le cadre de son mémoire. J'ai compris que la participation à cette étude implique d'être enregistré afin de rendre la retranscription de l'entretien plus facile, et que mes mots pourront être cités dans le document final. J'ai également été informé du but, du contenu et de la portée de cet entretien.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

### C. INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### Housing

#### Education

An arrow in front of a question signifies its priority status, in case of time impediments.

#### *Public policy process*

1. What is your role in the local government?
- ➔ 2. What aspects of the city of ... render the conception of public policy here different than in other municipalities?
3. Are there aspects of the local context in ... that systematically influence the public policy process?
4. Would you consider this to be linked to its status as a *banlieue*? What does this status imply, if anything?

#### *Housing/Education policy*

- ➔ 5. What are the demographic specificities in ... that play a role in your work on housing/education policy?  
What influence do they have?

(if migration-related diversity is mentioned:)

Would you consider these specificities to have a *direct* impact on the elaboration of public policy?

If so, what effects exactly? Would you consider them to *shape* your public policy?

#### *Decentralisation*

- ➔ 6. What does the context of a decentralised state mean for you in your position as policymaker?
- ➔ 7. What specific aspects of your local context does a decentralised environment allow you to exploit?  
Is there a specific aspect of housing/education policy that benefits from this type of autonomy?
- ➔ 8. Do you consider there to have been recent expansions to the decentralisation process?  
If so, what form did this take?

9. In general, in what ways do local **housing/education** policies differ from the national frameworks?  
What is the reasoning behind this difference? Is it linked to the specificities of your local context?
10. Would you consider the local context to be particularly central in elaborating **housing/education** policy, compared to other fields like **[the other]**?

*Migration-related diversity*

- 11. What does the term "diversity" evoke for you, in its link to your work?
- 12. In what aspect of your work does the term "diversity" intervene?  
For what kind of policy?  
**prompt: Social mixing policy? Language acquisition policy?**  
What type of incidence does it have?
- 13. Would you consider that the high levels of migration-related diversity in your city have an influence on the way in which you elaborate public policy?  
If so, what effect does it have?  
(For **housing/education** specifically?)
14. Does migration-related diversity play a role in the implementation of your public policy?  
(Do you use non-governmental actors to help implement policy?)
15. Overall, what place do you consider the level of migration-related diversity to hold in the managing of your city?

## *D. INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT*

### **INTERVIEW 1**

(L.B.) Housing, Aubervilliers

L.B.: [mid-sentence] si c'est dans les médias, euh..

C: Oui exactement, non non pas du tout, c'est sûr. Hum, donc bah déjà si vous pouviez me donner un peu... m'expliquer votre rôle au sein du gouvernement local ? Juste votre titre, ou hum..

L.B.: Alors nous on n'appelle pas ça un gouvernement local, (C: oui) on appelle ça donc un cabinet, donc un cabinet de la maire. Donc moi je suis euh, auprès de la maire son conseiller on va dire, chargé de mission sur les questions de logement, d'habitat et d'hygiène.

C: D'accord.

L.B.: Et aussi un peu les questions de l'urbanisme qui... avec lesquelles je travaille.

C: Et, selon vous, alors qu'est-ce que vous diriez que sont les aspects de la ville d'Aubervilliers qui rendent la conception de politiques publiques différente par rapport à d'autres localités, dans la région parisienne, mais même dans le reste du pays ?

L.B.: Euh.. Alors c'est une question vaste (C: oui), euh.. donc en fait bah oui effectivement on est obligés de prendre le contexte local, dans le sens où on est obligés de s'appuyer sur euh la réalité locale euh à la fois sur Aubervilliers, donc c'est une population qui est très pauvre, euh avec euh beaucoup de problèmes liés à des problèmes de logements insalubres, euh il y a je crois le pourcentage c'est euh il y a 29% sur la ville de logements insalubres, euh donc euh des ménages qui ont des difficultés à payer leurs loyers, euh un parc social euh qui représente 44%, euh donc euh et nous dans le parc privé effectivement beaucoup de.. de logements insalubres, avec des problèmes liés à la sur-occupation des logements, les problèmes liés des fois à des problèmes de plomb, de saturnisme... Euh.. et euh des difficultés aussi à.. à pouvoir se loger, donc une pression très forte liée à la demande de logements sur la ville: il y a énormément de demandeurs de logements sociaux, euh.. et une offre euh qui n'est pas euh satisfaisante malgré les 44% de logements sociaux, du fait que euh il y ait une difficulté en région parisienne, avec euh.. une difficulté à se loger donc qui.. qui se recentre sur la ville d'Aubervilliers. Donc la.. la problématique parisienne qui est euh.. la difficulté à se loger euh rejaille sur euh sur la pression, il y a une pression au niveau de la ville où on est à quasiment entre 7 000 et 8 000 demandeurs de logements pour euh en gros entre 100 et 200 offres de logements par [mois/an?].

C: D'accord. Et donc en fait hum, je rebondis sur ce que vous dites: vous parlez euh de logements sociaux etc. donc votre.. votre travail à vous est-ce qu'il consiste principalement à.. à étendre ce parc social ? Est-ce que en ce moment par exemple, est-ce qu.. je sais pas si vous pouvez révéler ça du tout, mais euh, du c.. quel genre de politique euh.. si vous avez des noms

un petit peu national (sic), quel genre de politiques est-ce que vous mettez en place: c'est des expansions de parc social, euh.. ?

L.B.: Euh nan on est plutôt sur le maintien du parc social (C: maintien), parce qu'on est dans une euh logique au niveau national qui est plutôt une euh.. l'attaque euh très forte contre le logement social. Donc euh et dans le logement social, il y a logements sociaux comme euh des logements sociaux avec des loyers euh.. qui sont euh modérés euh.. très sociaux, et, dans le parc social on peut aussi retrouver des logements sociaux avec des loyers qui sont quasiment équivalents du privé, euh.. on dit PLS, donc euh.., donc qui sont pas réellement sociaux parce qu'en fait seuls des ménages euh qui ont des ressources tr.. assez importantes quand même euh peuvent y accéder. Donc euh.. dans les 44% de logements sociaux, il y a aussi des disparités, on peut faire euh beaucoup de logements sociaux, mais en fait, dans la réalité, ça conviendra, si on construit que d.. du logement PLS, qu'à euh une petite partie de la population. Donc pour nous on doit euh construire du logement social qui soit adapté au revenu de la population. Donc on a une euh.. vision qui est euh.. en tout cas la maire a une vision qui est de dire qu'en gros nous on travaille sur la question du parcours résidentiel, c'est-à-dire que il faut du logement pour tous: du logement pour ceux qui veulent accéder euh.. au parc privé, comme euh.. du logement social mais pour aussi les ménages les plus modestes, donc il faut avoir euh.. une gamme de logements qui corresponde à la réalité sociologique et sociale de.. de la population.

C: [unintelligible] Alors hum.. alors là je vais juste vous poser quelques questions sur le contexte de décentralisation, qui est un peu une des facette de ma recherche. Hum, et en fait j'aimerais savoir ce qu'un contexte d'état décentralisé ça signifie pour vous, en terme de ce que vous faites ? Hum, j'ai quelques.. plusieurs questions si jamais ça vous évoque rien euh.. je p.. je peux un peu détailler..

L.B.: Bah nous ce qui est.. ce qui est bizarre c'est qu'on.. on parle de décentralisation, mais en fait on r.. de plus en plus, on retire aux communes euh.. leurs compétences. Par exemple euh bientôt la compétence de l'urbanisme va être retirée aux communes au profit des euh.. communautés de communes. Donc euh.. on parle de décentralisation, en fait je.. je dirais que.. je dirais.. je dirais plutôt que c'est un remaillage, c'est-à-dire que on.. on.. on transfère les compétences soit aux communautés de communes, soit aux régions, soit à l'état, qui avant étaient dévolues aux communes, aux départements, etc., donc c'est.. il y a plutôt moi je pense qu'il y a une euh recentralisation euh.. et un éloignement du pouvoir au niveau euh.. un éloignement des.. des prises de décision euh.. parce qu'on voit qu'on change d'échelle, on passe à des.. des métropoles, des.. des communauté de communes, à des régions, et euh.. ou à l'Europe euh plutôt que euh.. à des échelles plus petites donc euh.. comme la commune, le département, l'état. Donc c'est.. voilà c'est.. c.. c'est une vision, il y a deux visions, il y en a qui ont une.. on dit que c'est une vision jacobine contre girondine (C: d'accord), voilà..

C: Oui c'est l.. la question de la.. est-ce qu.. est-ce que c'est la f.. troisième acte de la décentralisation, ou est-ce que c'est.. c'est, c'est exactement ce que j'ai vu dans la littérature, donc c'est bien que vous me disiez.. (B: Alors euh) disiez ça.

L.B.: les.. les élus euh.. en tout cas d'ici sur euh la commune euh combattent ça, euh cette logique là (C: d'accord).. Combattent euh.. l'acte trois de la décentralisation, et euh.. combattre aussi la contractualisation, c'est-à-dire qu'on.. ensuite on force les communes à.. appliquer des politiques euh de.. euh.. de.. en gros où l'on doit pas dépasser euh.. dépasser la.. euh les budgets de fonctionnement euh au delà de.. d'un certain nombre de pourcentages, en

gros on.. on contraint les communes à faire des économies euh.. de fonctionnement [unintelligible] indépendamment de la logique démographique qui agrandit.. où.. où la ville par exemple s'accroît en terme de population, besoins d'équipement etc... logiquement on a besoin euh.. de fonctionnement qui se développent, euh c'est-à-dire de personnel. Là on contraint de plus en plus à être dans une logique de rationalisation, mutualisation: n veut réduire de plus en plus euh.. les personnels, les fonctionnaires territoriaux euh.. (C: d'accord) locaux euh.. ce qui n'est pas forcément en adéquation avec les besoins de la population.

C: Et, et du coup est-ce que vous.. vous avez quand même des.. des aspects qui changent au niveau local ? Est-ce qu'il y a par exemple une pluralité.. parce que j'ai vu aussi qu'il y a une pluralité d'acteurs par exemple, c'est ce qu.. ce dont on parle beaucoup, mais j'aimerais savoir en fait c'est votre point de vue, est-ce que vous avez l'impression que c'est le.. que c'est le cas, ici à Aubervilliers ? Est-ce que vous..

L.B.: Pluralité d'acteurs, c'est-à-dire ?

C: C'est-à-dire hum.. est-ce que par exemple vous avez recours à des.. à des acteurs non-gouvernementaux pour certaines.. enfin pour l'implémentation de certaines politiques ? Est-ce que (L.B.: Hum..) vous avez l'impression qu'il y a une sorte de.. de.. de remaillage à ce niveau là aussi en fait ? De.. de.. de reformulation du local...

L.B.: Euh.. oui en fait euh bah en fait la.. il y a la commune et il y a euh déjà tout le milieu associatif, donc euh c'est un milieu euh.. riche. Euh.. il y a euh.. les services publics, euh.. qui parfois sont euh.. départementaux, euh.. communaux, euh.. de l'état, donc c'est des relations avec eux. Ensuite il y a des délégations de services publics, c'est par exemple euh.. on peut prendre l'exemple de l'Office Public de l'Habitat, c'est une délégation de services publics.. euh.. avec qui on a une relation très forte.. euh.. mais qui euh.. où les bailleurs sociaux, ce sont euh.. ce sont nos entreprises publiques qui euh.. qui travaillent à.. à construire du logement social.. Voilà il y a des.. il y a.. il y a.. multiples acteurs.. il y a.. il y a.. les partenaires économiques aussi qui euh.. qu'ils soient coopératifs dans le secteur de l'économie sociale et solidaire, mais aussi dans le secteur privé, donc euh.. la ville travaille aussi.. aussi bien avec Veolia euh, Chanel euh.. qui va s'implanter là prochainement (C: ok) euh.. donc euh il y a aussi des gros acteurs économiques parce que.. le territoire euh attire, parce qu'il y a une forte dynamique sur.. sur la ville.. euh.. voilà donc il y a une multitude d'acteurs avec qui on.. on agit.

C: Ok, et donc c'est plutôt une.. enfin donc c'est.. une euh une réalité que vous ressentez sur un peu l'ensemble de ce que vous vous faites ? Vu que vous parlez à la fois de bailleurs sociaux, des entreprises.. donc je suppose qu'il y a une dimension "logements" ou "terrains" ou "urbanisme" dans.. (L.B: Hum) Donc c'est vraiment quelque chose qui est... Hum.. en fait plus précisément j'aimerais savoir s'il y a des aspects qui sont propres à votre contexte local qui.. que.. que.. que cette nouvelle phase, ou cette "recentralisation", ça vous permet d'exploiter ? Qu'est-ce que.. qu'est-ce que la relation entre le national et le local, qu'est-ce que ça.. qu'est-ce que ça ouvre comme portes par rapport à vous, par rapport aux cadres nationaux en terme de politiques euh de logement ?

L.B.: Bah là actuellement euh.. on nous ferme des portes euh... [unintelligible] C'est.. c'est plutôt euh.. de plus en plus compliqué puisqu'on.. au niveau de la politique, il y a une volonté de re-centraliser, aussi, euh.. de regrouper, plutôt, les bailleurs sociaux entre eux euh.. donc euh.. donc ce qui veut dire que par exemple euh.. l'Office euh Public de l'Habitat qui a

8 000 logements sur la ville, euh.. doit fusionner avec euh d'autres bailleurs sociaux, afin d'avoir un seuil minimum de 15 000 logements sociaux euh.. comme l'avait prévu euh.. le texte de loi qui arrive actuellement. Donc il y a plutôt un regroupement des.. de l'ensemble des bailleurs sociaux euh.. donc une relation avec la commune qui risque de se détériorer, dans le sens où euh bah, regroupement des bailleurs sociaux, nous on a l'OPH d'Aubervilliers, donc ça va être.. ça va se regrouper avec d'autres euh.. bailleurs sociaux, donc forcément qui ont pas forcément les mêmes intérêts, la même relation avec le local (c: hum), euh.. ou avec la ville, donc euh... Donc il y aura peut-être des in.. des.. des intérêts en.. peut-être qu'on va avoir des difficultés, peut-être plus de difficultés à communiquer avec eux, ce qui peut être intéressant pour eux de leur côté c'est que par contre ils auront une capacité peut-être financière et d'investissement plus importante, donc euh.. à voir.

C: Oui.

L.B.: Est-ce qu'ils garderont leur lien de proximité avec la population.. est-ce que euh.. voilà, je.. je sais pas.. je sais pas si.. il.. il y a beaucoup de mutations act.. act.. actuellement dans.. dans le logement social (C: ok), parce qu'il y a eu la baisse des APL qui a conduit à une baisse de financement euh.. des bailleurs sociaux, ce qui conduit à.. ce que certains programmes soient reportés, voir annulés pour un certain nombre de bailleurs sociaux. Euh.. voilà il y a.. il y a.. il y a des difficultés de.. de ce côté.. ce côté là, voir euh.. ce que va devenir un petit peu euh.. le logement social. Nous on a notre.. il y a une crainte qui s'est.. qui s'exprime d'être euh un petit peu euh.. en gros euh.. de devenir un petit peu comme le modèle anglais, c'est-à-dire que le logement social soit destiné que seulement aux pauvres.. aux plus pauvres de.. et que il y ait euh.. suite au fait qu'il y ait des baisses de financement euh.. pour un certain nombre de bailleurs, une vente d'une grande partie du parc social, euh.. qui deviennent ensuite des copropriétés privées, qui deviennent ensuite des copropriétés dégradées avec euh.. comme on a pu le voir en.. une fois en Angleterre ou euh une grande copropriété, un ancien immeuble euh.. a pris feu, il y a eu des incendies etc. mais parce que on a des.. des personnes dedans dans l'incapacité de.. de gérer euh ça donc (C: hum) ça va être.. pour nous être euh aussi euh.. à voir comment nous on anticipe ce phénomène de.. de.. de copropriété privée qui risque de euh.. de se dégrader, ou.. ou les personnes qui seront logées seront en difficulté pour pouvoir euh.. se loger (C: oui, oui) donc euh.. à l'intérieur de.. parce qu'il y a des charges de fonctionnement euh important euh.. dans les charges de copropriété, qu'il y a des règles que.. qu'un certain nombre de.. locataires, de propriétaires n'ont pas forcément euh.. pas forcément.. pas forcément.. les informations euh... (C: là-dessus)

C: Ok, super, merci. Hum, et donc là, la dernière euh phase si vous voulez (L.B.: hum). Hum, si je vous parle de diversité euh dans la ville d'Aubervilliers, qu'est-ce que ça évoque pour vous, quels éléments est-ce que vous prenez en compte quand vous regardez ça ?

L.B.: Diversité, c'est-à-dire euh.. ? (C: bah justement en fait) C'est.. c'est en lien avec le logement ou.. pas du tout ?

C: Si bah en fait quel.. bah.. par la suite oui en fait, quels éléments de diversité est-ce que vous prenez en compte, c'est par exemple dans les politiques de mixité sociale (L.B.: hum), hum est-ce que.. voi.. voilà, comment est-ce que ce.. ce mot là un peu il a une influence, ou est-ce qu'il en a pas du tout, est-ce que.. ou..

L.B.: Alors, nous on fonctionne avec le système euh ça a été mis en place euh.. dans le.. durant ce mandat, le système de quotations.. par points, euh.. pour la désignation des.. et

d'ailleurs je pense que c'est un système qui va se généraliser.. qui s'inspire beaucoup de ce que fait la ville de.. de Paris de ce côté là (C: d'accord), avec euh.. leur adjoint Ian Brossat, en charge du logement, euh.. c'est un système en gros qui.. qui prend un certain nombre de critères euh.. la question de l'insalubrité dans le logement, la question des problèmes de santé des personnes euh.., les problèmes euh.. de sur-occupation, des loyers trop chers, euh.. de décohabitation, c'est-à-dire de jeunes ménages qui sont euh.. qui veulent partir de ch.. de chez leurs parents.. pour euh.. pour pouvoir emménager dans un logement social, euh.. des.. des problèmes sociaux, c'est-à-dire des gens qui sont en situation d'hébergement d'urgence, ou euh.. voilà. Donc, tout ça fait que à chaque critère il y a des points, l'an.. la question de l'ancienneté de la demande, et à partir de là, euh.. ce.. les.. hum le nombre de points fait que le dossier est plus prioritaire qu'un autre, euh.. voilà. Après, nous on essaye aussi de faire attention, par exemple, à.. à ce que dans certaines cités les plus fragiles, ou en très grande difficulté, on fasse en sorte que pour les euh.. on évite de mettre des femmes seules, euh.. avec beaucoup d'enfants euh dont on sait qu'effectivement euh.. on risque d'avoir euh des difficultés qui risquent de s'aggraver du fait que on s.. on peut se retrouver dans des cités avec plus d'enfants (C: d'accord) que d'adultes. Ce qui veut dire que au bout d'un moment on s.. c'est plutôt les.. les lois des adolescents ou des enfants qui priment euh sur euh.. sur euh sur les adultes (C: oui) donc il est important qu'il y ait ce.. ces équilibres là, malgré le contexte de difficultés sociales etc., et on fait en sorte que euh dans certaines cités, oui il y ait euh plutôt euh.. des liens de parenté qui sont plutôt structurés, euh.. et euh.. qui permettent, parce qu'on sait que la stabilité permet aussi la stabilisation euh dans un certain nombre de.. de.. de cités. Euh, voilà, on essaye aussi de faire en sorte, de faire attention, mais ça prend du temps parce que c'est.. c'est.. c'est un.. un.. un travail de longue haleine (C: oui) euh.. de v.. de voir entre ceux qui travaillent et ceux qui ne travaillent pas (C: d'accord). Parce que la relation au monde du travail doit être aussi importante. Euh.. si par exemple on est dans une cité avec que des gens qui travaillent pas, effectivement euh ça crée aussi un climat euh.. donc la mixité c'est euh.. c'est aussi ça. C'est-à-dire que euh.. pour nous la mixité sociale se.. se.. se.. c'est plutôt lié à.. au facteur travail en particulier.

C: D'accord, très bien.

L.B.: Et au facteur de stabilité familiale.

C: Travail plus stabilité familiale.

L.B.: Après effectivement euh.. mais ça on le fait sans.. discrimination positive, on fait en sorte que effectivement on ait euh.. chaque dossier soit anonyme, donc euh.. et on fait en sorte que euh.. bah euh.. il n'y ait pas une communauté spécifiquement euh.. d'une nationalité qui soit euh qui rentre euh.. qui rentre dans une cité etc., par exemple on.. on fait euh.. donc vu que les dossier sont anonymes, ça permet d'éviter ce.. ce.. (C: ce genre de..) ce phénomène là (C: de regroupement). Le système par points donc ça permet de catégoriser en fonction des besoins sociaux. On fait attention à.. je récapitule, on fait attention à (C: oui) avoir des équilibres dans certaines cités, et on fait aussi attention euh à ce que les dossiers soit traités de manière anonyme par les bailleurs pour éviter toute discrimination dans le parc social (C: oui). Après, de.. du côté privé, nous on peut agir que sur l'aspect de l'insalubrité du logement etc. (C: oui) voilà.

C: C'est sur ça que vous agissez vous. Ok, alors hum.. Ca c'est bon. Hum voilà et donc en fait en.. en terme de.. de mixité euh des nationalités et tout, je rebondis sur ce que vous venez de dire (L.B.: hum): hum, est-ce que.. est-ce que vous diriez que c.. que.. que cette facette



spécifique là de la diversité, vous avez parlé des femmes, donc il y a un.. un aspect de genre, un aspect d'âge (L.B: hum) surtout, et les facteurs sociaux comme le.. le chômage etc. (L.B: hum), hum est-ce que.. est-ce que l'aspect "nationalités", est-ce que ça a une incidence directe sur vos politiques ? Je sais que les cadres nationaux sont des.. enfin sont.. comment on dit, conçu, pour euh pour éviter qu'il y ait quelque influence, mais la réalité de votre ville, et comment est-ce que vous vous.. vous réconciliez ça, si vous voulez ?

L.B.: Bah euh la ville elle est particulière parce que.. en fait euh.. il y a 100.. 120 nationalités (C: oui) d'origines différentes sur la ville donc euh.. si on commence à.. à.. à entrer là-dedans on s'en sort pas (C: hum). Euh.. avec euh une forte communauté chinoise, une forte communauté algérienne, une forte communauté marocaine, une forte communauté sénégalaise, euh.. une forte communauté maintenant de.. de personnes qui viennent euh du Bangladesh et euh.. du Sri Lanka, euh.. une communauté aussi euh.. de personnes qui viennent des pays de l'Est, donc euh.. plus euh les français d'origines française, on va dire (C: hum hum), donc on se retrouve avec euh.. une multitude de.. de.. de nationalités (C: [unintelligible]). Il y a.. il y a un côté sur la ville qu'il y ait une forte identité locale, c'est-à-dire que ce qui regroupe un petit peu euh.. ces personnes euh.. là c'est qu'ils en.. ils s'identifient ensuite.. parce que c.. Aubervilliers c'est.. c'est une ville euh.. de premier arrivant (C: d'accord). Euh.. c'est-à-dire que les gens euh.. c'est une terre d'accueil: euh.. ils arrivent sur Paris et ensuite on les envoie en Seine-Saint-Denis parce que c'est là où il y a le.. (C: hum) les résidences sociales qui sont là, euh.. les foyers d'hébergement, euh qui sont concentrés en masse dans le nord de Paris et en Seine-Saint-Denis, et donc pour eux c'est les.. la ville qui les a accueillis en premier. Donc il y a un attachement à.. la ville d'Aubervilliers, et donc il y a une f... une commu.. une euh.. une identité locale très forte, indépendamment des nationalités, c'est-à-dire qu'ils s.. (C: c'est..) je dirais même qu'on.. un petit peu comme Marseille, c'est que.. on.. on se sent d'abord d'Aubervilliers avant de.. (C: [unintelligible]) de.. de se sentir de sa nationalité différente. Bien sûr chacun a ses origines euh.. et sa.. et sa culture etc., mais il y a une identité locale euh.. importante.

C: Ok.

L.B.: Ca c'est mon sentiment (C: oui). Après, euh..

C: C'est plus une question de contexte, du coup, pour vous ce.. ce.. cette.., comme vous dites cette multitude on peut pas trop rentrer dedans, vu que c'est vraiment très..

L.B.: Bah si on peut.. oui euh on peut pas rentrer dedans.. et euh.. nous ce qu'on.. donc il y a un investissement très fort dans l'école, pour avoir une euh culture commune. Donc euh.. et des.. choses qui se partagent et qui sont euh.. en commun. Parce que beaucoup aussi sont issus de milieux euh.. des fois très défavorisés ou euh ont subi des.. des.. des violences, euh.. symboliques ou.. ou physiques, euh... Donc, souvent on vient sur les gens qui sont issus de.. d'origines diverses [unintelligible] il y a des guerres donc euh (C: oui) donc euh ou des conflits donc euh.. donc voilà (C: [unintelligible]). D'où.. d'où l'idée aussi que.. qu'on travaille à ce qu'on ait un.. un logement digne, c'est-à-dire que euh.. que ça soit pour les gens qui sont là depuis très très longtemps hein, qui sont euh.. qui sont d'Aubervilliers (C: oui, bien sûr) depuis très très très longtemps... Euh, mais aussi pour ceux qui.. qui.. qui arrivent, euh.. qui sont euh.. qui arrivent. Parce que là on a un double phénomène: on a à la fois des gens qui viennent des fois de l'extérieur euh.. de la France (C: hum), et on a un phénomène où maintenant aussi on a euh de plus en plus de parisiens qui n'arrivent plus à se loger (C: d'accord), et qui viennent euh investir dans Aubervilliers, pour avoir plus grand euh.., moins

cher euh... Donc euh.. et donc un public qui est euh socialement plus fav.. que.. plus favorisé, qui se confronte à un.. à des gens qui ont (C: oui, qui..) beaucoup de difficultés, donc euh.. et pas forcément avec euh.. les mêmes niveaux d'éducation euh.. scolaires, etc. etc., donc euh...

C: Ok. Bon, bah merci beaucoup, j'ai vraiment plein de choses dont.. dont j'avais besoin, c'est super. Hum, du coup juste pour finir un peu je.. je veux être sûre que vous.. si vous avez des questions sur euh exactement ma question de recherche, euh.. exactement ce que je fais et tout, donc j'ai.. j'ai préparé ce.. c'est juste pour être sûre que je.. que je m.. oui, que je vous impose pas mes idées, donc j'ai préparé ça avec un petit texte que vous pouvez garder, je peux le déchirer, j'ai pas très bien conçu le truc. Hum, juste pour que vous.. et si vous avez des questions exactement sur le but ou la portée, hum, je vous.. enfin je veux être sûre que vous sachiez exactement ce que je fais avec euh ce que vous me donnez.

L.B.: En gros vous voulez démontrer quoi [unintelligible] ?

C: En gros, alors, ma question c'est de.. de voir (L.B.: maintenant que c'est fini euh, [rires]). Oui mais alors exactement, maintenant que.. que c'est.. que c'est tout bon. En fait, ma question c'est, hum, de quelle façon est-ce que les hauts niveaux de diversité sociaux et.. et donc de.. issus de la migration, est-ce que ça a une influence sur les politiques euh.. euh du gouvernement local (L.B: hum, hum). C'est traduction littérale, mais.. et donc en fait ce que j'essaye de savoir c'est, comme les cadres nationaux sont faits pour un peu euh, ignorer la différence (L.B.: hum) et se concentrer sur des.. des politiques qui sont en rapport avec donc ce que.. tout ce que vous disiez sur le.. le niveau social euh, les facteurs sociaux, hum, est-ce que quand on est confrontés au niveau local à une.. une pluralité d'autres facettes de la diversité, est-ce que ça nous pousse à.. à l'inclure dans les politiques directement, ou est-ce que c'est plus euh.., selon ce que vous disiez c'était plus une.. une.. une idée de.. de la.. ça fait partie de la mosaïque de la ville mais c'est.. ça.. ça n'a pas d'instance particulière sur euh forcément la façon dont vous allou.. dont vous allouez les.. les logements sociaux (L.B.: [unintelligible]). C'est juste en fait pour voir s'il y a une vraie cohérence aussi linéaire qu'elle.. qu'on le prétend entre ces grands cadres nationaux, et ce qu'on fait au niveau local, c'est de voir un peu les spécificités locales.

L.B.: Après vous êtes dans une ville euh.. communiste.

C: Oui ! Mais alors justement.

L.B.: Et euh.. sur une ville, je sais pas moi, par exemple vous allez sur Aulnay, ou euh ailleurs, ça serait peut-être pas forcément euh.. (C: hum hum) la même approche. Donc euh.. une ville de droite euh.. ou une ville (C: oui) dirigée par le Parti Socialiste (C: oui). Donc euh..

C: Est-ce que vous pensez que, juste comme ça, est-ce que vous pensez que le statut de "banlieue" ça a une influence particulière dans ces.. maintenant que vous savez un peu plus généralement ce que je veux savoir... Est-ce que vous pensez que ç.. que ça.. il y a.. parce que vous me parlez d'Aulnay et tout, est-ce que ça.. ça veut dire qu'il n'y a pas vraiment d'uniformité par rapport à.. à la façon dont on approche les.. les.. toutes ces politiques de logement etc.

L.B.: Non, il y a.. (C: c'est vraiment euh..) une politique de gauche.. Bah par exemple, sur Saint-Ouen, ils sont en train de vendre le parc social (C: hum). Nous on s.. on s'y oppose.. à

Saint-Ouen.. Donc il sont dans une logique, Bobigny, Saint-Ouen, des villes de droite maintenant, peut-être qu'ils repartiront à gauche ou euh.. (C: oui) communiste, mais qui sont en train de.. de vendre le.. le logement social pour euh... Et par exemple, on fait en sorte que dans le parc privé on limite les prix, parce qu'il y a une inflation, les promoteurs veulent euh augmenter les prix euh.. du foncier. Donc nous on a demandé à ce qu'on maintienne les prix (C: hum) au-delà de euh.. on essaye de.. de maintenir les prix à 3 500€ le m<sup>2</sup> (C: d'accord) euh.. sur Saint-Ouen, non euh il y a une augmen.. nous on a maintenu le.. l'évolution de 2%, eux il y a une augmentation de 25% (C: d'accord, oui). Donc eux il y a une logique claire de gentrification de la ville (C: d'accord [unintelligible]), ils veulent expulser les.. les populations les plus pauvres. (C: oui). Voilà, donc euh.. nous on n'est pas dans cette logique là, nous on est plutôt dans une logique d'inclusion de l'ensemble de la population, eux on voit qu'ils veulent, oui euh.., que ça soit à Blanc-Mesnil, euh.. à Saint-Ouen en particulier, ils sont dans une logique de gentrification euh très claire.

C: Oui, ok.

L.B.: Euh.. à Pantin euh.. c'est.. c'est.. c'est plus complexe, parce que c'est géré par le Pa.. par le Parti Socialiste, donc il y a des cités populaires, mais en même temps euh.. dans la même ville tu peux.. on peut avoir euh.. des quartiers euh.. où les populations les plus pauvres sont plus regroupées, d'autres euh, un peu gentrifiés, donc euh.. il y a de la gentrification à l'intérieur même de la ville (C: d'accord), donc c'est.. c'est... Voilà donc euh..

C: Ca varie pas mal en terme de.. d'affiliations politiques en fait.

L.B.: Oui (C: ok). Oui et euh.. et forcément, les populations... Parce que nous on a l'objectif de.. de favoriser le parcours résidentiel, c'est-à-dire quelqu'un qui.. qui commence ici, ensuite a une évolution sociale et euh.. l'idéal c'est qu'à la fin bah, il se constitue un petit patrimoine, [unintelligible] petite maison, ou qu'il parte d'Aubervilliers, c'est pas grave, mais qu'en gros on ait.. on ait.. on ait réussi à le.. à.. (C: mettre les bases).. à mettre les bases et.. et.. et que socialement, et euh.. et au niveau du.. professionnellement, la personne puisse euh puisse euh.. puisse se développer correctement.. euh.. et qui peut aussi avoir un apport sur la ville. D'autres sont plutôt dans des logiques euh.. oui euh.. sociologiques euh... Voilà on a une population plutôt aisée qui vote plutôt euh de telle manière, on va plutôt faire en sorte qu'elle soit (C: favorisée), voilà... Elles viennent sur notre ville et elles votent pour nous ensuite (C: ok). Et donc euh.. elles ce qu'elle veulent c'est sécurité et propreté donc euh.. on fait que ça, et donc l'aspect éducatif, culture tout ça euh.. on n'y met pas l'accent (C: oui), alors que dans cette ville plutôt on met beaucoup l'accent sur l'éducation et la culture.

C: Mettre l'accent... Ok. Super.

L.B.: Mais il faudrait que vous voyiez ça avec euh.. avec euh.. des villes.. d'autres villes.

C: Oui. Oui, et vraiment c'est.. Bah en fait je suis un peu cantonnée (L.B.: [unintelligible] mon point de vue partisan on va dire).. Oui. Non, non bien sûr mais c'était m.. mais c'est un peu pour ça que.. il y a plein de facteurs en fait qui rentrent en compte et donc c'est bien d'avoir euh votre opinion, parce que ça permet de.. de hiérarchiser un peu tout ce que.. ce que dans les articles que je lis souvent ils sont en anglais, c'est pas des français qui les écrivent, donc ils connaissent pas forcément (L.B.: hum) le.. le système français est quand même vachement particulier (L.B.: hum) donc c'est.. c'est bien d'avoir euh.. un peu de mettre ça en ordre euh.. au niveau local.