



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

**„Closing the Gap? Housing Asylum-Seekers in
Temporary Urban Projects“**

verfasst von / submitted by

Mateo Piette

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Science (MSc)

Wien, 2021 / Vienna 2021

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 066 664

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium DDP Urban Studies

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Bas Van heur
(Cosmopolis Centre for Urban Research, Brüssel)

ABSTRACT

English

European cities have, over the past years, experienced an increase in the number of asylum-seekers looking for a new life in the old continent. This has pushed authorities to reform their asylum policies towards a restrictive system. Indeed, newcomers now must accomplish a long and difficult administrative process in order to obtain the refugee status. In the meantime, housing is difficult to access for asylum-seekers, facing homelessness, persecution by police, and fostering socio-spatial segregation. However, civil society and organisations have been innovating in asylum housing in order to tackle the housing crisis, in initiatives such as temporary urban projects. This thesis aims to analyse temporary urban projects with asylum housing and their impact on the socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers. This will be done by investigating how these initiatives are encouraging the creation of a connection between locals and newcomers while basing the research on existing literature on asylum housing, arrival infrastructures and socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers. The hypothesis is that practices and dynamics present in temporary urban projects with housing for asylum seekers enhance social cohesion and break up (social) distances by creating relations between locals and newcomers.

German

In den europäischen Städten ist in den letzten Jahren die Zahl der Asylsuchenden, die auf dem alten Kontinent ein neues Leben suchen, gestiegen. Dies hat die Behörden dazu veranlasst, ihre Asylpolitik in Richtung eines restriktiven Systems zu reformieren. Tatsächlich müssen Neuankömmlinge jetzt einen langen und schwierigen Verwaltungsprozess durchlaufen, um den Flüchtlingsstatus zu erhalten. In der Zwischenzeit ist der Zugang zu Wohnraum für Asylsuchende erschwert, es drohen Obdachlosigkeit, polizeiliche Verfolgung und die Förderung der sozialräumlichen Segregation. Zivilgesellschaft und Organisationen haben jedoch in Initiativen wie temporären Stadtprojekten Innovationen im Asylbereich eingeführt, um die Wohnungskrise zu bewältigen. Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, temporäre städtische Projekte mit Asylunterbringung und deren Auswirkungen auf die sozialräumliche Segregation von Asylsuchenden zu analysieren. Dazu soll untersucht werden, wie diese Initiativen die Schaffung einer Verbindung zwischen Einheimischen und Neuankömmlingen fördern, während die Forschung auf vorhandene Literatur zu Asylunterkünften, Ankunftsinfrastrukturen und sozialräumlicher Trennung von Asylsuchenden basiert. Die Hypothese ist, dass Praktiken und Dynamiken in temporären urbanen Projekten mit Unterkünften für Asylbewerber den sozialen Zusammenhalt stärken und (soziale) Distanzen aufbrechen, indem sie Beziehungen zwischen Einheimischen und Neuankömmlingen schaffen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| Abstract..... | 1 |
| 1 Introduction | 5 |
| 1.1 Approaching the subject: Asylum housing in France | 5 |
| 1.2 Problem statement and research question..... | 6 |
| 1.3 Structure of the work..... | 8 |
| 2 Literature Review | 8 |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 8 |
| 2.2 The asylum centre as a space of exclusion..... | 9 |
| 2.3 Socio-spatial segregation as an institutional process..... | 12 |
| 2.4 Arrival infrastructures and temporality | 16 |
| 2.5 Temporary urban projects as actors of change | 20 |
| 3 Methodology..... | 22 |
| 3.1 Case study: Les Cinq Toits..... | 23 |
| 3.2 Research methods..... | 26 |
| 3.2.1 Observations..... | 26 |
| 3.2.2 Interviews | 27 |
| 3.2.3 Document analysis | 28 |
| 3.2.4 Maps | 28 |
| 4 Analysis and Discussion | 29 |
| 4.1 The emergence of new approaches to asylum housing in Paris | 29 |
| 4.1.1 Asylum housing in temporary urban projects | 29 |
| 4.1.2 The administrative conflict between local and state administration..... | 38 |
| 4.1.3 Hosting asylum-seekers in particular homes: the perfect connection? | 41 |
| 4.2 Case Study: Les Cinq Toits: An inclusive project? | 45 |
| 4.2.1 Observations | 45 |
| 4.2.2 Interviews | 47 |
| 4.2.3 Discussion of the results | 60 |
| 5 General Conclusions..... | 63 |
| 6 Bibliography | 66 |
| 7 Appendices..... | 71 |
| 7.1 Appendix 1: Photographs of the case study | 71 |
| 7.2 Appendix 2: Interviews with resident asylum-seekers | 75 |
| 7.3 Appendix 3: Interview guide to Simon Dreano, technical manager of Les Cinq Toits. 80 | |
| 7.4 Appendix 4: Interview guide to Anjali Claes, Réfugiés Bienvenue..... | 81 |

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 7.5 | Appendix 5: Interview Guide to Maguelone Schnetzler, Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR) | 81 |
|-----|---|----|

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 APPROACHING THE SUBJECT: ASYLUM HOUSING IN FRANCE

Asylum housing is a wide concept that involves different actors and contexts. In this master thesis we are focusing on the city of Paris, the capital of France. In terms of policy, the French system is known for being centralist, where regional and local authorities have little competences and State powers are wide. As a consequence, the French asylum system is determined by the French national administration and takes decisions in all of the national territory, including overseas territories such as Guadeloupe or Mayotte. France, a traditional immigration country, receives a high number of asylum-seekers every year, rather as a destination or a stage in their journey. In 2020, 95,600 people applied for asylum and the main nationalities were: Afghanistan (10,100), Guinea (5,800), Bangladesh (5,050), Ivory Coast (4,950) and Nigeria (3,970) (OPFRA, 2021). This number went down by 28% compared to the 122,360 applications in 2019 because of the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic (OPFRA, 2021). In order to apply for asylum in France, migrants have to establish the first contact with an NGO and they will pre-register them in a platform created by the *Office français de l'immigration et d'intégration* (French office for immigration and integration), where they receive an appointment for registering their application in the prefecture (European Commission, 2019). After that, the *Office français pour la protection des réfugiés et apatrides* (French office for the protection of refugees and stateless people) takes care of the application which can be accepted or rejected. In the meantime, asylum-seekers can benefit from accommodation provided by the state until their administrative situation is solved. These asylum housing are: *Hébergement d'urgence des demandeurs d'asile* (HUDA), *Centre d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile* (CADA), *Dispositif de préparation au retour* (DPAR), and *Programme d'accueil et d'hébergement des demandeurs d'asile* (PRAHDA). They depend on the personal situation of the asylum seeker: unaccompanied minor, families, preparing for return, among others. As a matter of fact, the French asylum system works in coordination with the other European Union members as part of the Dublin Agreements for a common European asylum system. The Île-de-France region,

where Paris is located, concentrates 46% of all of the asylum applications in France (OPFRA, 2021), as it is the main political, economic, and cultural centre of the country and thus the most attractive region for migrants.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Asylum housing and emergency accommodation is often a subject of debate in Paris, as, even though the state has an established system for asylum housing, asylum-seekers face precarious situations. Indeed, with events such as the evacuation of la Jungle de Calais in 2016, France has a tough policy in tolerating spontaneous migrant camps that emerge in cities. In fact, Paris is the scene of constant migrant camps that are located mainly in the north of the city (Porte de la Chapelle, Stalingrad, under the tracks of the Metro line 2, or under the bridges of Paris' ring road). These camps are constantly dismantled by police forces by order of the Interior ministry. However, despite the effort of the authorities to put an end to the camps, there are always new camps emerging in different forms (Gisti, 2021). Moreover, French authorities have a high restrictive interpretation of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees, as 76% of applications for international protection were rejected in 2020 (Gisti, 2021).

Furthermore, the present asylum housing in the region of Paris is monofunctional and often in deprived areas out of the city centre. An article in 2016 stated the asylum system, and thus asylum housing, was planned as “an extremely complex procedure intended far more to discourage refugees than to protect them, while maintaining the illusion that it is necessary to act in this way to preserve the right to asylum” (Ribémont, 2016). This is translated in the way asylum accommodation centres are planned and in the public and policy discourse. Indeed, this fosters the creation of a narrative of *us* and *them* where the connection between locals and newcomers is non-existent. As a consequence, asylum-seekers are segregated both spatially and socially (Kreichauf, 2013; 2018; Silver, 2007; Bolt et al., 2010).

While socio-spatial segregation is widely present in Paris and its metropolitan area, solidarity actors like civil society and organisations have tried since the so-called 2015 *refugee crisis* to propose alternative housing solutions from the state. Indeed, in this master thesis we address the concept of *Temporary Urban Projects*, which describes a particular type of phenomenon that has emerged in European cities during the past years. They are interesting to study because they (supposedly) propose a different and innovative approach to urban planning and social issues. In Paris, the characteristics of these initiatives are the following: (1) Temporal occupation of a vacant space, (2) Bottom-up, multi-stakeholder planning, (3) Defined objective(s): social, cultural and/or economic. There is a wide range on the role of these initiatives, but this thesis aims to look at projects which are planned following social objectives. That is why the case study is a temporary urban project that includes asylum housing, a practice that has been increasing in Paris. Here, we are looking at the implication of these projects in the socio-spatial segregation process of asylum seekers. As a consequence, this master thesis aims to answer the following research question:

To what extent are temporary urban projects closing the gap between locals and newcomers and how is socio-spatial segregation being mitigated?

I believe that today societies need to close the gap between locals and newcomers because it could help solve stigmatization and racism towards racialized people, which harms us by fostering hate speech and radicalisation of opinion. In fact, socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers is caused by the previously-mentioned factors. Based on existing literature on the effects of more hybrid social functions in temporary urban asylum projects, the central hypothesis of this thesis is that practices and dynamics present in temporary urban projects with housing for asylum seekers enhance social cohesion and break up (social) distances by creating relations between locals and newcomers.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

This master thesis includes four main chapters divided in several sections. The second chapter is the literature review, where a theoretical framework is presented and describes the main academic articles and books that sustain the argumentation. The third chapter is where the methodology is stated, where I explain the different research methods that were used in the research process of this thesis. The fourth chapter is the presentation of the analysis and results of the research process, divided in two main sections. Finally, the fifth chapter raises the final conclusions and remarks about this master thesis.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The following part is composed of papers that I have read in the research process of the thesis. Through migration and urban studies, the theories present in the literature review allowed me to better acknowledge the challenges of asylum housing, the problem of socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers and the socially engaged approaches in temporary urbanism. In this thesis I play with the idea of “temporality” as two concepts that include the idea of temporality are approached: on one hand, asylum housing, as it is a transitional era to a more stabilized situation; on the other hand, temporary urban projects, as its name say they are not definitive but rather short and medium-term interventions. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of what has been researched on socio-spatial segregation of asylum seekers in cities. The Literature review is organised in the following order: First, an overview on the theory of the asylum centre as a space of exclusion is approached. Then, I describe what has been researched on the idea of socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers as an institutional process. Thirdly, a summary on the notion of arrival infrastructure is approached. Finally, a general summary on the idea of socially-engaged practices within temporary urbanism is discussed. The literature review will allow me to

build an optimal theoretical framework in order to better understand the subject and to correctly build an answer to the research question.

2.2 THE ASYLUM CENTRE AS A SPACE OF EXCLUSION

Refugees in cities are growing, especially in african cities and some asian cities as 73% of them are hosted in neighboring countries (UNHCR, 2021). However, due to political and economical reasons, a proportion of them end up in Western European and North-American cities. Asylum housing has brought the attention of researchers over the past years fostered by the increasing influx of people into countries and the current housing crisis that Western European and North-American cities are facing. These two components have complicated the already fragile housing situation of asylum-seekers, which is subject to administrative and political decisions. In that sense, asylum-seekers are entangled in a complex web of procedures and spaces where they are obliged to be.

Indeed, recently some authors have explored the asylum centre as such in order to find a definition of the term and its characteristics. On one hand, Kreichauf (2018; 2020) and Ghorashi et. al. (2017) have taken the concept of *Non-places* by Marc Augé (2008) to describe the asylum centre. Augé describes a place as “relational, historical and concerned with an identity”. A non-place is a space without these characteristics, and there is an increasing number of them in our contemporary societies. They are spaces where collective identity does not exist and the space is not appropriated, such as for instance supermarkets, airports, shopping centres or old industrial sites. In that sense, refugee camps and asylum housing are also described as non-places, where the temporality and inhuman conditions makes the refugee camp a non-desired space to call *home*. As a consequence the asylum centre is described by the previously mentioned authors as a place where residents are trapped in a space without identity and feeling of belonging. On the other hand, authors have played with the idea of *temporality* when describing the asylum centre. Van Heur et. al. (2018) argue that migrants face what authors have called *permanent temporariness* or *permanent transience*,

implying that their administrative, social, and political status is in a permanent state of instability. In fact, this process is determined by politics and is a major claim for migrants' rights in the city, with migrants fighting for having the same rights as national citizens to be considered part of the society. This debate between temporariness and permanence is named by the authors *politics of temporality*, and the spatial application of this process is the asylum centre. In fact, asylum centres are dominated by the idea of "waiting" (Ehrkamp, 2016), where the process of becoming a refugee becomes a long-term project which is fostered by restrictive political intentions towards reception of newcomers. Similarly, Felder et. al. (2020) have argued that, while the asylum centre welcomes newcomers and makes the city an "hospitable" place, arrival infrastructures like asylum centres and refugee camps are trapping migrants to be more mobile in order to satisfy their needs, for instance to go back home, go further afield, or just move around the city. In parallel to this, Zill et. al. (2019) consider asylum accommodation as institutions of care and control where asylum-seekers are hosted in spaces in a concept that they call the *migration regime*. In this sense, physically speaking, asylum accommodation is quite functionalist, as the building is planned for a particular use by a determined group of people.

Moreover, the architecture of the asylum centre can be a social boundary for asylum seekers. The architecture is noted for its functionality, as they emerge for a particular use and are designed for it. In their paper "Architectures of asylum: Making home in a state of permanent temporariness", Steigemann & Misselwitz (2020) explore how the built environment of the place in which newcomers are living influences asylum seekers' perception of space. By using the concept of "home", the authors argue that housing spaces for migrants and refugees should include elements that enable a proper spatial appropriation of the place by the users. In other words, housing for asylum-seekers needs to include day-to-day practices in the space in order to support the development of inclusion and social cohesion. Indeed, state infrastructures for asylum-seekers are planned within a certain political decision towards migration, and we have seen in the past years how European and western societies turned their migration policies more restrictive. This has an impact on the architecture of the asylum centres themselves, as in some countries such as Spain, undocumented migrants are put in

Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros (in spanish, Foreign Internment Centres), a prison-like building where migrants' freedom is restricted and are treated like prisoners. Similarly, Huq & Miraftab (2020) showed that camp-like structures reinforce the idea of *campzenship*, where migrants claim the space through practices of place making as forms of protest against these restrictive places. In fact, the concept of "citizenship" is understood differently when living in asylum accommodation, as the space is disconnected to the host society and contact between the host and migrant population is minimal. Therefore, a certain group solidarity emerges in the housing as a creation of a local citizenship where place belonging occurs.

Asylum housing includes a broad range of housing characteristics and goes from an apartment or house of the private market to a mass refugee camp. The refugee camp has certain characteristics that private and public housing in European cities do not have. Indeed, when talking about refugee camps, we can visualize the image of a big settlement with tents of the United Nations in a border area such as Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh hosting Rohingyas and Moria Refugee camp in Lesbos (Greece) hosting Syrian refugees. However, Kreichauf (2018) argues that asylum-seeker and refugee accommodation in European cities have taken the characteristics of a classic refugee camp. The "Campization" of asylum housing is a process enabled by the restrictive EU laws on reception of migrants, where, on one hand, refugee camps as such in Europe have become normal during the years (for instance, La Jungle de Calais, the informal settlements of migrants in the North of Paris or the camp of migrants in Parc Maximilien in Brussels), and on the other hand, the changing notions and forms of containment, exclusion and temporality of these spaces. Kreichauf (2018) argues that this process of campization of refugee and asylum-seeker accommodation is nothing but an accelerator to the problem of socio-spatial segregation. Similarly, through studies of living conditions of asylum-seekers and refugees in camps across the United States, Ehrkamp (2016) states that the campization of refugee accommodation has turned camps into "detention centres" serving as sites prior to further deportation, as uncertainty is created among newcomers when treated as "detainees" in urban warehousing camps. Zill et. al. (2019) adds to the concept of "campization" that

“while it is a necessity to situate everyday practices within broader geopolitical trends, generalizations such as ‘campization’ also have a tendency to mask variation in asylum seeker and refugee reception, as these are all sites of territorial struggle between different individuals, groups and collectives”.

Furthermore, the tendency of restrictive migration policy in Europe is explained by the authors by two main factors (Zill et. al, 2019). First, the reworking and spatial reconfiguration of borders and second, the emergence of new migration management regimes intended to deter those fleeing violence and war from reaching safe havens (in the Global North).

Overall, recent studies have shown that housing conditions of asylum-seekers and refugees in cities have worsened due to policy at national and European scale to decrease the number of incoming migrants.

2.3 SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION AS AN INSTITUTIONAL PROCESS

While the socio-spatial segregation process of asylum-seekers occurs at the local scale, its origins rely on institutional practices that enable spatial and social phenomena to occur, such as racism and discrimination. Indeed, this accelerates the dichotomy between “us” and “them” and creates a sense of otherness in the society that affects migrants’ spatial appropriation of the city and production of space.

In fact, while some authors (Goodman, 2007; Testé et. al, 2012) argue that media discourse are the mechanisms for socio-spatial segregation, others (Kreichauf, 2013; Silver, 2007; Bolt et. al, 2010) argue that the origin of the problem are the institutions. On one hand, Goodman (2007) explains in his paper “Category use in the construction of asylum-seekers” through media analysis that media coverage on migration issues increases the categorization of social groups that enables stigmatization. Indeed, his findings show that 34% of the British interviewees agree that asylum policy is the most important political issue for voters, and 90% of them claimed that the number of asylum-seekers is a serious

problem in the United Kingdom. This statement, according to the author, is fostered by how the media -a key agent of power- creates the “problem” of migration using a particular way to narrate the facts. In 2021, this statement has become valid, as we have seen in Europe and increase of the number of voters in xenophobic, populist and anti-immigration political parties, taking a look to the political and electoral scape of Hungary (the government of Victor Orban), Poland (the government of Mateusz Morawiecki), Italy (the Lega Nord and Matteo Salvini) and France (Marine Le Pen’s *Rassemblement National*), among others. General opinion on migration is a consequence of media discourses that shape the political scene. Testé et. al (2012) showed in their research that western societies tend to believe that newcomers must adopt the meritocratic ideology if they want to be integrated in the host society and judged positively. In fact, the concept of “meritocracy” is one main factor when discussing the popular opinion on migration. On the other hand, socio-spatial segregation is not only created by media discourse, but also because of political interests and decisions. Indeed, socio-spatial exclusion is a complex set of processes in which particular groups of people are systematically rejected from opportunities or rights (for example, housing, participation in the elections, access to employment, or healthcare) that are generalized in the society in which they live in and are key to social integration (Silver, 2007). From another point of view, social exclusion happens in European cities because of the current urban socio-economic model this is present. However, social exclusion is a broad concept to investigate the development of society and the isolation of groups from the society. As Kreichauf (2013) states, social exclusion is linked to the spatial exclusion in the urban fabric. According to him, European cities have passed from being an *integration engine* to a place of exclusion. Similarly, Krämer-Badoni (2001) argues that the city is not only a place for integration, but also for disintegration. Indeed, different economic and social processes experienced in Europe from the 1970s boosted by the implementation of neoliberal policies have led to a more polarized society and has brought new forms of ethnic and residential segregation.

Asylum system, designed in institutions, is coordinated by European States via the European Union in order to create a unique policy in the member states. Currently, asylum-seekers are managed via an agreement between the different

member states that created the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). The CEAS, funded in 1999, is a complex web of directives and regulations asylum-seekers have to face in order to effectively achieve their legal administrative status in the country of residence. After the so-called 2015 *refugee crisis* where 1.8 million people applied for asylum in the member States of the EU (UNHCR, 2021), the European Commission reformed the previous regulation of Dublin II. Indeed, Dublin III states that asylum-seekers must apply for asylum in the State of the EU they first arrive in. This brought many criticisms on the EU in its management of migration, which has been increasingly taking a conservative approach. Critics blame the fact that southern European countries like Greece, Italy, or Spain, with a more recent immigrant tradition, have to “deal” with the high amount of people, as these States have less resources than countries in the north of Europe. States are responsible for the accommodation of asylum-seekers, so they are sent to asylum centres where they concentrate them. These centres are managed by regional or local authorities and are often placed in the suburbs or deprived areas of the city. For instance, a recent study by the European Commission (2018) has shown that the presence of asylum centres in some cities in the Netherlands has a negative impact on the housing market. In other words, the presence of an asylum centre in a neighbourhood has decreased prices of the surrounding housing.

Moreover, it is important to mention that policy is what determines segregation, but this differs between the different levels of administration and government. Researchers in Social and Political sciences have increasingly focused their studies on the conflict of administrations in the past years. In his article “Sanctuary Cities: What Global Migration Means for Local Governments”, Manfredi-Sánchez (2020) argues that cities, along with their citizens and mayors, have taken a different political position than national governments, who usually have a restrictive vision of migration. In fact, an integration in the citizen life is achieved by local initiatives integrating migrants as actors of the city such as, for instance, giving the possibility to vote in participatory processes of municipal decisions, the creation of a municipal subsidy, or access to health services. This confrontation between administrations has always existed in European cities, but the increase of incoming refugees and asylum-seekers from the 2015 so-called *refugee crisis* has intensified it. Moreover, Pettrachin (2019) goes further in the

research and argues that there are three characteristics which can lead to conflict in administration in migration policy: First, policy is influenced by the political party of the ruling administrations and in case of different ideologies, the conflict is likely to occur. Second, mayors tend to interpret the law and national guidelines in local policy, giving them the legal frame to design public policies. Finally, mayors' decisions are significantly influenced by their diverse interpretations of the causes of the many anti-migrant protests around them. Overall, policy interpretation by the several layers of administrations puts asylum-seekers as subjects of the political and administrative conflict in asylum policy.

Particularly in Paris, the conflict in migration policy of the French State and the municipality of Paris is noticeable, as Anne Hidalgo, the current socialist mayor of the French capital from 2014, decided to launch housing and social integration programs after the refugee crisis after seeing her city being drowned in an administrative chaos due to national policy.

Nevertheless, even if the socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers is evident in cities, Bolt et al. (2010) researched on the concept of (de)segregation, claiming that policy could be used in order to counterbalance segregation. Even if current (de)segregation policies are often inefficient (Bolt et al., 2010), the authors draw four areas of intervention in policy making to fight against segregation. First, providing opportunities for a housing career, where mixed housing types could attract new residents. Second, more social contacts and social cohesion, as social contact brings people together and creates potential for more locally based interactions. Third, social capital, social mobility, and integration, where social mix allows and produces more opportunities for productive contact between different types of people. Finally, Integration through planned dispersal, using urban authorities can develop mandatory “quotas” of migrants in certain areas. These proposals may seem easy to develop, but “social mix” and “segregation” are two complex concepts in which local contexts and culture play an important role, making it difficult to develop a universal solution against these phenomena. In addition to that, politicians have, for a long time, argued that a connexion between locals and newcomers is (almost) automatically achieved and stereotypes will end when different people get in touch. However, social scientists have shown the

contrary, as some stereotypes are actually enforced especially when the contact remains superficial. As a consequence, it is difficult to determine whether *social mix* is a concept that actually works as planned by policymakers, as it usually brings negative effects at the local scale like gentrification and social and spatial stereotypes.

2.4 ARRIVAL INFRASTRUCTURES AND TEMPORALITY

Within the existing asylum housing literature, there is a noticeable concept that has emerged in the last years and has been calling the attention of scholars. The word “arrival” implies both an action and a process. That is why migration studies have focused their research on the process of arrival with a spatial and geographical lens. “Arrival Infrastructures” is the idea that is used in this thesis. The purpose of this section is to provide a general overview on what has been researched on the notion of arrival infrastructures, which are a key concept to understand asylum housing and temporary urban projects.

When researching the notion of arrival of migrants and refugees into the city, it is important to mention the concept of “arrival city”. In its book *Arrival City. How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping our World*, Doug Saunders (2010) describes cities as transnational spaces where different cultures, traditions and backgrounds live together. This is, indeed, an interesting fact to study, because in the 21st century migrations to urban spaces have exploded and it is expected to rise even more. However, this presents two different outcomes because arrival cities are, according to the author,

“the places where the next great economic and cultural boom will be born or where the next great explosion of violence will occur [...] The difference depends on our ability to notice and our willingness to engage” (Saunders, 2010).

Saunders’ book exposes how migration has changed some cities throughout history and the different processes that they experience, such as Dhaka, Los

Angeles or Istanbul, among others. Indeed, cities in the contemporary era are embedded in the world economic system characterized by the constant movement of people and capital. In Europe, major powerful cities experienced their first urban modern development with the arrival of the rural exodus. In Paris, for instance, Saunders describes the example of Jeanne Bouvier, a 14-year-old woman from the Rhone valley who migrated to the French capital after escaping her village plumed with famine to stabilize her economic situation. She had to live in precarious conditions for decades in the so-called *chambres de bonne* in order to make a living and send expenses to her village. With the privileged economic situation of the city and the deprived situation of her hometown, she stayed for her entire life in Paris and became a Parisian. The history of Jeanne is one of millions, as Paris had experienced incoming migrants from the end of the 19th Century. The massive influx of migrants in cities was one of the reasons behind many urban transformations such as the plans of Haussmann, contributing to the segregation of the city whose effects can still be observed nowadays. (Saunders, 2010). Arrival cities include many different pathways and depend on the local context. In other words, what makes a city an “arrival” city is unique. In that sense, the history of how Paris became an arrival city is different from Mumbai. On one hand, Paris experienced the first waves of migration in the years of the industrial revolution in the 19th Century, where France, and especially Paris, was benefitting from a privileged political and economic position in the world. On the other hand, the history of migrants in Mumbai is more recent, as rural communities from the surrounding State of Maharashtra started coming to the city filled with jobs in the cotton industry in the decades after the independence (Saunders, 2010).

Within this theory of “arrival cities”, some scholars have researched on the concept of “arrival infrastructures”, giving a more detailed perspective as it is focused on the more local level. Arrival infrastructures can be defined as

“those parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled on arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated” (Meeus et al., 2018).

In the concept of “arrival infrastructures”, there is, on one hand, the notion of “arrival”, in which the authors focus on the dynamics where newcomers find some

stability in order to move on. The notion of “arrival” is dominated by politics and administration, focusing on the processes that migrants and refugees have to experience in order to stabilize their (administrative) situation. On the other hand, the authors use the notion of “infrastructure” to differentiate between the places where the state and the authorities deal with newcomers and the informal infrastructures that migrants and refugees use as a refusal of these state-imposed infrastructures. According to the authors, state infrastructures foster particular groups into “permanent arrival” or “permanent temporariness”, thus exposing the limits of this model of “integration”.

Furthermore, the concept of arrival infrastructures is important in order to understand the phenomenon of migration in cities, with migrants contributing to the spatial and socio-configuration of the city and actors in the place-making process. Arrival infrastructures are considered by Van Heur, Meeus & Arnaut (2018) as being “step-wise pathways” in which migrants stay for a defined period. Here, mobility and temporality collide in the process of arrival of migrants to the city, as migrants are selectively changing spaces through the urban landscape and throughout their (un)desired journey. In fact, the State and the authorities play an important role in this process, connecting with the politics of temporality explained previously. Moreover, infrastructures are usually stable and coherent in the urban landscape as it is a physical structure. However, “arrivals” in the city are a variable and random phenomenon that is unstable. Hence, arrival infrastructures become then *artifacts of governmentality* where the constant change of policies in administration and bureaucracy makes them machines of migrant arrival. This creates a form of “arrival normativities” where the governmental actors collaborate with civil society actors in order to standardize the process of migrant arrival. Finally, arrival infrastructures can also come from social practices. Indeed, these spaces often show their limits when major cases such as the 2015 *refugee crisis* occur. For instance, cities were overwhelmed in eastern Germany with the high amount of people coming, so they had to build new infrastructure in order to adapt their needs, thus exposing the lack of infrastructure in the German State.

The term arrival infrastructures does not only consider the physical built environment, but also what they represent. Indeed, these spaces are part of the

everyday life of migrants and become a key factor of their production of space. Hanhöster & Wessendorf (2020) argue that arrival areas and arrival infrastructures can help migrants in the arrival and adaptation process by enabling social mobility. This process is achieved by migrants' interaction with space and people, where social relations become an important part of becoming a citizen of the country or city. Plus, authors argue that urban planners and policy makers need to consider urban arrival areas as a key factor to integration. Otherwise stated, the complexity and the mobility of urban societies make arrival areas and arrival infrastructures at the center of the migration policy in terms of integration. However, it is important to mention that context plays an important role in the concept of arrival area and arrival infrastructure, as each city implies a different reality where certain processes occur and certain actors are engaged (Hanhöster & Wessendorf, 2020). Adding to this idea, the concept of "integration" is a very wide word that includes many aspects of the migration phenomenon, because nowadays European States assume that migrants are people that need to be "integrated" in their societies and cultures, implying that newcomers are automatically disintegrated from the host society in their arrival. Moreover, Kreichauf et al. (2020) have noted the "transformative power" of urban arrival infrastructures. In fact, the authors consider arrival infrastructures as "infrastructures of conversion" where newcomers shape the city-making process in the areas they live. In other words, arrival infrastructures are spaces of translocality, community making and transformation. For instance, Berlin's *Refugio* is a project of the Berlin City Mission where migrants and refugees are accommodated as well as cultural activities happening in the places. *Refugio's* approach to asylum housing was planned as a transitional place for migrants in order to find a more stable financial and housing situation in the next months or years. The authors' findings reveal that while an important proportion of residents stabilize their situation within months, governance of the space puts newcomers as mere spectators of the project. In other words, participatory processes in the project were almost non-existent, so migrants express a feeling of being controlled.

2.5 TEMPORARY URBAN PROJECTS AS ACTORS OF CHANGE

To this point of the theoretical framework of the thesis, I have focused on migration studies and asylum housing literature. However, in order to better contextualize the research, a general overview on the concept of *temporary urbanism* has to be approached. Particularly, I am merging temporary urbanism with social innovation. While the concept of “temporary urban project” is vague and difficult to frame, some authors have researched the social practices of these kinds of social innovative initiatives claiming their potential as actors of change in the urban fabric. The purpose of this section is to provide a theoretical background on what has been researched about the concept of socially engaged temporary urban projects in order to better frame the object of study of this master thesis. I also aim to better explain the reader what I understand by “temporary urban project”.

Urban planning is a process that has been constantly evolving through history. From the roman city to suburbanization passing through the medieval city and the Haussmann reforms, cities have experienced changes since their foundation according to the corresponding current of thought (for instance, neoclassical ideas influenced the construction of cities around the car), and they will still experience some major changes in the future. Today, cities are a complex web of actors intervening in the urban fabric where bottom-up planning has taken advantage on top-down planning. Indeed, new forms of planning have emerged over the last twenty years under the denominations of *participatory urbanism*, *Do-it-yourself urbanism*, *tactical urbanism* or *grassroots interventions*. While each form of participatory and bottom-up planning has been categorized, it seems difficult to agree on a clear definition. Temporary Urbanism is a contemporary urban planning technique and corresponds, to a certain extent, to the way in which the projects in this thesis are designed. The word includes the idea of temporality and that is why the Berlin-based studio Urban Catalyst (2003) wrote about temporary uses that: (1) citizens become temporary users in order to follow different aims; (2) specific variant sites attract specific temporary uses; (3) temporary uses are mostly organised in networks and use clusters; (4) temporary uses are initiated

through agents; (5) temporary uses are a laboratory for new cultures and economies; (6) temporary uses flourish with a minimum investment. Moreover, Wesener (2015) shows through examples in post-earthquake Christchurch (New Zealand) that temporary urbanism can help communities engage with their everyday life and act as city-making actors. However, the definition of temporary urbanism still remains challenging, with authors such as Wortham-Galvin (2013) describing it as a participatory planning process featuring short-term realistic action, the development of social capital, a focus on the local and a phased approach to permanent change. Indeed, the author argues that temporary urbanism often implies a reinterpretation of an existing space or infrastructure for alternative purposes with socio-political ambition for change. Nevertheless, Colomb (2012) states in her article “Pushing the urban frontier: Temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the Creative City discourse in 2000s Berlin” that municipalities have increasingly used these spaces as a tool for city branding as “creative city”, stopping the social impact of many of these projects. Indeed, temporary interventions in unoccupied spaces in the city can contribute to the progressive economic gentrification of the district (Andres, 2013; in Tardiveau & Mallo, 2014). In other words, while temporary urbanism presents the opportunity of an alternative planning by citizens and a better appropriation of space, some projects will end up following the market logic, turning these places into spaces of consumption.

This thesis project aims at a particular example of temporary urbanism initiatives. Even though “temporary urbanism” and “social innovation” are big words that include many aspects, several authors such as Tardiveau & Mallo (2014), De Souza (2006) or Dagevos & Veen (2019) have investigated the combination of both. De Souza (2006) states that social movements act as planning urban agents through their activities, as they seek for reorganisation of the social relations in the city. Furthermore, Tardiveau & Mallo (2014) suggest that “temporary interventions can be generative in making spatially embedded struggle visible and opening up opportunities that interlink the physical and socio-political spheres”. In other words, they argue that temporary urbanism can be used as a form of urban activism through design. Similarly, Dagevos & Veen (2019) describe an innovation as a proposal opening up and challenging daily life routines.

In fact, caused by an increasingly complex society with a multiplicity of actors, these socio-spatial transformations have implications for the social fabric of the city. Overall, we can say that temporary urban projects present an opportunity for a social innovative action and can act as social planning agents in the city in several aspects such as homelessness, unemployment or leisure.

More specifically, some attention was brought recently to social innovative projects with housing for migrants and refugees with a focus on the theory on the right to the city. On one hand, Tsavdaroglou et al. (2019) focus on citizen initiatives in Greek cities that counterbalance state-run housing facilities for migrants, often isolated from the local community in deprived areas and with no access to basic needs. Taking Lefebvre's Right to the City, they argue that such spaces are contributing to spatial justice on migrants and break up with the idea of "citizenship". Their findings show that acts of "care-citizenship" "have opened up new possibilities to challenge state migration policies while reinventing a culture of togetherness and negotiating locals' and refugees' multiple class, gender and religious identities". Likewise, Zill et al. (2019) have argued that "open" forms of asylum housing such as temporary urban projects have a positive impact on the social relations of migrants and refugees, fostering familiarity and closer relations between the locals and the newcomers.

3 METHODOLOGY

This research project is a qualitative study that aims to analyse the situation of asylum-seekers living in Temporary Urban Projects. Indeed, the city studied is Paris, where the studied subject is relevant because of the high presence (compared to other French cities and, more generally, to other European capitals) of asylum-seekers. Moreover, Paris has been experiencing a housing crisis since the last ten years due to development of financial capitalism in the city, and this also touches asylum housing. The subject of the thesis are temporary urban projects with housing facilities for asylum-seekers. More specifically, the case

study is “Les Cinq Toits”, a project that fits all the characteristics which are relevant to the research question and the problem statement. Indeed, the main focus on this thesis will be on this case, but it will be complemented with other initiatives sharing similar characteristics and objectives, such as home-hosting asylum-seekers, in order to give a broader view of existing alternative asylum housing in Paris. Furthermore, the thesis focuses on asylum-seekers, which is here understood as non-French people who have applied for asylum in France but do not have the refugee status yet. In other words, refugees-to-be (or not). I chose to focus on this particular group because the issue of housing is more relevant than refugees or economic migrants, as their first contact to the city is not helped by subsidies, families or any other support (apart from the state). The methodology of this research project is composed of the combination of three research methods: document analysis, interviews and observations. Plus, some maps were produced by computer. The original research plan relied more heavily on in-depth interviews, but due to Covid-19 restrictions which made travel more difficult and face-to-face interviews more risky, especially for people in vulnerable situations such as asylum-seekers who have limited access to healthcare services and might, therefore, be at greater risk, a wider document analysis was done. The purpose of this section is to provide a description of the research methods chosen as well as an overview of the case study.

3.1 CASE STUDY: LES CINQ TOITS

The case study is located in 51 Boulevard Exelmans in the 16th district of the municipality of Paris, France. I decided to focus on this project because, on one hand, I personally know the project as I was involved in a similar space during the year before the 4Cities Master, and on the other hand, as previously mentioned, the project fits all the characteristics of the research question and the problem statement of this thesis. “Les Cinq Toits” (The five roofs, in French) is a multi-stakeholder project held by the Associations Plateau Urbain and Association Aurore. The idea of Les Cinq Toits started in October 2018 when the municipality of Paris, owner of the space through Paris Habitat (Paris’ public housing company),

opened a call for an occupation of an old military (Gendarmerie Nationale) barracks in Boulevard Exelmans. Immediately, both associations previously mentioned expressed their interest in realising a project in the same logic as Les Grands Voisins, which was planned to end in the beginning of 2020. Given the already established connections and earlier positive collaborations, the local Government of Anne Hidalgo (Socialist party) gave the permission to both associations to pursue an occupation project as a transition towards the final use of the space. The plan of Paris Habitat for the space is to create social housing as well as refugee housing, as a strategy of the municipality to tackle the housing crisis. The first residents of Les Cinq Toits were housed at the beginning of November 2018 and it was planned to end in November 2020, but due to delay caused by the pandemic, the municipality gave the permit to the associations for one additional year.

Moreover, physically speaking, the space is divided between residential use and mixed-use public spaces.

On one hand, the three buildings of the place are about four to six stories high and each building hosts a different type of accommodation. When entering the project we come across the major building, which hosts the Hébergement d'Urgence pour Demandeurs d'Asile (Emergency accommodation for asylum-seekers), where 150 people are housed. After entering the public square we can notice the building on the left, which holds the Centre Provisoire d'Hébergement (Temporary Accommodation Centre) which hosts 100 refugees. Finally, the building on the right side of the public square is the Centre d'Hébergement d'Urgence (Emergency accommodation centre) where 100 people and families in difficulties are housed. As a consequence, a total of 350 people are living in Les Cinq Toits. As we can see, the biggest accommodation centre hosts Asylum-Seekers, thus giving importance to the strategy of the project towards mutual integration. The centres are managed by Association Aurore, which has a team of social workers who help residents in their needs and administrative tasks.

On the other hand, Les Cinq Toits also hosts spaces where non-resident people pursue their personal project or company, following the logic of the project holders towards the social and solidarity economy. Indeed, the project holds a

restaurant, the major attraction for visitors, La Table du RECHO (RECHO stands for “réfuge, chaleur, optimisme”: “refuge, warmth, optimism”) where professional cooks and residents combine, all with a sustainable and social lens as values. In addition, there is a Bike shop and a common workshop and these are spaces where the resident asylum-seekers are involved. But in Les Cinq Toits there are also spaces dedicated to young creators and entrepreneurs who are starting their personal project. Plateau Urbain, one of the associations leading the space, rents small spaces to creators and artists who want to begin a project in the social and solidarity economy at a very low price taking in account the parisian context. For instance, in the project we can find a plastic artist, a textile workshop, a chinese medicine clinic or a beekeeping station, among others. Finally, a common public square serving as the central meeting point of the space is the place where many encounters happen between different groups of people interacting with space.

According to its website, the project is guided by two objectives: on one hand, the socio-professional integration of people; and on the other hand, the openness to the city (Les Cinq Toits, 2021). First, the project aims to create spaces and activities which connect the residents, the neighbours and the external people working on site. Plus, they want to facilitate the access to the professional training and the labour market of migrants and refugees. Second, by openness to the city, the project holders mean to “Participate in the construction of the city of tomorrow by mobilizing vacant heritage in the service of united urban planning creating spaces of diversity and promoting the emergence of transitional urban planning projects”. Moreover, the question of migration is an important factor of the project, so they aim to “make the public aware of the challenge of migration” (Les Cinq Toits, 2021). Both objectives constitute the values of the project, which is embedded in the logic of the “Sustainable development” or the “Social and solidarity economy”.

Furthermore, the organisation of the project has a participatory approach in which the project holders collaborate with the other actors present in the space. Indeed, assemblies are organised each month to discuss the state of the place and the potential problems and events that are surging. The Conseil de l’Horloge has two formats: one is a monthly general assembly where decision-making is

discussed and general information is communicated; and the other is an occasional meeting where groups of work discuss problems that emerge in order to find a common solution.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

3.2.1 Observations

In order to get an understanding of the case study, I decided to physically go to the place. Two visits happened during the research process of this master thesis: first, in late October 2020, and second, in late June 2021. The number of visits to the place is limited because Covid-19 restrictions made travel to Paris difficult as I was based in Copenhagen and Madrid at the time. The objective behind the first visit in October 2020, when the research process was in an early development phase, was to conduct first observations exploring the space. During the time of my visit, approximately one hour, I visited the main spaces of the project and had a coffee in the restaurant, while taking some pictures. I decided to take some pictures because it allowed me to better evaluate the space in terms of physicality (Who big is it? How many people are present in the space? How is the surrounding neighbourhood and streets?). I could observe where the spaces are where I am permitted to be and the spaces restricted to visitors, so I didn't go to any private areas as I was unsure to ask someone. The second visit was done in order to conduct an interview with the technical manager of the project, but I also took some pictures. Moreover, the observations of the second visit were more targeted as the research process was more advanced and I could take the concepts in the literature review as a reference. More specifically, the observations in the second visit allowed me to better have an opinion on the quality of housing, and the level of mix and integration of different groups of people (resident asylum-seekers, resident refugees, visitors, etc). In this master thesis I also include some of my observations based on my professional experience in Les Grands Voisins, which I considered accurate because of the similarity with Les Cinq Toits and my high implication during more than nine months.

3.2.2 Interviews

Another research method that is used in this thesis is interviews. 8 interviews were carried on in total during June 2021. Five of them were asylum-seekers of the case study, one was the technical manager of Les Cinq Toits, and the other two were association workers. First, the interviews with the resident asylum-seekers allowed me to better understand their role in the project and their perspective about several issues like spatial appropriation, relationship with locals and general satisfaction. Interviews were conducted in person on the morning of June 28 2021. It is important to mention that the language barrier was a factor that limited in time the interviews, using english as the main communication language. Moreover, interviews were prepared but interviewees were not contacted in advance. In other words, I approached people that day explaining my research and asking their consent for an interview. The interviews were not recorded and neither the names or the age are used in this master thesis because of ethical reasons. The semi-structured interviews can be found in the appendix X and were re-written for the reader to better understand. Second, the interview with the technical manager of Les Cinq Toits allowed me to better understand how the project works from the perspective of the associations. More specifically, I was aiming to know what their role was in the fight against socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers. The interview was conducted the morning of June 28 and was not recorded for technical reasons, so the transcription in the appendix 2 is based on the notes I took during the one hour long interview. Third, the interview with Maguelone Schnetzler, from the APUR, was made in order to better understand the context of temporary urban projects in Paris with asylum housing. Indeed, the report by the APUR was an inspiration for this master thesis and a large source of information, so I wanted to go further and ask specific questions about my topic. I was aiming to know how these projects were, in their opinion, contributing to counter-balance socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers. The interview was conducted on June 10 via Zoom and was recorded. Finally, the interview via Zoom with Anajli Claes, from Réfugiés Bienvenue, was done in order to better understand the housing situation of asylum-seekers in Paris and how it affects their socio-spatial segregation. Moreover, it helped me analyse another alternative asylum

housing initiative different from the projects that I was studying. This was the first planned interview and when it was planned, the research process was in an early phase. With being the first interview done, questions were large and general. However, I could include it in my project by enlarging the concept of temporary urban projects and taking the whole as alternative asylum housing initiatives.

In the research design, interviews were the preferred method because it could allow me to pursue an in-depth analysis of the case study, getting in touch with all the stakeholders involved. However, as mentioned before, Covid-19 restrictions made international travel difficult, so in-person interviews were not considered throughout 2021. Plus, I did contact many other stakeholders from the project, ranging from the restaurant holders to the social workers passing through artists and small entrepreneurs working in the projects. None of them answered my emails despite my reminder messages. I consider this a limitation in the research process because my thesis arguments depended on them. Nonetheless, the fact that little stakeholders responded to my emails and were not interested in conducting an interview is the illustration on how difficult it is to investigate these types of initiatives.

3.2.3 Document analysis

Several documents were used during the research process of this master thesis, where research reports, newspaper articles and websites of associations and organisations were the main source of information. Documents were used in different contexts, but in general they provide a better understanding of the case study and the asylum housing situations in France and Paris. The documents were analysed taking in account the research question and the topic.

3.2.4 Maps

The maps present in this master thesis were realised using the program CARTO. They aim to provide a visual representation of the analysed data and better understanding of the context.

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following section of this Master thesis includes the results of the data collection and its analysis. Through different methods explained previously, data was collected in order to answer the research question. Overall, the results confirm the hypothesis. However, some findings in the data collection show the limits of the hypothesis and present a dialectic response to the research question.

4.1 THE EMERGENCE OF NEW APPROACHES TO ASYLUM HOUSING IN PARIS

4.1.1 Asylum housing in temporary urban projects

European cities have experienced a rapid increase in the past years on temporary urban projects, with old and abandoned sites being converted into consumption spaces, social gathering places, workspaces, temporary housing, among others. In French, these spaces are called hybrid places (*Lieux hybrides*) or Third-places (*Tiers-lieux*). While denomination of these spaces remains a difficult task, Ray Oldenburg (1989) wrote in his book “The Great Good Place” that third places are spaces in between first places, home, and second places, the work or study place. Here, third places are, generally speaking, leisure and relaxing spaces where humans interact with each other. Yet, mathematically speaking, a third constitutes an identical part of a whole divided in three. This statement constitutes the argument of Oldenburg, with the third-places being as important as the first and the second and crucial to the well being. The term *hybrid places* refers to the mixture in these places between people and activities that contributes to the

phenomenon of bottom-up city making. Indeed, third places and hybrid places are two similar ways to describe the projects in which this master thesis is focusing.

Particularly, the French capital and its urban area has an important number of these spaces, and they are increasingly becoming the favourite leisure, home and work places for Parisians. From a big street food project in an abandoned logistic site next to Gare de Lyon Station (Ground Control, 12th Arrondissement) to a refugee housing project in one of the busiest boulevards of the city (La Maison des Réfugiés, 14th Arrondissement), Paris has a wide variety of these projects. Indeed, each one of them has its own characteristics and attracts (or not) different kinds of public. The Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR), an organisation dedicated to collect data in different subjects in urban development such as housing, air quality, or mobility, classified the different characteristics of these spaces in a recent study about asylum housing in temporary urban projects. They stated that there were three main types of projects, but some of them will be a hybrid between the three (APUR, 2021):

- Mixture within the space: In this case, the accommodation facilities and the residents share the place with other actors such as artists, consumption spaces, or small offices.
- Mixture within housing: This means that in the project there is different typology of accommodation. For instance, in the same project exists a centre for refugees and a centre for isolated families.
- Opening to the public: Some projects have an ambition of integrating the project in the urban imaginary of the neighbours by integrating it into the urban landscape. In order to do that, non-resident and non-working public are accepted to enter for free in the space.

Maguelone Schnetzler, from the APUR, adds that

“The characteristics of these places consist in three main subjects: (1) Shared space between residents and the population of the neighbourhood (2)

Initiatives of integration into the professional world (3) Creation of new dynamics in the neighbourhood”

The projects that this master thesis focuses on, particularly Les Cinq Toits, contain at least the opening to the public and the mixture within the space. Indeed, a mixture within housing is not relevant in the socio-spatial segregation process of asylum-seekers as this situation looks at the interaction between locals and newcomers. Otherwise stated, this thesis looks at spaces where there is interaction between locals and newcomers and now between resident asylum-seekers, as mixture within housing means different types of asylum accommodation (see below) are in the same project. Furthermore, a certain kind of interaction has to happen in order to counterbalance socio-spatial segregation. This type of interaction is what the projects are looking at: a mix between locals and newcomers made by events and activities but also naturally through the spatial appropriation process.

The French capital is increasingly seeing the development of new approaches to emergency housing through the lens of the theory of the right to the city and using temporary urbanism. It is important to mention that emergency housing includes a wide variety of population and housing types. In fact, there are several types of emergency housing coordinated by public authorities. In this thesis we mainly look at the housing for asylum-seekers: *Hébergement d'urgence des demandeurs d'asile* (HUDA), *Centre d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile* (CADA), *Dispositif de préparation au retour* (DPAR), and *Programme d'accueil et d'hébergement des demandeurs d'asile* (PRAHDA). Usually, these asylum accommodations are hotel-like structures located in the outskirts of the city in non-residential zones. For example, the HUDA run by Association Aurore in Goussainville (18km from Paris) is located in an area of commercial activities where one usually finds restaurants such as McDonalds or KFC and within the flight path of Charles de Gaulle airport. Indeed, this housing enters within the characteristics of the asylum centre as a space of exclusion as explained in the literature review (Kreichauf, 2018; Steigmann & Misselwitz, 2020; Zill et al, 2019). Geographical and contextual factors such as noise pollution caused by planes and

the architecture of the asylum centre makes HUDA Goussainville a camp-like structure where the process of socio-spatial segregation seems evident.

Nevertheless, not all asylum centres in Paris are like HUDA Goussainville. We have been explaining in this master thesis that there is an increasing trend in Paris and France in terms of renovating the system of asylum housing by bottom-up organisations. This situation comes at the same time with the growth in incoming people seeking asylum and the housing crisis that affects millions of inhabitants in the french capital. One particular project is mentioned here as being the first temporary urban project with housing for migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and people in precarious situations and serve as an example to similar projects that emerged in the following years. *Les Grands Voisins* (The big neighbours, in french) was a multi stakeholder project in the 14th district between different associations with the objective of “promoting integration through social diversity and the creation of commons” (Les Grands Voisins, 2021). Located in the XVIth Century old *Saint-Vincent-de-Paul* hospital, the municipality of Paris decided in 2014 to offer the space to associations for an occupational project after the sale of the space to a Real Estate company, Paris Batignolles Aménagement. The now-owner of the space designed a highly-profitable housing project with the ambition of becoming the first eco-housing project within the city limits. The process of development of the project was marked by the cooperation between the managing associations and the owner of the space who permitted Les Grands Voisins to happen during five years (2015-2020). Moreover, the support of the municipality of Paris and the 14th district was key to gain financial support and popular approval from parisians. The project housed more than 600 permanent residents during the first years and then decreased to 100 over the two last years, with 40 of them being minor isolated asylum-seekers. In terms of socio-spatial segregation, Les Grands Voisins was a first experiment to evaluate the effectiveness of these kinds of social innovative initiatives. Over the final years of the project and because of its increasing attention, the ambitions of the associations became larger and other projects inspired in Les Grands Voisins emerged through the city (Les Grands Voisins, 2021).

As Paris has seen the emergence of these initiatives spreading around, the city has evolved and the built environment is seen differently, as temporary

urbanism becomes the norm in urban development in the french capital. Paris, as a Sassen's "Global City", is constantly changing its urban landscape with the lens of the financial and service economic sector. In this sense, the capital is a "money machine" where each piece of land is profitable and every individual is subject to be a consumer. However, it is also home to innovative stakeholders who see the city differently. That is why temporary urbanism has become so popular and has helped people to believe that another kind of city making is possible. Nevertheless, temporary urbanism is limited: on one hand, it creates a different urban landscape and an alternative city-making focused on the people; but on the other hand, temporary urbanism is following market logic as it is a transitional process to an urban development for profit. In other words, temporary urbanism in Paris has helped citizens and associations create an awareness on the problems of the neoliberal city, but contributes to it indirectly with only being temporary.

After looking at the locations and composition of temporary urban projects with housing for migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers or other vulnerable populations, the findings show that there are 9 sites across Paris. However, in terms of accommodation for asylum-seekers (HUDA and CADA), there are only two temporary urban projects in the urban area of Paris, one being the case study and the other located in the southern suburbs of the city. As a consequence, while temporary urban projects have been involved in accommodating the vulnerable population, only two of them propose housing for asylum-seekers. While only 2 out of 9 temporary urban projects are accommodating asylum-seekers, the others focus on housing for refugees and other types of public. In total, only 374 asylum-seekers live in temporary urban projects in metropolitan Paris, representing 3.2% of the total 11 406 accommodated asylum-seekers. However, people with an asylum status (refugees) have a more privileged situation compared to those without as they are included in the majority of the 9 temporary urban projects. In fact, refugees may be more participative in the project as their administrative situation is solved, and thus their "integration" process is more advanced than asylum-seekers. Then, socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers is not a priority for organisers of such projects, as they may prefer to host refugees.

Moreover, as we can observe in the map below (*figure 1*), Paris also has a limited number of temporary urban projects with housing in proportion to the population of migrants (asylum-seekers+refugees). A large number of migrants in the capital are hosted in private housing or, in some cases, are homeless. Then, the city of Paris needs more asylum centres in temporary urban projects as there is an increasing number of asylum applications and the subsequent housing crisis deteriorates their situation. However, it seems that the location of the spaces are usually within the municipality of Paris. This contributes to the idea of the engagement of associations against segregation of emergency housing, where migrants and refugees are closer to the urban core and the process of “integration” can happen more easily.

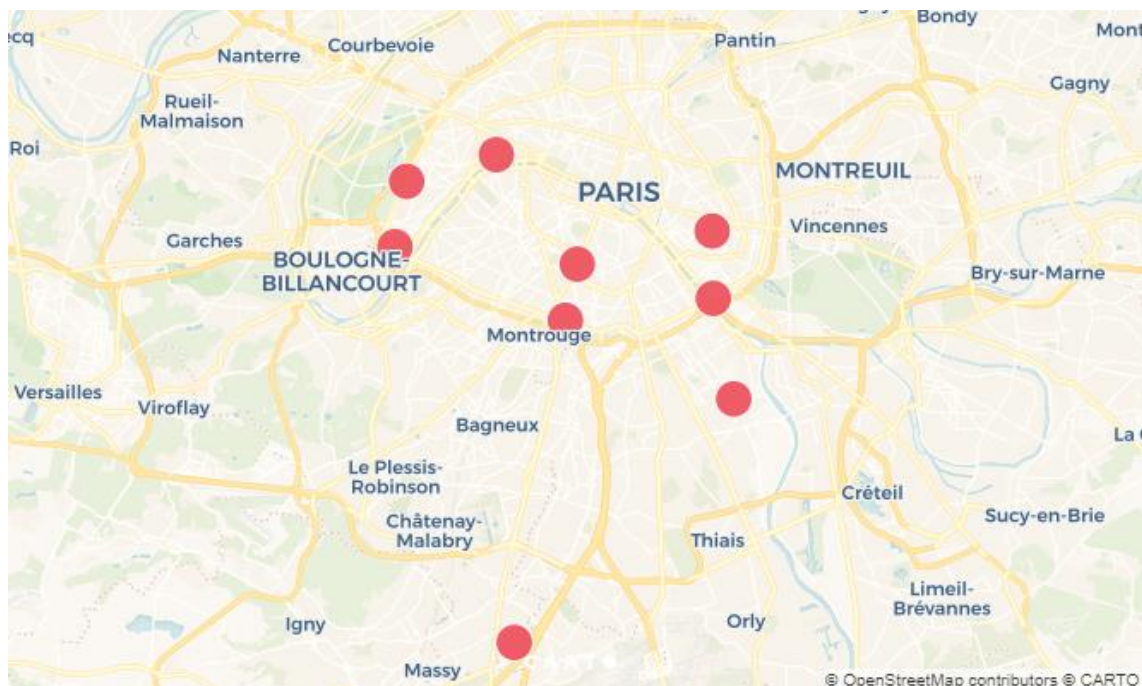


Figure 1 Temporary Urban Projects with accommodation in Paris urban area. Source: APUR.

Furthermore, as we can see on the map below (*figure 2*), there are 19 asylum-centres (HUDA and CADA) in the urban area of the French capital. Each one of them has a different number of people hosted, but they are all part of the French asylum system. The results of this research show that the majority of the asylum centers in Paris are located out of the city limits and that only two of them are included in temporary urban projects. Indeed, on one hand, the problem of socio-

spatial segregation of asylum-seekers seems to be confirmed here, with geographical factors creating a spatial barrier between locals and newcomers. However, it is also relevant to mention that several asylum centres are located in municipalities of the *banlieue* with a high proportion of immigrants such as Saint-Denis, Sevrans or Nanterre. As a consequence, factors such as the presence of many arrival infrastructures, the presence of a community of the nationality of the asylum-seeker or the number of asylum administrative centres can prevent the process from happening. On the other hand, only two out of nineteen asylum centres are located in temporary urban projects, with only one of them being in the central ring and the second one located 8.5km south. As a consequence, it seems that temporary urban projects with housing for asylum-seekers remain rare in the capital. Otherwise stated, these initiatives are not common enough to evaluate its effects on the overall process of socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers in Paris.

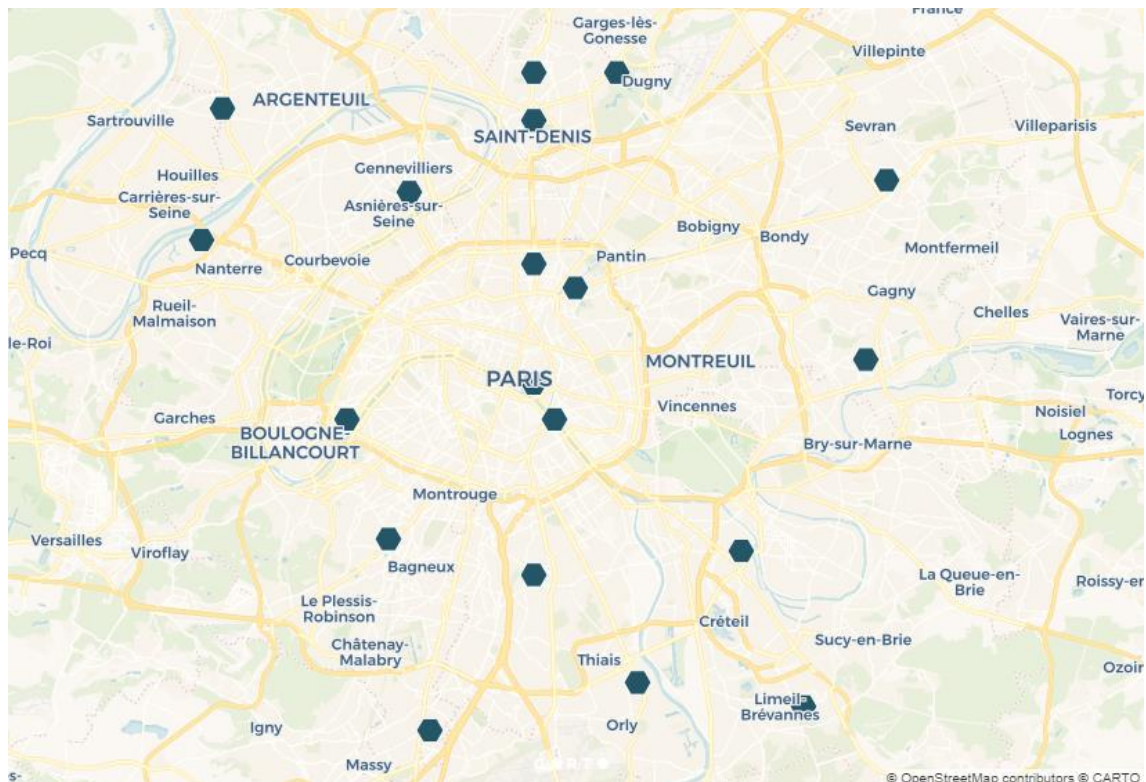


Figure 2: HUDAs and CADAs across metropolitan Paris. Source: APUR.

Moreover, the report “Hébergement d’urgence: approches nouvelles, projets hybrides” was done by the APUR in february 2021 in order to evaluate the temporary urban projects with emergency housing (for migrants and nationals) in Paris. In the document, APUR choses a wide variety of projects including the case study of this thesis. Before analysing their findings with the socio spatial segregation process, we have to mention the results. Overall, the organisation reacted positively to these kinds of initiatives as they propose an alternative solution to the housing crisis in Paris.

(1) The APUR first stated that sharing time and collaboration between residents and project holders fosters integration of residents in the project. According to them, “these citizen initiatives bring a complementary answer to the classical emergency housing alternatives (...) The concept of “reception” is understood through the added value of the interaction between locals and newcomers” (APUR, 2021).

(2) Moreover, new partnerships between organisations associate and collaborate, which brings a collaborative point of view in city making. However, as they may come from different backgrounds (cultural associations, social workers, construction, for example), some common projects need to go through a process of acculturation where stakeholders take some time to find a suitable working process.

(3) Plus, these new approaches to housing are emerging because of the institutionalisation of pre-existing practices. In other words, some informal practices became formal, as the case of the high school in the 10th arrondissement which was squatted by migrants and then became an emergency shelter held by an association because the town hall gave the permit.

(4) In terms of the physicality of these sites, modular construction models and revalorisation of existing housing present an opportunity to the development of new housing approaches, and this participates to balance the increasing housing pressure.

(5) Moreover, these new housing approaches should have the acceptance of the neighbourhood where it is located, that is why mediation and information has to

be done before the realisation of the project in order to facilitate the relationships between locals and newcomers.

(6) Furthermore, a clear delimitation of the space between public, shared and private has to be done in order to ensure cohabitation between residents and stakeholders. Nonetheless, this is only feasible if both parties (resident and project holders) agree on this delimitation, as conflict of interest can happen in the space. From my personal experience in Les Grands Voisins, shared spaces were often a source of conflict between a particular group of residents, between residents and other actors, and between exterior public and residents. Also, the organisation of common projects and activities fosters the creation of an environment that encourages meetings.

(7) In addition, there has to be sufficient and adapted human resources in the site in order to ensure cohabitation between residents and fulfil their needs. This may seem simple, but from my experience, asylum housing needs a number of social workers proportional to the number of residents, as not enough personnel in Les Grands Voisins was often a source of conflicts.

(8) Project holders must ensure a non-precarious temporality. Indeed, the temporality of the project may cause the quality of the housing to decrease because of financial or material reasons. Plus, residents still face temporality because of their administrative situation and the uncertainty about the ending of the project (when will I be transferred and in what conditions?). That is why project holders must promote decent and qualitative accommodation by differentiating between housing and shelter (long/medium term vs. short term).

(9) One important factor that contributes to the creation of emergency housing in temporary urban projects is the political, financial and technical support by municipalities. This is especially relevant in the Paris context, where the municipal government is increasingly encouraging these initiatives. In parallel, there is a need for a new policy approach to ensure the correct development of these projects.

(10) Finally, the report argues that it is necessary to temporarily occupy abandoned spaces in the city, particularly during the current COVID-19 crisis

where buildings like hotels remain empty. The role of institutions and organisations is to present the benefits to landowners of pursuing an occupational project in their property.

4.1.2 The administrative conflict between local and state administration

After researching on the process of development of these initiatives, the results show that the support of the municipal authorities is crucial to their existence. Moreover, we can observe that there is a confrontation between state and municipal authorities in terms of asylum housing in Paris. The purpose of this section is to analyse the Paris vs. State conflict in asylum policy in order to understand the institutionalisation of temporary urban projects with housing for asylum-seekers and to what extent it is contributing to an original approach to counterbalance socio-spatial segregation.

First, it seems that the approach to asylum is different from the state and the municipality. Taking the words of Barcelona's mayor Ada Colau, *"it may be that States grant asylum, but it is cities that provide shelter"* (The Guardian, 2016). Indeed, the 2015 so-called "refugee crisis" saw the local v national administration conflict emerge. As cities saw on its streets a constant flow of migrants, national governments became more restrictive than ever in their management of immigration. These new restrictions came at the European level because of the engagement of the European Union, where we saw new instruments of regulation such as the controversial Dublin III procedure. In this sense, France also saw a significant increase in asylum applications and enforced border controls to stop migrants entering the country. Nevertheless, Paris, which was in the middle of a housing crisis, experienced a rise in the incoming migrants where public authorities struggled to accommodate these people. As a consequence, many migrants ended up living in the street and several "migrant camps" emerged in the north of the capital, thus enforcing their socio-spatial segregation as they were located in "non-places" such as highway interchanges or old railway tracks. The response of the law enforcements was to evict and dismantle the camps, raising concerns in civil society that claim Anne Hidalgo's municipality for action.

However, Anne Hidalgo said in a statement that these decisions were taken by the National Police and that unfortunately Paris has not sufficient competences to prevent these violent events from happening (The Conversation, 2019). Here, the battle between the different levels of administration resulted in an effort of the government of Hidalgo to support “innovative initiatives” that could help the city tackle the asylum housing crisis (The Conversation, 2019).

Second, in that line, the municipality of Paris signed in 2019, along with other 19 stakeholders, the *Charte en faveur du développement de l'occupation temporaire comme outil au service du territoire parisien* (Charter in favour of the development of the temporary occupancy as a service tool for the parisian territory, in french) where it publicly encourages stakeholders to pursue temporary urban projects. According to Maguelone Schnetzler from APUR, the confidence of the municipality of Paris on associations and organisations that manage temporary urban projects was a key contributor to the realisation of this document. Moreover, experience and time have made that these initiatives are easy to emerge because of their good relations (Interview to Maguelone Schnetzler, APUR). Then, the charter is the direct result of this and permits future vacant spaces to be occupied for a temporary project in line with the objectives of the charter. The municipality of Paris wants to develop projects similar to the most famous existing ones, notably Les Grands Voisins (the main inspiration). All 19 stakeholders that signed the document engage themselves to “make the city differently” and respect the principles explained. Overall, the eight principles of the charter are resumed in the following way (Ville de Paris, 2019):

- (1) The planning process of the project is multi-stakeholder and benefits from the financialization by public authorities
- (2) The project has to follow the objectives and values of the Social and Solidarity Economy
- (3) Diversification of activities in the future project is encouraged in order to maximize the social impact of the space

More importantly, the charter establishes that a “priority to emergency housing and procedures of integration by economic activities shall be given when

the built environment and the temporality of the projects allows it” (Ville de Paris, 2019). In that sense, the municipality of Paris is encouraging alternative forms of asylum housing because they believe that these types of initiatives foster the integration of migrants and refugees into the job market and the Parisian everyday life. Otherwise stated, Parisian municipal authorities are engaged in the measures against socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers through the support to the development of temporary urban projects with asylum accommodation. This contributes to the idea that local governments are a key factor to counterbalance the restrictive policies of the State and to propose new approaches to the problem of socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers in the urban environment.

However, the charter also shows the limits of the temporary urban projects of Paris. Indeed, the document was initiated by the local government of Anne Hidalgo and was supported by 19 other stakeholders who were already involved in occupational projects or were interested. The 19 organisations come from different backgrounds: there are transport companies, public companies and associations, but most importantly, private real estate companies. Novaxia, Elogie Siemp and Sogaris are three examples of the real estate companies that have signed the charter, and are known in France and Paris for their relevance in the real estate market. The reason behind the signature of these companies is because many of them own empty properties in the city and/or are going to conduct significant real estate developments. As a consequence, one can think that these structures are interested in these initiatives for various reasons. On one hand, temporary urban projects act as a “green-washing activity” in order to gain public confidence and legitimate future real estate developments. By permitting and/or participating in temporary urban projects, real estate companies who own the land can benefit from the acceptance of the civil society and the public authorities as it makes them look like they follow sustainable development guidelines and support participative bottom-up urbanism. For instance, while the *écoquartier* being built by Paris Batignolles Aménagement after Les Grands Voisins integrates some elements of the project, housing is being sold at market price in a highly profitable land in the city centre of Paris. On the other hand, by investing in these spaces, they can also gain a financial benefit by turning them into spaces of consumption. This follows the idea of Claire Colomb (2012) where she argued that the logic behind the

commodification of these spaces is city marketing and the promotion of the creative city. As a consequence, temporary urban projects have the same effect as other actions by the finance and real estate sector on the city: gentrification.

4.1.3 Hosting asylum-seekers in particular homes: the perfect connection?

After having researched about temporary urban projects in Paris and their approach to asylum housing, it is also relevant to mention other initiatives that have emerged in the past years. Finding its origins in the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, Europeans have increasingly hosted migrants and refugees in their own homes. Usually, the process of welcoming a migrant in particular homes is helped by associations. In fact, these projects are proposing an alternative to state-run asylum housing and act as barriers to homelessness and socio-spatial segregation.

It is important to say that there is a multiplicity of actors in alternative asylum housing. From associations and organisations to public authorities passing through civil society, asylum housing seems to be organised by a large range of stakeholders. Then, apart from the State, other actors are implicated in the housing crisis of asylum-seekers. This is especially relevant in the Paris context, where 50% of asylum-seekers do not have a home (Interview to Anjali Claes, Réfugiés Bienvenus, 2021). As a consequence, creative and innovative initiatives are needed to solve this problem, as I think letting the problem go can cause conflict in societies and it breaks basic human rights. Indeed, every individual should have the right to a home wherever he is and wherever his or her nationality is. The following paragraphs will address this issue explaining how different actors have researched a solution against socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers apart from temporary urban projects mentioned before.

A concept that has emerged during the past years in Paris and, more generally, throughout Europe, is *tiny homes*. Tiny homes are small habitational units that fulfills the basic amenities of housing: a sleeping dorm, a cooking area, toilets and bathroom, and a resting/recreational area. This is the idea behind *Réfugiés Bienvenue*, a Parisian association dedicated to improving living conditions of asylum-seekers and refugees. One of their initiatives is the creation of a link

between locals and newcomers by housing. In fact, they put in contact particulars and asylum-seekers or refugees when a person is interested in hosting one person. There are two methods: rather you have a space in your housing that you want to offer (like a spare room or a studio), or they can build a small habitational unit in your garden where the refugee or asylum-seeker will live. Both programs are temporary, ranging from three to twelve months, and are constantly helped by social workers and association members (Réfugiés Bienvenue, 2021). The promotion of this initiative is presented on the website:

“Accommodation in private homes helps get people off the streets and gives them a place to live where they can rebuild themselves, find a little stability, tranquility, and privacy. Family life in a French home or in a French home also makes it possible to meet new people, to learn French, to build up a useful network to find accommodation, training or work once refugee status has been obtained. . Cohabitation is for you the opportunity to build a strong human relationship, to discover during an exchange a new person, his way of life, his culture” (Réfugiés Bienvenue, 2021)

Indeed, the association aims to propose a solution to the lack of asylum housing in the Paris urban area because of four main reasons (Réfugiés Bienvenue, 2021):

- The asylum procedure (theoretically 6 months long) can sometimes take more than two years.
- Not every asylum-seeker is admitted in state housing (Centre d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile, CADA)
- Asylum-seekers do not have the right to work until 6 months waiting. However, those who have a job are a tiny proportion.
- Their state subsidies are insufficient to fulfill their housing needs.

Then, the asylum-seeker or refugee begins a new stage of cohabiting with new people. Thus, the connection between locals and newcomers is here being made through housing and this goes beyond the idea of Les Cinq Toits or similar temporary urban projects because it enables asylum-seekers to develop a more intimate relationship with locals as it affects everyday life. In other words,

cohabitation between locals and newcomers is the ultimate form of connection because it happens directly in the household in a more familiar way. For instance, the testimony of Caroline, hosting an asylum-seeker, speaks for itself:

“I am paying a debt to the universe. My grandmother arrived in France like 500,000 other Spanish political refugees in 1939, she is the only one in my family who escaped the camps because she was hosted by a French family. (...) N. is a lawyer in her country and defended women's rights. We have a lot of values in common. I like this meeting. There have been tough times and I would say it's important to set boundaries, to express yourself and not to forget yourself in this relationship. This experience allowed me to position myself differently, to discover things about myself by confronting myself with difference. It makes me want to get involved even more.” (Réfugiés Bienvenue, 2021)

Then, despite the uncommon practice of welcoming refugees and asylum-seekers at home, it seems that locals are proud of this phenomenon and evaluate it positively. Plus, the resident asylum-seekers or refugees share this view, as the example of Valentin shows:

“I lived with them for over a year until I obtained subsidiary protection in 2016 allowing me to work and to be officially welcomed in France. My hosts helped me put my file in order and allowed me to put my mind to the paperwork. Now it's like my family! I think accommodation is extremely important because it allows you to know that you are not alone, to survive. We did everything together with my hosts and today we have kept very good contacts: they helped me find an apartment so that I could live on my own.” (Réfugiés Bienvenue, 2021)

Moreover, the association has helped 30 to 40 people, has hosted 50,000 nights since its foundation in 2015 and 90% of people have an independent life after the process. This puts the initiative in the frontline against socio-spatial

segregation as, by making locals and newcomers live together in one space, it breaks social and spatial barriers.

However, despite that the practice of hosting an asylum-seeker is done, the legality of it is often on the limits. Indeed, until 2012, hosting an undocumented migrant was illegal and punishable by imprisonment for five years and a fine of 30,000 euros. Nevertheless, the French prime minister Manuel Valls relaxed the law in 2012 noting that the aid to undocumented migrants was not a crime anymore, but only when “it ensures dignified and decent living conditions abroad, or any other aid aimed at preserving the latter's dignity or physical integrity” (France 24, 2016). The confusion of this last sentence gives the impression that there is still a bit of illegality in hosting asylum-seekers and refugees, as a judge can interpret *physical integrity* differently. Otherwise stated, it is difficult to evaluate for the judge whether hosting an undocumented migrant at your home is an aid aimed at preserving the individual's physical integrity.

Furthermore, after having investigated the process of hosting a migrant in particular homes, it seems that public authorities are actually encouraging it. The project *Cohabitations Solidaires* (Solidarity Cohabitation) by the *Délégation interministérielle à l'hébergement et à l'accès au logement* (Inter Ministerial delegation for emergency housing and access to housing, Dihal) was launched in 2017 to propose an alternative housing to refugees that, after having their administrative process finished, do not find a solution for their housing situation (Cohabitations solidaires, 2021). The project puts in contact associations, refugees and particulars interested in hosting in a space of their home a person. Then, social support is provided by the authorities to both refugees and hosts in order to maximize the process of independence. However, we can see here that this project is aimed at refugees, so people with international protection and administrative papers in order. Therefore, asylum-seekers, who are in the process of getting their refugee status, are ignored in this measure. The most reliable reason for this is the previously-mentioned law of hosting undocumented migrants and the fact that asylum-seekers may be expelled from France because their status was refused. Here, public authorities are engaged in the protection of refugees but not in

asylum-seekers, who face a more disadvantaged situation in Paris in terms of housing.

Overall, the initiatives of hosting an asylum-seeker in particular's homes is, indeed, a way to create a connection between locals and newcomers and a temporary solution to housing for the asylum-seeker. However, this practice remains quite unpopular, as only 12% of French people would agree to host a migrant in their house (Le Figaro, 2017). It is also important to mention that several conditions have to occur in order to host a migrant in your house or apartment, such as having a sufficient space, but more importantly, being engaged in the migration issues.

4.2 CASE STUDY: LES CINQ TOITS: AN INCLUSIVE PROJECT?

4.2.1 Observations

The observations and further analysis of the case study can confirm or contradict the statements of the APUR report. Indeed, it is important to mention that they have studied many projects and do not focus on the process of socio-spatial segregation but rather on the practices and activities they organise.

First, the division of the space in Les Cinq Toits is recognizable when entering the place. The public square of the place is about half the size of a football field and it is divided in "sections". On one hand, there are the spaces the residents use, and on the other hand, there are the spaces the other actors (the managers, the artists, and the visitors) will use. In the square one can find wooden DIY tables with chairs, a ping-pong table, a baby-foot and bicycle parking. Indeed, it is true to say that there is mixture on the public square as it is not appropriated by one group of people. Nevertheless, through my observations I have noticed that groups were not mixing. In other words, groups of residents will stay in one corner of the space and the managers will stay in the opposite site. This gives an impression of integration, but not inclusion. As a consequence, the findings of the APUR and the objectives that the project holders claim are right as they talk about integration - people sharing a space together, but, however, the feeling one get when entering

the square and observing the groups is that it is a space of work for the people working there and a space for leisure for residents. This connects to the idea that it is not proven that social mix is feasible.

Secondly, first observations on the site make one conclude that the existing housing does not seem to be precarious from the outside. Indeed, housing is located on five-six storey buildings with high ceilings and big windows. Ground floors are not used for rooms but rather serve as meeting rooms for residents, laundries and artist and entrepreneur workshops. Common rooms for residents have open windows looking at the public square so it is easy to see inside them. The rooms were clean and equipped with (locked) computers, board games, a coffee machine, a refrigerator and some tables with seats. Nevertheless, access to housing is forbidden to non-residents and staff, as when trying to enter the building, I was blocked by a door with a code and a sign stating that access is restricted. This makes it difficult to evaluate the living conditions of the residents in the interior. Overall, we can say that even if the housing situation was difficult to evaluate, it seemed like quality housing and did not give the impression of precarious temporary housing for asylum-seekers.

Third, human resources in the project are abundant, but it is difficult to find the role of each individual. As there are 350 people living in Les Cinq Toits, taking my experience in Les Grands Voisins as an example, one can expect that there is, at least, one social worker per twenty inhabitants (so approximately 17-18 social workers). Observations on the project cannot confirm the exact number of human resources in the project. In the right side of the main hall there is the reception, where the office of some of the social workers of the Association Aurore are located. One can count about five people working in that space in different positions, from the security guard to the general coordinator of the project in Association Aurore. Moreover, it is also difficult to estimate who is a “social worker” in the space and his role. Indeed, officially, social workers of association aurore are working to “help and support people in precarious or excluded situations towards autonomy through accommodation, care and integration” (Association Aurore, 2021). More specifically, the role of social workers of Aurore with asylum-seekers is to help them in their process of arrival and meet their needs

(hygiene, meals, accommodation and social support). With the observations I have made in the public spaces of the project, it was hard to notice social workers, so the assumption is that they work inside the housing units in their offices. Plus, other stakeholders interact with asylum-seekers in the space. This is mainly evident when talking about asylum-seekers that work in the restaurant or in the bike repair shop. They are not officially social workers, but they realize a certain type of social work that is the inclusion in the professional world.

Then, in terms of the physicality of the space, the APUR speaks about how modular construction models are an opportunity for the city to tackle the ongoing housing crisis. This statement is based on other projects they have studied where housing is built from zero. Here, in Les Cinq Toits, housing is located in already built structures. However, it is noticeable in the space some modular construction patterns such as La Bricole (the common workshop) and a wooden autel in the square that occupies the whole right side of it. At first impression, this gives a sensation of appealing and refurbishment to the space, bringing a sensation of familiarity to the site. In my opinion, this helps asylum-seekers to better use and appropriate the space as they have participated in an active or passive way in the building process.

4.2.2 Interviews

After having read about the place and observed it from the outside, an interview was done to the technical manager of the project and some interviews were conducted to resident asylum-seekers in order to find out their opinion about the place. Overall, results of the interviews show that resident asylum-seekers are satisfied with the space they are living in and the conditions that it implies. However, some residents will also choose not to be as implicated because of various reasons. As a consequence, while some residents will feel fully integrated in the project, some take their distances and would prefer another type of housing.

4.2.2.1 Interview with the technical manager

After having a one hour long semi-structured interview with Simon Dreano, the technical manager of Les Cinq Toits, I was able to better understand the logic behind the project and the different socio-professional engagements they propose to resident asylum-seekers. The interviewed person helped me better analyse the space because of the new information I learned.

First, the two spaces of the project that integrate residents in their activities are *La Bricole* and *Le Bâtiment de l'horloge*. They are both employing residents of the project and among them are asylum-seekers. Simon was convinced in saying that the central square was the centre of conviviality of the site. Plus, when asked about the mixture of this space, he seems to affirm that there is a mixture between the three different housing centres and that it was largely used by the children of residents (Interview to Simon Dreano, 2021). However, he didn't mention a mixture within groups of the projects (artists, associations and visitors).

Second, in order to find their engagement in the socio-professional inclusion of the residents of the project, I asked about the practices. The reasons behind the choice of these objectives are (Interview to Simon Dreano, 2021): (1) An increasing bike use in Paris (2) A growth in the number of shared workshops (3) A labour shortage in workshop activities with low qualification like carpenter, welders, or any other hand-craft profession (4) It follows the values of the associations: sustainable development and solidarity and social economy.

Third, the interview helped me understand how asylum-seekers are employed in activities. In order to be involved in one of the practices of the project (working in the restaurant, in La bricole, the bike shop or any spontaneous common workshop), they do not have to face any barrier. However, their situation is unequal compared to other residents of the project. While refugees and French nationals can receive a salary with a contract for their contribution in the economic activities, asylum-seekers can't. Instead, in an hour of work, they receive *Chèques services* for a value of three euros issued by companies such as Sodexo that they can use in supermarkets or restaurants. In total, in a week they can earn approximately 50 euros. The reason behind the low wage is justified by the fact that it is illegal for an asylum-seeker to work, so associations prefer to give them

non-monetary papers as they receive the subsidies from the state in their bank accounts (Interview to Simon Dreano, 2021).

Third, in terms of the limits of these practices, Simon stated three problems (Interview to Simon Dreano, 2021): (1) In the last months, new people weren't coming (2) They have a low budget so the activities are limited (3) The language barrier. However, this last is sometimes overcome with creative solutions as workshops do not require a high level of communication. Indeed, a theatre company came once to give sign language classes to both association members and asylum-seekers to communicate properly with workshop vocabulary.

Finally, I was curious to know about the financialization of the project. Indeed, according to Simon, the state financially supports the project via the *Direction régionale et interdépartementale de l'Hébergement et du Logement* (Regional and inter-department direction of accommodation and housing, DRIHL). The calculations of the amount of money received by the associations depends on the number of residents, as the administration calculates the daily amount for each resident depending on their centre (for instance, thirty euros per day per resident of the HUDA, twenty euros per day per resident of the CPH). Moreover, this creates a certain discomfort in the associations as they feel they are controlled by the state, as Simon said that the fact they are partly financed by the state limits their activities. In that sense, some projects will not see the day because of lack of budget or fear of being disciplined by the DRIHL.

As a consequence, the interview with Simon was useful in concluding that there are limitations in the socio-professional inclusion of asylum-seekers, as their implication is minor than other residents (for reasons of salary). Here, we can notice the difference between asylum-seekers and refugees in Les Cinq Toits, the last being more privileged. Furthermore, as the project is partly financed by the state, it allows me to say that even if Les Cinq Toits may seem a different approach to asylum housing, it is still attached to the state in some way.

4.2.2.2 Interviews with resident asylum-seekers

4.2.2.2.1 Spatial appropriation by asylum-seekers

When asked about the use of the common spaces of Les Cinq Toits, the interviewed asylum-seekers had different opinions, but all agreed on the importance of it and they all seem to appreciate it. On one hand, some residents appreciate the space because of its open and calm environment. They consider it as the central meeting point and the open air space of the project.

“This square is the central part of the space, people living and working here share the space and enjoy it when it’s not raining. When it’s raining people stay in their offices or common rooms so it depends on the season, it rains a lot in Paris (laughs)” (Asylum-seeker 2)

This makes the public square the space of the project in which the innovative part of the asylum centre comes by. In regular and state-managed asylum centres, open spaces are usually non-existent or in precarious conditions, making life in the asylum centre inhuman (Kreichauf, 2018). Even if divided between groups, the square of the projects represents a space of expression for residents and presents an opportunity of interaction between residents of various groups and other users. In fact, when asked about the mixture of the space, some asylum-seekers argue that groups of people form and sometimes interact.

“My social network here is mainly composed of Afghan asylum seekers because we are about the same age and we can speak in Dari. But we also sometimes play baby foot with French people living here. I like this square because people are friendly and you can engage in many conversations.” (Asylum-seeker 4)

On the other hand, some resident asylum-seekers have a harder point of view on the spatial appropriation process. While the previously-mentioned interviewees do not problematize the spatial division or even consider this rather positive, some others will see this negatively. Indeed, spatial appropriation is limited because some particular groups will take too much space in the square. For instance, an interviewed asylum-seeker complained about how some groups appropriate themselves a spot in the square:

“If you look around you can see that there are a lot of different groups around. But it is true that groups will have “their” spot in the square and you don’t feel invited to it when they don’t use it” (Asylum-seeker 5)

This process could trigger some situations of conflict between groups, but according to the residents this is rare. In the public square, the spatial appropriation process is not only influenced by residents, but also by events such as creator markets, barbecues or ethnic celebrations. There is also division on this matter, as some residents will welcome these initiatives and take part, while others will avoid them.

“They (the project managers) also organise some events and many people from outside come. However, I don’t come because I prefer when it is calm because I feel that it is the garden of my house.” (Asylum-seeker 3)

4.2.2.2.2 Participation in the project

Moreover, when asked “Do you engage in activities proposed by the organisers?”, interviewed asylum-seekers were divided between active and passive participants of the project, but all appreciated these initiatives. On one hand, I talked to a resident who was working in La Table du RECHO, the restaurant

of the site, so he is fully engaged in the project. For him, being employed in the restaurant represented an opportunity of working in a suitable environment (his closest social network) and to learn the basics about working in the French hostelry industry.

“I work in the restaurant around seven to ten hours a week as a dish cleaner. I like it because there is a good working environment, you can be with friends and people are very nice. I can also earn a bit more money than what I get from the State. I would love to work in a restaurant in Paris after this.”
(Asylum-seeker 1)

But some residents will also participate in the collective workshops organised by the different associations and actors of Les Cinq Toits. In fact, the main motivation for participating is spending time doing activities, as their administrative situation does not allow them to properly be employed. Finance is, as well, a key factor contributing to the participation, as they may earn a (small) amount of cash to complement their State subsidies.

“I engage in activities such as the building of the porch in the square or punctually when the bike repair shop organises something. They lend me a bike for free so I feel I should help them sometimes. Working in materials is something cool because it occupies your time and you can have some experience, though it is not what I want to do in life” (Asylum-seeker 4)

However, participation cannot be generalized to all resident asylum-seekers. As a matter of fact, living in Les Cinq Toits was not a personal choice for asylum-seekers as they were placed there by the French immigration authorities. Then, some of them would have preferred to live in a calmer environment with more privacy and independence.

“I don’t feel attracted to any of the activities they propose and I do not feel in a working environment. This represents my home, not my work.” (Asylum-seeker 3)

“Back in my country, I have a degree in informatics so as you can guess, construction with wood and metal is not my main interest. I don’t participate in any of these activities, but I know there are many people interested. Though in my opinion it is always the same people.” (Asylum-seeker 5)

Thus, this enforces the idea that even if these innovative housing initiatives are proposed, some people will find it too much. Plus, what people need might be distinct for different people, even though they might understand that other people may feel different. Hence, the social innovative initiatives may only interest a certain group of engaged asylum-seekers that seek a particular way of life in their host country. It is also important to mention that personal background is related to the level of engagement, as some people may have lived difficult situations that inhibit social relations. Other factors such as culture and tradition have to be considered as well.

4.2.2.2.3 Relationship with the other actors of the project

This section analyses how resident asylum-seekers in Les Cinq Toits interact with other people that use the space where they live. I asked some questions about this because I wanted to know how comfortable asylum-seekers are with sharing a space with people from very different backgrounds. Small creators and entrepreneurs are mainly French white middle-class people who can afford to live and work in Paris while having a comfortable lifestyle. Social workers come from different social and immigrant backgrounds, but they are all parisian-born and have diplomas. However, asylum-seekers may have experienced hard situations that pushed them to leave their country and possibly through a terrible travel experience to arrive in Paris. On their arrival to Paris, many of them had to

live on the street in the migrant informal camps of Porte de la Chapelle. Hence, this project presents an opportunity for asylum-seekers to interact with a particular type of locals. The results of the interview shows that asylum-seekers had a good relationship with social workers of the accommodations. It is important to mention that social workers are mandatory in any asylum housing in France. Their role stays at helping residents with their administrative process and other issues related to arrival in France. According to the interviewees, they also intervene in the collective living in the asylum housing by organising regular meetings to speak about issues or organisation of events. Residents also attend personal meetings with social workers to check up administrative procedures and other issues.

“In our centre (the HUDA), we have 3 people with an office with computers for their administrative work. (...) We meet regularly and I enjoy it.” (Asylum-seeker 2)

“I have regular meetings with them as they are our only contact with the french administration for the moment. We rely on them a lot because they can help us get refugee status and hopefully start a life here” (Asylum-seeker 5)

Furthermore, interviewed asylum-seekers also reacted to their relationship with the young creators and entrepreneurs working in the project. Overall, they do not interact in any way, but they are not bothered by their presence. In fact, many of them ignore how many people are working and what they are doing. It is important to mention that the people working in Les Cinq Toits have their own offices in the ground floor of the buildings, and many do not have direct contact with residents. Ranging from a textile artist to a compost company, young creators of Les Cinq Toits are attracted by low rental prices, an alternative working environment, and the ecological and social values of the associations managing the space. As a consequence, they are part of the objectives of the project to bring a creative professional environment to asylum and refugee accommodation in order

to quickly integrate them in the professional market. However, asylum-seekers seemed indifferent about these people.

“Honestly, I am not aware of who are the people working here. I know the restaurant and the bike repair shop but the others are hidden in the buildings. I only see them where there are big events here. In my opinion, if they respect the space and the fact that there are people living here, I don’t mind them here” (Asylum-seeker 5)

Generally, asylum-seekers can be considered as passive users of the space in terms of relationship with other actors of the site. The creation of a link between locals and newcomers arrives to a certain extent: asylum-seekers will prefer to meet people who help them in their process of arrival. Nonetheless, cohabitation between the two groups seems to happen properly, which is a positive factor for both sides and proves that hybrid places can exist.

4.2.2.2.4 Quality of housing

Taking the observations of the APUR report, organisations must establish qualitative housing in order to ensure a non-precarious temporality. Indeed, establishing housing in Les Cinq toits was not a difficult task because the space was already designed for housing, as all the buildings of the old military barracks used to host *gendarmes*. Consequently, Association Aurore just had to invest in housing furniture such as beds and wardrobes. In that sense, temporality is not precarious. Nevertheless, since the observations I made didn’t allow me to know the state of the housing inside the buildings, I asked the question to resident asylum-seekers. The composition of the HUDA (asylum-seeker centre in Les Cinq Toits) is shared flats with common toilets and kitchens, ranging from two to four people sharing the space. Each resident has a room equipped with a single bed, a table with a chair and some furniture to put their belongings. The HUDA is the main and largest building of the project, and it’s facing rather the busy Boulevard Exelmans or the

public square. Overall, resident asylum-seekers tend to be satisfied with their temporary housing in Les Cinq Toits.

“I am in a single room in a shared flat with views to the public square. This is luxury for me because before I used to live in the street in porte de la chapelle along with other asylum-seekers and it was horrible, it was hell there!”
(Asylum-seeker 1)

Cohabitation between asylum-seekers of different nationalities is not an easy process, but residents seemed to handle the situation despite problems such as culture and language barrier. It is important to mention that the Afghan community is the largest, so the possibility of being flatmate with a person from the same nationality is likely to happen. However, being a sudanese or Ethiopian and arriving to a shared flat with two or three Afghan nationals can influence the integration process into the project or the community.

“My flat is good because we have a small common kitchen and my room is OK. Cohabitation sometimes is difficult, for me it is the first time I live with people from Syria and Afghanistan and sometimes it is difficult to understand each other” (Asylum-seeker 5)

Then, housing quality in Les Cinq Toits is, generally speaking, correct. In State-managed asylum centres, housing is often a camp-like structure that prevents spatial appropriation process by asylum-seekers and follows the logic of the restrictive immigration policies (Steigmann & Misselwitz, 2020; Huq & Miraftab, 2020; Kreichauf, 2018). Hence, this fosters the socio-spatial segregation process of asylum-seekers and inhibits the encounters between locals and newcomers. The asylum housing approach of Les Cinq Toits can be considered as a measure against socio-spatial segregation as, on one hand, the quality of the housing ensure a non-precarious temporality, and on the other hand, it brings the

opportunity to resident asylum seekers to enlarge the social network beyond other asylum-seekers.

4.2.2.2.5 Closeness to Paris and its citizens

One important factor about temporary urban projects with housing for asylum-seekers is their role in the fight against segregation of asylum-seekers. They claim to create a connection between locals and newcomers by breaking social and spatial barriers. This is enabled by bringing housing to population centers and creating a link by processes such as the organisation of events, workshops or other leisure activities. Throughout my interviews with resident asylum-seekers I wanted to find out whether they feel attached to the city and its inhabitants by living in Les Cinq Toits. When asked the question “Do you feel close to the city and the parisians?” overall responses were rather negative.

“This place offers a mix between people living, working and visiting so without going out of the space I already feel attached to this place” (Asylum-seeker 1) (...) “Les Cinq Toits is far from the city centre, I have to do 30 minutes of public transport to go to Châtelet which is kind of far for me. I don’t really engage in conversations with “locals” (parisians) because I don’t have the occasion to do it” (Asylum-seeker 3) (...) “I feel more attached to Les Cinq Toits than to Paris, but I guess that is because I just arrived here” (Asylum-seeker 4)

Indeed, local context plays an important role in the process of encounter between locals and newcomers. Les Cinq Toits is located in the 16th Arrondissement of Paris and that creates two main issues. First, the district is geographically located in the south-western limits of the city. In addition to that, the neighbourhood is a residential area, so mobility is limited to commuting and general groceries. Second, the district is the wealthiest in the city and hosts the higher and upper middle classes. In this sense, a project such as Les Cinq Toits is a

complete change of scenery. Nonetheless, these two issues can also be considered as a plus, as it brings the opportunity to diversify the neighbourhood and brings residents in a calm environment while being in the city. However, it is important to bring attention to the phenomenon of gentrification (Colomb, 2012) as these types of projects attract the creative class that could enable the process of Gentrification to happen.

Moreover, in order to analyse the responses to the interviews, it is important to know that resident asylum-seekers may just have spent a couple of months in the city. In that sense, building a social network in a short period of time is a complicated task. In fact, language barrier is a factor that complicates contact between locals and newcomers, where a couple of months are not enough time to have a normal conversation in French. In addition to that, the incoming asylum-seeker, finding his origin in a region with a dangerous situation, has the pressure of adapting to a new culture, language and lifestyle that he is not used to.

In my opinion, the procedure of connection between locals and newcomers is a complicated process that takes several factors into account. Hence, temporary urban projects with accommodation for asylum-seekers may have values and objectives, but temporality in asylum-seekers is something that they can't change. Seeking asylum in France is not only a complex web of administrative procedures, but also a mental and psychological stress that requires attention.

4.2.2.2.6 General satisfaction of the place

Finally, after having a conversation with each of the resident asylum-seekers, I asked them about their general satisfaction of living in Les Cinq Toits. Answers were rather short, but precise. Overall, asylum-seekers were satisfied living in a temporary urban project. The characteristics they liked the most are the housing quality, the opportunity to meet people, the quality of the public space and the freedom it gives them. Indeed, the environment of Les Cinq Toits gives comfort to asylum-seekers. In a society, where the "other" is politicised and persecuted, Les Cinq Toits acts as an island of freedom for asylum-seekers in the city. In fact, it

creates a comfort zone where migrants can claim their space and act as producers of the city.

"I am very satisfied with my living conditions. Back home, I was living in very poor conditions and had to flee my village for security reasons, and this is a five star hotel compared with how I was living before (laughs)" (Asylum-seeker 1)

"What I like the most about living here is my room. I have a nice space where I can be safe" (Asylum-seeker 3)

However, despite the comfort that the space provides, asylum-seekers still face the problem of temporality. According to them, the fact of not knowing when the project will end and whether they will be granted asylum is a source of stress. Indeed, even if hosted in Les Cinq Toits, asylum-seekers may only stay for a short period of time, thus limiting the potential of the site. Project holders are mere spectators of this process, as centres are managed indirectly by the State.

"I would say the minus is that we don't know how long we will be here. I have seen people come here and then, from one day to the other, disappear because they're asylum was rejected or they were transferred somewhere else." (Asylum-seeker 2)

"When I left Afghanistan I knew I wanted to come here to France because people say there that life is perfect. In a way it is true, but I still have to wait for my papers to confirm it." (Asylum-seeker 1)

Moreover, as mentioned before, asylum-seekers were not given a choice in housing. When the *Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration* (French Office for Immigration and Integration, the organ of the state for granting asylum)

finds a place for them, they have two possibilities: on one hand, accept it, and benefit from the small subsidies from the State and have a room; and on the other hand, decline it and live in the street. That is why, a large majority of asylum-seekers tend to accept the first option (if they want to continue with their asylum procedure in France). Some interviewed resident asylum-seekers were saying that this type of housing was not what they were expecting or searching.

"I would prefer to move to a private apartment near the city centre, because I am a more independent person and this is not really what I was looking for."
(Asylum-seeker 3)

"I thought it would be like a hotel or something and not place mixed with activities and workers, but, in the end, you get used to and it is not a problem."
(Asylum-seeker 5)

4.2.3 Discussion of the results

In this section, interviews with resident asylum-seekers of the case study were analysed. The results show that, on one hand, they are satisfied with living in a form of alternative housing in Paris, but on the other hand, factors such as temporality (uncertainty of administrative procedures and finalisation of the project, too little time spent in France) makes resident asylum-seekers uncomfortable and contradicts the objectives and the values of Les Cinq Toits. As a consequence, the research question of this Master thesis presents a dialectical answer following the results of the interviews.

Indeed, practices of the projects foster encounters between locals and newcomers. The activities proposed by the project such as participative workshops, employment in the restaurant or bike repair shop, and events organised seem to have a positive acceptance by asylum-seekers, who claim that these practices keep them occupied while boosting their social network. By participating in the development of the place, residents build their everyday life,

which is based on local missions that are given by other actors. In this sense, asylum-seekers are kept occupied while their administrative situation is being solved, as waiting becomes the only (non) activity when one person is seeking asylum in the EU. The quality of the space is also an appreciated factor by residents, who argue that they can find everything they want without exiting the project. More particularly, taking in account that asylum-seekers do not have a choice where to live, for most people the housing situation is sufficient and acceptable for the time being, even though it is not optimal. In addition to that, practices of the project have a positive impact on the social network of asylum-seekers, who meet other residents or actors of the space through collective activities such as workshops or festive events. This also contributes to breaking up spatial barriers in the city, as usually asylum-centres are located outside the core urban area. Les Cinq Toits is relatively near the centre of a major world city. However, this was not the major concern for many of the resident asylum-seekers.

However, while the project has a different approach than conventional asylum centers, resident asylum-seekers may often not see the difference. In fact, the discourse of Les Cinq Toits is based on the integration of migrants and refugees in the socio-professional world. This may be true for refugees and French people resident in the project. However, the situation is much more complex for asylum-seekers, as they are not “legal” yet. Otherwise stated, the administrative situation of asylum-seekers keeps socio-professional integration from happening. Indeed, residents were complaining that paid activities and jobs cannot give them much money, but resident refugees were getting more paid. This is because it is illegal to remunerate people who do not have legal residency in France. As a consequence, the only benefit that they have from these activities is occupation. Moreover, the temporal factor of the project is often seen as a negative characteristic, as the uncertainty of closure of the project can be a source of stress for resident asylum-seekers. In addition, even if the discourse of the project is to include asylum-seekers in the development of the project, they are still waiting for their administrative situation to be solved. In other words, they could be gone from one day to the other.

Finally, the concepts explored in the Literature Review allows us to analyse the results and confirm this dialectic response to the research question.

First, taking an “arrival infrastructures” (Meeus et al., 2018) perspective, Les Cinq Toits acts as a space of permanent temporariness as the notion of temporality is present both in the administrative situation of resident asylum-seekers and the duration of the project. Plus, Les Cinq Toits also can be described as a “step-wise pathway” in which asylum-seekers spend a determined period of time and go through the process of arrival. Generally speaking, the project acts like an arrival infrastructure in which migrants experience the process of arrival in the city with all the elements that are included: the interaction with the city and the locals, the introduction to the local language, the introduction to the professional market and the creation of a local social network, among others.

Second, in that line, Hanhöster & Wessendorf (2020) argued that arrival infrastructures can help migrants in the arrival adaptation process by enabling social mobility, achieved by migrants’ interaction with space and people. Les Cinq Toits is then, from their perspective, a key factor to migrant integration in cities, as arrival infrastructures are the centre of the migration policy. However, the concept of “integration” is a wide and complex concept which implies that migrants are automatically disconnected from the host society at their arrival.

Third, Steigmann & Misselwitz (2020) explored how architecture and the urban built environment in which they are living influences asylum-seekers’ perception of space. Generally speaking, in the interviews residents were explaining that Les Cinq Toits was the place where they would find all their necessities, so they don’t spend much time out of the project. As a consequence, asylum-seekers’ perception of the city is mainly based on a temporary urban project.

Then, some authors (Ehrkamp, 2016; Huq & Miraftab, 2020; Kreichauf, 2018) explored on the “campization” of asylum accommodation in european cities, arguing that state-managed asylum housing infrastructures were increasingly following the logic of a refugee camp, caused by the restrictive policy in migration. After the results of the interviews, it seems hard to confirm this phenomenon in

Les Cinq Toits, as resident asylum-seekers were positively rating their housing conditions. In addition to that, the project does not have the characteristics of a camp-like arrival infrastructure.

Furthermore, after reading how some authors (Tsavdaroglou et al, 2019; Zill et al, 2019) focused on social innovative projects in migrant housing, it seems that Les Cinq Toits can be considered a social innovative initiative. Indeed, the authors showed that “open” forms of asylum housing have a positive impact on the social relations of migrants, fostering familiarity and closer relations between locals and newcomers. The case study of this thesis is the example of the previous statement, as the results of the interviews showed that asylum-seekers’ social network was created during their stay in the project.

Finally, the results of the interviews of the case study are similar to what Kreichauf et al. (2020) found when researching Berlin's *Refugio* and *Dong Xuan Center* projects. After analysing the projects through document analysis and interviews, they found that while discourse and activities of the projects encourage interactions between locals and newcomers, there was little connection between the two groups and migrants felt part of an “experiment to create a parallel society that lives out of the normative world”. Similarly, some resident asylum-seekers in Les Cinq Toits were claiming that they didn’t feel part of the community, as their interest in the activities was none. In fact, some asylum-seekers, as they were placed by the authorities in the project, do not understand the logic behind Les Cinq Toits and would have preferred to live in a quieter environment.

5 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

After presenting the results of the interviews led with different actors in the case study and from other organisations, observations and document analysis, this section is dedicated to discuss the results linking them back to the initial research question and theoretical framework. As a reminder, this thesis pursued to investigate the following research question: To what extent are temporary urban

projects closing the gap between locals and newcomers and how is socio-spatial segregation being mitigated? To answer this question, it was necessary to collect the experience from the resident asylum-seekers of the case study as well as its technical manager. Moreover, the other interviews allowed me to understand the housing situation of asylum-seekers in Paris and to locate new forms of asylum housing that had emerged in the past years. As the objective of this master thesis was to analyse the impact of temporary urban projects in socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers, it was important to investigate on how these initiatives were engaged on the integration of asylum-seekers.

First, the results of the interviews with asylum-seekers concluded in a dialectical answer to the research question. Indeed, on one hand, some asylum-seekers seemed satisfied with the living conditions on the project, and reacted positively to the creation of this initiative. However, on the other hand, some asylum-seekers were indifferent about these initiatives, as their personal interests were not in common with the ones of the project. In other words, some asylum-seekers were only looking for a habitational unit. As a consequence, it is true to say that socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers is not the main preoccupation for residents of the case study. It is, however, for the project holders, who claim their implication in the socio-professional inclusion of asylum-seekers.

Second, the results of the analysis show that refugees are more privileged than asylum-seekers. With international protection and a stable administrative situation, refugees have access to a wide variety of facilities that asylum-seekers cannot access. Indeed, this is the case in Les Cinq Toits, where refugees are more included in socio-professional activities as they can have contracts and salaries. Moreover, it seems that alternative asylum housing is limited, as, for instance, the program *Cohabitations solidaires* is reserved for people with international protection. This puts in evidence the complexity of socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers, where the lack of administrative stability acts as a barrier to the urban and to the host society.

Third, with Kreichauf (2020) noting the “transformative power of arrival infrastructures”, it seems that temporary urban projects have the opportunity to create a connection between locals and newcomers, but this connection is limited.

Indeed, they are contributing to closing the gap between locals and newcomers by practices such as the organization of events or collaborative workshops. However, the results of the interviews show that resident asylum-seekers were not that engaged in the project, as they barely interact with other groups in the public square or only 30 to 40 people since 2018 have participated in collaborative workshops (Interview to Simon Dreano, 2021). Here, socio-spatial segregation tries to be mitigated by engaged actors of the associative world, but they seem to fail in the creation of a cultural link between locals and newcomers. Nonetheless, it was found during the research process that temporary urban projects aimed at the inclusion of asylum-seekers in the professional world. This is what pushed local authorities to support these types of initiatives as they believe it can solve the problem of administrative conflict with the state regarding asylum housing.

Fourth, taking Bolt et al (2010) four characteristics for (de)segregation, we can conclude that the analysed projects in this master thesis act as a (de)segregation tool. Indeed, social contacts, a housing opportunity and social mobility are concepts that we can find, for instance, in Les Cinq Toits. This, however, has to happen at the policy level, where local and regional authorities should have more power than the state, as national policies tend to be restrictive towards asylum. In fact, even if temporary urban projects present an opportunity for the integration of asylum seekers, policy is what determines (de)segregation.

As final remarks, it is important to mention that the research process was influenced by the ongoing pandemic which has changed the way research works. It made me discover that these temporary urban projects are hard to reach and investigate in distance. In my opinion, this is caused by two phenomena: on one hand, they are a core united group whose social network is limited, and on the other hand, they do not follow the same work habits as the rest of the productive activities. Furthermore, further research is needed in order to know to what extent these initiatives can solve complex issues like asylum housing. A further analysis comparing these practices at the European level would also be needed.

6 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Association Aurore (2021). Homepage of the association. [online] Available at: <<https://aurore.asso.fr/#:~:text=Accueillir%20et%20accompagner%20vers%20l,les%20soins%20et%20la%20insertion.>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].
- Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (2021). Hébergement d'urgence: approches nouvelles, projets hybrides
- Augé, M. (2008). *Non-places*. London: Verso.
- Bishop, P. (2015). From the subversive to the serious: Temporary urbanism as a positive force. *Architectural Design*, 85(3), 136–141.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.1913>
- Bolt, G., Phillips, D. and Van Kempen, R. (2010). Housing Policy, (De)segregation and Social Mixing: An International Perspective. *Housing Studies*, 25(2), pp.129-135.
- Urban Catalysts. (2008). *Urban Catalysts*. 1–28.
- Colomb, C. (2012). Pushing the urban frontier: Temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the creative city discourse in 2000S Berlin. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(2), 131–152. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00607.x>
- Dagevos, M. J., & Veen, E. J. (2020). Sharing a meal: a diversity of performances engendered by a social innovation. *Journal of Urbanism*, 13(1), 97–113.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2019.1668826>
- De Souza, M. L. (2006). Together with the state, despite the state, against the state Social movements as “critical urban planning” agents. *City*, 10(3), 327–342.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810600982347>
- Ehrkamp, P. (2017). Geographies of migration I: Refugees. *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(6), 813–822. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516663061>
- European Commission, (2018). Diversity, residential segregation, concentration of migrants: a comparison across EU cities. Brussels.

- Felder, M., Stavo-Debaugé, J., Pattaroni, L., Trossat, M. and Drevon, G. (2020). Between Hospitality and Inhospitability: The Janus-Faced 'Arrival Infrastructure'. *Urban Planning*, 5(3), pp.55-66.
- France 24 (2016). Héberger un migrant chez soi : que dit la loi ?. [online] France 24. Available at: <<https://www.france24.com/fr/20161115-heberger-migrant-domicile-particulier-loi-refugies-cosse-singa-samu-social-crise-france>> [Accessed 29 August 2021].
- Ghorashi, H., de Boer, M. and ten Holder, F. (2017). Unexpected agency on the threshold: Asylum seekers narrating from an asylum seeker centre. *Current Sociology*, 66(3), pp.373-391.
- Gisti (2021). Applying for asylum in France. [online] Gisti.org. Available at: <<https://www.gisti.org/spip.php?article5221&quoi=tout>> [Accessed 29 August 2021].
- Goodman, S., & Speer, S. A. (2007). Category Use in the Construction of Asylum Seekers. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4(2), 165–185.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405900701464832>
- Hanhörster, H., & Wessendorf, S. (2020). The role of arrival areas for migrant integration and resource access. *Urban Planning*, 5(3), 1–10.
<https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2891>
- Huq, E., & Miraftab, F. (2020). “We are All Refugees”: Camps and Informal Settlements as Converging Spaces of Global Displacements. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 21(3), 351–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2020.1776376>
- Krämer-Badoni, T (2001): Urbanität und gesellschaftliche Integration. In: Difu Publications. Berlin
- Kreichauf, R. (2013). The European Fortress City – The Socio-Spatial Exclusion of Asylum Seekers in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid. Master Thesis. University of Vienna.
- Kreichauf, R. (2018). From forced migration to forced arrival: the campization of refugee accommodation in European cities. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-017-0069-8>

- Kreichauf, R., Rosenberger, O., & Strobel, P. (2020). The transformative power of urban arrival infrastructures: Berlin's refugio and dong xuan center. *Urban Planning*, 5(3), 44–54. <https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2897>
- Les Cinq Toits (2021). Objectifs – Les Cinq Toits. [online] Lescinqtoits.fr. Available at: <<https://lescinqtoits.fr/objectifs/>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].
- Les Grands Voisins (2021). Présentation – Les Grands Voisins. [online] Lesgrandsvoisins.org. Available at: <<https://lesgrandsvoisins.org/les-grands-voisins/presentation-et-histoire-du-site/>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].
- Meeus, B., Van Heur, B. and Arnaut, K. (2018). Migration and the Infrastructural Politics of Urban Arrival. In: B. Meeus, B. Van Heur and K. Arnaut, ed., *Arrival Infrastructures*, 1st ed. Palgrave macmillan
- Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The great good place*. Philadelphia: Da Capo Press.
- OPFRA (2021). Les premières données de l'asile 2020 à l'Ofpra | OFPRA. [online] Ofpra.gouv.fr. Available at: <<https://ofpra.gouv.fr/fr/l-ofpra/actualites/les-premieres-donnees-de-l-asile-0>> [Accessed 29 August 2021].
- Petrachin, A. (2019). *When Asylum Policies Go Local: 14*(340430), 1–20.
- Réfugiés Bienvenue (2021). [online] Réfugiés Bienvenue Wevsite. Available at: <<https://refugiesbienvenuedotcom.wordpress.com/>> [Accessed 29 August 2021].
- Ribémont, T. (2016). Sous conditions et sous contraintes : l'hébergement des demandeurs d'asile en France: Retour sur la loi du 29 juillet 2015. *Sens-Dessous*, 17, 5-14. <https://doi.org/10.3917/sdes.017.0005>
- Saunders, D. (2010). *Arrival City: How the largest migration in history is reshaping our world*. [S.I.]: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Silver, H (2007): *Social Exclusion: Comparative Analysis of Europe and Middle East Youth*. In: Middle East Youth Initiative Working Paper. Social Exclusion. No. 1
- Steigemann, A. M., & Misselwitz, P. (2020). Architectures of asylum: Making home in a state of permanent temporariness. *Current Sociology*, 68(5), 628–650. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120927755>

- Tardiveau, A., & Mallo, D. (2014). Unpacking and Challenging Habitus: An Approach to Temporary Urbanism as a Socially Engaged Practice. *Journal of Urban Design*, 19(4), 456–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2014.923743>
- Testé, B., Maisonneuve, C., Assilaméhou, Y. and Perrin, S. (2012). What is an “appropriate” migrant? Impact of the adoption of meritocratic worldviews by potential newcomers on their perceived ability to integrate into a Western society. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(2), pp.263-268.
- The Conversation (2019). Migrants à Paris : la capitale française est-elle hypocrite ?. [online] The Conversation. Available at: <<https://theconversation.com/migrants-a-paris-la-capitale-francaise-est-elle-hypocrite-122600>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].
- The Guardian (2016). Cities need more power to deal with refugee crisis: report. [online] The Guardian. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/04/cities-need-power-refugee-crisis-eurocities-report>> [Accessed 28 August 2021].
- Tsavdaroglou, C., Giannopoulou, C., Petropoulou, C., & Pistikos, I. (2019). Acts for refugees’ right to the city and commoning practices of care-tizenship in Athens, Mytilene and Thessaloniki. *Social Inclusion*, 7(4), 119–130. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v7i4.2332>
- UNHCR (2021). UNHCR - Refugee Statistics. [online] UNHCR. Available at: <<https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/>> [Accessed 29 August 2021].
- Ville de Paris (2019). CHARTE EN FAVEUR DU DÉVELOPPEMENT DE L'OCCUPATION TEMPORAIRE COMME OUTIL AU SERVICE DU TERRITOIRE PARISIEN.
- Wesener, A. (2015). Temporary urbanism and urban sustainability after a natural disaster: transitional community-initiated open spaces in Christchurch, New Zealand. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 8(4), pp.406-422.
- Wortham-Galvin, B. (2013). An Anthropology of Urbanism: How People Make Places (and What Designers and Planners Might Learn from It). *Footprint*, 7(13), pp.21-40.

Zill, M., van Liempt, I., Spierings, B. and Hooimeijer, P. (2019). Uneven geographies of asylum accommodation: Conceptualizing the impact of spatial, material, and institutional differences on (un)familiarity between asylum seekers and local residents. *Migration Studies*, 8(4), pp.491-509

7 APPENDICES

7.1 APPENDIX 1: PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE CASE STUDY



Image 1: Central public space



Image 2: Asylum housing (HUDA)



Image 3: Banner showing a call for a football training for residents

De ma fenêtre, au 5^e étage, je vois toute la cour. Parfois, je regarde si mes amis y sont pour aller jouer au foot avec eux.

Je regarde aussi le ciel. J'aime quand il y a du soleil ; j'ouvre alors ma fenêtre pour faire entrer la lumière dans ma chambre.

De temps en temps, j'aime me mettre au soleil sur le rebord de ma fenêtre pour lire.

Ma fenêtre est très importante pour moi, car sans elle il ferait noir dans ma chambre et je ne verrais ni le ciel, ni le soleil.

Mahdi, 27 ans, aux Cinq Toits depuis novembre 2018



Image 4: Testimony of a resident

صبح وقت که از خواب بیدار میشوم از پنجره اطاق خود یک حیات بزرگ را میبینم که باشندده های کمپ نشستن با هم حرف میزنند چای مینوشند به همین شکل روز خود را شروع میکنیم همچنان من عاشق دیدن طلوع آفتاب شنیدن صدای پرنده ها و هوای تازه صبح هستم .
رومان

Dès la première heure, je contemple derrière les fenêtres le bâtiment où j'ai passé la nuit. La cour est vaste, je vois les résidents qui font des allers-retours. Nous commençons notre journée en nous saluant mutuellement.

Le matin, j'aimerais voir de ma fenêtre les oiseaux qui chantent, le soleil se lever et sentir l'odeur de l'air frais.

Roman, 20 ans, aux Cinq Toits depuis septembre 2018

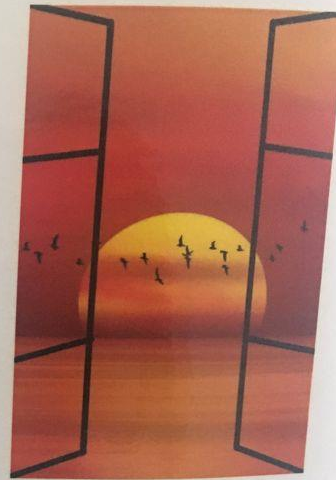


Image 5: Testimony of a resident



Image 6: "Do you know France?" Banner for an event for residents

7.2 APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENT ASYLUM-SEEKERS

(1) Do you see a mix between residents in the square?

Asylum-seeker1: Yes, we see other people from other residences but i am not friend with them. I hang out with him (Asylum-seeker2) and the other afghan people. We have a nice group because we are in similar conditions, and we can speak in dari and talk about our country and its music. Sometimes we see children from the CHU playing football and pingpong, they seem very happy.

Asylum-seeker2: This square is the central part of the space, people living and working here share the space and enjoy when it's not raining. When it's raining people stay in their offices or common rooms so it depends on the season, it rains a lot in Paris (laughs).

Asylum-seeker3: Yes, I like this square because everything is calm during the day, and everyone enjoys it. they also organise some events and many people from outside come. However, I don't come because I prefer when it is calm because I feel that it is the garden of my house. In this square you will mainly find the afghans, they love it here. They spend all the time outside.

Asylum-seeker4: I think yes. There are a lot of nationalities in this square and people hang out together. My social network here is mainly composed of afghan asylum seekers because we are about the same age, and we can speak in Dari. But we also sometimes play baby foot with french people living here. I like this square because people are friendly, and you can engage in many conversations.

Asylum-seeker5: If you look around you can see that there are a lot of different groups around. But it is true that groups will have "their" spot in the square and you don't feel invited to it when they don't use it. There is the group of afghans, there is the group of Plateau urbain and association aurore. They sit there normally to have lunch and meet, but apart from that you will not see them a lot outside, they are all in their offices.

(2) Do you engage in activities proposed by the project?

Asylum-seeker1: Yes, I work in the restaurant around seven to ten hours a week as a dish cleaner. I like it because there is a good working environment, you can be with friends and people are very nice. I can also earn a bit more money than what I get from the State. I would love to work in a restaurant in Paris after this.

Asylum-seeker2: yes, i engage in collective worksites when they (the organisers) organise them. For example, I helped construct the tables in the public square. I did also participate in the construction of la bricole, but I don't engage in it anymore because I am not interested.

Asylum-seeker3: No, I don't because I am not interested in any of the activities they propose. I don't feel attracted to any of the activities they propose, and I do not feel in a working environment. This represents my home, not my work.

Asylum-seeker4: I engage in activities such as the building of the porch in the square or punctually when the bike repair shop organises something. They lend me a bike for free so I feel I should help them sometimes. Working in materials is something cool because it occupies your time and you can have some experience, though it is not what I want to do in life.

Asylum-seeker5: Mmmh, not that much. Back in my country, I have a degree in informatics so as you can guess, construction with wood and metal is not my main interest. I don't participate in any of these activities, but I know there are many people interested. Though in my opinion it is always the same people.

(3) What is your relationship with the other actors of the projects?

Asylum-seeker1: I like Aurore because they are helping me in finding a solution to my administrative condition and they also are teaching me French through a weekly language course. I also made friends from outside that are coming here sometimes to have a break.

Asylum-seeker2: I am not aware of the artists that work here, I don't know what they do even if they literally work in my building. But I always smile at them. I like the project holders, they are very nice with us, and we always can have a nice conversation, especially with Benjamin (the one working in the information room).

Asylum-seeker3: I am not engaged in any relationship with anyone on the project because I am not always here, I usually hangout in other parts of the city or in the common rooms with my counterparts.

Asylum-seeker4: Personally, I don't have any relationship with any entrepreneur or craftsman in here, but I know some people in the CHU that work with a textile artist. The artist has a workshop and they come sometimes to use the space and to organise activities. They also sold her creations in the creator market the other day.

Asylum-seeker5: Honestly, I am not aware of who are the people working here. I know the restaurant and the bike repair shop but the others are hidden in the buildings. I only see them where there are big events here. In my opinion, if they respect the space and the fact that there are people living here, I don't mind them here.

(4) What do you think about your housing?

Asylum-seeker1: I am in a single room in a shared flat with views to the public square. This is luxury for me because before I used to live in the street in porte de la chapelle along with other Asylum-seeker and it was horrible, it was hell there!

Asylum-seeker2: I share a small flat with two other asylum seekers, we get along very well. We have a common kitchen and that is where all the sociability of the flat takes place. I like it because we support each other as we are in similar situations.

Asylum-seeker3: I live in a shared flat with two other people. I love my flat because it is equipped with everything I need, and the agents of the association help you when you need something. I don't have a very social life with my flatmates, but we get along, one is from afghanistan and the other from somalia.

Asylum-seeker4: I live in a shared flat with two people. I have a room with a single bed, a table with a chair and some furniture to put my belongings. The flats are old, but very correct. I am very satisfied with my housing, but I know I will not have this for long...

Asylum-seeker5: My flat is good because we have a small common kitchen and my room is OK. Cohabitation sometimes is difficult, for me it is the first time I live with people from Syria and Afghanistan and sometimes it is difficult to understand each other.

(5) Do you feel close to the city and the Parisians?

Asylum-seeker1: This place offers a mix between people living, working and visiting so without going out of the space I already feel attached to this place. Parisians are difficult to speak, but the people coming here are nice.

Asylum-seeker2: The pôle vélo offered me a bike so I can move around Paris for free. But this place is kind of far from where I normally go, the 18th, 19th, and the 14th district. In this district you see that there are rich people and I didn't explore this neighbourhood because it doesn't attract me.

Asylum-seeker3: Les cinq toits is far from the city centre, I have to do 30 minutes of public transport to go to châtelet which is kind of far for me. I don't really engage in conversations with "locals" (Parisians) because I don't have the occasion to do it. My social network is mainly from my country of origin.

Asylum-seeker4: I feel that I like this city a lot because it's beautiful and multicultural. But it's true that I haven't really engaged in connexions with Parisians for the moment. I feel more attached to Les Cinq Toits than to Paris, but I guess that is because I just arrived here.

Asylum-seeker5: Honestly, I have had bad experiences in the city since I arrived (lived on the street and all the things that it implies), so I would like to move to a more calmer place. I come from a small town, so I feel uncomfortable in a big city like Paris. I don't have any social network apart from the people here.

(6) How is your relationship with social workers of your accommodation?

Asylum-seeker1: They are nice with me and my flatmates. Communication is not a problem because I speak a bit of English. They organise meetings regularly to discuss some issues in the centre.

Asylum-seeker2: In our centre (the HUDA), we have 3 people with an office with computers for their administrative work. I think they are social workers from Aurore. We meet regularly and I enjoy it. I get along with them. Though I know that some people have worse relationships with them as sometimes they create problems in the conviviality and impact the whole group.

Asylum-seeker3: They are nice because they help me with my administrative process. I cannot participate in the meetings as I am always out at that time, but I think it's a good thing to do because there are people that do not respect the rules. Sometimes they even shout at each other.

Asylum-seeker4: I get along with them pretty well. You get really close to them and you trust in them. They help me a lot with my issues and the meetings are nice to do.

Asylum-seeker5: I have regular meetings with them as they are our only contact with the french administration for the moment. We rely on them a lot because they can help us get refugee status and hopefully start a life here.

7) In general, are you satisfied with your living conditions? What are the plus and minus of living in Les Cinq Toits?

Asylum-seeker1: I am very satisfied with my living conditions. Back home, I was living in very poor conditions and had to flee my village for security reasons, and this is a five-star hotel compared with how I was living before (laughs). When I left Afghanistan I knew I wanted to come here to France because people say there that life is perfect. In a way it is true, but I still have to wait for my papers to confirm it.

Asylum-seeker2: Of course I am satisfied. Here, you meet nice people, you can work, and they help us with the administration. I would say the minus is that we don't know how

long we will be here. I have seen people come here and then, from one day to the other, disappear because they're asylum was rejected or they were transferred somewhere else.

Asylum-seeker3: What I like the most about living here is my room. I have a nice space where I can be safe. However, I would prefer to move to a private apartment near the city centre, because I am a more independent person and this is not really what I was looking for.

Asylum-seeker4: Absolutely, I like this place and would love to stay here for a while. What I like the most is this square where everyone is in good mood and have a good time. What I dislike about Les Cinq Toits is that as an asylum-seeker you can't really work and earn money because it is illegal.

Asylum-seeker5: Honestly, I find that this is a nice place to live but it is not what I expected when they gave me a place in a HUDA. I thought it would be like a hotel or something and not place mixed with activities and workers, but, in the end, you get used to and it is not a problem.

7.3 APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE TO SIMON DREANO, TECHNICAL MANAGER OF LES CINQ TOITS.

Questions about the space:

- How can you describe the project?
- Where does the social relations happen?
- How many asylum-seekers have lived in Les Cinq Toits since 2018?
- Is there a mix between residents in the public square;
- How was the project affected by the Covid-19 pandemic? How did this impact resident asylum-seekers?
- How is the project financed? By who?
- In what way do the resident asylum-seekers participate in the project?

Questions about socio-professional inclusion:

- Why did the project chose to pursue this type of practices?
- What objectives does the association have?
- What are the different projects?
- What can you say are the limits of this activities?
- How are this activities financed? By who?

- How is La Bricole organised?
- How many people have participated in collaborative workshops?
- Are the asylum-seekers being remunerated?

7.4 APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE TO ANJALI CLAES, REFUGIES BIENVENUE

Questions about asylum housing in Paris:

- What is the general situation?
- Who are the main actors?
- What are their roles?
- What is causing this situation to happen?
- How are the actors engaged in the socio-spatial segregation process of asylum-seekers?

Questions about Réfugiés Bienvenue:

- When does your organisation comes in the asylum housing situation?
- Why does the association emerge?
- How many people has the association helped since its beginning?
- Do you know about hybrid places in Paris? Have you collaborated in some way?

Questions about socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers:

- In what way are the actions of your organisation a way to counterbalance this segregation?
- What role does associations and organisations play in the integration of migrants?
- What role does the state plays in the socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers?
- Is the state actively fighting against this phenomenon? In what way?

7.5 APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE TO MAGUELONE SCHNETZLER, ATELIER PARISIEN D'URBANISME (APUR)

Questions about the report:

- What was the purpose of the study?
- Who is the public?
- What was the preferred impact on other organisations and stakeholders?
- What role does the APUR play in the spreading of these projects? To what extent are these projects contributing to counterbalance socio-spatial segregation?
- What are the characteristics of temporary urban projects in Paris?

- Who is funding these projects?
- Are public institutions encouraging these initiatives?
- What are the main conclusions about the report in terms of asylum housing in Paris?

Questions about asylum housing in Paris:

- What are the main challenges in asylum housing in Paris at the moment?
- How is the socio-spatial segregation of asylum-seekers taking place?

[Page left intentionally blank]