

AT HOME IN
EUROPE

EUROPE'S
WHITE
WORKING
CLASS
COMMUNITIES

NOYLYN



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WORKING WITH LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES, THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS SUPPORT JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

Acknowledgements

This city report was prepared as a part of series of reports titled Europe's White Working Class Communities. The series focuses on six cities in the European Union, and within them specific neighborhoods: Aarhus (Trigeparken), Amsterdam (Tuindorp Buiksloot and Floradorp), Berlin (Northern Marzahn-Hellersdorf), Lyon (8th arrondissement), Manchester (Higher Blackley) and Stockholm (Southern Botkyrka).

The research reports have been prepared by At Home in Europe, part of the Open Society Initiative for Europe, Open Society Foundations and in cooperation with local/national based experts.

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At Home in Europe has final responsibility for the content of the report, including and errors or misrepresentations.

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Preface

Over the past 50 years states in western and northern Europe have undergone dramatic demographic, social and economic changes, including de-industrialisation, a shift to a service economy, growing inequality, challenges to the sustainability of social welfare, and increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. The challenges these changes create to sustaining social cohesion and ensuring integration are experienced at the local city-level.

Since 2007, the At Home in Europe Project of the Open Society Foundations has worked to support improved social inclusion, participation and advancing equality across 20 cities in 10 countries, in partnership with local policy makers, practitioners and civil society. The impetus for the engagement arose from Open Society Foundations' mandate to address and mitigate the concerns of vulnerable groups at a time when Europe's governments were beginning to accept that its myriad of immigrant communities—particularly those with a Muslim background—were here to stay and an integral part of the social, political, and cultural landscape. As Europe's Muslims and other minorities became more visible and demographically larger, there has been a pursuit of policies to encourage integration but this has been set against a backdrop of growing anxiety about migration, the perceived erosion of national identity, and the perception that communities from the majority population of European countries have been ignored and consequently disenfranchised.

While there is rhetoric of integration as a 'two way' process, too often integration and social cohesion policies have failed to engage with the views and experiences of existing settled communities, focusing instead on what immigrants or their descendants must do to integrate. For many this failure to address the concerns or anxieties created by changes in the economic and social structures of their neighbourhoods reinforces a sense of being ignored, left behind and demonised. In some cases this has fed into resentment of mainstream political parties and the liberal political values they are seen to represent and increased the appeal of populist parties on mainly the right but also the left. Too often this has led to disengagement from political processes of any kind.

The Europe's White Working Class Communities project documents the experiences of 'white' communities in six cities across Europe (Aarhus, Amsterdam, Berlin, Lyon, Manchester, and Stockholm). Each report in the series focuses on a specific district or neighbourhoods within the city. In doing so it provides new groundbreaking research on the experiences of a section of the population whose lives are often caricatured and whose voices and views are rarely heard in public debates and discussion on integration, cohesion and social inclusion. Through a comparative lens, the project seeks to highlight parallels and differences in policies, practices and experiences across the different European cities.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

AME	State Medical Assistance (<i>Aide médicale de l'état</i>)
API	Allocations for Single Parents (<i>Allocations de Parents Isolés</i>)
CAF	Office for Family Benefit Payments (<i>Caisse d'allocations familiales</i>)
CISL	Lyon International Stop-over Centre (<i>Centre international de séjours Lyon</i>)
CMU	Universal Health Insurance (<i>Couverture maladie universelle</i>)
CNAM	National Health Insurance Fund (<i>Caisse nationale d'assurance maladie</i>)
CUCS	Urban Contract for Social Cohesion (<i>Contrat urbain pour la cohésion sociale</i>)
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
EU	European Union
FDG	Left Front (<i>Front de gauche</i>)
FN	National Front (<i>Front National</i>)
HLM	Social Housing (<i>Habitat à Loyer Modéré</i>)
INSEE	National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques)
MdEF	Lyon Centre for Employment and Training (<i>Maison de l'Emploi et de la formation de Lyon</i>)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PS	Socialist Party (<i>Parti socialiste</i>)
UMP	Union for a Popular Movement (<i>Union pour un mouvement populaire</i>)

Executive summary

The results presented in this report form part of the research conducted in Open Society Foundations' At Home in Europe programme examining the experiences of Europe's white working class. The reports seek to identify and better understand the barriers to full and equal social participation and the factors leading to marginalisation. The aim is to identify and promote effective integration policies and practices in Europe.

This report on the situation of the majority French population in the city of Lyon, France, is based on 15 focus group meetings with 85 inhabitants in the 8th *arrondissement* (borough) of Lyon, alongside 20 individual interviews with stakeholders and an extensive literature review. The report covers a range of topics that provide the basis for exploring experiences of marginalisation and social exclusion: identity and belonging, education, employment, housing, health and social services, policing and security, civil and political participation, and the role of the media.

In France, it is not permitted to define people based on ethnic or racial characteristics; it is also very difficult to talk explicitly about ethnicity. The term "majority population" was used in the recruitment of the focus group participants. Since this is not an ethnically exclusive term, a small minority of focus group participants was probably of ethnic origins other than French. It should, however, be emphasised that all focus group participants self-identified as "majority French", so this term was treated as an open category.

This report is part of a comparative study involving five other European cities (Aarhus, Amsterdam, Berlin, Manchester and Stockholm). This study is the largest and to our knowledge the only empirical study on the majority population that has been conducted in France. Although this report deals with the views and experiences of majority citizens in Lyon, focusing on only one of the nine boroughs (*arrondissements*), its findings are likely to reflect the situation of the majority population in Greater Lyon, and probably France as a whole. This is because Lyon is in many ways a typical French city.

Lyon is the second conurbation in France, after Paris: its population is around 1.5 million, similar to Marseille or Lille. The population of the city of Lyon itself is close to 500,000. (the precise figure for 31 December 2011 was 491,268 and was published by the national statistical office¹ two years later, on 31 December 2013, in a context of sustained growth).² The Lyon area is divided between the western part, which is more

1 Commune de Lyon (City of Lyon). INSEE : French national statistical office: see <http://insee.fr/fr/themes/comparateur.asp?codegeo=COM-69123> (accessed 23 November 2014)

2 Recensement: Lyon compte officiellement 491 268 habitants (Census: Lyon officially has 491,268 inhabitants). Lyon Mag 31 December 2013: see <http://www.lyonmag.com/article/61281/recensement-lyon-compte-officiellement-491-268-habitants> (accessed 23 November 2014)

affluent (with the notable exception of La Duchère estate in the 9th *arrondissement*), a central area which is mixed, and the southern and eastern parts where most minorities and people who face acute social challenges live. The 8th *arrondissement*, where this study took place, is among the most socially and economically challenged districts in the city of Lyon.

There are 76,000 inhabitants in the 8th *arrondissement*, of which the majority is considered to be in the lower socio-economic strata of society. There are several different types of housing, mainly social housing (*Habitat à Loyer Modéré*, HLM) interspersed with higher-quality blocks of flats and areas where individual houses with gardens have been maintained.

Politically, Lyon is dominated by the Socialist Party (Parti socialiste, PS). Traditionally, Lyon has not been seen as a stronghold for populist parties; however, the far-right National Front (Front National, FN) received over 18 percent of the vote in the 8th *arrondissement* in the March 2014 municipal elections,

Within France, Lyon is considered to be a role model for working actively with issues of inclusion and cohesion, a policy which is called the *politique de la ville* (urban policy).

The Open Society Foundations' research finds that French identity is under pressure and even in a crisis according to some focus group participants. To what extent this might be causally linked either to immigration or to the perception of immigration could not be ascertained. The discussion suggests that high immigration and a loss of national identity are simultaneous trends, with no clear link between them. Stakeholders suggested that people felt that the diminished presence of the state and its representatives in everyday life might lead to uncontrolled immigration on the one hand, and a feeling of abandonment on the other.

All participants in the focus groups felt proud to be Lyonnais, to varying degrees. In the 8th *arrondissement*, the Etats-Unis area has a particularly strong identity, perhaps because of its architecture and history. The strong local and city identity was reinforced by a sense that French identity was in crisis. For some, the identification with France was linked to how much the nation was seen as providing opportunities for improving their lives.

The diversity and density of Lyon, both of which are especially apparent in the Etats-Unis area, imply constant interactions and relationships between individuals of different backgrounds. This meant that focus group participants had at least indirect experiences with and insights into everyday racism and prejudice, even if they were not themselves the primary focus. The lived experience of diversity also meant that tolerance and non-tolerance seemed to cohabit.

Participants mentioned a growing sense of fracture in French society, but this appeared to relate to growing social inequality. One participant spoke about a French catastrophe when discussing the underprivileged majority population. He referred to the many former manual workers who had lost their jobs during the previous 20 years, whose children had been put through higher education in order to escape from these problems, but who were still unable to secure decent jobs.

Focus group participants were happy and proud about the good quality of local schools. However, feelings of discontent and anxiety were expressed about the behaviour of students inside and outside schools. There was a perceived lack of authority and discipline and a growing everyday incivility.

Lyon has many big commercial companies especially in the biomedical sector; it also has high-ranking schools and universities. The majority of focus group participants were in employment, or had been until recently. A significant number were working in the health-care sector, almost all of them women. The distribution of jobs and occupations followed classical gender lines in the Open Society Foundations' sample, with most women working in services (nursing assistants, nannies, shop assistants, etc.) and most men in manual jobs. Only 5 percent of the focus group participants were currently looking for a job. Surprisingly few negative remarks were made about the economic situation or the job market, perhaps reflecting the strength of the labour market in Lyon compared with the rest of France. Remarks were made, however, indicating that people felt the situation was better in Germany or neighbouring Switzerland.

A recurrent theme in relation to both education and employment was the devaluation of vocational education and traditional skilled trades and professions. They argued that training should focus on real jobs such as mechanics, plumbers or horticulturists, rather than pursuing the elusive goal of a baccalaureate for everyone. Participants in low-status jobs also talked about the increasing lack of respect that they felt was shown to people who worked in such jobs. The difficulties of getting by on jobs that paid the minimum wage were also noted by a number of participants. Similarly a number of older women who were pensioners said they were still working in order to make ends meet.

The *Emplois Francs* (literally, free jobs or tax-free jobs) were cited as an example of good practice. These are financial incentives given to companies that offer full-time employment to people aged under 30, who have been unemployed for over a year and who have been living in a priority area for at least six months.

A very high percentage (90 percent) of the focus group participants lived in rented apartments, around half of them in social housing in the *Etats-Unis* area, a long, wide avenue with a recently inaugurated tram line set along it.

The city's housing and regeneration policy aims to do away with areas with high concentrations of poverty and to create more socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods, through the dispersal of poor households. Most participants approved of this policy.

Some participants voiced concerns about housing become too expensive and/or too difficult to obtain. But altogether, most stakeholders supported the municipal policy of developing areas around the city centre in order to increase housing opportunities for the growing population. Green areas were few and far between within the 8th *arrondissement*, but this was not seen as a big problem because an excellent public transport system enabled local residents to travel quickly to several large parks situated within a 5-km radius.

Participants were satisfied with their experiences in health and social services and with living conditions in the 8th *arrondissement* and in Lyon generally. As an important regional capital (of the Rhône-Alpes region which includes Saint-Etienne, with Grenoble reaching the shores of Lake Geneva), Lyon has no less than 14 public hospitals and several private hospitals, some of which are situated in the 8th *arrondissement*.

Discussions about policing and security gave rise to the greatest concern, with some feeling that the state had let them down. Several participants were worried about potential conflict between young people, often of foreign descent, and the ageing majority population. While no part of Lyon or the 8th *arrondissement* is considered a no-go area, insecurity was related to the time of day, and was gendered. Several focus group members, especially the older women, said they did not feel safe going out on the street after dark and one even referred to there being what she felt was a curfew. Local people very much disliked people joy-riding and driving or parking their cars or motorbikes on pavements, especially along the Boulevard des Etats-Unis. There was little concern among participants regarding serious crime, but there was a diffuse feeling that the state, city and police services do not in fact exercise any of their authority during the evening and night-time.

There were complaints that the local media (the daily paper *Le Progrès* and the monthly journal *Lyon Capital*) were indifferent towards the 8th *arrondissement*, because it has a reputation for being poor. They complained more about being ignored by mainstream media than about stigmatisation. Another problem was the central position played by television, which is dominated by the national stations. Many participants rely on the internet as a source of information and the radio was not mentioned spontaneously at all.

Because people do not read many paid newspapers, it follows that the municipality, through its regular newsletter distributed in the letterboxes of all city residents, is in a prime position to communicate. While recognising the merits of this means

of communication, participants wished that the municipality would not just inform citizens but also engage with them directly. In this respect, it should be mentioned that there is a plan for citizen councils to be set up in neighbourhoods across Lyon during the course of 2014–2015.

The complexities of the French administrative layers are far too numerous and far too complicated to navigate. Some of this complexity may be resolved by the ongoing metropolisation process, which should see Lyon merge with the southern half of the Rhône department.

In conclusion, the report finds that although an area in Lyon may be regarded as marginalised and vulnerable, the residents were generally positive about the future and did not feel particularly disempowered. This may reflect the wider safety net of social protection that is provided by the state as well as the good position that Lyon finds itself in compared with other cities in France.

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 | THE STUDY CONTEXT

This report is part of a multi-city comparative study by the At Home in Europe Project, a research and advocacy initiative of the Open Society Initiative for Europe which is working to advance the social inclusion of vulnerable communities in a changing Europe. The reports focus on six cities in western Europe: Aarhus (Denmark), Amsterdam (The Netherlands), Berlin (Germany), Stockholm (Sweden), Lyon (France) and Manchester (United Kingdom).

The project explores the political, social, cultural and economic participation of various marginalised groups in western Europe by engaging with residents, civil society and policymakers. Through policy-oriented research and advocacy, the initiative examines the experiences of people living in some of Europe's most diverse cities. The research reports seek to identify and better understand the barriers to full and equal participation and the factors leading to marginalisation. The aim is to promote effective integration policies and practices in Europe.

Europe's White Working Class Communities is a new comparative research series examining local approaches to addressing the needs of marginalised majority populations and communities. For the purposes of this research, majority populations are defined as individuals who were born in the country and are citizens and whose parents were born in the country and are citizens of that country. As we shall see in later chapters, this poses a particular problem in France.

The overarching goal for this research project is to contribute to developing policies for addressing the needs of marginalised majority populations and communities locally. This report focuses on the measures taken to address social and economic disadvantage, discrimination and social cohesion, and explores the extent to which these communities participate in public life.

The report seeks to understand the key concerns of marginalised majority populations and reviews the policies which have been drawn up to contribute to the political and social cohesion and inclusion of communities in Lyon. At the same time, it also explores factors which may have hampered success.

In Lyon, as in each of the selected cities, research concentrated on the following areas: identity and belonging, education, employment, housing, health and social protection, policing and security, participation and citizenship, and the role of the media.

1.2 | METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this report included a literature search, interviews with stakeholders and focus group discussions. A city advisory board was formed to provide advice and information on the approach and findings as the research progressed. The study team produced a draft report which was reviewed by two roundtable meetings, which took place in Lyon in June 2014. The first roundtable was mainly formed of city officials from various municipal governmental sectors having an interest in the research (integration, education, the *politique de la ville*). The second roundtable included a researcher in social science, an (non-governmental organisation (NGO) representative and two focus group participants who were residents in the Etats-Unis area.

An initial review of research literature on the Lyon conurbation provided the basis for the selection of the study area, which was the 8th *arrondissement* (borough). Stakeholders were selected from this *arrondissement* as well as throughout Lyon. Contacts were made with NGOs based in the 8th *arrondissement*, but while many of them were based there for practical reasons (low rent, good transport access) they did not cater specifically for the 8th *arrondissement*.

Twenty key stakeholders were interviewed in the study area, Lyon, the Rhône department and the Rhône-Alpes region because of the size of the city and its position as a regional capital. The interviewees included representatives of the central mayor's office but not representatives of the mayor of the 8th *arrondissement*. It is probable that the municipal elections in March 2014 discouraged some stakeholders from engaging in this research. Officials interviewed for this report covered a range of policy areas include integration, the *politique de la ville* and culture. An elected politician at the Greater Lyon level was also interviewed.

In addition to the local officials, interviews were carried out with representatives of several NGOs active in the area and working with poverty, social inclusion and participation. There were also interviews with local residents and people working in the area or very knowledgeable about the area, and who for various reasons were not willing or not able to participate in the focus groups.

Finally, there were at least 100 other individuals and groups who were engaged in short discussions and conversations, which often proved informative; this was a particularly important method for engaging older men.

The recruitment process for the focus groups was difficult because French law does not allow distinctions to be made on the basis of ethnicity. Recruitment of members of the majority population was based on individuals being French nationals and identifying themselves as belonging to the majority population.

Participants for the focus groups were recruited through direct approaches made by researchers to people at and around the open-air market on Boulevard des Etats-Unis, on Thursdays and Saturdays (market days) between August and October 2013. In addition to this more than 1,000 leaflets about participation in the focus groups were posted in letterboxes throughout the 8th *arrondissement*. Around half of the people approached in the street would stop and listen to researchers; however, less than 10 percent actually turned up at the focus group meetings. Many declined because they did not have the time, or because the schedule was inconvenient for them.

In practice, individuals who arrived at the venue for focus group sessions were not excluded if they did not meet the requirement of being French nationals. As a consequence, there may have been a few people (less than 5 percent of participants) in the focus groups who were not French.

A small subset of participants (around 10 percent) was contacted through a non-controlled snowballing process. These were friends of the students who were supporting the initial stages of the research, as well as friends of people who had participated in the first few focus groups. It proved so difficult to ensure at least six participants in each group that few people were turned away. However, three or four focus groups were cancelled at the last minute as too few people turned up.

Difficulties in recruiting and the decision not to exclude people who might be useful in the discussions meant that some participants did not live in the study area. The presence of on average one or two people from outside the 8th *arrondissement* in each group did not reduce the information value of the groups. On the contrary, it proved useful to be able to confront genuine 8th *arrondissement* residents with people from adjacent areas.

Fifteen focus group discussions were carried out between 30 August and 31 October 2013. Some participants would only come if their friend, flat-mate or partner could also join. Since recruitment was difficult, people were permitted to come in pairs. However, a careful note was made of these connections, which were taken into account while managing the focus groups.

The focus group on civic and political participation was one of the largest: there were ten people altogether, eight who lived in the 8th *arrondissement* and two who worked in it. The group included a plumber, a retired army officer, a retired postal employee, a student and two unemployed people. One person had lived until recently in Paris, another had lived in a small town. So it was possible to compare these experiences with those of the other participants who had stayed in Lyon all their lives.

Altogether, 85 people participated in 13 focus groups (an average of 6.5 per group). There were 54 women and 31 men, so women made up 63 percent of the participants. The average age was 45 years. Half of the sample were in regular employment (51

percent), five people were unemployed (6 percent of the sample), 21 percent were students and 22 percent were retired. Among the participants, 74 percent resided currently in the 8th *arrondissement* and 13 percent lived in areas directly adjacent to the 8th *arrondissement* (mainly Vénissieux). The remaining 13 percent did not live in the study area; however, at least half of these had a direct link to the 8th *arrondissement*, either having lived there in the past or currently working there. Altogether, around 5 percent of the sample had no particular link to the 8th *arrondissement*. However, it should be emphasised that fully 100 percent of the sample was currently living in the Lyon area.

Among the 60 participants in employment or having been in employment, almost all were low-level employees. Only one retired person and one currently employed person could qualify as being a (former) company director and a senior manager, respectively. Four other people were self-employed. The jobs occupied by the remaining employees tended to be split along traditional gender lines, with many women working in shops, as nurses and carers in hospitals or other health institutions (often caring for senior citizens or children), and most of the men working in garages, in construction or as street cleaners. Almost all the students were university students, except for one who was a butcher's apprentice.

It is important to emphasise that the focus groups formed a qualitative and not a quantitative approach. They were not intended to be representative, hence the low proportion of unemployed people and of men. The aim of the focus group on recruitment was to enable as many different points of view as possible to be heard.

1.2.1 | THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS'S SUCCESSES AND LIMITATIONS

The prohibition in French law on making any distinction between French citizens – for example, to split French nationals into those with French parents and those with foreign parents – prevented NGOs and public officials from being able to help recruit focus group participants.

A privately-owned conference centre and youth hostel called the Centre international de séjours Lyon (Lyon international stop-over centre, CISL) was the venue for all the research focus group meetings.

At the onset, the researchers had been warned (by a Lyon city representative who asked not to be named) that people in the 8th *arrondissement* were tired of participating in research. One had even heard a local resident say: “You are the third sociologist this week!”

It should also be mentioned that the format of this research project and its entire approach were considered unusual by local standards because it focused on the subjective stories and experiences of the residents themselves. It rapidly became clear that local residents were accustomed to more top-down communication formats, in rooms of 25 people or more, where participation was limited to being allowed to ask questions. This difference led to most people who were approached being initially reluctant to participate. But once the focus group had taken place, they were generally satisfied, and often enthusiastic.

It was a challenge to recruit a group of participants with the exact profile envisaged in the initial research plan. The research focused on areas in cities that would be considered marginalised, rather than individuals, as it is difficult to identify individuals at risk of social, political, economic or cultural exclusion, not least due to the stigma associated with non-participation and poverty. People with this kind of profile are difficult to reach and often reluctant to participate in any meeting.

Some residents were eager to participate in the project almost by virtue of their social connectedness and participation. However, as these people were involved in several NGOs, they had meetings almost every evening and were unable to attend the focus groups. Economically most focus group participants were doing slightly better than those who could be regarded as truly marginalised.

Furthermore, it proved difficult to avoid the snowballing method in these close-knit communities, as many participants were convinced to participate by their friends, family members or neighbours. Many participants felt frustrated at not being able to attend a second focus group, and they made up for it by sending a family member or friend to another group.

The focus group method with its collective and public dimension turned out to be an obstacle for some people to participate actively. Some participants claimed that they had nothing to say and the research team was attentive to this and tried to draw out information from the quieter participants (while sometimes having to slow down the more enthusiastic speakers). All in all, it is clear that not all participants participated to the same degree.

There was a gender bias in the overall group of participants. Males were difficult to recruit, as were any people between the ages of 30 and 50. In the end, the sample of participants was not as demographically balanced as anticipated. However, it should be borne in mind that the primary focus of a qualitative research project like this one is not on securing a representative and generalizable sample of the population, but to map the subjective and relevant experiences of as many different people as possible.

Towards the end of the focus group series, it became clear that older men were seriously underrepresented. Efforts were made to find members of this group, even

organising mini-focus groups with the only two or three participants, in order to ascertain whether this demographic group had anything to say that might be different from the other participants. Time was taken to speak on the streets with older men who said they would not come to the focus groups because they did not want to say certain things in front of everyone, but who were more than happy to air their opinions in private. This was particularly useful in order to probe the extent of far-right and anti-foreign sentiment among older men in the study area.

As mentioned earlier, there are no ethnic statistics in France; there is a constitutional ban on such information. There have been calls to loosen up this approach, if only to facilitate research in social science both inside and outside the country. But at the time of writing, no concrete propositions had been made to change this situation.

According to an article³ published by *Time* magazine in 2009:

The French constitution ... declares the country “an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic [that] assures equality before the law for all its citizens, without distinction of origin, of race, or religion”. That gender- and colour-blindness, national ideology holds, protects minority populations by ignoring the differences that divide them into often mutually hostile groups ... The prohibition on using ethnic or religious data – even if volunteered – means France can do no better than estimate that its population includes 4 to 7 million Arabs, 3 to 5 million blacks, some 1.5 million Asians, and around 600,000 Jews. Using the highest of those estimates, those four categories represent nearly 22 percent of France’s population – a group that includes arguably the biggest victims of racism and discrimination. The vast majority of French people want to change that. The question is how.

As well as the legal and constitutional context, it is important to realise that all discussions on the topics of immigration, ethnicity and even national identity tend to be emotionally charged in France. The French context therefore had practical implications for this study.

3 Bruce Crumley, “Should France Count Its Minority Population?”, *Time*, 24 March 2009, at <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1887106,00.html> (accessed 17 October 2013).

2

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

2.1 | LYON, A TYPICAL EUROPEAN CITY

Lyon is the second-largest city in France after Paris, although it competes for the position with two similar-sized cities, Lille to the north and Marseille to the south. While Greater Paris has around 12 million inhabitants, Lyon, Marseille and Lille metropolitan areas each host between around 1 million and 2 million inhabitants, depending on definitions. Greater Lyon (*le Grand Lyon*) has a population of 1.3 million (in 2011) spread over 58 communes and 51.5 km². The so-called Lyon Urban Area (*aire urbaine*) is much larger; its 513 communes had a population of 2.2 million in 2011.

The city of Lyon itself had around 490,000 inhabitants in 2011, a decrease from its highest of 580,000 in 1931 and another peak of 529,000 in 1962.⁴ However, the population is now increasing by around 5,000 people every year, so it would be wrong to think of Lyon as a shrinking city. On the contrary, it is among the most economically dynamic areas in France, and is the capital of the Rhône-Alpes region, which is one of the most prosperous in the country.⁵

Lyon lies in the middle of the table of socio-economic inequality. It features neither in the top 10 nor in the bottom 10 French cities, according to the Gini index.⁶ The Mercer Quality of Living Survey placed Lyon at the 39th position in the world, between London and Barcelona. But it does not feature at all in Mercer's City Infrastructure Ranking.⁷ It is not a major centre for international institutions, although it does host a handful of international offices such as Interpol and the offices of the Union for International Cancer Control (UICC) of the World Health Organisation. In many ways, Lyon is an average European city, albeit with ambitions to become a major player on the continent. Its key strategic position at the northern tip of the Rhône valley has made it a major crossroads since Roman times and local residents are keen to remind visitors that Lyon, not Paris, was the capital of ancient Gaul.

Historically, Lyon was a hotspot of the French resistance during the second world war and was also a major centre of the Gestapo. Lyon is the city of the most famous French freedom fighter, Jean Moulin, but is also the place where Jean Moulin was betrayed, arrested, tortured and killed. This recent history is certainly present in the minds of many local residents. Otherwise, the city is known for two famous pilots, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (who wrote *The Little Prince*) and Jean Mermoz, and the Lumière brothers, who pioneered the cinema.

4 Des villages de Cassini aux communes d'aujourd'hui » (From the Cassini map villages to today's communes), at http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=20464 (accessed 15 October 2014). Cassini is a website for historical population analysis.

5 Sustainable Development Observatory (Observatoire du développement durable), « Référentiel social de l'Agenda 21: évolution des inégalités » (Social aspect of Agenda 21: evolution of inequality), 2011, at www.grandlyon.com/Les-referentiels.2338.0.html (accessed 17 October 2013).

6 Inequality Observatory (Observatoire des inégalités), « Le palmarès des villes françaises les plus inégalitaires » (List of the most unequal cities in France), 2011, at www.inegalites.fr/spip.php?article1479 (accessed 15 October 2013).

7 Mercer Consulting, « The best cities in the world for environment and infrastructure », report, at www.citymayors.com/features/quality_survey.html (accessed 21 February 2014).

France has a long history of immigration in the form of labour migration and migration from former colonies, particularly in Africa, as well as subsequent family reunions and chain migration. Starting in the mid-1970s, migration policies became more restrictive. At present, the largest groups of immigrants with foreign nationality are Portuguese, Moroccan and Algerian.⁸ This is because older waves of immigrants from Italy and Spain or their descendants have acquired French nationality.

The migration history of Lyon reads as a succession of waves coming mainly from the south. Historic Lyon was built entirely on the western bank of the Rhône. Until the early 20th century, there was only one bridge leading to the eastern part of the modern city, which is now home to the main train station (Part-Dieu, which has been gradually taking over from the older Perrache station which lies west of the Rhône and south of the old town) and the 8th *arrondissement*. The area directly to the east of the bridge was for a long time a containment and quarantine area called La Guillotière⁹ situated at the northern tip of the present 7th *arrondissement*, which leads towards the Etats-Unis neighbourhood and the 8th *arrondissement* as a whole.

Up to the end of the 19th century, it was mainly peasants from the various French provinces around Lyon who flocked to La Guillotière, looking for jobs in construction. The first immigrants from abroad were the Italians¹⁰ towards the end of the 19th century, at the beginning of the 20th century and again between the two world wars. In the 1930s and especially after 1945, they were followed by Spaniards, Greeks, Armenians and Ashkenazi Jews. During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (referred to as the Glorious Thirty Years or *Les Trente Glorieuses*), most of the immigration was from the Maghreb region in North Africa, that is, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. In the 1980s and 1990s, there was an influx of people (some of them refugees) from South-east Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. More recently, there have been significant numbers of arrivals of Portuguese, former Yugoslavians, Roma, Indians and Turks.

While these waves of immigration were taking place, the historic neighbourhood of La Guillotière, which had been the first port of call of immigrants for centuries, began to undergo gentrification,^{11,12} pushing the new arrivals away from the centre into areas

8 Steffen Hillmert, "Links between immigration and social inequality in education: a comparison among five European countries", *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 32 (2013), pp. 7–23, at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0276562413000139 (accessed 15 April 2014).

9 Museum of the History of Immigration, « Le quartier de la Guillotière de Lyon » (The Guillotière neighbourhood in Lyon), at www.histoire-immigration.fr/la-cite/le-reseau/les-actions-du-reseau/2009-journees-europeennes-du-patrimoine/le-quartier-de-la-guillotiere-de-lyon (accessed 15 April 2014).

10 Jean-Luc de Ochandiano, *Lyon l'italienne* (Lyon the Italian), book and exhibition 15 April–20 December 2014 at the Lyon archives, at www.univ-lyon2.fr/actualite/actualites-scientifiques/lyon-l-italienne-569284.kjsp?RH=WW600 (accessed 15 April 2014).

11 Soline Bordet, Yasemin Cakanlar, Julia Gamberini et al., « Un délaissé urbain à la Guillotière » (A forgotten piece of town at the Guillotière), 2003, at <http://vincent.hyvernat.free.fr/Sitepro/jangot-cluzan.pdf> (accessed 14 April 2014).

12 *Tribune de Lyon*, 2 October 2013, « Les 20 lieux hype de la Guillotière » (The 20 hip places in the Guillotière), at www.tribunedelyon.fr/?art-de-vivre/bons-plans/40473-les-20-lieux-hype-de-la-guillotiere (accessed 15 April 2014).

such as the 8th *arrondissement* and the neighbouring suburbs of Villeurbanne, Vaulx-en-Velin, Bron and Vénissieux.

In the minds of many French people, there was a first wave of internal (French) migration, a second wave of (mainly southern) European migration and a third from outside Europe. However, this is only partly true, and in 2003 an exhibition entitled “Algeria in Lyon, one century of heritage” showed that Algerians had been living in the Lyon area for far longer than most people thought, and that some had been heroes of the French resistance during the second world war.¹³

2.2 | THE STUDY AREA

The city of Lyon is split into nine *arrondissements*. (It should be noted that Paris, Marseille and Lyon are the only cities with this political and administrative structure.) Each *arrondissement* is considered to a certain extent as a commune in its own right and has its own mayor, who remains under the authority of the mayor of the city, who is Gérard Collomb (Socialist Party). The most densely inhabited *arrondissements* of Lyon are the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th and 8th.

FIGURE 1. THE CITY OF LYON WITH ITS NINE ARRONDISSEMENTS



Note: The river to the right (east) is the Rhône, the river to the left (west) is the Saône, which join in the Confluence area, the southern tip of the 2nd *arrondissement*, before flowing south towards Avignon and the Mediterranean.

Source: Wikipedia

Lying to the southeast of the city, the 8th *arrondissement* had 81,000 inhabitants in 2011, spread over 6.7 km². It contains several patches of poverty and vulnerability, Etats-Unis, Langlet-Santy and Mermoz, which lie close to each other in the southern

13 Philippe Videlier, *L'Algérie à Lyon, une mémoire centenaire*, book and exhibition 14 May–27 September 2003 at the Part-Dieu Library, Lyon, at www.bm-lyon.fr/expo/virtuelles/algerie (accessed 15 April 2014).

part of the *arrondissement*. Slightly to the north, the more affluent Monplaisir area has a cosy small-town atmosphere with many small shops.

In between Monplaisir and Etats-Unis, around the physical centre of the *arrondissement*, lies the Bachut area with a criss-cross of roads and tramlines. The Bachut is a cluster of large buildings such as the mayor's office for the 8th *arrondissement*, the public library (Médiathèque) and a theatre which is the dancing centre for the entire city at present (Maison de la Danse). Between Bachut and Etats-Unis, there still are over 100 small houses with small gardens, with large residential buildings surrounding them.

Interestingly, two of the main markets in the 8th *arrondissement* are in Monplaisir and Etats-Unis. The sociological differences between these areas translate into a completely different mix of people who frequent the two markets. To the southwest, around the Etats-Unis area, the 8th *arrondissement* borders on the 7th *arrondissement* and on working-class Vénissieux.

Figure 2 shows the 8th *arrondissement*, with the Boulevard des Etats-Unis running southeast towards Vénissieux. This is the area where the focus groups took place, at the Centre international de séjours Lyon (Lyon international stop-over centre, CISL). To the west lies another working-class area referred to as Le Grand Trou (The Big Hole), Moulin-à-Vent or simply Route de Vienne. The central Bachut area is around Avenue Berthelot and 8th *arrondissement* town hall (*mairie*). The more affluent Monplaisir lies to the north of this, bordering the 3rd *arrondissement*.

FIGURE 2. THE 8TH ARRONDISSEMENT OF LYON



Source: Immo Lyon real estate information service (immoLyon.info)¹⁴

14 Immo Lyon (on-line real estate information service), at www.immoLyon.info/plan_lyon.php (accessed 26 November 2014)

2.3 | SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

On poverty levels,¹⁵ a recent publication ranked the 100 largest cities in France from poorest (1st was Roubaix at the Belgian border, with a 45 percent poverty level) to richest (98th equal were Versailles, Neuilly and Rueil-Malmaison, all affluent suburbs west of Paris). Lyon came in at 82nd in these estimates, which were based on 2011 data, with a 15 percent poverty level, almost on par with Paris (14 percent), Nantes (16 percent) and Bordeaux (17 percent), and a great deal wealthier than Marseille, Montpellier or Lille (all at 25 percent). In Lyon, the publication showed that the poverty levels were highest in the 8th and 9th *arrondissements* (see Table 1).¹⁶

TABLE 1. POVERTY LEVELS IN THE CITY OF LYON, 2011

Arrondissement	Poverty level (%)
1	16
2	10
3	13
4	9
5	11
6	9
7	15
8	20
9	21
Average	15

Note: Notice the high levels in the 8th and 9th *arrondissements*, respectively in the southeast and northwest of the city

Source: Louis Maurin and Violaine Mazery, “Les taux de pauvreté des 100 plus grandes communes de France” (Poverty rates of the 100 largest French communes), *Compas Etudes* 11, January 2014, at www.inegalites.fr/spip.php?article1902 (accessed 4 March 2014)

However, in Lyon, as in most of France, the poorest areas lie not inside the city but in the outskirts or suburbs (*banlieues*). In order to select the most appropriate *arrondissement* for this study, data from an official report¹⁷ of the French authorities and statistical office were used, which combines nine indicators to evaluate the level of vulnerability (*précarité*) of each area. These are divided into four indicators of social vulnerability, three indicators of employment vulnerability and two indicators of

15 In this context, the poverty level is set at 60 percent of the median wage, taking into account taxes and social benefits. In 2011, this corresponded to €977 per month.

16 Louis Maurin and Violaine Mazery, “Les taux de pauvreté des 100 plus grandes communes de France” (Poverty rates of the 100 largest French communes), *Compas Etudes* 11, January 2014, at www.inegalites.fr/spip.php?article1902 (accessed 4 March 2014).

17 Inequality Observatory (Observatoire des inégalités), « Le palmarès des villes françaises les plus inégalitaires » (List of the most unequal cities in France), 2011, at www.inegalites.fr/spip.php?article1479 (accessed 15 October 2013).

familial vulnerability. It should be emphasised that these data have not been published in numerical form; only the maps are available.

The four indicators of social vulnerability are:

- proportion of Caisse d'allocations familiales (CAF) beneficiaries;¹⁸
- proportion of CAF families for whom family payments represent less than 50 percent of their total income;
- proportion of Caisse nationale d'assurance maladie (national health insurance, CNAM) beneficiaries with complementary universal health coverage (CMU-C);
- proportion of CAF beneficiaries receiving minimum social payments (*revenu minimum d'insertion*) or allocations for single parents (*allocations de parents isolés*, API).

The three indicators of employment vulnerability are:

- proportion of unemployed with no significant work activity during the previous month (*demandeurs d'emploi de catégorie 1*) among the unemployed having worked in the private sector and among all the unemployed;
- proportion of unemployed with no significant work activity during the previous month and with low professional qualifications (or no qualifications) among the unemployed having worked in the private sector and among all the unemployed;
- proportion of unemployed with no significant work activity during the previous month and unemployed for over one year, among the unemployed having worked in the private sector and among all the unemployed.

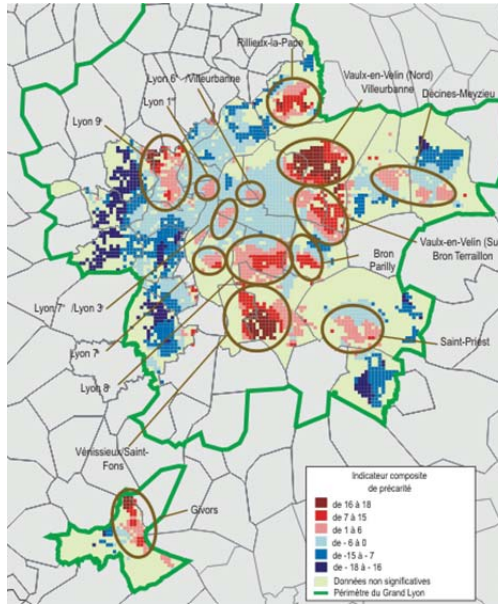
The two indicators of familial vulnerability are:

- proportion of CAF beneficiaries whose monthly revenue is low and who live alone with their children;
- proportion of CAF beneficiaries living under the poverty level (*seuil des bas revenus*) as a couple with two or more children.

Using these indicators, it was possible to identify 14 vulnerable areas, six of which were within the city limits. As can be seen in Figure 3, the southern half of the 8th *arrondissement* stands out as one of the most important pockets of vulnerability. The main pockets of poverty and deprivation (in brown and red on the figure) in Greater Lyon lie outside the city limits. Within the city limits, the main pockets are Lyon 8, Lyon 9 and Lyon 7.

¹⁸ CAF is the office for family benefit payments, which applies to families with children whose monthly revenue per unit of consumption is considered low, i.e. less than €1001 in 2012 (less than €845 in 2006).

**FIGURE 3. THE 14 MAIN POCKETS OF POVERTY IN GREATER LYON:
COMPOSITE INDICATOR OF DEPRIVATION, 2010**



Source: La lettre de l'INSEE Rhône-Alpes, September 2010 (Sources of map data: Insee, CAF 2006, ANPE 2006, DADS 2006, Cnam 2007¹⁹)

19 Maud Coudène. Grand Lyon: la précarité reste concentrée à l'est de l'agglomération Insee Rhône-Alpes – La Lettre Analyses n°130 – septembre 2010 (Greater Lyon: deprivation remains concentrated in the east of the conurbation. Insee Rhone-Alps – The Letter Analyses, September 2010), see http://insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?reg_id=8&ref_id=16691 (accessed 30 November 2014)

3

POLICY CONTEXT

3.1 | PUBLIC POLICY AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

Lyon is in many ways an average European city, albeit a booming one.²⁰ The economic and social changes currently sweeping across the continent are very present in Lyon: ageing populations (despite a significant student population: the two trends coexist in Lyon), urban sprawl, a need for investment in housing and public infrastructure, a decisive shift towards a service-oriented economy, as well as a host of issues linked to immigration, integration and discrimination.

Policy priorities are mainly defined nationally, and are implemented locally with the support of local authorities. National and local authorities have pinpointed priority areas throughout the country, where the challenges related to social inclusion and cohesion are deemed to be the strongest. These areas tend to concentrate social, political and economic tensions and, as in Lyon, most of them lie on the outskirts or suburbs of major cities.

3.2 | THE POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE²¹

The *politique de la ville* (literally, city or urban policy) is the French term for a policy of urban improvement applied to poor and disenfranchised areas. Public policy concentrates on sectors such as housing, town planning, employment, cultural and social activities in small sections of a city identified as priority areas according to a complex set of definitions (these definitions will be abolished at the end of 2014, to be replaced with “new priority geography”²²). The aim of the *politique de la ville* is to improve daily life for inhabitants in priority areas and restore equal opportunities for people who belong to the same community.

This policy was initiated in the 1980s at the national level, as an example of the positive discrimination movements initiated in many industrialised countries at the time. It should be emphasised that France was then under a left-wing government, following the election of François Mitterrand as president in 1981 (thus putting the left in power nationally for the first time since the second world war).

At the local level, over the past few years, Lyon city authorities have collaborated with civil society organisations and local residents in order to produce a strategic document

20 Nellie Rodriguez, “La population du Rhône en 2020: croissance et vieillissement » (The population of the Rhône department in 2020: growth and ageing), National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), 2009, at www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?reg_id=8&ref_id=14930 (accessed 24 March 2014).

21 See www.ville.gouv.fr/?presentation (accessed 24 March 2014). A small part of this website is available in English.

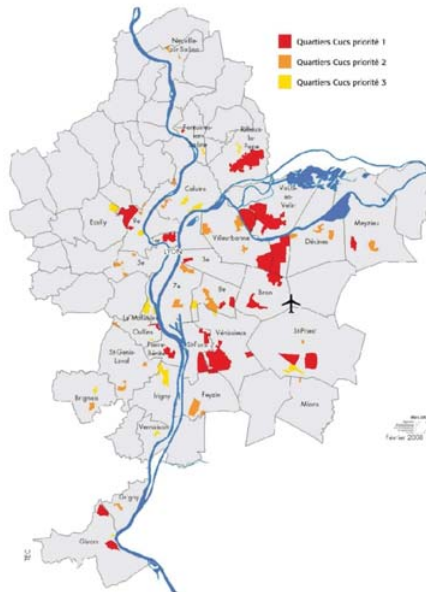
22 La nouvelle géographie prioritaire et les nouveaux contrats de ville (The new priority geography and the new urban contracts), at www.ville.gouv.fr/?la-nouvelle-geographie-prioritaire (accessed 15 October 2014).

called the “Urban contract for social cohesion” (*Contrat urbain de cohésion sociale*, CUCS). This document underpins the *politique de la ville* by defining urban and social projects which need to be implemented in order to close the gap between the priority areas and other areas in the city, the objective being to integrate them into the fabric of the city as a whole.

The *politique de la ville* for Lyon defines three categories of areas, as follows.

- *Category 1* areas are neighbourhoods where a large and coordinated intervention is necessary, in order to transform unsatisfactory urban and social conditions.
- *Category 2* groups together other areas with social and economic difficulties, where improvements are deemed necessary.
- *Category 3* identifies areas which are under supervision because it is expected that the situation might deteriorate in the future.

FIGURE 4. URBAN CONTRACT FOR SOCIAL COHESION FOR GREATER LYON, SHOWING PRIORITY AREAS 1, 2 AND 3, 2008



Source: City of Lyon. Urban contract for the Lyon conurbation (2012)²³

23 Signature d'un avenant au contrat urbain de cohésion sociale (CUCS) de l'agglomération lyonnaise, le 18 octobre 2012 – dossier de presse. (Signing of an amendment to the urban contract for social cohesion, on 18 October 2012 – press pack.) At: www.economie.grandlyon.com/actualite-economie-actu-lyon.194+M54e7eede69d.o.html

It can be seen that orange and red areas form a circle. In the 8th *arrondissement*, the elongated orange area corresponds to the Boulevard des Etats-Unis. The neighbouring yellow area to the west is Le Grand Trou/Moulin-à-Vent/Route de Vienne. The two red areas to the east are Langlet-Santy and Mermoz.

The *politique de la ville* often translates into construction projects and social projects in the priority areas, as well as actions at city level, such as improving access to the job market or increasing investment in transport and housing. The objective is to achieve a better balance between different areas of the city. There may sometimes be a trade-off between the short-term expectations of local residents and the longer-term development plans for the city as a whole. While the policy was initially a mechanism to mitigate the difficulties caused by urban and social mutations in fast-growing cities such as Lyon, it has now become a comprehensive urban policy, combining all aspects of local development.²⁴

In 2009, Lyon municipality initiated an open consultation process between the authorities and the inhabitants, focused on priority areas. The objective was to obtain a more detailed knowledge of the issues in these areas. This process, entitled “Enquête écoute habitants” (The study that listens to the inhabitants), was conducted again in 2011, leading to several publications in 2012.²⁵ The part relating to the 8th *arrondissement* concentrated on a representative sample of 600 citizens living in five of the most socially problematic areas of the *arrondissement*: Etats-Unis, Mermoz (north and south), Langlet-Santy and Moulin-à-Vent.

The results show that most inhabitants were satisfied with their living conditions: 89 percent of Etats-Unis residents “feel at ease in their neighbourhood”. This is more than the 82 percent registered in the other challenged sectors of the 8th *arrondissement*, but somewhat less than the 94 percent observed in more affluent parts of the city. More details on this study are given in Chapter 7 on housing.

Politique de la ville action in various parts of Lyon include: international picnics where inhabitants cook and share food corresponding to their cultures of origin; meeting groups for mothers; a library for 3–12-year-olds; renovating a community centre; cleaning and improving social housing; organising meetings between neighbours which take place near the buildings; and plans to combat littering.

24 The description of Lyon’s implementation of the *politique de la ville* can be found at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_quartiers (accessed 24 March 2014).

25 For « Enquête écoute habitants », see www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/docs_enligne/enquete_ecoute_habit (accessed 31 March 2014) (hereafter, « Enquête écoute habitants »).

3.3 | THE POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE, THE BIG PICTURE

The *politique de la ville* originated at national level in the Ministry of Urban Affairs, which was set up in the 1980s by the Socialist government. It is piloted by the Interministerial Urban Committee (*Comité interministeriel de la ville*), a group of ministers including the prime minister and the Minister of Urban Affairs. Under the prefect (*préfet*) (which each department has, representing the central government at the local level), a guiding document is set up locally for each city, which is the urban contract for social cohesion defining the principles and guidelines of the policy and the areas where it will be applied. The concept of this document involves almost all levels of the French political system (i.e. cities, departments, regions and the country as a whole).

In Lyon, the contract is ratified by the Lyon arrondissements, the Grand Lyon, the Rhône-Alpes region, the departmental parliament and the French state (at the national level). One of the key ideas is to bring together policy sectors (economy, social, security, etc.) which are managed by different ministries or departments.

According to French sociologist and political scientist Riva Kastoryano, at national level, the issue of poor urban neighbourhoods has been one of the thorniest issues in French politics for decades. Lyon was often at the forefront since the Minguettes (Vénissieux) and Vaulx-en-Velin riots in the 1980s and 1990s.²⁶ The city was chosen not only by Mr Mitterrand in 1990 to inaugurate the creation of the Ministry of Urban Affairs, but also more recently by the state secretary in charge of the *politique de la ville* under Nicolas Sarkozy's centre-right government, Fadela Amara, when she announced the "Hope for Outer-city Areas" (*Espoir banlieues*) programme in 2008. It was claimed that this project created around 11,000 new jobs; however, it was terminated following the replacement of Mr Sarkozy by François Hollande as president in 2013. The policy has been criticised for not reaching its objectives because of a lack of either funding²⁷ or political will.²⁸

In a press release issued on 8 October 2013, the government stressed that on average priority areas in France receive less rather than more public money than other areas. This counter-intuitive finding was explained with a number of examples, for instance

26 Since the 1980s, the press has reported several riots in the French banlieues: among the most famous, Minguettes in 1981 and 1983, and Vaulx-en-Velin (both suburbs of Lyon) in 1991. These reports went along with pictures of burned-out cars, looted display windows, riot police and young people throwing stones. Editorials referred to "youths from the suburbs or young descendants of North African immigrants". See Riva Kastoryano, "Riots in France – Territories of Identities in France", 2006, at <http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/Kastoryano> (accessed 21 February 2014).

27 « Le 'Plan Espoir Banlieues' n'a pas atteint son but » (The "Plan Espoir Banlieues" has not reached its goal), at www.tsa-quotidien.fr/action-sociale/politique-de-la-ville/a-204137/le-plan-espoir-banlieues-n-a-pas-atteint-son-but.html (accessed 16 October 2013).

28 D. Sopo, "Les banlieues, c'est maintenant" (Now is the time for the banlieues), Huffington Post, 6 September 2012, at www.huffingtonpost.fr/dominique-sopo/les-banlieues-cest-maintenant_b_1857967.html (accessed 23 October 2014).

that these areas have less access to government-supported job placements (11 percent of the jobless live in priority areas, but only 8 percent of people who have had such job placements live in these areas); at another level, there are on average 20 sports facilities per 10,000 inhabitants in priority areas against 35 per 10,000 in other parts of the country.²⁹ In early 2014, the government launched a major overhaul of the *politique de la ville* in order to make it simpler and more coherent and to increase public participation. Eleven interministerial collaborations were set up to address the challenges facing priority areas across the country. One of the chief aims is to increase the number of teachers faster than the increase in the number of school classes.³⁰

It is important to point out that because the national level is so dominant in French media, events may overshadow news from Lyon. For instance, in several tragic events occurred in the south of France during 2013, including drug-related murders in Marseille,³¹ Mafia-induced shootings in Corsica³² and the controversial killing of a fleeing thief by a jeweller in Nice.³³ So it is difficult to know to what extent decreased national media interest in the impoverished Lyon suburbs is really due to substantial local improvements, and how much may be explained by worse conditions or more spectacular events occurring elsewhere in France.

3.4 | THE 8TH ARRONDISSEMENT IN THE POLITIQUE DE LA VILLE

The 8th *arrondissement* features prominently in the *politique de la ville*, with one category 1 area, one category 2 area and one category 3 area. The largest category 1 area is Mermoz, which consists mainly of long and high apartment blocks. The 2011–2014 update of the CUCS goes into more length on Mermoz than on any other area in Greater Lyon. It identifies it as especially impoverished and an experimental area at national level. The objective is to change the negative image of the area and integrate it into the rest of the city, using the following four axes of action:

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- 29 Government of France, “Le retour de l’Etat dans les quartiers populaires” (The return of the state in working-class neighbourhoods), press release, 8 October 2013 at www.ville.gouv.fr/?quartiers-populaires-le (accessed 16 October 2013).
- 30 Government of France, “Quartiers populaires: le Gouvernement engagé à travers 11 conventions interministérielles” (Working-class neighbourhoods: the government commits itself through 11 interministerial agreements), 8 October 2013, at www.ville.gouv.fr/?quartiers-populaires-le (accessed 16 October 2013).
- 31 « Marseille battles image as France’s murder capital », BBC News Europe, 8 October 2013, at www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24380941 (accessed 14 April 2014).
- 32 “Murder Island”, ABC News, 9 October 2013, at www.abc.net.au/foreign/content/2013/s3845579.htm (accessed 14 April 2014).
- 33 Alexander Stille, “The jeweller and his gun: a shooting divides France”, New Yorker, 19 September 2013, at www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/comment/2013/09/the-jeweller-and-his-gun-a-shooting-divides-france.html (accessed 14 April 2014).

1. reinforcing social development;
2. improving the living environment;
3. creating cultural projects;
4. pursuing urban projects geared to openness and social mixing.

Looking at the budgets for the city of Lyon, the sums allocated to all these actions may seem rather low, amounting to around €1 million per year. This is because the Ministry of Urban Affairs is small compared for example with the Ministry of Education. However, it should be remembered that the idea behind the *politique de la ville* is to reinforce and coordinate sectorial policies already in place.

The policy objective is to achieve the same level of service over the whole country. If and when regular public investment does not deliver the required service, then the *politique de la ville* intervenes. For example, in priority areas there are typically around 22–25 children per class compared with 28–30 elsewhere. Another example is that in some priority areas people are recruited to take care of buildings, for instance a caretaker for 100 lodgings. This may be organised through direct payment by the state to the landlord companies, which recruit the caretakers.

In practice, the public administration at the city or conurbation level (Greater Lyon) issues calls for projects at regular intervals (usually every six months). NGOs and private companies then put up their various project proposals. Very many projects are under way, with around 70 projects for the 8th *arrondissement* alone. They focus on all sorts of people (children, senior citizens, the jobless, etc.) and cover, for example, social integration, education and culture. The originality of the *politique de la ville* is that it is not sectorial, but conceived and carried out at the territorial level.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the *politique de la ville* has always been hotly debated nationally and locally. Because of its inherently sensitive nature, it is constantly being controlled and evaluated at all levels of the French political and administrative system, in particular because public money has to be paid to private landlords so that housing improvements can take place.

4

IDENTITY AND BELONGING

This chapter examines identity and belonging at levels ranging from the local (such as the Etats-Unis neighbourhood in the 8th *arrondissement*), through the *arrondissement*, city and department up to the regional (Rhône-Alpes) and national. The existence of a supranational Western identity was also discussed in the focus groups. The Open Society Foundations' research finds that French identity is under pressure – and even in crisis, according to some focus group participants. To what extent this might be causally linked either to immigration or to the perception of immigration could not be ascertained. The discussions suggested that high immigration and a loss of national identity are simultaneous trends, with no clear link between them. Stakeholders pointed to the fact that the decreased presence of the state and its representatives in everyday life might lead simultaneously to uncontrolled immigration with not enough government staff to supervise immigration, and a feeling of abandonment because of not enough police on the ground.

It is important to understand the French model of integration. Since the 18th century, the reinforcement of the French state has been based on the banishment and elimination of regional languages (Basque, Breton, Provençal, etc.).³⁴ The main thrust of state policy since at least the last century has been assimilation rather than integration.

4.1 | NATIONAL IDENTITY

A debate on national identity was launched by the former president, Nicolas Sarkozy, in 2009, with a series of 100 town hall meetings across France to debate what it means to be French in the 21st century. The debate was kick-started on 11 November 2009 in a speech by Mr Sarkozy himself:

*By ignoring nations through fear of nationalism we have made everyone more defensive about identity issues ... By not even trying, we end up not knowing who we are any more. By cultivating self-hatred we have closed the doors of our own future. No one can build anything on hatred of oneself, hatred of one's own people and hatred for one's own country ... That is why we must talk about our national identity. It's not dangerous, it's necessary. It would be dangerous not to talk about it ... It's by sticking our heads in the sand that we are opening the door to all forms of extremism.*³⁵

34 James Costa and Patricia Lambert, "France and language(s): old policies, new challenges, towards a renewed framework?", CNRS, INRP and University of Lyon, 2009, at <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00439199> (accessed 14 April 2014).

35 « Sarkozy justifie le débat sur l'identité nationale » (Sarkozy justifies the debate on national identity), L'Express, 12 November 2009, at www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/sarkozy-justifie-le-debat-sur-l-identite-nationale_828004.html#H4lM5LiUfv82tRtv.99 (accessed 14 April 2014).

The programme was entrusted to a senior minister, Eric Besson, who was at the head of the Ministry for Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-development. This ministry was originally created when Sarkozy came to power in 2007 and finally disappeared during a cabinet reshuffle in 2010. *Le Figaro*, which supported Mr Sarkozy's government, said "Its creation made a lot of noise, but its disappearance went hardly noticed."³⁶

Reactions to the debate on national identity were overwhelmingly negative. According to a leading French sociologist, Michel Wieviorka, the idea was misguided from the onset:

*This debate is lacking in serenity, objectivity and intellectual standing. And it has produced no new ideas. It throws up questions around culture, religion and identity at a time when the crucial issues are unemployment, companies closing down, or so-called suburban problems ... This debate reinforces positions of xenophobia and racism, more than openness. We are very far away from the idea of France as a universal nation.*³⁷

The chairman of the French League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism, Alain Jakubowicz, believed that the debate was not only useless and potentially damaging, but that it opened up political space for the far right:

*The debate on national identity, launched three years ago under the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy, has without any doubt whatsoever freed up the expression of racism. We were not against the initiative, because national identity is not a swear word. But the debate was confiscated by the far right. It just didn't happen, but the initiative pulled the plug. The lid of politeness and respect does not exist any more. The dirty jokes about Arabs, homosexuals and Jews are coming back.*³⁸

According to a political scientist, Joao Carvalho at the University of Sheffield, one of the problems might have been that Mr Sarkozy overtly associated the debate on immigration and the debate on national identity.³⁹ In a poll conducted in January 2010, only 33 percent of people considered the debates to be constructive and 61 percent

36 « L'identité nationale, vie et mort d'un ministère contesté » (National identity, life and death of a contested ministry), *Le Figaro*, at www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2010/11/15/01002-20101115ARTFIG00751-l-identite-nationale-vie-et-mort-d-un-ministere-conteste.php (accessed 23 November 2014)

37 Lilian Alemagna, « Ce débat conforte des positions de fermeture et de xénophobie, plus que d'ouverture » (This debate reinforces closed and xenophobic positions, rather than opening anything), *Libération*, 4 December 2009, at www.liberation.fr/politiques/2009/12/04/ce-debat-conforte-des-positions-de-fermeture-et-de-xenophobie-plus-que-d-ouverture_597248 (accessed 14 April 2014).

38 Alain Jakubowicz, "Le débat sur l'identité nationale a fait sauter un verrou" (The debate on national identity has pulled the plug), *Le Parisien*, 6 November 2013, at (accessed 14 April 2014).

39 Joao Carvalho, "President Sarkozy and broken promises: the development of French immigration and integration policies", *Contemporary Politics* (article submitted), at http://www.academia.edu/5409393/President_Sarkozy_and_broken_promises_the_development_of_French_immigration_and_integration_policies (accessed 24 November 2014).

said the process had failed to define what being French meant. More than half of respondents also felt the idea was motivated by concerns that Mr Sarkozy's political party might suffer big losses in the March 2010 elections.⁴⁰ However, despite much opposition from the left and the far right, the programme was taken to term.

The initiative is widely considered to have been a failure. The Open Society Foundations' research found no particular interest in it in Lyon, in the sense that no leading politician in the area picked up the topic for discussion locally. However, this does not mean that the focus group participants in this study had no opinion on the subject.

Most participants in the focus group on identity and belonging had lived in the Lyon area all their lives. Many took their French identity for granted and placed more emphasis on local identity. For example, a middle-aged participant, Olivia,⁴¹ was asked about French identity after introducing herself as a native of Saint-Etienne (a medium-sized city near Lyon). She replied:

I did not say that I was French, but it seems obvious to me. When I introduced myself, I said I was from Saint-Etienne, I did not mention France. However, I feel strongly French.

Participants in the young men's focus group also discussed French identity, which they knew was being discussed publicly. They viewed the fact that French identity was under threat as a problem which could not be addressed adequately at the local level.

In the focus group on participation and citizenship, participants were asked about the extent to which the values of the French Republic were being expressed in their everyday lives. The discussion concentrated on the founding motto of the French Republic, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* (liberty, equality, fraternity):

Charles: I do not identify myself with "liberté, égalité, fraternité".

Esther: Liberty? No, not everything can be allowed. Equality? We are not all equal. Fraternity? We are less and less brotherly towards each other.

Jean-Jacques: I do not see this motto being lived up to on a daily basis.

Elisabeth: Come on, we do live in freedom here after all. OK, no one is paying any attention to us. And we are not equal to each other. But if we are able to go up to people and talk with them, I think we can live together in a fraternal way. I believe in that.

40 Bruce Crumley, "Why France's National Identity Debate Backfired", Time, 12 February 2010.

41 The names of all focus group participants have been changed throughout this report.

Olivier: At school you see the motto on the wall. But in real life it's tough. When we had the French franc, life was pretty much OK. But now with the euro things have become difficult.

It was felt that French identity had somehow been conflated with a larger but also vaguer Western identity (linked to democracy, decent behaviour, discretion, etc.). No mention was made of Europe or European identity in the context of these discussions, which revolved around the issue of immigrants being able to enter into the fold as soon as they had adopted a number of key beliefs and behaviours such as respect for democracy (i.e. respect for what the majority of the population had decided, even if they did not personally agree).

Some participants suggested that a lack of a clear and confident French identity was leading some white working-class people to convert to Islam, many of whom had become radicalised to the extent of engaging in civilian or military conflicts abroad. A loss of French values was thought to have created a vacuum which radical Islam was in a position to exploit.

For some, identification with France was connected to whether France was seen as providing opportunities for improving their lives. Participants thought that in poor neighbourhoods young people who believed they had the opportunity to improve their lives would have a strong sense of their French identity, whereas others would distance themselves from it and identify with the North African immigrant communities. As Fabrice, a student participating in the young men's focus group, put it:

In some places, it is fashionable to insult France. There is no respect. And someone who is French is almost going to be ashamed of it. Some are going to start speaking with words which are not theirs, they will start dressing like they never would have dressed before. They are going to give themselves a style and almost be ashamed of their own origins ... This represents a high percentage of young people. There is also a smaller percentage of people who convert to Islam. When we are talking about French people, let's say white people, who have nothing to do with this religion to start with, we are not far from 100 percent radicals. These people, when they convert to Islam they go all the way. When other Muslims look at them, they feel that they have to conform and be the best Muslims in the world because they come from nowhere.

The idea of French identity loss was underlined, perhaps by accident, by Omar, another student, who said he was of partly North African descent. Indeed, he used the unusual expression of being "French, with origins" which one might oppose to being French, without origins. It was as if French origins were being somehow discounted, in a collective and largely unconscious sociological process.

4.2 | LOCAL IDENTITY

Feelings of local identity were overwhelmingly positive. All participants in the focus groups felt proud to be Lyonnais, in varying degrees. It was easy to identify locally with being Lyonnais or from a neighbourhood such as the Etats-Unis, and it was possible to relate to more general values such as democracy and free speech, but France and French identity were felt to be in a crisis.

Contrary to Corsica, Alsace or Brittany, the patchwork Rhône-Alpes region does not have a strong identity, including such diverse territories as the Mont-Blanc and the dry reaches of Ardèche towards the Massif Central, and reaching down towards Provence. However, its capital, Lyon, has a strong identity as a city, which was revealed in focus group discussions where participants expressed their pride. When asked whether Lyonnais identity had evolved over the past 20 years, this is what Nadine, a long-term resident of the area, had to say (in the focus group on identity and belonging):

I think that Lyon has become really mixed, and it has opened up. Because it was really, really closed up before, not welcoming at all. You had to be integrated by someone else, who had to introduce you to other people. It was a closed system. Now it has opened up, fortunately ... (This can be seen in) the mixture of populations, and the way populations have opened up to each other. I think that is how it happened. Before, people living in Lyon were closed up on themselves.

Olivia from Saint-Etienne chipped in:

In the old days, people from Saint-Etienne were really looked down upon. But that was 40 years ago.

Frequent comparisons were drawn with Paris (viewed as too big and too stressful) and Marseille (too violent), which comforted the participants with the idea that they were living in a pleasant and prosperous city. Interestingly, slightly smaller but also very dynamic cities such as Toulouse and Strasbourg were never mentioned. Neighbouring Geneva (not in the same country, but only 113 km away as the crow flies) was mentioned only twice in all the sessions.

Results from the focus group discussions showed that local residents in Lyon have a strong sense of local, even municipal identity and of belonging. Study participants were quick to emphasise, for example, the Festival Lumière, the *traboules* (passages through buildings in the old town), the biomedical industry, the Olympique Lyonnais soccer club, fine food and restaurants.

Perhaps as a consequence, most residents do not feel strongly attached to the *arrondissement*, because it is vast and highly varied in architectural and social diversity. This did not prevent some participants from feeling attached to their own micro-area,

such as the small portion of the Boulevard des Etats-Unis which includes the original buildings built by Tony Garnier in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Maybe because of the unique architectural style – the area is an outdoor museum and visitors can walk around it with earphones rented from the local Tony Garnier Museum – local residents feel a sense of pride in this neighbourhood, where we recruited most of our participants. However, this sense of pride rapidly disappeared down towards Vénissieux (which one participant referred to as the desert) or as one moves uphill (and upmarket) towards more gentrified Le Bachut and Monplaisir.

The sense of belonging was particularly strong in the Etats-Unis area. As Katia, a 53-year-old participant in the group on identity and belonging, said:

I arrived in the Etats-Unis with my parents when I was three years old. I left when I got married, in my 20s. After I divorced, I wanted to come back here and I was happy to come back because I work next door, and more than anything I was happy to come back to my neighbourhood (quartier). It has always been my neighbourhood, even though I was away for 20 years.

The focus group of women aged over 45, all living in the 8th *arrondissement*, was very positive about the area, and this is how two recently retired women expressed it:

Eléonore: I will never leave my neighbourhood!

Denise: As for me, I love my neighbourhood, it is very friendly!

The older men's focus group included a long-term resident of the Etats-Unis district, who had been a member of what he called a local Hell's Angels-style bikers' club in the 1970s. He said that in previous generations there had been a clear sense of local identity, with different motorcycle clubs dominating different parts of the city. Compared with then, there was no urban structure nowadays, he complained: "It doesn't make sense any more!" ("*C'est n'importe-quoi!*").

In many ways, Lyon seems to have kept a small-town atmosphere, while booming economically and trying to impose itself as a major urban centre on the European scene. Far from being a problem, this dual identity seems to be welcomed by local residents. Focus group participants and key informants seemed to enjoy living in a navigable city with a reasonable scale (*à taille humaine*), which is still a far cry from the powerhouses of Europe such as Frankfurt, Milan or Barcelona.

The positive attitudes towards the local situation in Lyon may be contrasted with the ambivalent and more negative attitudes to national identity.

4.3 | RACISM

There are little data on racism in France, because of the ban on the use of ethnic data. Indeed, the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) Shadow Report on racism and discrimination in France⁴² stated:

Data in general on the extent and manifestation of racial and religious discrimination in the field of employment in France remain poorly documented, especially with regard to recent official data sources. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) offer a vital alternative data source which comes directly from the experiences of individuals and communities experiencing racism and related discrimination in the field of employment on a regular basis.

Based on these unofficial data, the Shadow Report for France states that in 2012, some 35 percent of private-sector employees and 26 percent of civil servants reported having witnessed ethnic discrimination at work. In 2009, 60 percent of second-generation immigrants acknowledged having faced discrimination in the labour market during the last five years, while the corresponding figure for the general population was only 13 percent. The Shadow Report states that the origin of the applicant is an obstacle to job access in both public and private sectors in France. Specifically, religion was reported to be a ground for discrimination in the workplace, especially for Muslim women wearing a headscarf.⁴³

The diversity and density of Lyon, both of which are especially apparent in the Etats-Unis sector, imply constant interactions between individuals of different backgrounds. This meant that focus group participants had at least indirect experiences of everyday racism and prejudice, even if they were not themselves the primary focus. Oriane, a 50-year-old woman who identified herself as having “a very French face”, said that an elderly woman once went up to her on the bus, saying: “Look at all those people, can’t you see that we are invaded?” Little did she know that my husband is an African,” she laughed. When pressed by other members of the focus group, she said that she had not felt the urge to correct the elderly woman, because she did not like giving lessons to people.

One of the far-right propaganda techniques in recent years has been to suggest that anti-white racism is common in French cities. This is a statement that the French have heard many times in the media over the past few years, but always in connection with politicians affiliated with the National Front (*Front National*, FN). So it caused quite a stir when Jean-François Copé, secretary-general of France’s centre-right Union for a

42 Helena van Aelst, Emilie Balbirnie and Emanuela Salvo, “Racism and Related Discriminatory Practices in Employment in France”, Shadow Report 2012–2013, ICF GHK International, p. 3., at www.enar-eu.org/Shadow-Reports-on-racism-in-Europe-203 (accessed 15 April 2014) (hereafter, Van Aelst et al., “Racism and Related Discriminatory Practices in Employment in France”).

43 Van Aelst et al., “Racism and Related Discriminatory Practices in Employment in France”, pp. 3–4.

Popular Movement (*Union pour un mouvement populaire*, UMP) party, came out with a similar comment in September 2012, just two months before the presidential election which UMP's Mr Sarkozy lost to the Socialist Mr Hollande. Mr Copé was reported as saying:

There are certain districts in our towns, where individuals – some of whom hold French nationality – despise French people who qualify as Gallic, under the pretext that they don't share the same religion, don't have the same skin colour, or the same origins.

Perhaps predictably, an FN representative gleefully jumped on the occasion to say that Copé had been “forced to adopt FN principles” in the hope of tempting right-wingers to switch camps in the election.⁴⁴

In order to test this hypothesis, participants in the focus group on identity and belonging were asked whether they felt that majority French people experience racism from people belonging to minority groups. The overwhelming reaction was no, or at least almost nothing compared with what immigrants have to endure.

At one of the other focus group discussions, an elderly woman called Marie-Claire expressed her feeling that as a white person she was a victim of racism from other groups:

So apparently we white people have a smell, did you know that? They say it's because we eat pork. And here's another one. I heard one of them say: You colonised us for 250 years, did you? Well, we are going to colonise you for five hundred!

It should be emphasised that this was the only incidence of a participant reporting anti-white racist remarks in all the focus groups and interviews.

Monique, a participant in the policing and security focus group, said she resented the changes in population in her Etats-Unis neighbourhood. She revealed that the fear of being labelled or seen as racist prevented her from challenging or criticising the behaviour of newcomers:

Ten years ago, there were still lots of old people in the area ... Before, in our stairway people were French. It's not that we are racists or anything like that, but it was people who had no children or their children had left home. They had their flat to themselves, but when they leave, now they put in people with three or four

44 « Copé et le 'racisme anti-Blancs': la gauche dénonce des 'propos très graves' » (“Copé and ‘anti-White racism’: the political left outraged by ‘very serious statements’”), *Le Monde.fr*, 26 September 2012, at www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2012/09/26/cope-denonce-un-racisme-anti-blanc-dans-certains-quartiers_1765680_823448.html (accessed 15 October 2014).

children. Their children, you can tell them as many times as you like not to spit on the floor, or in the stairs, they will keep on spitting. They are rude. They pee in the lift. If you catch them you are not supposed to say anything because if you do: Oh, you're a racist. That's the answer they give you. I say No! They claim to be more French than us ... I don't know. I'm not a racist, but the way they go around ... After a while you just want to say: Enough! We are fed up.

Denis, a young man in the focus group on identity and belonging, said he often witnessed racism against minority people in attitudes and gestures rather than in words:

When I go shopping with my mate who is an Arab, why does the security guard follow us? When I go shopping on my own, he doesn't follow me. Little things, but it's like that all the time. They will follow the black or Arab man when he enters the shop, they will be extra careful just because he's there. It's that sort of thing, or they will talk down to him.

The lived experience of diversity meant that tolerance and non-tolerance seemed to cohabit, even in the focus group discussions. For example, participants in the focus group on housing were more outspoken in their criticism of certain minority groups than other focus groups. There was also a great deal of tolerance in this group, and it was interesting how tolerance and non-tolerance seemed to cohabit during the discussion. One young man, for example, was working as a pork butcher's apprentice and was living with his half-brother who was a Muslim, with no problems whatsoever. All the people in the focus group approved and said that such cohabitation was normal and a good thing.

Participants in the focus group on housing referred to a programme for welcoming newcomers to Lyon. However, it was clear from the discussion that this may require greater publicity to ensure that it is used effectively, according to Katia:

There already is one (a welcome), but you have to go and fetch the information. When I came back to the Etats-Unis area in 2005, I was receiving information from the mayor's office: that booklet, Lyon Citoyen. And it was while reading it that I realised – but this was after one year of living here – that there was a welcoming party for newcomers, at the level of the 8th arrondissement, at the local mayor's office. You have to go out and get the information. Spontaneously? No. It's not because you have your name on a letterbox that you will receive specific information, that someone will tell you: Hey, you're new in Lyon, come and have a drink, we will welcome you and explain what is going on around here.

These expectations may be met soon, because improving the welcome of newcomers is one of the objectives in the 2014 CUCS programming note for the Etats-Unis,

“in conjunction with the landlords, civil society organisations and neighbourhood stakeholders”.⁴⁵

Participants in several focus groups believed that the perceived weakness of the state in addressing social problems was creating space for right-wing populists to give an ethnic spin to the situation and place the blame on minorities. For example, some believed that criminals were increasingly not being detained or were being handed sentences that were far too lenient. Because nowadays many criminals happened to be of foreign origin, it was easy for the far right to use this in order to put pressure on all honest people of immigrant origin. For focus group participants it was clear that the police and judicial system were too lenient and that this was playing into the hands of the far right.

Participants in the young men's focus group (men under 35 years old) felt that grouping people – or even defining them – based on ethnicity was a danger for French identity itself. There was a general feeling that a separation of ethnic communities was taking place, although it could not be documented because of the lack of statistics. The roundtable discussions revealed that people felt that there was also a risk of a split taking place between generations, especially in the *Etats-Unis* area where over one-quarter of the residents were over 75 years old.

The focus group with young men also discussed whether immigrants of European descent are being better treated than those of North African descent. The discussion hinged on the key concepts of religion and in particular diet. One participant said:

If you don't eat pork or shellfish, if you don't drink alcohol ... Well, the Frenchman will say: he cannot be French, I eat pork (and) he doesn't eat pork. A Frenchman will never tolerate that an immigrant doesn't eat pork. He will not be able to identify with him and will therefore never consider him as French. It is for that reason that – but they have forgotten about this – that many French people tolerate Italian, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants as French because we have more or less the same food habits.

The comments suggest that in France cooking and food preferences are a particularly important cultural marker, more so than perhaps in European countries. Of all the components of French cultural identity, food may be the most recognised internationally and one of the greatest sources of pride domestically, especially in Lyon which is widely considered as the culinary capital of France. Therefore, perceived threats to that source of pride are taken seriously. In France, leading journalists and

45 S. Tron, « Contrat Urbain de Cohésion Sociale Programmation 2014, Note de Cadrage Territoriale – *Etats-Unis* – Lyon 8 » (Urban contract for social cohesion priority area programming – *Etats-Unis* neighbourhood, Lyon), Mission Entrée Est Grand Lyon, Ville de Lyon, 2014, at www.mdef-lyon.fr/-Appels-a-projet-.html#617 (accessed 15 October 2014).

politicians periodically go to war against the “hegemonic pretences of hamburgers”, which are even viewed as a “cultural imperative”.⁴⁶

4.4 | A FRACTURE IN FRENCH SOCIETY

During the focus group discussions on identity and belonging, a young man who defined himself as having grown up in a tough multicultural environment mocked a former minister who had claimed to have immigrant roots, whereas she was in fact the daughter of a diplomat. This led to a discussion on the importance of social status compared with ethnic origin, with most participants in the group agreeing that social status was more important than ethnicity.

In this focus group, there was a great deal of discussion of social identity. Although terms such as “working class” are rarely used in France, participants were keenly aware of the (partial) overlap between immigration and social class. The group was unanimous that there was a fracture in French society, although it did not become clear to what extent it was an ethnic or social one. The English word “gap” was used to describe the large difference between the top and the bottom of the social ladder, where immigrants were notoriously overrepresented.

Participants in the young men’s focus group agreed that family values were more important among recent immigrants than among people who have been established in France for a long time. As Alexandre (21 years old) put it: “When you come to France, your family is the only thing you have.” Participants in the roundtable discussion suggested that such comments provide an interesting insight into the perception that majority French people have about recent immigrants.

Another young participant, Edgar, spoke about a “French catastrophe” when talking about the underprivileged majority population. This social category was seen as containing many former manual workers, many of whom had lost their jobs during the previous 20 years. Many of their children had been put through higher education in order to escape from these problems; however, many were unable to secure decent jobs.

4.5 | DISCRIMINATION AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

The Mission for Equality (Mission Egalité) is the major public policy player in anti-discrimination in the Lyon area. The concept of the mission is to further social

46 Philip H. Gordon and Sophie Meunier, « Globalisation and French cultural identity », French Politics, Culture & Society 19 (1), 2001, at www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/articles/2001/spring_france_gordon/globalfrance.pdf (accessed 15 April 2014).

cohesion through an approach based on equality, tolerance and non-discrimination. The main thrust of their action is human rights and equal treatment before the law. Their work does not extend as far as economic or social equality, although it does cover what would be referred to in English as economic and social equity. The two basic ideas are to address society as a whole rather than in subgroups, and to work for long-term structural changes rather than a series of short-term projects.

An important aspect of work on non-discrimination is gender. A recent Lyon-based publication emphasised that women often do not access available resources in the poorer areas of the conurbation.⁴⁷ Thus gender has become one of the mainstays of anti-discrimination policy in Lyon.⁴⁸ However, gender issues were hardly ever touched upon during the focus group discussions, despite women being overrepresented in the sample.

Equality of treatment is the strongest element of the present policy. In 2005 the city of Lyon signed the Charter for Diversity, and undertook to promote and respect the principle of non-discrimination at all stages of its own human resource management system. The city succeeded in encouraging 50 local companies to also sign the charter. The city pursues its equality policy by empowering the local administration and by stimulating other organisations and companies in the city. In practice, mechanisms have been created which aim at limiting discrimination at all stages, from the socio-educational level to the workplace. As well as working with particular people or groups at risk of being discriminated, the policy aims at the systemic level, where risks are identified and analysed; then procedures are revised in order to minimise risks. The goal is to achieve the inclusion of all groups, rather than fighting against the potential exclusion of particular groups, although a provision is made for people with special needs.

In 2010, Lyon was the first city in France to obtain the Label for Diversity bestowed by the French Agency for Normalisation (AFNOR). This distinction recognises and encourages specific efforts made in the context of human resources management in order to counter discrimination, ensure equality of opportunities and increase diversity.⁴⁹

47 E. Vinet, « Etude-action sur les discriminations multifactorielles envers les femmes dans trois quartiers prioritaires lyonnais. Non-/recours aux offres socio-éducatives et de loisir, place dans l'espace public et ethnicisation des rapports sociaux (de sexe) » (Action research on multifactorial discriminations against women in three priority areas in Lyon. Non-/accessing of available socio-educational and leisure resources, position in social space and ethnicisation of social (sexual) interaction), 2013, at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_thematiques/la_mission_egalite (accessed 15 October 2013).

48 R. Lefloch, personal communication.

49 Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Lyon, « Obtenir le label Diversité » (How to obtain the Diversity label), at www.lyon.cci.fr/site/cms/37490/Obtenir-le-label-Diversite? (accessed 15 October 2014).

4.6 | SOCIAL COHESION

Although the term “social cohesion” was rarely used, participants were keenly aware that the evolution of society had made it less likely to bump into neighbours or friends by chance. A clear majority of participants said that they would like to meet up with other local residents on a regular or irregular basis. In marketing terms, there was a considerable demand for more frequent social interactions.

It was felt that there was a lack of places where local residents could get together for informal discussions. Despite recent improvements, the Etats-Unis market square (officially the Place du 8 mai 1945, although local residents rarely use that name) only partially served the purpose. Most residents were happy with the way in which this square had been recently improved, notably with a roof for the market (Halle du 8 mai 1945) and a lawn. However, it was also felt that more could be done to turn it into a true meeting-place for local residents, a function which it accomplishes mainly on market days at present.

At a practical level, the focus group with older women had suggestions for improving social cohesion, such as coming together to cultivate kitchen gardens in the spaces between the apartment blocks in the Etats-Unis area. There was also mention of the problem of different social groups having different schedules. For example, those working regular office hours are not able to participate in activities organised by the official leisure centres which close at 6 p.m.

There was sharp criticism of urban art recently set up in an area near the Etats-Unis market square. It is not certain whether the criticism was levelled against the artwork itself, or that residents felt that something was being imposed from outside. This episode might be used to enter into contact with critical residents and ask them for their own suggestions.

Several public buildings in the 8th *arrondissement* could be used as meeting places for local residents. Examples are the Maison de la Danse, the Espace 101 and the theatre directly behind the CISL. The local authorities and NGOs could discuss with the bodies responsible for these buildings the possibility of using them as regular meeting places for local people.

5

EDUCATION

This chapter covers education, vocational training, university education and finding a job. This reflects the overlap in the discussions in the education and the employment focus groups, and shows that the participants were keenly aware of the relationship between the two topics.

Lyon as a major regional centre has very many good-quality schools in all fields of study. Vocational schools are particularly varied and numerous. The top universities are concentrated in Paris, although Lyon is proud to be home to three of them. In contrast to official Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) figures (PISA study), focus group participants considered the French educational system to be good but complex. Some of the continuing education possibilities, for example, were unknown to the study participants.

The 2012 international PISA⁵⁰ study results, published in December 2013,⁵¹ showed that out of the 65 countries taking part, France came in 25th for mathematics, 21st for comprehension and 26th for science.

The French score in mathematics was 16 points lower in PISA 2012 (495 points) than in PISA 2003 (511 points). Due to this, in nine years, France left the group of countries with a high performance in mathematics (mainly dominated by countries in East Asia) and joined in the average of OECD countries group. OECD experts pointed out that most of the fall took place between 2003 and 2006 (implying that it was unlikely to be due to recent policy decisions). One of the only causes for satisfaction is that the gender difference in mathematical achievement is slightly lower in France (9 points) compared with the OECD average (11 points).⁵²

The social divide is considerable, and growing. Four statistics in the PISA report⁵³ document this concern. In France, coming from a privileged or underprivileged household was even more predictive of children's performance at the PISA test in 2012 than in 2003: socio-economic status explained respectively 22 percent and 20 percent of the total variance in mathematics results. An increase of just one point in the PISA economic, social and cultural index led to a better performance of 57 points

50 The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a triennial international survey evaluating educational systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students every three years. Around half a million 15-year-old students are involved. See www.oecd.org/pisa (accessed 26 March 2014).

51 Government of France, « Communication en Conseil des ministres: les résultats de l'enquête Pisa » (Information to the Cabinet: the results of the Pisa study), at www.education.gouv.fr/cid75515/communication-en-conseil-des-ministres-les-resultats-de-l-enquete-pisa.html (accessed 15 October 2014).

52 PISA, "Faits marquants" (The essentials), 2012, at www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm (accessed 15 April 2014) (hereafter, PISA, "Faits marquants").

53 PISA, "Faits marquants", pp. 10–13.

in 2012 compared with 43 in 2003. In the same period, the proportion of “resilient”⁵⁴ students fell from 7.4 percent to 4.9 percent. Finally, the report noted with concern that the difference in mathematical performance between French students without immigrant backgrounds⁵⁵ and those with immigrant roots increased by 24 points between 2003 and 2012. This is all the more worrying because over the same nine years the corresponding figure actually fell by an average of 11 points among the 29 countries analysed for this statistic. The report concluded by saying that these data demonstrated two facts: that inequality in France is strong, and that its effects worsened between 2003 and 2012.

As the independent website Slate.fr put it:

*France did not do well at PISA, which is unsurprising. But it is not the overall level of French students which is worrying the OECD experts, it's the incredible ability of our educational system to reproduce (social) inequality.*⁵⁶

According to Barbara Ischinger, head of the PISA programme at the OECD, the social ladder has ceased to function in France:⁵⁷

Among OECD countries, France has the highest correlation between socio-economic upbringing and (school) results. The system is very inequitable and, moreover, it is becoming even more so. It is worrying to see that a child with a working-class background has lower chances of success now than in 2003. A child with an immigrant background has twice that risk.

Ms Ischinger provides some indication as to why this state of affairs has occurred and what might be done about it:

*One should find a way of attracting experienced teachers to the more difficult schools. It is possible. In some countries, for example, having been through a difficult school is an extremely important part of one's CV.*⁵⁸

54 “Resilient” students are those of disadvantaged background who perform among the top 25 percent of students across all participating countries, after accounting for the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status. Around 6 percent of students across OECD countries are “resilient”, i.e. they beat the socio-economic odds against them and exceed expectations. See www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results-volume-II.pdf (accessed 15 October 2014).

55 PISA, “Faits marquants”. The report uses the word “autochtone” (p. 14.).

56 Louise Tourret, “La France n’a pas de bons résultats aux tests Pisa. Ce n’est pas surprenant” (France does not have good results at the Pisa tests, this is unsurprising), 3 December 2013, at www.slate.fr/france/80693/pisa-france-pas-bon-pas-surprenant-education-nationale (accessed 15 October 2014).

57 Marie-Sandrine Sgherri, « Le diagnostic de Mme Pisa » (The diagnostic of Mrs Pisa), *Le Point*, 6 March 2014, p. 59 (hereafter, Sgherri, “Le diagnostic de Mme Pisa”). The emphasis on inequality is all the more significant because the weekly magazine *Le Point* is considered to be right-of-centre in its political orientation.

58 Sgherri, “Le diagnostic de Mme Pisa”.

According to one of the leading national magazines, *Le Point*, one of the problems is that French teachers are underpaid by international comparison, and this might be one of the reasons why they are reluctant to opt for difficult schools. At the primary-school level, the French statutory salary (not adjusted for tax) is around €33,000, compared with an OECD average of €38,000. At the secondary level, the figures are €36,000 and €40,000, respectively. National spending on education is 6.3 percent of GDP in France, on par with the OECD average. This figure also conceals an important difference between spending on primary schools and on secondary schools, which are respectively below and above the OECD averages. This has led to calls for more investment at the primary-school level.⁵⁹

5.1 | THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The French educational structure has three parts:⁶⁰

- école (literally, school), including the optional *maternelle* (from ages two to five) and the compulsory elementary school (from ages 6 to 11);
- *collège*, covering four school years up to the age of 15;
- *lycée* up to the age of 18. There are various forms of *lycée*, some of them vocational. They can broadly be grouped under four headings: baccalaureate (for university careers), professional baccalaureate (for vocational careers in up to 80 different areas), and two types of apprenticeship: the hands-on CAP (*certificat d'aptitude professionnelle*, diploma of vocational ability), and the BEP (*brevet d'études professionnelles*, diploma of vocational studies), which leaves open opportunities for further study and which is mainly used for careers in social and health services or hotel and restaurant management.

In Lyon there are over 50 *collèges* and over 50 *lycées*. Some are private, but most private schools receive funding from the government, which also controls their curriculum. There are 85,000 students at the *collèges* in the department, and 220,000 students and apprentices at the regional Rhône-Alpes level.⁶¹ However, Lyon is a large city and in 2006 students only made up 5.2 percent of the population of the conurbation,

59 Sgherri, "Le diagnostic de Mme Pisa", pp. 56–57.

60 « Le système scolaire français: de la maternelle au lycée » (The French educational system: from early childhood to the baccalaureate), at www.france.fr/etudier-en-france/le-systeme-scolaire-francais-de-la-maternelle-au-lycee.html (accessed 26 March 2014).

61 « Lyon: Enfance et éducation: Collèges et lycées » (Lyon: Childhood and education. Collèges and lycées », at www.lyon.fr/page/enfance-et-education/leducation/colleges-et-lycees.html (accessed 26 March 2014).

against around 8 percent in Poitiers, Rennes and Montpellier, and around 4 percent in Marseille and Paris.⁶²

In the 8th *arrondissement*, there are 41 *écoles*, five *collèges* and nine *lycées*. Two of the most prominent *lycées* are La Mâche and La Martinière. La Martinière, which concentrates on science and technology, is well considered at the national level, with a 98 percent success rate at the baccalaureate in 2013. This school prepares students for both university and apprenticeships. La Mâche is subdivided into two separate schools, with a success rate of 98 percent for the university-oriented unit and a 91 percent success rate for the vocational unit.^{63,64}

The remaining *lycées* in the 8th *arrondissement* are mainly vocational, although very different subjects coexist in the same establishment. Lycée Colbert⁶⁵ offers training in transport, tourism and housing management. The ORT⁶⁶ specialises in administration, computing and accounting. Other general and technically-oriented *lycées* in the *arrondissement* are: Lycée Jean Lurçat, Lycée Auguste et Louis Lumière, Lycée professionnel du Premier Film (which is on the street with that name but does not primarily teach film-making), and two privately-run *lycées* called La Xavière and Pierre Termier.⁶⁷ It can be seen that there is no lack of opportunity for those who wish to engage in vocational training in Lyon, in particular in the 8th *arrondissement*.

France has a national curriculum.⁶⁸ The educational system is organised through the various regions in the country, of which Rhône-Alpes is one of the most advanced in educational performance. In each region an academy (*académie*) is responsible for organising education. Rhône-Alpes is an exception in that has two *académies*. This report concentrates on the Lyon *Académie* (covering three departments including Rhône and its capital, Lyon), which has the following priorities:⁶⁹

- improving early identification of children at risk of dropping out of school;

62 INSEE, « Jeunes et territoires. L'attractivité des villes étudiantes et des pôles d'activité » (Youth and territories. The attractiveness of university towns and economic hubs), 2010, at www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1275 (accessed 15 October 2014).

63 Le Parisien, « Palmarès des Lycées, général et technologique » (Ranking of general and technical lycées), at http://lyon.aujourd'hui.fr/etudiant/annuaire-lycees/classement/lycees-gt/rhone-alpes_22/rhone_69.html (accessed 26 March 2014).

64 "Classements des lycées à Lyon en 2014" (Ranking of lycées in Lyon in 2014), at www.linternaute.com/ville/ville/lycee/1083/lyon.shtml (accessed 15 October 2014).

65 See www.colbert-lyon.com (accessed 26 March 2014).

66 See www.ort-lyon.fr (accessed 26 March 2014).

67 See www.lyon.fr/page/enfance-et-education/leducation/colleges-et-lycees.html (accessed 22 November 2014).

68 See "Educsol: portail national des professionnels de l'éducation" (Educsol: national portal for teachers), at <http://eduscol.education.fr/pid23391/programmes-de-l-ecole-et-du-college.html> (accessed 22 November 2014).

69 See www.ac-lyon.fr/mission-reussite-scolaire,112504,fr.html (accessed 22 November 2014).

- preventing students from leaving school without qualifications and helping those who do so;
- identifying and helping those over 16 with no qualifications;
- reinforcing coordination and coherence between programmes.

These aims operate according to the following four principles:

- personalised follow-up of each student during schooling and for one year after leaving school;
- motivating, mobilising and liaising with all members of the educational system (i.e. not only teachers, but also directors, inspectors, administrative personnel, health officers, etc.);
- reinforcing partnerships and collaboration within schools and with outside partners;
- encouraging collaboration and sharing information and experiences.

The research participants unanimously said that Lyon had a high number of educational institutions and opportunities.

One specifically French problem is that the higher strata of the educational system are based on national competitions. The best university for most subjects is in Paris, and the second-best is in one of the larger secondary cities, such as Lyon or Toulouse.⁷⁰ This system relegates Lyon into second division for most subjects, which is a handicap compared with similar-sized cities in other countries which are less centralised. Participants in the focus group on education believed that Paris universities received more financial support from the central state than universities elsewhere in France, which was considered to be inequitable and a way of making the entire educational system top-heavy (although no evidence was given to back up this statement⁷¹). The group agreed that it is not possible for everyone to get into a top university (*grande école*) and that it is perhaps not desirable. However, the extremely strong differences in status between schools were perceived as a threat for the educational system as a whole. As Thomas, a 20-year-old student, put it:

Ideally, each educational thread should be considered as being unique, we should think horizontally instead of seeing one level as being above the other. This hierarchy appeared because the elite has always been in charge and has always

70 In France, university-level institutions are known as hautes écoles (literally, high schools).

71 Monies distributed each year by the central state to all the universities in France are calculated based on criteria such as numbers of students, publications and other performance indicators. See « Universités: la répartition des crédits et des emplois 2013 » (Universities: the distribution of credits and positions for 2013), at www.letudiant.fr/educpros/actualite/universites-la-repartition-des-moyens-2013.html (accessed 15 April 2014).

considered itself as being above the others. These ideas have become ingrained, so why not change our way of seeing things?

5.2 | EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The relationship between education and employment and the purpose and value of education were raised by participants in the focus group discussion. A key point was the division between academic and vocational education. Participants noted the importance of vocational education but felt that it was undervalued compared with academic education. Timothée, a man in his early 60s who had been the manager of several firms, argued convincingly (this was also the view of other people in the group) that it is not necessary to be an intellectual to be successful:

A head full of knowledge is not necessarily a head full of talent. In a company, we are on the look-out for talent. And for people who are comfortable with themselves, or students who are comfortable with themselves. As for me, I have recruited quite a few people and I can say that very many of them were not oriented in the right direction at all. From the 3rd grade,⁷² or maybe afterwards during university or in one of the other schools, people coming out of business schools turn out to be a lot better at technical things, and the other way round. I have seen this, I am speaking from experience.

Elaine, a mother of two grown-up children, pointed out:

I think we have to stop going on about the top universities. If your son or daughter wants to become, say, a florist working in a flower shop, then she doesn't need a top-notch school. The idea is that our children should be allowed to fulfil their dreams, they should be able to do what they want to do.

All participants in the education focus group wanted the state to pay more attention to vocational training. However, there already is a strongly developed vocational educational sector in and around Lyon, with no less than 70 schools throughout the department, most of them in Lyon itself or in adjacent towns (Vaulx-en-Velin, Vénissieux, etc.).⁷³ This is not surprising, because as an important regional centre Lyon attracts students (vocational or not) from far afield. More discussion with the focus group participants clarified that fact that many people are not fully aware of the availability of vocational training, and that such training receives insufficient recognition.

⁷² Around 14 years old.

⁷³ « Rhone les établissements professionnels: les lycées technologiques professionnels » (Rhone department: the vocational institutions: technical and vocational schools), at www.enseignement-prive.info/ecoles-lycees-professionnels/rhone/departement/69/LYPRO/3 (accessed 26 March 2014).

These views about different types of education were closely linked to views about different types of employment. According to Barbara, another participant in the focus group on education:

It's not the children, it's the parents who have changed. Nowadays, some of the parents are perhaps starting to let their children choose, they are starting to think that a manual job is not too degrading after all, compared with an intellectual job, or that they are more or less at the same level. And we ourselves are realising this – I am not at all an intellectual myself, I don't even have the Bac⁷⁴ and that doesn't prevent me from living my life, from taking time off when I want. Well, for me, manual tasks have a value and I place them pretty much at the same level. To make a world, we need a bit of everything.

The participants in the focus group on education, who were of various social standings, were all very receptive to the idea that it was better to be a good – at best an enthusiastic – plumber or baker rather than an indifferent university graduate. The group agreed about encouraging training for real jobs such as mechanics and plumbers, rather than pursuing the elusive goal of “a baccalaureate for everyone” (*Le Bac pour tous*).

Another participant, a 20-year-old student called Sébastien, spoke convincingly about the importance of moral values which he hoped still underpinned state education in France. Several older participants agreed that this was important, but were convinced that there was less emphasis on moral values now than in the past. The group agreed that the contemporary focus on consumerism and social norms (having a job, having a car, wearing the right clothes, living in the right area, etc.) left less space for moral values. As a result, it was difficult for young people to dream up their own future.

Participants in the focus group wanted to know whether people already in employment but with few or no qualifications could acquire them without having to stop working in order to study. In fact under French law continuing education is an obligation, paid for by the employer. There is also a comprehensive programme for the validation of acquired skills, VAE (*validation des acquis de l'expérience*).⁷⁵ In practice, the employee has to aim for a specific diploma and make a suggestion to the employer on the one hand and to the educational institution on the other hand, both of which accept on a case-by-case basis. The two most popular qualifications are in nursing and social work, and it is in fact possible to acquire a top-level university degree in this way. The problem is that few people are aware of the advantages of this system, which remains

74 Abbreviation for “Baccalaureate”.

75 Pôle Rhône-Alpes de l'Orientation (Rhône-Alpes Cluster Orientation); see “Portail interrégional formation employ” (Interregional job training portal), at www.intercariforef.org/reseau/node/56 (accessed 26 March 2014); www.intercariforef.org/reseau/thematique/validation-des-acquis-de-lexp-percentC3-percentA9rience-vae (accessed 26 March 2014).

a complex one.⁷⁶ A key stakeholder agreed, noting that “Getting an apprenticeship-level certificate⁷⁷ through the VAE is possible in France, but there is no highly visible programme for it.”

5.3 | DROP-OUTS

In January 2014 around 500 students considered at risk for dropping out of school were being individually followed in the Rhône department. Of these, around 60 were in the southeast Lyon area (which includes the 8th *arrondissement*). Around half of these were going to the vocational school La Mâche,⁷⁸ situated in the middle of the 8th *arrondissement*, and which focuses mainly on careers in construction and maintenance.

A number of projects working with pupils who have dropped out of school are taking place in the area:⁷⁹

- remobilising the participants for access to the job market;
- replacing them in a success dynamic (reconstructing self-worth);
- giving them trust and confidence in adults;
- allowing them to come back into the fold either by education or by integration into the job market;
- personal development activities (sport, culture);
- concentration on key skills (writing, oral expression, basic math and French);
- constructing a personal road-map (based on interviews with a tutor, methodological workshops to learn how to write a letter and a CV, meetings with potential employers, test interviews);
- activities suggested by the participants themselves.

76 « La VAE, pas à pas » (The VAE, step by step), L'Express, 1 June 2012 (with links to related articles), at www.lexpress.fr/emploi/formation/la-vae-pas-a-pas_1318130.html (accessed 26 March 2014).

77 Certificat d'aptitudes professionnelles (CAP); see www.education.gouv.fr/cid2555/le-certificat-d-aptitude-professionnelle-cap.html (accessed 26 March 2014).

78 See www.ecolelamache.org (accessed 22 November 2014).

79 Government of Rhône-Alpes Region, « Plan régional en faveur des jeunes pour le raccrochage en formation et pour l'emploi. Etat des lieux au 10 février 2014 » (Regional plan for youth to discourage drop-outs in favour of education and employment. Status report 10 February 2014), 2014, at www.ac-lyon.fr/index.php?module=media&action=Display&cmpref=531289&lang=fr&width=&height=&format=&alt= (accessed 15 April 2014).

5.4 | BEHAVIOUR AND DISCIPLINE

Several participants referred to a lack of education and politeness in the general population, but especially adolescents and children. While criticism of adolescents might have been expected, many participants reported seeing uncouth behaviour in children, even in very young children. Several participants said that they had witnessed children insulting their own mother, in public, with no reaction from anyone.

In fact, linking education and discipline came up in almost all focus groups. An idea which was aired in the education group was an *Ecole des parents* (a school to educate parents, so that they in turn can exercise discipline on their children). However, one participant said that such a school already exists and does not seem to have solved the problem.

Focus group participants were in favour of reintroducing a school uniform, which they perceived as being linked to better discipline. But this was not the only motivation, as the group was convinced that such an initiative would further equality, especially in inner-city and *banlieue* areas where expensive sportswear (for impoverished families) are the norm. Practically, the participants thought that it would be easier to have a blouse which could be worn on top of one's own clothes, rather than an actual uniform. Such blouses were worn in French schools until a few decades ago and the older focus group participants remembered them well.

Helena, a 42-year-old participant in the focus group on security, explained that she had left her job as a secretary in a state-run *collège* in a deprived area in Vénissieux (close to the 8th *arrondissement*) for the following reasons:

It was a sensitive area with children who had a whole load of problems with their parents, and school problems as well. I was working as a secretary there. Well, I resigned because of all this petty criminality and because my employer would not budge, neither for the teachers nor for the administrative personnel – because we get assaulted too, what do you think? I decided to quit that field of work completely because they were treating us like idiots. Because nowadays parents defend their children even when they behave badly, even if they have done this or that. They can't even be bothered to think about what the situation might be. I was fed up of going to the police station every day, trembling. So I left the state educational system, and I had been there for 16 years. So I said: Enough! I am off before anything really serious happens. Because parents are authoritarian against the people who work at the school, but not against the children! That is something I cannot accept.

This story demonstrates how the problems of education and security are linked. It also shows that antisocial behaviour and minor misdemeanours are not limited to

adolescents and young adults, but spill over into childhood, and also into adulthood, since parents are involved.

Finally, it is interesting to note that in all the examples, respondents referred to children being rude to their mothers, not to their fathers. During the roundtable discussions, participants said that some fathers might not be around at all, given the high number of single-mother families in the study area, but that others might simply be at work during the day.

6

EMPLOYMENT

This chapter begins with an outline of the Metropolitan Cluster (*Pôle métropolitain*), a policy structure created to support employment creation. It describes the changing nature of the labour market in Lyon, and identifies the main employers in the city, looking at data on unemployment in city and the 8th *arrondissement* and initiatives to address this.

The focus group on employment brought together seven people working in very different fields. Most were very conscious of being at the bottom of the social ladder. For example, one woman was working as a nanny and was bitter about her daughter also having to work as a nanny despite having invested in university studies for her. A man was working as a cemetery employee for a minimum wage (this kind of job in France is termed “territorial agent”). He came with a friend of his who was also responsible for cleaning public areas (parks).

6.1 | THE METROPOLITAN CLUSTER

Since 2008, France has experienced serious economic difficulties. Growth is sluggish, unemployment is high and rising. Against this stark background, economic and employment data are favourable for Lyon. Hence a paradox: Lyon is a powerhouse for employment, economic growth and innovation by French standards, but lags behind much of Europe. Local residents are more or less satisfied with the current employment situation as they are more aware of the national situation than of international comparisons. The main correction which is needed, in their view, is to give more value to vocational training and manual work, a theme that is consistent with the findings in Chapter 5.

In order to better coordinate and promote economic performance, including job creation, Lyon recently became the centre of a new urban structure, the Metropolitan Cluster.⁸⁰ This is the sum of the urban areas around Lyon, including cities and suburbs whether or not they are adjacent to each other, but does not include rural areas or isolated small towns.⁸¹ The Cluster came into being in 2012 following a national law voted in 2010; it is chaired by the mayor of Lyon, Gérard Collomb.⁸²

The Cluster is a product of public policy and a way of delivering it. It has the following objective:

80 See www.poles-metropolitains.fr (accessed 29 March 2014).

81 This classification includes Saint-Etienne but excludes Grenoble, because economic and commercial exchanges between Saint-Etienne and Lyon exceed by far those between Grenoble and Lyon.

82 Maison de l'Emploi et de la formation (MdEF), « Les cahiers de l'observatoire de la MdEF décembre 2012 », Document d'analyse, 2e semestre 2012 (Publications of the MdEF Observatory December 2012, Analysis document, second semester 2012), 2012, at www.mdef-lyon.fr/-Territoire-Notre-bassin-d-emplois-.html (accessed 16 October 2014) (hereafter, MdEF, « Les cahiers de l'observatoire de la MdEF décembre 2012 »).

The action of the Cluster in economic matters aims to promote employment by encouraging controlled economic growth, articulated around recognised innovation centres, improved services for companies, quality infrastructure, and strong support for higher education and research. The objective is to strengthen the performance of the metropolitan area at the scale which makes the most sense from the economic point of view. The ambition of the Metropolitan Cluster is to create a common strategy to further improve its economic development and to position itself among the most attractive and competitive urban areas in Europe.⁸³

In practice, the Cluster is mainly active in bringing together the main employers and other stakeholders in order to forge a new economic strategy, and promoting the area at international conferences.

The Lyon Centre for Employment and Training (*Maison de l'Emploi et de la formation de Lyon*, MdEF) recently reviewed⁸⁴ the economic and employment situation in the Cluster, covering 140 *communes* and home to 1.9 million inhabitants. There are around 900,000 jobs, provided by no less than 160,000 different employers. Around half of these employers, or companies, operate in transport or services, 19 percent in retail, with a further 15 percent attached to the public sector and health care.

Greater Lyon naturally plays a central role in the Cluster, since it provides three-quarters of all the jobs. The jobs:workers ratio is 108 in Greater Lyon, compared with 96 in Saint-Etienne and 105 for the whole of the Cluster. This indicates that workers are attracted from far afield, and that Lyon is well established as the economic centre. Intermediate professions (in the middle of the socio-economic scale, including teachers and nurses⁸⁵), lower-ranking employees and managers/intellectual elite represent respectively 29 percent, 27 percent and 20 percent of the jobs. Compared with the rest of France, this equates to a clear overrepresentation of white-collar jobs.⁸⁶

6.2 | COMPANIES AND SECTORS

Although white-collar jobs dominate today, trade and silk manufacturing have played an important role in Lyon since the 15th century. The silk industry restructured itself several times over the years, in order to cope with mechanisation and automation, but with the arrival of other fabrics on the market, few companies have survived into modern times. Banking and insurance are also historically important in Lyon, but

⁸³ See www.polemetropolitain.fr/domaines-d'intervention/economie-innovation-recherche (accessed 29 March 2014).

⁸⁴ Maison de l'Emploi et de la formation (MdEF), « Territoire – notre bassin d'emplois. Les atouts et la dynamique du bassin lyonnais » (Territory – our job catchment area. The strong points and dynamics of the Lyon basin), at <http://www.mdef-lyon.fr/Territoire-Notre-bassin-d-emplois-.html#19> (accessed 22 November 2014).

⁸⁵ For the definition of *classe intermédiaire*, see INSEE, at www.insee.fr/fr/methodes/default.asp?page=nomenclatures/pcs2003/n1_4.htm (accessed 24 November 2014).

⁸⁶ MdEF, « Les cahiers de l'observatoire de la MdEF décembre 2012 ».

because the city is not the capital of France, most decision-making has been moved to Paris. For example, Crédit Lyonnais, founded in Lyon in 1863, moved its head office to Paris as early as 1882. The bank went on to be bought by Crédit Agricole in 1983 and is now known as LCL. This history is interesting because Crédit Lyonnais is (or was) one of the most widespread and familiar names in towns across France and abroad. The petrochemical industry has also been important in the Rhône valley, notably the plastics industry, but these sectors no longer employ significant proportions of the workforce.

A glance at the biggest employers in the Rhône-Alpes region shows that the sector is not overspecialised.⁸⁷ Among the top 12, there is a chain of supermarkets, another chain specialising in selling sportswear, two temporary employment agencies, an IT company, an advertising firm and four logistics companies (mainly road and rail transport). There are also two biomedical companies, Boiron and BioMérieux. Most of these companies are based just outside the borders of the city of Lyon, well within Greater Lyon but usually not in the city itself.

If the criterion is not the number of employees but turnover, the list looks different.⁸⁸ The biggest company is Renault Trucks, and the biomedical sector includes both Bayer and Sanofi Pasteur, demonstrating that in numbers of employees and in value the biomedical sector is indeed one of the strongest sectors in the Lyon area.

A further example of this is Merck, a major pharmaceutical company based in Germany, which has several sister companies in Lyon: Merck Santé, Merck Serono, Merck Biodéveloppement and Merck Médication Familiale are all located in the 8th *arrondissement*. Another key employer in the 8th *arrondissement* is the health-care sector, with two large private hospitals, Jean Mermoz and Natecia, and several public health-care institutions (see Chapter 8).

The labour market is increasingly dominated by the service industry. According to (undated) statistics published in 2013 in Lyon Metropolitan Cluster's official newsletter, around 215,000 people are employed in the service sector, an increase of 39,000 over 10 years, while at the same time the number working in industry declined by 32,000 to only 111,000. The logistics sector remains small but is significant and growing: it employs 32,000 workers, an increase of 2,000 over the past decade.⁸⁹

The Lyon area has undergone a considerable restructuring process. Services now provide twice as many jobs as industry, and these data include Saint-Etienne which

87 « Classement des employeurs en région Rhône-Alpes » (List of employers in the Rhône-Alpes region), at www.seves-rh.fr/2012/06/classement-des-employeurs-en-region-rhone-alpes.html (accessed 29 March 2014).

88 See www.verif.com/liste-entreprises (accessed 29 March 2014).

89 Liaisons, la lettre d'information du Pôle métropolitain (Linkages, the newsletter of the Metropolitan Cluster), no 5, April 2013, at www.polemetropolitain.fr/documentation (accessed 20 October 2014).

always was – and to a certain extent still is – an industrial hub. Basically, these data confirm the strengthening of the service industry in Lyon.

In the city of Lyon around 28 percent of those active in the labour market aged 15–64 (this includes all those in regular employment or studies) are considered to be at management level (*cadres*). This is lower than Paris (41 percent) but higher than Marseille (18 percent). The proportion of manual workers is also middle-of-the-road in Lyon at 13 percent, compared with 8 percent in Paris and 19 percent in Marseille.

When young people from the Rhône-Alpes region leave the educational system, they will have achieved a higher educational level than the French average and are more likely to have a university degree. However, an important difference is that people from Lyon are less mobile than those from the rest of France (except Paris). Those who do leave Lyon tend to head for Paris, from which we may infer that people move from smaller to larger cities and more rarely the other way round.⁹⁰

6.3 | UNEMPLOYMENT DATA

The territory of the Cluster had around 135,000 unemployed people at the end of 2013, a number which increased by 13 percent between June 2010 and June 2012. Around 70 percent of these live in Greater Lyon. The employment situation continued to worsen after 2012, with unemployment increasing by 10 percent between March 2012 and 2013 across France, including Lyon. As a result, the official unemployment rate at the end of 2013 was 9.6 percent in Lyon, 9.3 percent in Rhône-Alpes and 10.5 percent in France as a whole.

According to calculations based on National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) statistics, updated for the month of September 2013 and published in February 2014, the 8th *arrondissement* accounts for 15.4 percent of the people of working age in the city of Lyon but 16.3 percent of those who are unemployed,⁹¹ suggesting that the unemployed are overrepresented in this part of the city. The most recent INSEE publication on unemployment for the 8th *arrondissement* of Lyon⁹² is based on 2010 data and gives a rate of 9.9 percent. This is probably an underestimation because of recent increases in numbers of job-seekers throughout

90 « D'une région à l'autre, la mobilité des jeunes en début de vie active » (From one region to another, youth mobility at the beginning of their careers), Centre of Studies and Research on Qualifications (Centre d'études et de recherches sur les qualifications, Céreq), April 2003.

91 MDEF, « Note trimestrielle Emploi Lyon, 4e trimestre 2013. Données au 11.02.2014 » (Trimestrial note on employment, Lyon, 4th trimester 2013. Data consolidated 11 February 2014), at <http://www.mdef-lyon.fr/Territoire-Le-bassin-d-emplois-.html> (accessed 16 April 2014).

92 INSEE, « Chiffres clés Emploi – Population active Commune de Lyon 8e Arrondissement » (Unemployment basic figures – Working population City of Lyon 8th arrondissement), at www.insee.fr/fr/themes/comparateur.asp?codegeo=COM-69123 (accessed 16 April 2014).

the country. In December 2012, there were 6,330 unemployed people in the 8th *arrondissement*, 9.1 percent more than a year before. This increase was the highest among all the *arrondissements* in the city, where average unemployment increased by 6.5 percent over the previous 12 months.⁹³

Starting in 2005 nationally (and in 2008 in Lyon), the *politique de la ville* set up several centres for employment (*maisons de l'emploi*) in order to address unemployment and improve access to the job market locally. Specific actions planned for 2014 in the Etats-Unis area have included projects to assist young people in their first steps entering the labour market, improving French-language teaching for those who need it, initiating actions for those at risk of discrimination, diversifying employment experiences by enabling job-seekers to work in companies bidding for public contracts and supporting young mothers.

The Emplois Francs^{94,95} are an example of good practice highlighted in discussions with stakeholders. They came into being during the summer of 2013 and target a specific sector of the unemployed population, people aged under 30, who have been unemployed for over a year and who have been living in a priority area for at least six months. Companies interested in this initiative are invited to contact city representatives who help them select eligible candidates for jobs that offer a full-time position based on an extended employment contract or CDI (*contrat à durée indéterminée*). At the time of writing this initiative was in its early days and no formal evaluation had taken place, but initial reactions are positive, as evidenced by the fact that a leading employer's blog has relayed information about the project.⁹⁶

Other good practices, supported and promoted by Vincent Beley, the director of the Lyon office of the MDEF, include helping sectors that traditionally employ people with low qualifications to refine existing job profiles or create new ones. Whenever such improved job profiles emerge, for example in the construction industry, the objective is to inform job-seekers about these new opportunities. When a major construction project started in the Lyon Confluence district (west of the 8th *arrondissement*), Mr Beley organised pre-recruitment workshops for local job-seekers in order to prepare them for the 1,250 positions which he knew would eventually be on offer in shops and other businesses once the construction was completed. At the national level, MDEF and its partners try to anticipate developments in the labour market, considering for example

93 MDEF op cit.

94 « Emplois francs: recruter des jeunes issus de quartiers prioritaires » (Emplois francs: recruiting young people from priority areas), at www.pole-emploi.fr/actualites/emplois-francs-@/suarticle.jspz?id=109477 (accessed 15 October 2014).

95 « Recrutement: pensez aux emplois francs » (Recruitment, think about the emplois francs), at www.medeflyonrhone.fr/2014/03/11/recrutement-pensez-aux-emplois-francs (accessed 16 April 2014).

96 Le blog des groupements d'employeurs (The blog of groups of employers), at <http://leblogdesgroupementsdemployeurs.blogspot.ch/2014/04/elargissement-d-e-la-liste-des-communes.html> (accessed 16 April 2014).

how adapting housing for climate change adaptation and mitigation will affect the types of employment opportunities and skills needed in the future.⁹⁷

6.4 | LACK OF RESPECT FOR MANUAL JOBS

A key theme in the focus group discussions was people's lack of respect for the low-skilled jobs that many of the participants were engaged in. Participants said that they encountered disrespect because of the menial work they were doing. They had the impression that, before, there was some respect (not to say prestige) attached to being a state employee, even in low-skilled work. It was felt that this did not exist anymore. A participant who had worked as a hospital warden agreed that there was no recognition not only of the most menial, but also of the most important jobs in society (i.e. looking after people and public spaces).

The focus group on education discussed the fact that the perceived social hierarchy of job occupations was so strong that it had a negative impact on the educational sector as a whole, with vocational training constantly denigrated. Participants felt that as long as manual workers were not sufficiently respected by society, it was an uphill battle to convince young people to choose training programmes leading to manual jobs.

Yolande, a young woman in the focus group on education, put it this way:

There will always be a social divide as long as we consider that some occupations are superior to others. Society represents ideals to itself. For example, at the bottom of the social ladder, parents used to say: "You will not be a manual worker like me." This means that in the depths of their hearts they were convinced that it was better for their child to become an engineer. In order to change this we would have to change our perspective completely, i.e. not consider what is the best option, but in what occupation would you be happy?

Timothée, a retired businessman who also participated in the focus group on education, suggested that some trades were regaining status and becoming more attractive for young people, for example bakery:

In the old days, everyone produced standard white bread. Now, look at what is happening. You have sophisticated pastries, scores of them, with incredibly high prices. If you remember the price of the standard baguette 20 years ago, now there is a very great difference in the price and number of different breads on display. The corporation of bakers has succeeded in organising itself, leading to the profession

97 Boris Chabanel (of the Lyon-based Nova7 consultancy firm), interview with Vincent Beley, 8 October 2013, in Millénaire3 (prospective resource centre for Greater Lyon), at www.millenaire3.com/Vincent-BELEY-La-dimension-territoriale-de-la-lut.122+M515838dc34d.o.html (accessed 16 April 2014).

becoming an interesting one, because the baker is a craftsman who earns very decently, and certainly more than an engineer at the beginning of his career. You could say the same for a butcher or a plumber ... People who were considered no more than manual labourers have become skilled workers, thanks to training.

The focus group on employment brought together several people who were dissatisfied with their employment situation, unlike in the focus group on education. The lack of consideration for people carrying out lowly jobs was pinpointed.

According to Rebecca, a middle-aged participant of this group who had spent several years caring for the elderly in a nursing home some years ago:⁹⁸

The lower the status of the job, the less consideration you get, even from the people you are working for, I mean the elderly. I have experienced things that are shocking. For example, at the end of the year, this person would tell me they had given a tip to the nurse or even to the doctor. And to me, they would just say: best wishes! That's the sort of stuff I have been through ... The person who is a maid or a housekeeper is just looked down upon, I'm sorry, but she is not considered, really not considered at all. Proof is that we didn't even get vouchers to go to the canteen at lunchtime. We had to sit on a bench and eat a sandwich. We were paid the minimum, but really the rock-bottom wage. It was an extremely tough job, psychologically and physically, and not recognised at all.

In the same focus group, Henri, a 45-year-old independent contractor operating mainly in the trucking business, was of a similar opinion:

No one is going to pat me on the back for my work, no one. Nobody goes out of his way to say: you did well today, nobody. But that has never changed and today we can see that there really are two worlds that are at loggerheads. The rich, the very rich, who can take the top jobs and be nice to each other, hang around at cocktail parties and so on, and then the rest of us who are just trying to survive in the system. And in our part of the world, there is no room for recognition. In the first world, everyone is always thanking everyone else. But in the intermediate professions my experience is that no one ever is.

Walter, a man in his 70s who participated in the focus group for older men, touched on the fact that the country as a whole had somehow made a transition from agriculture to services without paying enough attention to the industrial sector:

⁹⁸ While she was talking, other members of the focus group interjected that conditions nowadays were not as bad as they were then (in the heat of the discussion, it could unfortunately not be ascertained exactly what time she was speaking of).

France has peasant roots, France is agricultural, isn't it? But count the number of agricultural machines that are made in France. There aren't very many, are there? Our industries haven't been doing their job, and they could have made a pretty penny. There are very few French machines around.

6.5 | WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

Participants in several focus groups mentioned that the economic situation had changed for the worse in recent years, basically since the 2008 financial crisis. Many citizens had the impression that state employees, by definition, were working very little and being paid a lot. For two men working for the city of Lyon, respectively as a park warden and a cemetery handyman, this was difficult to live with. They were getting paid the minimum wage, for a tough job, and were having trouble making ends meet.

In the focus group for older women, four of the five participants were of retirement age; however, some were still working in order to make ends meet. The younger participant in this group (aged 43) was not shocked by this and showed very little empathy towards the older people present. She said she had worked very hard to get herself into decent employment and that she had no guarantee whatsoever that she would get a pension when she retired, the way things were going.

Altogether, participants in the focus group sample seem to be very flexible, knowledgeable and agile in their everyday lives. They often struggle to make ends meet, but are generally able and willing to change what needs to be changed in order to secure a new job, a new flat, etc. The most notable example of what is seen as a specifically French quality, *la débrouillardise*, often simply *la débrouille*, which can be loosely translated as the ability to cope or to manage on a practical basis, in a flexible way was Bernard, a man in his 40s who participated in the focus group on employment. When he was first looking for a job in his early 20s, he heard that computers were becoming popular but knew nothing about them. So he went out and bought a magazine on the topic. After reading it, he called a computing company, saying he was interested in joining their sales team, which he did. When he finally had to leave that job 15 years later, because of the economic crisis, he remembered that he had basic training in estate agency. Since no one was really buying or selling any more, he specialised in social housing, which enabled him to secure a job in one of the only sectors that was recruiting at that time.

7

HOUSING

This chapter discusses the quality of housing and choices of areas in which to live. In France, the HLM system is state-controlled and state-subsidised but most of the housing is not state-owned. Private landlords (*bailleurs sociaux*) own most of the HLM in most cities and this is particularly the case in and around Lyon. In Greater Lyon, between 4,000 and 4,500 new HLM apartments are built every year and their total number is slightly over 130,000, according to the 2012 Lyon “Atlas” of social housing, which is based on 2010 statistics.^{99,100}

This model appears to be functioning in a satisfactory manner, although supply is not keeping up with demand, and the average waiting time is around two years. According to the 2012 Lyon “Atlas”,¹⁰¹ in the city of Lyon around 4,500 HLM flats are allocated each year, among which around 1,500 are newly built. Some 8 percent of the HLM change hands each year, down from 12 percent in 2000. The 8th and 9th *arrondissements* alone account for 50 percent of all the HLM in Lyon.

It is not surprising that a very high proportion of the housing stock in the 8th *arrondissement* is social housing. According to the 2012 Lyon “Atlas”,¹⁰² there were 11,776 HLM apartments in the 8th *arrondissement*. The proportion of social housing compared with total housing in the *arrondissement* was not given. It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of social housing in the 8th *arrondissement* as a whole. An academic source puts the value at above 24 percent; however, this conceals important differences within the *arrondissement*. The same source puts the level for the Etats-Unis neighbourhood at 93 percent.¹⁰³

The main problem, pinpointed in an article in the local newspaper *Lyon Capitale*, is the strong imbalance between *arrondissements* and communes to the east and southeast which have more than 20 percent social housing and the other districts inside and outside the city which have far less.¹⁰⁴ This imbalance has not improved despite many projects and promises, and the situation even became marginally worse between 2005 and 2010 when working-class Vénissieux and Vaulx-en-Velin reduced their proportion

99 The figure varies between around 133,000 and around 136,000 according to the various definitions given to social housing.

100 “Atlas du logement locatif et social du Grand Lyon” (Greater Lyon Atlas of renting and social housing), 2012, at http://www.urbalyon.org/Document/Observatoire_Habitat_-_Atlas_du_logement_locatif_et_social_du_Grand_Lyon-2983 (accessed 16 April 2014) (hereafter, “Atlas du logement locatif et social du Grand Lyon”).

101 “Atlas du logement locatif et social du Grand Lyon”.

102 “Atlas du logement locatif et social du Grand Lyon”.

103 Florence Chilaud, Julie Fromentin, Laura Monfleur and Lucile Waquet, « Etat des lieux du logement social à Lyon-Villeurbanne » (State of social housing situation in Lyon-Villeurbanne), Department of Geography, Ecole normale supérieure, Paris, at www.geographie.ens.fr/Etat-des-lieux-du-logement-social.html?lang=fr&var_mode=calcul (accessed 16 April 2014).

104 A law passed in 2000 made it an obligation for all communes with a population of over 3,500 inhabitants (1,500 if around Paris) to have at least 20 percent social housing: Law 2000-1208 of 13 December 2000 relative to solidarity and urban renewal, at www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT00000207538&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id (accessed 16 April 2014).

of social housing as they were entitled to, but this was not compensated for by sufficient construction of social housing in the more affluent areas.¹⁰⁵

Focus group participants were almost unanimously attached to the 8th *arrondissement* and very few wished to leave the area. This was especially true for participants living in the Etats-Unis neighbourhood, which has a particular cachet due to its history, but not for participants living in the vicinity of Mermoz, currently undergoing reconstruction or in the Moulin-à-Vent/Grand Trou/Route de Vienne area to the west. The majority French participants said that they did not feel discriminated against because of living in lower-class areas, but some expressed concern about the allocation of social housing. Rather than any outright prejudice or injustice, it was felt that too much power was given to very few individuals who made the decisions. All in all, as in several other topics in this research series, participants were generally satisfied with the quality of life in their local area. They also generally supported the mayor's plans for developing Lyon in order to position it as a major city in Europe.

According to the Abbé-Pierre Foundation, one of the largest charities working in housing in France, nationally the sector of the population most affected by bad housing is young people. According to their figures published in 2013 (but mostly based on 2005 and 2006 publications by INSEE), 29 percent of people aged 18–28 and not living with their parents had an apartment which was too small for them, compared with 16 percent for the general population. Overcrowding was a problem for 21 percent of these young people compared with 9 percent in the general population. These figures were respectively 29 percent for heating difficulties (compared with 24 percent in the general population) and 9 percent for general poor quality of housing (compared with 7 percent for the general population). The Abbé-Pierre Foundation links all these problems to bank overdrafts (21 percent compared with 13 percent in the general population) and late payment of bills (17 percent compared with 11 percent).¹⁰⁶ Despite these explicit data, the topic of youth poverty was never mentioned by anyone during the focus groups.

7.1 | URBAN REGENERATION IN LYON

For a visitor to the city, the first observation is that Lyon is undergoing major rebuilding. Wherever one walks in the city, including the 8th *arrondissement*, cranes loom overhead. Lyon is teeming with building sites. In the discussions with focus group participants and key stakeholders, no one was opposed to the renovations and

105 Laurent Burllet, « Logement social : les mauvais élèves sont toujours les mêmes » (Social housing: the same areas as before are not doing their bit), Lyon Capitale, 20 December 2010, at www.lyoncapitale.fr/Journal/Lyon/Actualite/Actualites/Logement/Logement-social-les-mauvais-eleves-sont-toujours-les-memes (accessed 16 April 2014).

106 Abbé-Pierre Foundation, « Les jeunes, premières victimes du mal-logement » (Young people are the first victims of poor housing), at www.fondation-abbe-pierre.fr/nos-publications/etat-du-mal-logement/les-jeunes-premieres-victimes-du-mal-logement (accessed 7 January 2014).

new developments. The few caveats which were expressed were subdued in nature and concerned the quality of what was being built rather than the fact of building in itself. In the focus group on health, some participants expressed concern that the relentless pace of building in Lyon was squeezing out the last green areas.

The largest renovation project in the city is Confluence, on the southern tip of the Presqu'île,¹⁰⁷ around 2 km west of the study area. Because distances in Lyon are not particularly great, focus group participants discussed this project as if it was a local one. Two areas considered by focus group participants to be similar to the 8th *arrondissement* have undergone a major change in the past 10–15 years. One is the Minguettes area in Vénissieux, just south of the 8th *arrondissement*. The other is La Duchère, to the northwest of the city (9th *arrondissement*). In both these working-class districts, large HLM buildings were destroyed as a part of renovation projects. These two events were considered very significant by our focus group participants, and came up several times in the discussions. Participants were concerned that if demolitions occurred too quickly, adjacent areas would be flooded by high numbers of low-income people and families. This is what happened after the Minguettes demolition, according to several participants and key stakeholders. No demolitions happened at that time in the 8th *arrondissement*, but some recently took place in the Mermoz area.

7.2 | DISPERSAL AND CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

From the point of view of the *politique de la ville*, one of the main problems in Lyon is the concentration of poor inhabitants in specific areas. According to the mayor's office, substantial efforts are being made to increase the mix of income and wealth in poor areas, for instance by renovating older buildings. In the Mermoz area in the 8th *arrondissement*, the 3,500 inhabitants are very poor (10 percent of households have an income of less than €3,000 per year), and 70 percent of inhabitants (aged over 15 years and no longer at school) did not reach the baccalaureate level. This figure is around 50 percent for the 8th *arrondissement* as a whole and around 70 percent nationally.^{108, 109}

A major demolition and rebuilding project has been initiated by the municipality, so that the Mermoz area, which used to be 100 percent HLM, will only be around 50 percent HLM after the current urban refurbishment process is completed. The displaced working-class families will not be concentrated in new HLM-rich (i.e. poor)

107 Literally, Presqu'île means "almost an island". It refers to the piece of land locked in between the Rhône and Saône rivers.

108 INSEE, « ZUS Mermoz », at www.insee.fr/fr/ppp/bases-de-donnees/donnees-detaillees/duicq/zus.asp?reg=82&uu=00758&zus=8212140 (accessed 4 March 2014). ZUS is Zone Urbaine Sensible (Sensitive Urban Zone).

109 INSEE, « Chiffres clés Diplômes – Formation. Commune de Lyon » (Key statistics for qualifications and training, Lyon Commune), at www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau_local.asp?ref_id=FOR&millesime=2010&nivgeo=COM&codgeo=69388; www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau_local.asp?ref_id=FOR2&millesime=2010&niveau=1&nivgeo=COM&codgeo=69123 (both accessed 4 March 2014).

areas but relocated in various places throughout the city, on a voluntary basis. Among focus group participants and key stakeholders contacted during the course of this study, there was widespread support for this policy, which was viewed as likely to improve the social mix and increase harmony. They were unanimous in saying that the concentration of one social class in an area was a bad thing, in particular the concentration of poor people in the 8th *arrondissement* and neighbouring Vénissieux.

No voices opposing this form of controlled gentrification were heard, despite specific questions along these lines which were put to the focus group on housing. The research could not work out why participants were not concerned about the gentrification, which might represent a menace to their living conditions as rents increase. One possibility is that the move from 100 percent to 50 percent low-income households (to take the extreme example of Mermoz) is only a preliminary step in the gentrification process, and it has not happened yet. Another explanation is that most poor people living in the 8th *arrondissement* have controlled rents.

According to a leading Lyon-based researcher in urban science, Louafi Bououina, spatial segregation is not compatible with sustainability. This is because spatial segregation tends to reinforce inequality, leading to a city evolving at several different speeds. These inequalities are likely to become more and more visible, thus reinforcing a feeling of injustice which in turn deteriorates the social fabric of the city as a whole. All these weigh heavily on the quality of life and public health, which is why they must be taken into account when assessing the sustainability of a city.

In Mr Bououina's view, in big cities such as Lyon and Paris, whose population and neighbourhoods are hugely different in socio-economic status, part of the problem is solved by having an excellent public transport system. Paradoxically, making sectors of the city interdependent, that is, enabling them to mix with each other, helps them to become more autonomous. He suggests that cities with a well-defined and powerful city centre, such as Paris and Lyon, tend to show less segregation than cities where the centre of gravity is weak or diffuse, or exported into the suburbs. This is a complex area of research, however, and Mr Bououina considers that the municipality should investigate the local rent and salary levels in detail before making decisions about turning a neighbourhood into an important secondary centre.¹¹⁰ This last point is important as the 8th *arrondissement* has the geographical and urban potential for such development, but of course the objective of such a development would not be to lead to increased segregation.

110 Louafi Bououina, « Segregation spatiale et dynamiques métropolitaines » (Spatial segregation and metropolitan dynamics), PhD thesis, Lumière University, Lyon 2 (2008).

7.3 | ACCESS TO SOCIAL HOUSING

The state has a major role in determining the rules which allow people to register for social housing, the allocation of apartments and implementation. Local housing programmes plan and coordinate the construction or renovation of housing. There are three types of criteria for access to social housing: present housing conditions, family circumstances and income.

Allocation rules in each department stipulate the rules for the local authorities. There is a quota system according to which the local authorities are allocated a percentage of the housing stock according to their access criteria. The state has a limit of 30 percent, the local authorities have 20 percent and companies contributing to the financing of social housing a variable percentage depending on the level of participation. Finally the needs of the applicants (size and number of rooms required, etc.) have to be verified so that homes can be allocated appropriately.¹¹¹

A key informant who asked not to be identified was eligible for social housing, and reported that it took him almost two years to obtain his lodging:

The procedure is long and complicated. For me, it turned out OK because I am French and I know how things work. It must be a lot harder for people of immigrant origin.

According to focus group participants, the housing stock is sufficient in quantity and quality. Some buildings in the Etats-Unis complex built by Tony Garnier in the 1930s were in poor condition but participants said that they had very recently received information that they were to be renovated. When this was mentioned during a focus group discussion, some participants were quick to suggest that the Open Society Foundation's focus on the area might have indirectly helped the renovation project to move forward, a hypothesis which was impossible to prove or disprove.

For some, the higher rents in other parts of the city are a barrier keeping them in the area. According to Catherine, who had been living in the Etats-Unis neighbourhood for over 10 years:

I talk with a lot people who would like to move out, but they can't afford it so they have to stay. And everyone says the same thing. We can't go because we can't pay the price. And that's the truth... It's not a choice.

According to a key informant working with one of the major private landlords, it is notorious that there is more wear-and-tear on housing estates in the 8th

111 International Urban Development Association, "A small introduction to social housing in France", at www.inta-aivn.org/images/cc/Habitat/background_percentzodocuments/CCHabitat_Housing_percentzosocial_percentzoFrance.pdf (accessed 4 March 2014).

arrondissement than in other parts of the city. There is a gradient running from the upmarket areas in the centre of Lyon where damages to property are rare, towards the outer areas of the city such as the 8th *arrondissement*, and beyond to areas such as Vénissieux where damage is even more common. Part of the problem may be due to the fact that there are fewer old-style caretakers (*concierges*) who live in the building for which they are responsible. This insight came from a focus group participant, Georges. Despite being over 75 years old, he still continues to act as a handyman in his derelict building, for no pay, and he is convinced that this is a social role which is important for all residents.

7.4 | TRANSPORT

Transport is an important element of the structure of cities, especially Lyon, which occupies a strategic position in the Rhône valley. It is also important in the 8th *arrondissement*, which is characterised by long straight boulevards.

Because Lyon is an intermediate-sized city, there has been some conflict between building a comprehensive metro system and opting for a tramway network. The result is that there are four underground metro lines, but in recent years mainly tram lines have been built. The tramway development is spectacular in the study area. In September 2013, while the focus groups were taking place, the T4 tram line running from the main train station (Part-Dieu) was extended through the 8th *arrondissement* towards Vénissieux. This was a major event, identified as such by focus group participants, especially those in the identity and belonging group. This focus group discussion took place just one week after the opening of the T4 line, which runs along the Boulevard des Etats-Unis. The rails are set in the middle of the road, with space for cars on either side. Paulette (aged 48) was so enthusiastic that she compared it with the famous French high-speed train, the TGV (*Train à Grande Vitesse*, high-speed train):

I call it the TGV. Yes, that is what I have decided to call it. When I see it, I find it beautiful, along the boulevard, it's magnificent, better than the other trams. It's my TGV.

The public transport system was also seen as important because it ensures access to the green spaces in Lyon. Several focus groups mentioned that while Lyon as a whole has a generous provision of these spaces, they are lacking in the immediate vicinity of the 8th *arrondissement*. Most residents do not complain about this because public transport enables them to reach the green spaces in a matter of minutes. This underlines the interdependence of public transport and green spaces, since a local lack of green spaces can be to a certain extent compensated for by a good public transport system (metro, tram, bus and public-access bicycles).

The conclusion is that most focus group participants were positive about the evolution of Lyon in recent years, and about how the 8th *arrondissement* was being treated. According to Yolande, a 61-year-old participant in the group on identity and belonging:

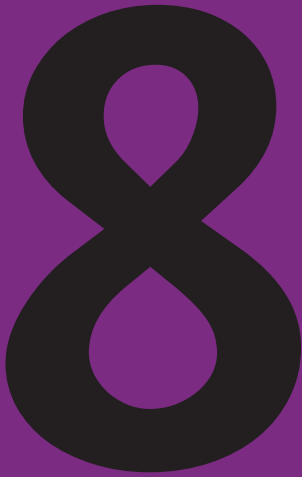
I have been living in the Etats-Unis area for 30 years. I am very proud because it is improving and becoming more modern. I saw them build the tram line. The square used to be full of sand, now it is green and everyone can go and meet other people there. I find it is an interesting place to live.

7.5 | EXPERIENCE OF SOCIAL HOUSING

The generally positive outlook of focus group participants converges with the results of the “Enquête écoute habitants” (see Chapter 3).¹¹² According to this study involving some 600 residents of the 8th *arrondissement*, the general atmosphere in the neighbourhood had improved. Respondents were specifically asked how they felt about the atmosphere in their *allée* (stairway); this is very precise because a large housing block may have several entrances, each with its own lift and staircase. Two entrances only 20 m apart may have a completely different feel to them, depending on graffiti, littering, bashed-in letter boxes, occasionally broken doors, etc.

The result was that households “felt better in their stairway” in 2011 than in 2009. Specifically, there was an increase from 76 percent to 89 percent positive opinions over the two years. A further 80 percent “felt well in their apartment” in 2011, up 1 percent compared with 2009. The authors of the report claim that this is comparable with other, richer areas in Lyon, the average being 80 percent satisfaction. Around 70 percent of Etats-Unis residents were satisfied with the cleanliness of entrances and corridors (known as common areas or *parties communes* in French). This result can be considered stable: it was slightly lower in 2009, but slightly higher in a previous “Enquête écoute habitants” taken in 2008.

When asked which were the most important areas in which public authorities could act to improve their quality of life, respondents quoted housing refurbishment and public transport higher than any other interventions.



HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

There were two focus groups on health, with different socio-demographic characteristics. Interestingly, the content of their discussions was almost exactly the same. Both discussed the quality of health services and health in general, and were not interested in social protection.

Most of the participants in the first group came from or had lived in other parts of France and/or abroad before coming to Lyon (e.g. Belgium, the north of France, La Rochelle in the west, or the Grenoble area). These people were highly mobile, and most had arrived in the area within the last few years. The second focus group on health brought together people who were longer-term residents in the 8th *arrondissement*, although one of them came from a deprived area of the 9th *arrondissement* (close to but not in La Duchère).

Residents in the Lyon area enjoy good health generally, but with significant differences between rich and poor areas. Because of the ban on ethnic statistics, it is not possible to ascertain whether any of this is due to ethnic differences. Key informants and focus group participants are satisfied with the hospitals and with the health-care system as a whole. This is probably because Lyon, as a major regional centre in France, has many excellent hospitals and therefore attracts good professionals. No participants reported feeling mistreated by hospital staff or other health-care personnel. Regarding prevention, it was felt that more could be done to promote walking and cycling.

The *politique de la ville* has created an Observatory of the Health of Lyon Residents (*Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais*) which publishes a detailed report on the public-health situation in the city and surrounding areas, updated every six months. The 2012 report¹¹³ (published in August 2013) confirmed that Lyon had a good health profile. Part of this is due to the overrepresentation of the 15–35 age bracket in Lyon (representing 37 percent of the total population in Lyon, compared with France as a whole where this age group constitutes 25 percent of the population)¹¹⁴ and to the presence of a sizeable student population.¹¹⁵ The death rate, for example, is around 7 per 1,000 (in 2009) against 8.6 per 1,000 for the whole of France. Interestingly, in Lyon the health status of males is similar to the health status of females, which is not the case in the rest of the country. The city has lower levels of suicide and death from all causes of accidents than the rest of the country.¹¹⁶ However, like the rest of France, Lyon has higher rates of cancer than elsewhere in Europe.

113 « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais » (2012 Report on the health of Lyon residents), Lyon, 2013, at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_thematiques/sante (accessed 25 March 2014) (hereafter, « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais »).

114 « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais », p.10.

115 « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais », p.12.

116 « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais », p.16.

These overall positive figures conceal differences between areas of Lyon. The Health Observatory report split the city into 182 subsectors (the IRIS2000 sectors¹¹⁷). Despite several public insurance mechanisms such as CMU-C, state medical assistance (Aide médicale de l'état, AME) and national insurance, the priority areas have a concentration of a significant proportion of health inequalities, according to the report, which argues that the various local and national mechanisms have compensated for the effect of economic status. The report concluded that differences in social and cultural capital explain the remaining health status differences between rich and poor areas in Lyon. Indeed, both accidents and poor health were found to be more frequent among people in priority areas.

The report emphasises that levels of diabetes are higher than elsewhere in the city in priority areas such as Etats-Unis/Pressensé, Langlet-Santy and Mermoz (all in the 8th *arrondissement*). Two other indicators are linked to social and economic status: the use of free dental services for children and free screening for breast cancer. Both of these services are underused in the priority areas in the 8th *arrondissement*. The dental problem is being addressed by the national M'T Dents campaign,¹¹⁸ and the 2012 health report shows encouraging increases in uptake for dental services in Lyon as a whole, especially in the Etats-Unis and Mermoz areas.¹¹⁹ No specific policies have been put in place in priority areas for the time being for screening for breast cancer.

The priority areas in Lyon also have a higher proportion of residents with chronic diseases,¹²⁰ at around 5–6 percent of the population, which is twice the city average. The reason for this is not known, but the clustering of poor health with poverty and social and economic exclusion is well documented throughout Europe.

Finally, it should be mentioned that mental health was recently made a priority by Lyon authorities. Two pilot projects are under way in the 5th and 9th *arrondissements*. They basically consist of building up a local multidisciplinary team at *arrondissement* level, in order to enable people to seek help closer to their home base. If these pilot

117 In French, IRIS is an acronym of aggregated units for statistical information; 2000 refers to the target size of 2,000 residents per basic unit. See INSEE, at www.insee.fr/en/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/iris.htm (accessed 20 October 2014).

118 M'T Dents is a campaign organised by the national health insurance office and includes free preventative visits to dental clinics for children aged 6–18 throughout the country: see www.mtdents.info (accessed 25 March 2014).

119 « Rapport 2012 de l'Observatoire de la santé des Lyonnais », p. 42.

120 In French public health statistics, ALD (affections à longue durée, chronic diseases) are defined as “serious and/or chronic diseases including an expensive drug regimen 100 percent covered by the national medical insurance”. Around 30 diseases are included under this definition, among which are diabetes, hypertension, HIV infection, multiple sclerosis, cancer, genetic diseases. Source: Health Glossary, at www.mutualite.fr/Contenu/Glossaire and <http://sante-medecine.commentcamarche.net/s/ald> (both accessed 25 March 2014).

projects are successful, it is expected that similar teams will be formed in the other *arrondissements*.¹²¹

8.1 | HEALTH-SERVICE PROVISION

The main public service hospitals are grouped together in the Hospices Civils de Lyon group, which totals 22,000 employees on 14 sites. Together, they form the second-largest hospital service in France.¹²² As with many other public services in the Lyon area, the public hospitals are spread out and only 6 of the 14 are within city limits. They are organised in five clusters according to geographical and organisational criteria.¹²³

- North: the Croix-Rousse hospital (just north of the old town) and a dental clinic.
- East: five hospitals with various specialisations including neurology, cardiopulmonary and reproductive, neonatal and paediatric health. The last three are in the new Hospital for Women, Mothers and Children (HFME) in Bron, just outside the city limits and not far from the 8th *arrondissement*.
- South: a very large hospital between the city of Lyon and two other towns to the southwest. This is the other side of the Rhône from our study area.
- Geriatric hospitals: four clinics, mainly in the centre, east (Villeurbanne) and north of the city.
- Edouard-Herriot, the largest hospital in the Lyon area, on the border between the 3rd and 8th *arrondissements*. It was built by Tony Garnier, who created the Etats-Unis neighbourhood, between 1913 and 1933. It now has 32 buildings, linked to each other by a grid of covered passages. The hospital serves almost all specialisations, with the exception of gynaecological, obstetrical and neonatal child services, which were moved in 2008 to the HFME Bron (see above).¹²⁴

There are 17 private clinics in the city of Lyon.¹²⁵ Three are in the 8th *arrondissement*: Jean Mermoz and Natecia (mentioned in Chapter 6), as well as an institution specialising in cancer care, Léon-Bérard.

121 « Prise en compte de la souffrance psychique. Santé mentale dans le 5e et le 9e » (Taking psychological suffering into account. Mental health in the 5th and 9th *arrondissements*), at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_thematiques/sante/?aIndex=1 (accessed 16 April 2014).

122 See www.chu-lyon.fr/web (accessed 30 March 2014).

123 Not mentioning one other institution, the Renée-Sabran hospital, which is in Hyères in the south of France but depends administratively on Lyon. Its location can be seen at http://etablisements.hopital.fr/plan_acces.php?id=6018 (accessed 30 March 2014).

124 See www.chu-lyon.fr/web/H_percentC3_percentB4pital_percent20Edouard_percent20Herriot_725_803.html (accessed 23 November 2014).

125 See www.sanitaire-social.com/annuaire/annuaire-hopitaux-rhone-alpes-lyon/69300/7/vc (accessed 30 March 2014).

The health-care landscape of the 8th *arrondissement* is dominated by the imposing presence of the Edouard-Herriot hospital. However, this is not the only hospital in the area. During the two focus group discussions on health, another hospital was frequently mentioned, the Desgenettes military hospital in the 3rd *arrondissement* but very close to the 8th.¹²⁶ Most participants agreed that this was the best hospital to go to in an emergency during the night.

Focus group participants considered health services to be good-quality in Lyon. However, being a large city, most of the hospitals were large in size. Maybe as a consequence of this, participants (who all came from towns smaller than Lyon) felt they were treated in a somewhat industrial fashion. Seven out of the eight participants had been to the emergency department of the Edouard-Herriot hospital, which they considered far too big.

David, aged 32, said: “Grange Blanche, c’est l’usine” (The Edouard-Herriot hospital [which is in an area called Grange Blanche] is like a factory). He went on to tell his story:

I was working as a stretcher carrier for another, smaller hospital, four years ago. In the end you have more contacts with the patients, it’s a lot smaller. And I saw colleagues who had to go and work at Grange Blanche as supplements, they had to go and work there from time to time, they said it was like being in a factory. You just don’t have time, there are too many people.

(On another occasion) I had a motorcycle accident and I had to go to emergency services. When you arrive with the ambulance,¹²⁷ you go straight through. But if you go in without the ambulance, for a condition, you can wait for eight hours. For six to eight hours, minimum.

Tania (aged 28) said that doctors took more time with patients in the small town where she had grown up. Others believed that the health-care sector was difficult in the sense that people working there had to get used to treating people who were in pain. Mia, one of the youngest participants, was training to become a nurse. She said that people working in hospitals sometimes had to crack jokes in order to relieve the pressure.

None of the participants said they had ever experienced discrimination. This included those who said they had North African origins, while identifying themselves as part of the majority French population.

Since health care seemed not to be a problem in Lyon, the discussion moved on to living conditions such as air pollution and green spaces. Here, the consensus was

126 See <http://hiadesgenettes.hautetfort.com> (accessed 30 March 2014).

127 In France, the pompiers (the fire brigade) are also in charge of emergency care and part of the ambulance service.

that air quality was not much of an issue in Lyon, but that the 8th *arrondissement* was somewhat lacking in green spaces.

Focus group participants were unanimous in underlining that Lyon has a high number of good-quality health institutions: hospitals, research institutes, etc. There were very few complaints about health care, and none at all about discrimination.

Many participants complained about cars and motorbikes driving at high speeds and not stopping at pedestrian crossings, because they were a risk to the health and safety of people living or working in the area. Local residents identified speeding vehicles as a substantial menace to their quality of life, including not only road safety but also noise.

8.2 | SOCIAL PROTECTION

Focus group participants had little to say on the topic of social protection, with the exception of health insurance, which is national and which was considered to be functioning satisfactorily.

One comment which did surface at the end of the first focus group on health was from Gabriel:

I used to work in construction and I stopped doing that to do something else. People talk about a crisis, about money and so on, but for me that's rubbish. As soon as I finished working on a building, I was really happy, all sweaty and all, and off I went to start work on the next building, and then the next one. People say there are no jobs. So, that for me too is a lie. We have insurance, we have unemployment benefits to back us up, we will always have an income, there will always be money trickling in. So people who say there are no jobs, well it's not true. Jobs are available. If all the people who are lazy would just get up and work, well that field in front of us would have become covered in buildings a long time ago.

The comment reflects working-class pride in valuing work over social benefits.

Olivia had a chronic health condition and was in a position to comment first-hand on issues of both health and social protection:

What has shocked me the most in the medical world is health-care workers making fun of people who were depressive or with psychological problems. And I have seen members of staff laughing out loud in between the stretchers. The third thing is when I was working in an institution for elderly people as a helper, this was before I became a fully-fledged assistant. I had an extended contract and they asked me point-blank if I would stay for the summer, just for the moments when I was

needed. They were asking me to do four trips per day. To look after the lady, help her wash and so on, to look after her and her house too. I accepted: no problem. This was preventing her from going into care and she was very happy – good all round. And then in October they told me: listen, you are going to go off for a month because we have somewhere where she can go for a month. So that's it, you just cope with that. Ask for social benefits or something like that. So I went to see the director of an NGO, for help, and do you know what she said? She said: go and see your doctor, he will say you are sick so the insurance will pay for it. So I was shocked, and that is what has shocked me the most. That employers should ask you to do that, when it's the employers who complain that too many people are on benefits on purpose, because they don't want to work. I had it the other way round. In the end I went to see another NGO that protects workers. They told me that my employer simply owed me a month's wage. So I got that, quite simply.

Olivia's story reflects a strong work ethic similar to the previous story told by Gabriel. These characteristics of a strong work ethic arose in the context of discussions of social benefits rather than discussions about identity.

8.3 | FUTURE POLICY ORIENTATIONS

According to a recent policy note for the Etats-Unis neighbourhood,¹²⁸ the municipality's social health priorities for 2014 have been to support community cohesion and social ties, as well as citizenship and community health. One of the most important policy elements, given the ageing of the population in the area, is the commitment to helping the elderly stay at home and maintain their social networks. Another interesting idea is creating an interdisciplinary centre in the neighbourhood, which would help the more vulnerable members of society to access resources for health care, prevention and health promotion. An additional effort is also to be made to meet the mental-health needs in the community.

Another point, which emerged during the roundtable discussions, is that due to its geographical location and architectural *cachet*, the Etats-Unis area would be a prime target for gentrification, but this cannot happen because almost all of it is social housing and not for sale. Due to the unchanging social profile of the population, there are challenges regarding health-care provision: mainly a lack of doctors in private practice, who are not naturally attracted to such a population. It follows that local residents tend to go to the emergency departments of the local hospitals, instead of organising an appointment with the few ageing and overworked doctors who remain in the area.

128 S. Tron, « Contrat Urbain de Cohésion Sociale Programmation 2014, Note de Cadrage Territoriale – Etats-Unis – Lyon 8 » (Urban contract for social cohesion priority area programming 2014 – Etats-Unis neighbourhood), Mission Entrée Est Grand Lyon, Ville de Lyon, 2014. (Note: As mentioned above, this mission is in charge of implementing urban policy in the southeastern parts of Greater Lyon.)

9

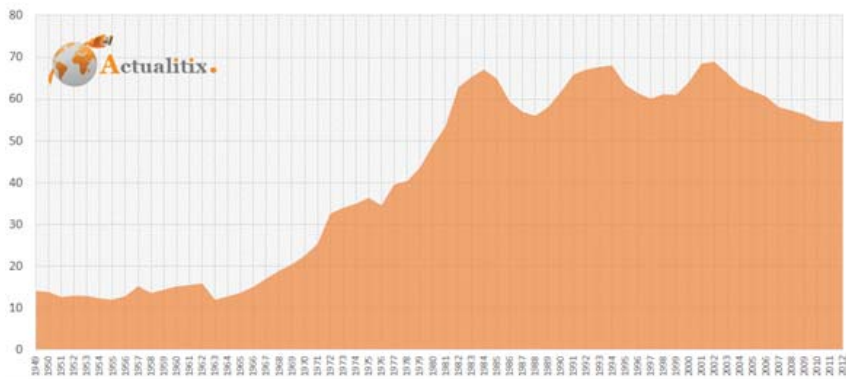
POLICING AND
SECURITY

This chapter covers the important issues of policing and security in the 8th *arrondissement* and the Lyon conurbation. The statistics show that crime is not increasing and may even be decreasing locally, and that most of the focus group members and key informants that we spoke to feel safe in Lyon. Specifically, the 8th *arrondissement* is not considered as a no-go area. However, several focus group members, especially among the older women, explained that they did not feel safe going out on the street after dark. Joy-riding and people driving or parking their cars or motorbikes on pavements were much disliked by local residents, especially along the Boulevard des Etats-Unis.

9.1 | DATA ON CRIME

While crime levels in France are at a higher level than in the 1960s or 1970s, there has been a decrease since the year 2000 (see Figure 5). Statistics for 2012 confirm that there was a reduction in violent crime across France over the last few years, but a substantial increase in burglaries.¹²⁹

FIGURE 5. CRIME LEVELS FOR FRANCE, 1949–2012



Source: Actualitix blog, at

www.actualitix.com/taux-de-criminalite-en-france-depuis-1949-a-2012.html

(accessed 25 March 2014). Horizontal axis: time (in years). Vertical axis: crime rate in per-cent.

Note that levels in the 2010s were higher than in the 1960s or 1970s but lower than most of the 1980s or 1990s.

Lyon is generally viewed as a less dangerous city than Nice, Lille or Marseille, and on par with smaller cities such as Bordeaux or Nantes. In this respect, as in many others, Lyon appears to be middle-of-the-road. This impression is difficult to confirm with

¹²⁹ « Criminalité et délinquance constatées en France – Année 2012 » (Crime and misdemeanours reported in France – 2012), La documentation française, at www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/rapports-publics/134000490-criminalite-et-delinquance-constatees-en-france-annee-2012 (accessed 20 October 2014) (hereafter, « Criminalité et délinquance constatées en France – Année 2012 »).

information from official sources, which give detailed data on the precise number of different crimes, but no standardised rate, except at the regional or department level. In this respect, the Rhône-Alpes region had a rate of 6.8 instances of “deliberate physical violence” per 1,000 people. This is slightly higher than the national average (7.8 per 1,000) and represents a 4.4 percent increase over the previous year. At the department level (Département du Rhône), the statistic is 9.5 per 1,000 inhabitants (the French average remaining at 7.8 per 1,000) with a 0.8 percent increase over the previous year.¹³⁰ Rates at the city level may be found on the website of *L'Express* magazine. According to this source, in 2012 the rate of violent crime was around 12 per 1,000 inhabitants in Lyon, compared with 23 in Marseille, 19 in Nice and 16 in Paris.¹³¹

According to the same source, the incidence of theft, burglaries or damage to property (regrouped under the heading of “offences against property”) is also less bad in Lyon than in other major cities in France, with Lyon at around 55 events per 1,000 inhabitants compared with 70 in Marseille, 75 in Nice and 67 in Paris.¹³²

Because crime is monitored at the national level, most statistics relate to the departments. In the Rhône department, the statistics have been the subject of concern, as reported in January 2013 by the independent website Lyon Info:¹³³

“The statistics are not good,” admits the Préfet du Rhône [head of the department], Jean-François Carencu. In what strikes one as an extremely rare event, at the press conference, the prefecture refused to communicate the general crime rate, only giving details about a few not too alarming subsets of the data. And for good reason: after a 1.45 percent decrease in 2011, crime levels have started to rise again. Some 118,941 cases were booked by police services last year, according to data found by Lyon Info, up from 116,573 in 2011, meaning an increase of 2 percent. The main cause is theft and burglaries.

Although Lyon is not considered a dangerous city, especially compared with Marseille, several worrying aspects were mentioned by the focus group on policing and security.

130 « Criminalité et délinquance constatées en France – Année 2012 ».

131 *L'Express*, « Insécurité: le palmarès des villes de France » (Crime: the ranking of French cities), 20 November 2013, at www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/insecurite-le-palmares-des-villes-de-france_1300974.html (accessed 22 October 2014) (hereafter, *L'Express*, « Insécurité »).

132 *L'Express*, « Insécurité ».

133 « Vols et cambriolages en hausse. Exclu : les vrais chiffres de la délinquance dans le Rhône » (An increase in theft and burglaries. Excluded: the true statistics on crime in the Rhône department), published 28 January 2013, at www.lyon-info.fr/?Exclu-les-vrais-chiffres-de-la (accessed 25 March 2014).

9.2 | ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

The focus group participants established a hierarchy between different activities that affected their sense of security. In particular, they drew a distinction between crime and antisocial behaviour (*incivilités*), which includes excessive noise, rude language, speeding and littering. By and large it was at the level of *incivilités* that the focus group participants unanimously claimed that not enough was being done. There was, however, an intermediate level between these *incivilités* and dangerous crime. This was a level including vandalism, petty theft, deliberately damaging cars, etc. The participants recognised that not acting against *incivilités* might leave the door open for more serious crime.

In the focus group on the media, several participants also mentioned noise and antisocial behaviour, rather than crime, as being the main problem in their area. A couple living in the Etats-Unis sector said that the situation became critical during the summer months: “They park their cars in our inner courtyards with the music on, full blast, especially during the summer.”

Another participant said he was worried about car races taking place on the streets of the city during the night. This was considered to be a recent phenomenon, which had become more prevalent since around 2010. The main worry was that this was allowed to happen with perceived police absence or, worse, indifference. Participants wanted to see increased police presence in local areas, especially around the lower half of the 8th *arrondissement* (including Etats-Unis and Moulin-à-Vent, bordering on Vénissieux).

According to Renée, a long-term resident of the Etats-Unis area:

I think that doing that (i.e. increasing local police presence) will help handle the problems that are already here. But there will always be problems, and they will become harder and harder to handle. So if we have less and less police, well, that will be the end of it. We will just have to give up.

More generally, participants in the policing and security focus group agreed that things had taken a turn for the worse around five or ten years ago, especially for Monique, who had been living in the area for over 20 years. She complained that children as young as five or six years of age were rude and offensive:

Parents have to be more present. Nowadays, from the moment they are born, these kids are treated like kings.¹³⁴ They do what they want. If they want a pair of trainers, their parents – even if they're on the dole – will find a way and they'll get their trainers. They are out of doors until 1 or 2 in the morning. They are still young, their parents are not tending to them at all. They feel they are in control ...

134 The expression used was *enfant-roi* (child-king).

When I get into an argument with them, my son says: don't say anything because you don't know what can happen, they know who I am and all. And I say: Are you afraid? Do you shut up? Well I did not shut up, I do not shut up.

The fear of being labelled racist hindered Monique from challenging their behaviour; however, she emphasised that this was not about ethnicity but about poor discipline; she went on to note an example of poor parenting and indiscipline in a school where she said “the children are French”:

One of my friends works at a private school where almost all the children are French. For example, you see one of the children shitting on the floor. The mother, instead of yelling at him, she breaks out laughing. Laughing, as if she was clapping really. And the children answer with Shut up, Piss off and so on and the mothers don't even answer ... I also know people who have had trouble with the social services because they yelled at their daughter – that's not too bad either.

Kevin (aged 28), one of the only men in the group, summed up the discussion in a single word: “authority”. Indeed, focus group participants were unanimous that more needed to be done to improve the education of children (and their parents).

The themes of respect and of lack of consideration for institutions came through in several focus groups. For example, Geneviève and Hélène, two participants in the focus group discussion on housing were particularly vocal. Their comments also illustrate the links between different domains, how problems around housing (noise, etc.) connect to schools and education.

Geneviève:

What has changed a lot in people's mentalities, foreign or not, is the notion of respect. Respect for the place where you are, respect for the place where you live. It's as if everyone had a right to everything. It's about all the places where we live and where we go. This applies to everybody, also our children, however white they are, however high or low in the social ladder. We have lost the concept of respecting the places where we happen to be, whether they belong to us or not. Simply asking ourselves if we have the right to do whatever we are doing. This respect thing has really, really changed. Now it's: if he is being noisy, so can I! He is like that, so I can be like that too!

Hélène:

*You get insulted if you say anything. I try talking to them nicely, calmly, because I am on the housing committee, well, we get insulted. I am going to f*** your race, I'm going to, well ... All those expressions, aggressive, threatening.*

Geneviève:

It's all about respect. Towards places, towards people. There is no more respect for age, there is no respect for (social) condition. So, is that more at an educational level? Anyway, as far as schools are concerned, people only have rights. There are no more obligations towards schools, for parents' associations, for schoolchildren themselves, towards teachers. There are only rights towards institutions, towards public spaces. We have the right, yes we have the right. But to counter that, you just don't have the obligations or respect any more. No more saying: we are lucky to have this, so let's respect it. We have lost an awful lot.

Focus group discussions, further confirmed by roundtable discussions, criticised the fact that neighbourhood police forces (the *police de proximité* which existed from 1998 to around 2003) had been axed due to budgetary concerns. When elderly citizens find youths hanging around in their alleyway, they do not know what to do.

There was a very strong demand for increased police presence, preferably on foot, at all times, including at night. It was felt that this would act as a deterrent while reassuring local inhabitants. This was one of the strongest demands from participants, and a unanimous one. The participants considered that many problems and ill-feeling are linked to the absence of state authority in public spaces.

Road safety emerged as an important problem of security, especially for senior citizens. Many residents felt that speeding was too common on the major thoroughfares of the city, as were cars that did not stop for pedestrians at zebra crossings. Due to lack of enforcement, local residents felt powerless in their own streets in front of what they thought was reckless driving, parking on pavements, etc. Because the population is ageing, this is also seen as a problem of social cohesion: it is mainly young men who ride fast cars, motorbikes and bicycles, and it is mainly older and elderly men and women who face the consequences.

9.3 | CHALLENGES OF SECURITY

Participants did not identify any no-go areas that they would avoid due to fears of crime or feelings of insecurity. Almost all study participants said that they felt safe walking around Lyon.

Insecurity was gendered: several of the female participants in the policing and security focus group said they did not venture out of their homes after 7 p.m. and one even referred to there being what she felt was in effect a curfew. This fear of being out in the evenings was also found in the participants in the focus group with older women. Security was a key theme in that group; one participant was very vocal about there being too much *laissez-aller* (carelessness) in society; and another participant asked

to be accompanied home by a member of the research team because by the time the focus group discussion had ended it was after dark.

It is not clear whether the sociological mix of people on the streets changes significantly after 7–8 p.m. and whether this change is so great as to represent a risk (or a risk of social exclusion) for certain groups of people. The perceptions of safety can also be mediated by age: several senior citizens in the focus groups said that they were happy with their living conditions during the day, but that at night (starting in the early evening) they felt that the city, or at least their local area, was taken over by unpleasant activities such as loud music, drinking, smoking, fast driving, possible drug dealing, as well as informal barbecues, parking on pavements, etc.

So, while there is little concern among participants about serious crime, there is a diffuse feeling that the state, city and police services do not in fact exercise their authority during the evening and night-time. The lack of a visible police presence in the Etats-Unis area (where there is no police station) was a recurring theme; participants wanted to see more police officers on the streets, especially on foot.

Another aspect mentioned in several focus groups was the lack of restaurants or cafés where local people would be likely to go. The first part of the problem was the limited number of such places, another was that the type of places (mainly fast-food outlets) was not adapted to the aspirations of many local people; finally, the few available cafés were often closed during the afternoons and evenings. It is possible that this lack of informal meeting-places might be linked to a diffuse impression of insecurity in the 8th *arrondissement*.

One point which was briefly discussed during one of the focus groups and which surfaced again during the roundtable discussions was closed-circuit cameras in public spaces. There was no consensus about whether this was a good idea, although most participants were in favour of at least trying to see if this would improve the situation. The roundtable participants were informed that a pilot project with several cameras was due to start in the Etats-Unis area before the end of 2014, so it should soon be possible to evaluate whether this approach is useful in such a setting.

For a long time, the traditional French model for public security and crime prevention was heavily centralised, but new models of governance have emerged in recent years: various types of local partnerships and cooperation that use a contractual approach. The new governance models appearing in the field of crime prevention combine top-down (hierarchical) and horizontal (i.e. dialogue-based) elements.¹³⁵

135 Sebastian Roché, "Prevention and Security: A New Governance Model for France through a Contract-Based Territorial Approach", *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (2005).

The local security contract (*contrat local de sécurité*)¹³⁶ is precisely such a contract-based approach to prevention and security. Based on a law issued in 1997, the document defines security objectives for a given territory (a commune or a group of communes). It begins with an evaluation of the current security situation, defines who the relevant stakeholders are, then an implementation plan with all the stakeholders is drawn up, over a given time scale. The local security contract for Lyon was signed in 2008 by local and national stakeholders, the Minister of the Interior, the Mayor of Lyon, the prosecutor, the Rector of the Academy of Lyon, President of the General Council since 1999, and is valid until 2014. It works through a local council for security and crime prevention, which is appointed by the mayor. There are five priority intervention axes: social prevention, preventing repeat offences, assistance to victims including female victims of violence, access to mediation and legal services, and situation prevention. These axes operate through measures such as improving coordination between local and national police, allowing social workers to intervene in police station premises, increasing closed-circuit television surveillance and creating specific access points for female victims of violence (these are desks with trained NGO personnel, situated on the premises of local mayors' offices in the 3rd, 5th, 8th and 9th *arrondissements* of Lyon).¹³⁷ However, the contract does not contain provisions for reinforcing visible police presence on foot in priority areas.

This process was being overhauled in 2013–2014. The future strategy will still be defined by the local council for security and crime prevention, but may or may not include the formal signing of a local security contract. The policy for Lyon will be in keeping with the national strategy, which has three main axes: prevention measures addressed at youth considered to be at risk of being involved in crime (preventing first offences, preventing repeat offences); preventing domestic violence and violence against women; and improving assistance to victims and ensuring the peace. NGOs are invited to participate in implementation. Indeed, the Lyon municipality issued a call for projects at the end of 2013, with the following priorities:¹³⁸

- prevention of first offences, directed at young people aged 12–25 considered to be at risk of delinquency;
- prevention of repeat offences;
- preventive actions in schools;
- mediation;

136 See www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_thematiques/prevention/cls (accessed 22 October 2014).

137 « Accueil, écoute et orientation pour les femmes victimes de violences » (Welcome, a listening ear and practical help for women who are victims of violence), at www.lyon.fr/page/accueil-ecoute-et-orientation-pour-les-femmes-victimes-de-violences.html (accessed 22 October 2014).

138 Politique de la ville, « Appel à projets 2014 – Conseil Local de Sécurité et de Prévention de la Délinquance » (Urban policy. Call for projects 2014. Local council for security and crime prevention), at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/appels_a_projets/copy_of_ap2013/?aIndex=3 (accessed 25 March 2014).

- improved assistance to victims (especially women);
- improving access to legal services and to the legal system generally.

A positive effect on security may also be expected from various social projects for young people which are being set up under the *politique de la ville*. In particular, a specific organisation has been created to financially support projects for young people, aiming to improve social cohesion in priority areas.¹³⁹ These include the programme Ville-Vie-Vacances (City-Life-Holidays, VVV) which enables young people from priority areas to participate in projects in various settings, including a handful of development projects in Africa.¹⁴⁰ The programme is coordinated by an NGO called Kyrnea, based in Paris.¹⁴¹ As pointed out during the roundtable discussions, it should be emphasised that this is a national programme and has no specific link to Lyon.

In one of the focus groups, a participant suggested a “Charter of decent behaviour”, with enthusiastic endorsement from the other participants. Such a charter would be defined by the citizens themselves and would contain the dos and don’ts that enable people to live in harmony with each other.

The participants in the focus group used the term “French values” in relation to such a charter. However, participants in the roundtable discussions suggested that it should be described in more inclusive terms, like “Charter for living together” (*Charte du vivre ensemble*).

139 Politique de la ville, « Sécurité prévention » (Urban policy, security and prevention), at www.polville.lyon.fr/polville/sections/fr/les_thematiques/prevention (accessed 25 March 2014).

140 Forum of the International Solidarity Organisations with Migrant Roots (Forum des Organisations de Solidarité Internationale issues des Migrations), at www.forim.net/contenu/les-chantiers-d_percentC3_percentA9changes-de-jeunes (accessed 25 March 2014).

141 See www.passeursdimages.fr (accessed 16 April 2014).

10

PARTICIPATION AND
CITIZENSHIP

This chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of citizenship in France, noting that political rights are seen as a privilege of French citizenship. It then sets out some of the mechanisms that have been developed for consultation, and focuses on the challenges created by the complexity of the French administrative system. Both stakeholders and focus group participants agreed that the French political and administrative system is too complex and has too many layers.

10.1 | POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In France citizenship is not only a legal concept defining the rights and obligations of citizens towards the state, but also a social and moral concept.¹⁴² Political rights are traditionally linked to having French nationality. This link has been weakened due to European influence, especially the Maastricht treaty of 1992 and the revision of the French constitution to allow citizens of other European Union states to participate in municipal and European elections, and to stand for election. Foreign nationals from outside the EU cannot vote in elections.

The most recent were the municipal elections in March 2014, in which the centre-right UMP party won (over the PS), and there was an increase in the votes for the FN. The Mermoz area in the 8th *arrondissement* had one of the lowest turnouts in the country, with 72.3 percent abstention, compared with 49.3 percent abstention in Lyon as a whole and 36.5 percent abstention nationally.¹⁴³ This might be considered as an indication that the people in the area feel marginalised. The turnout in Mermoz may also have been affected by the ongoing regeneration programme, which means that many residents know they will be leaving the area in the near future and so may feel less local attachment and therefore less inclination to vote than people who will carry on living in the same place. Without reaching the level of Mermoz, another voting station in an underprivileged part of the 8th *arrondissement*, the Le Grand Trou/Moulin-à-Vent/Route de Vienne sector, also had a high abstention rate of 65.1 percent. Abstention rates around the Etats-Unis area varied between 50 percent and 60 percent.¹⁴⁴ Two reactions from local residents, who were responding to an informal consultation conducted on the street by independent bloggers Rue89, provided an interesting insight into local explanations for low turnout: “Some have a big car, others have nothing to eat. When you have to fight for your next meal, you don’t think about going to vote.”

¹⁴² « Qui est citoyen en France? » (Who is a citizen in France?), at www.vie-publique.fr/decouverte-institutions/citoyen/citoyennete/citoyen-france/tous-habitants-france-sont-ils-citoyens-francais.html (accessed 30 March 2014).

¹⁴³ « Abstention à Mermoz (Lyon 8e) : tout un quartier n'est pas allé voter » (Abstention in Mermoz, Lyon 8th *arrondissement*: a whole neighbourhood did not vote), at www.rue89lyon.fr/2014/03/27/abstention-mermoz-lyon-8e-quartier-nest-pas-alle-voter (accessed 16 April 2014).

¹⁴⁴ An interactive map can be consulted (but not printed) on the website of the Rue89 blog.

Or, an apparently widely held conviction: “If people had gone to vote, they would have voted for the Front National.”

The general political situation in Lyon is similar to the rest of France. Although there are many small parties, the system is basically bipartisan, with the PS on one side and the UMP on the other. These two large parties together capture over 60 percent of the vote in most elections.¹⁴⁵ There are also two medium-sized parties, the Green Party and the far-right FN. Whereas the Green Party has been in a coalition relationship with the PS for several years, the FN is not linked in any way to the UMP at the national level. At the local level, a few individual UMP mayors have been heard supporting an FN candidate against a Socialist candidate, but this has almost invariably created uproar. According to the daily newspaper *Le Monde*:¹⁴⁶

UMP and FN are always repeating the same message: there will be no national agreement between the two parties. However, links do exist between the right and the far right.

Many prominent centre-right politicians have taken stances against the FN. One was Jacques Chirac, who created the Republican Front (*Front républicain*) in 1986; another was the so-called firewall or *cordon sanitaire* set up in 2002. Both of these drew a firm line between constitutionally correct parties on one side and the FN on the other. However, recent UMP politics has been more on the side of *ni-ni* (neither-neither), meaning that when an FN candidate runs against a centre-left candidate, the UMP remains neutral. According to the press, many elected members of the UMP are in favour of an official alliance with the FN, and the voting base of the party would seem to be in favour of such a move.¹⁴⁷

In recent years, the Lyon area has always voted for the two largest parties, the UMP and the PS, both of which are close to the centre of the political spectrum. Within the city and east of the city (e.g. Vénissieux, Villeurbanne), citizens usually vote for the centre-left; in the leafy western suburbs, they tend to favour the centre-right.

In the city of Lyon, the Socialists remain in power. Municipal elections in March 2014 confirmed the position of the mayor, Gérard Collomb, in a situation where the Socialists lost several other cities in France to the UMP. The detailed results of the

145 “France – Political parties. European election database”, at www.nsd.uib.no/european_election_database/country/france/parties.html (accessed 4 March 2014).

146 « UMP-FN: quand les digues se fissurent » (UMP-FN: when the barriers give way), *Le Monde*, 11 November 2013, at www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/11/18/ump-fn-quand-les-digues-se-fissurent_3515492_823448.html (accessed 23 November 2014).

147 Samuel Laurent, « UMP et FN, une relation faite de cordon sanitaire et d’ambiguïtés » (UMP and National Front: a relationship made of a sanitary cordon and ambiguity), *Le Monde*, 24 April 2013, at www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/04/23/ump-et-fn-une-relation-faite-de-cordon-sanitaire-et-d-ambiguites_3164028_823448.html (accessed 15 April 2014).

second round were: Socialists 50.64 percent, UMP 34.24 percent, FN 10.34 percent and the Left Front (*Front de gauche*, FDG) (far left) 4.78 percent.¹⁴⁸ The mayor of Lyon was subsequently re-elected as mayor of the Greater Lyon conurbation by a comfortable margin.¹⁴⁹

In the 8th *arrondissement*, the local Socialist mayor Christian Coulon was also re-elected, but the FN scored over 18 percent of the vote, the highest result of all the *arrondissements* in Lyon (although not the highest in the conurbation).^{150, 151} This may be a surprise because up to now the FN has not had a very firm footing in Lyon compared with the northern and southern reaches of the country (around Lille and Marseille).

There has been some misunderstanding about the vote for the far right (but officially recognised) political party, the FN. After the presidential elections in 2012 in which the FN took more than 18 percent of the vote, some journalists and sociologists were quick to lay the blame on underprivileged white urban populations, but it soon emerged that in many of these areas the votes for the FN were fewer than the national average. After media interest died down, maps showed that the highest levels of support for the FN were in areas over 20 km from major city centres, and mainly in the eastern half of the country (which includes Lyon). In general, the FN received far more support in small towns and rural and semi-rural areas than in the major cities (including their suburbs).

This has been the case for nearly all large cities in France. Thus the support for the FN in Lyon is lower than the national average. At the 2012 presidential election, the score of Marine Le Pen (daughter of the FN founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen) in Lyon was 9.87 percent compared with 18.03 percent at the national level. It can be seen in Figure 6 that the FN vote is more prevalent in the eastern half of the country. Careful analysis of the map shows that FN voters congregate around, but not in, Paris and Lyon: both cities are light patches surrounded by darker areas.

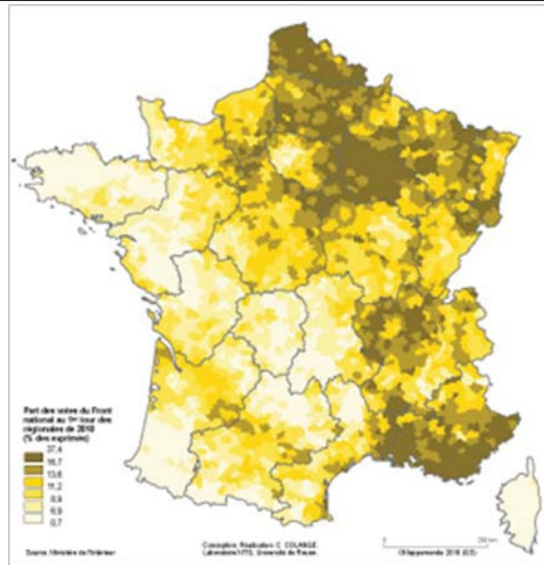
148 « Gérard Collomb réélu maire de Lyon: la carte des résultats, les réactions sur Rue89Lyon » (Gérard Collomb re-elected Mayor of Lyon: results map, commentary on blog Rue89), at www.rue89lyon.fr/2014/03/30/gerard-collomb-maire-lyon-suivez-resultats-sur-rue89lyon (accessed 18 April 2014).

149 « Gérard Collomb gagne la présidence du Grand Lyon » (Gérard Collomb to chair the Greater Lyon area), at www.lemonde.fr/municipales/article/2014/04/16/gerard-collomb-gagne-la-presidence-du-grand-lyon_4402655_1828682.html (accessed 15 April 2014).

150 Official results on the website of the Ministry of the Interior: see www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Municipales/elecresult__MN2014/%28path%29/MN2014/069/069123.html (accessed 4 November 2014).

151 Detailed results: PS 53.3 percent, UMP 28.57 percent, FN 18.13 percent. Source: blog Rue89.

FIGURE 6. MAP OF FRANCE AT THE 2010 REGIONAL ELECTIONS, SHOWING STRONG REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE FN VOTE

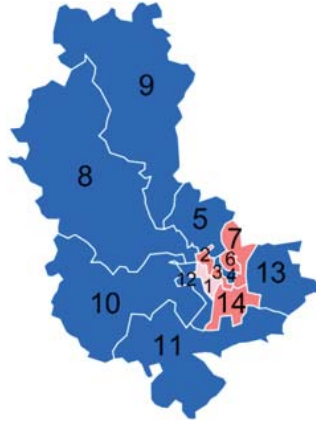


Note: The darker areas representing strong support for the FN in the eastern half of the country include areas around Lille, Paris, Lyon and Marseille. However, the centres of Paris and Lyon have less FN support: a white patch for Paris and a yellow patch for Lyon can be seen, surrounded by darker areas. The northernmost yellow dot on the map corresponds to the city of Lille, also surrounded by darker areas.

Source: Ministry of the Interior; Map: C. Colange, Labo MTG, University of Rouen.¹⁵²

152 Céline Colange, « Le vote Front national dans les régions françaises: le retour vers un vote d'adhésion » (The National Front vote in the French regions: a new adhesion to FN values), Mappemonde no. 98. For a higher-resolution map where the cities can be easily identified, see <http://mappemonde.mgm.fr/num26/lieux/lieux10201.html> (accessed 4 November 2014).

FIGURE 7. ELECTORAL WARDS FOR THE RHÔNE DEPARTMENT FOR THE 2012 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS¹⁵³



Note: The area including wards 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 (as well as 4 which is barely visible, between wards 3, 6 and 14) represent the city of Lyon and adjacent areas. Colours represent the most voted-for political parties (Socialist Party: pink and red; centre-right UMP: blue). It can be seen that urban areas vote mainly for the centre-left and the more rural areas vote mainly for the centre-right. The FN did not reach first or second position in any ward.¹⁵⁴

Source: map: Starus,¹⁵⁵ Creative Commons.¹⁵⁶

According to an article published in 2013 in the Swiss newspaper *Le Courrier*, Lyon and in particular the old part of the city (*le Vieux Lyon*) may have become a rallying-point for political movements further right than the National Front. One of the most significant of these is *Traboule* (the *traboules* are passages in the old quarter of the city, which form an important part of the identity of the city). Almost all the other groups mentioned in the article are very small and either partly or completely underground.¹⁵⁷

Participants in the focus groups did not express support for the FN, although a few comments were made by older men engaged in conversation while seeking recruits for the focus groups. These men would not come to the focus groups, but they did complain about the living conditions in the area and said they were convinced it was

153 Élections législatives de 2012 dans le Rhône (2012 legislative elections in the Rhone Department), at http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89lections_%C3%A9gislatives_de_2012_dans_le_Rh%C3%B4ne (accessed 24 November 2014).

154 « Elections législatives: Assemblée Nationale 10–17 juin 2012 » (National parliamentary elections 10–17 June 2012), official results of the National Assembly (parliament): see <http://www.elections-legislatives.fr/circonscriptions/069.asp#?acirconscription> (accessed 22 November 2014).

155 « Résultats des élections législatives du Rhône en 2012 » (Parliamentary election results in the Rhone department, 2012), Author: Starus, on Wikimedia, at http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d4/R%C3%A9sultats_de_s_%C3%A9lections_%C3%A9gislatives_du_Rh%C3%B4ne_en_2012.png (accessed 22 November 2014).

156 Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 3.0 Unported licence (CC BY SA 3.0).

157 J.B. Mouttet, “Le Vieux Lyon, laboratoire de l’extrême droite” (The Old Town of Lyon, a hothouse for the far right), *Le Courrier* (Geneva), 18 February 2013, at www.lecourrier.ch/jean_baptiste_mouttet (accessed 15 October 2013).

linked to uncontrolled immigration. “You are not going to prevent me from voting Front National,” was a comment made by one.

10.2 | CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION

In Lyon, it is common for local authorities to hold public consultations. Usually these events are organised by the local mayor’s office (8th *arrondissement* town hall). They typically bring together around 20–30 participants.

As well, there are the neighbourhood councils (*Conseils de quartier*), which bring together local residents on a regular basis for discussions. These are not official committees: everyone is invited to come, people are not elected to them nor do they vote on anything; they are open to all inhabitants whatever their nationality. These councils play an important role at the micro-level, especially in the city of Lyon where there are 34 of them. They are a key institution for the transfer of information to and between residents, and help create and maintain social networks in the various areas. Meetings typically consist of 10–20 people, on topics ranging from bicycle lanes to green spaces, dustbin collection, local road safety, parking, cultural events, etc. These councils can be used as sounding boards for projects organised by the local authorities. Conversely, citizens can use them in order to discuss and promote ideas of their own.

Throughout Lyon, it is estimated that around 2,500 inhabitants participate in such councils on a more or less regular basis. In the 8th *arrondissement*, there are six neighbourhood councils: Bachut-Transvaal, Laennec-Mermoz, La Plaine-Santy, Monplaisir, Grand-Trou/Moulin-à-Vent/Petite Guille and Etats-Unis. As well as these official opportunities for consultation and participation, there are also several thousand NGOs in Lyon¹⁵⁸ which provide space where citizens can meet each other.

10.3 | PARTICIPANTS’ EXPERIENCE OF CONSULTATION MECHANISMS

For some focus group participants, there was some doubt at the beginning about what participatory democracy was about. Many felt that it was just a lot of talk without anything actually happening. The few contacts that participants had had with local government employees had been about applying for social housing.

158 In France, not-for-profit associations are defined under a law which was passed in 1901 and are often referred to by the shorthand “1901 associations”. There are many civil society organisations in Lyon. The central mayor’s office puts the number at around 2,500 for the city and nearly 300 for the 8th *arrondissement*. See www.lyon.fr/page/vous-etes/associations.html (accessed 4 November 2014).

A key barrier to civic engagement was the complexity of the different layers of administration in France. All participants agreed that there are too many layers, although there was no agreement on which should be removed or integrated with others. The expression used was that of a *millefeuille* (flaky pastry), that is, a stack of strata from the national level down to the *arrondissement*. This was referred to as *démocratie participative* (literally, participatory democracy)¹⁵⁹ in the focus group on participation and citizenship. Here is an exchange between participants which we found particularly evocative:¹⁶⁰

- Bernard: You understand why we pay lots of taxes? We have an administrative millefeuille! 161*
- Eva: Seven administrative levels, that's just too much when you need to get something done.*
- Florence: What slows everything down is that the budgets are spread too thinly 162 over all those bits and pieces.*
- Bruno: The real problem is that the different levels are represented by the same number of people, each of which can give an opinion.*
- Kevin: We are talking about participatory democracy. The problem with the millefeuille is that each person is dealing with his or her own personal interest. We should be all working for the common good.*

The different administrative levels make it difficult practically to know who to approach when there is an issue needing attention. An example was given of a pavement which was divided in two parallel parts managed by different parts of the administration.

France has a complex political and administrative structure. This is well-known and successive national governments have vowed to do something about it, with limited success up to the present. Lyon as a major city presents a challenge which may be solved over the next few years: a metropolisation process¹⁶³ initiated in 2010 should

¹⁵⁹ *Démocratie participative* is a much-used expression in French.

¹⁶⁰ All names have been changed.

¹⁶¹ The *millefeuille* is a cake made of several layers of pastry (*pâte feuilletée*), alternating with layers of pastry cream. The expression is used figuratively to refer to the layers of the French political and administrative system.

¹⁶² The word she used was *saupoudrage*, a word used in cooking meaning sprinkling or scattering (from *poudre*, powder).

¹⁶³ « Les projets de pôles métropolitains » (The Metropolitan Cluster projects). See <http://www.poles-metropolitains.fr/cartographie-des-poles> (accessed 4 November 2014).

ultimately allow Lyon to break off from the north of the Rhône department, taking the southern half of the department with it.¹⁶⁴

Although local government at the *arrondissement* level was considered to be a good idea, participants noted that the *arrondissements* did not have enough power or funds to carry out really important programmes.

10.4 | CHALLENGES OF PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENSHIP

The analysis of the discussions in the focus groups suggested that participation is not perceived as a problem by most people in the study. Some did indeed plead for more local governance, but by and large there was no strong movement in favour of changing the status quo. This may be considered as surprising, in light of the sharp criticism of politics and politicians nationally.

Many information initiatives already exist in Lyon. There is a regular newsletter that everyone receives in their post which quite a few participants claimed to read on a regular basis. The system of having mayor's offices in each of the nine *arrondissements* allows citizens to look at all the information on offer and several of our participants said they used this opportunity on a regular basis.

Sometimes, however, the consultations are used to provide information to residents and hear their responses to decisions that have already been taken rather than to elicit their views ahead of any final decision. Key stakeholders interviewed for the report admitted that public consultations were often organised in a top-down manner.

A structural change is occurring with the arrival of new families in the Etats-Unis area, a trend which has been accelerating since 2010 and which might explain some of the problems with citizen engagement. The CUCS programme for 2014 noted that civic participation in priority areas rests on the shoulders of a small number of people who are becoming older and tired. This was confirmed by one of the participants in one of the Open Society Foundations focus groups. Henriette, a woman in her early 60s living in the Etats-Unis area, said she was fed up of always having to do the work for everyone else. "And you can completely forget about men ever doing anything," she added.

Finally, many participants were disappointed that there was a shortage of places where local people could meet each other. There were too few cafés and restaurants, and even fewer places where you could gather without paying. A few such places did exist, for example the social centres (*centres sociaux*), but they usually closed around 6 p.m.

164 Martin Vanier, « La métropolisation ou la fin annoncée des territoires? » (Metropolisation or the end of municipal boundaries?), *Métropolitiques*, 22 April 2013, at <http://www.metropolitiques.eu/La-metropolisation-ou-la-fin.html> (accessed 31 March 2014).



ROLE OF THE MEDIA

This chapter examines perceptions of the media and its coverage of Lyon. There is one daily newspaper, *Le Progrès*, in Lyon, of which only a few focus group participants and stakeholders were regular readers. But the mayor's newsletter seems to function very well, to the extent that it might be playing the role occupied by local newspapers in countries in northern Europe.

According to readership statistics,¹⁶⁵ around 43 percent of the adult French population read a newspaper on any given day, which is lower than the other countries participating in this research series.¹⁶⁶ According to Elvestad and Blekesaune,¹⁶⁷ there is a higher number of newspaper readers in Nordic countries than in the south of Europe. Based on the relationship between media system and political system, they distinguish three models of media systems for western Europe, of which France belongs to the Mediterranean or polarised pluralist model. The differences between the various models can be explained as follows:

*The strength of the local press in northern Europe has been explained by its role in small self-governed municipalities ... and the fact that this medium is the core communication channel in this region, while people in southern Europe have other social and cultural networks that fulfil this function.*¹⁶⁸

The authors suggest that France to a certain degree occupies an intermediate position between northern and southern European countries. France also stands out from other countries because people's educational level has little influence on time spent reading newspapers. Furthermore, the French spend more time reading than other Latin countries.

The Open Society Foundations' research used data on newspaper reading from the European Social Survey. Using a multilevel analysis technique, newspaper reading was analysed from the perspective of both individual and national characteristics. Individual differences such as age, gender, educational level and household income explain differences in newspaper reading, but these variables do not have the same effect in all countries. Some of the variance could also be explained as national, as can be seen in Table 2.

165 See Audipresse ONE 2012, at www.audipresse.fr/node.php?id=1220 (accessed 30 March 2014).

166 These countries are the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Sweden.

167 Eiri Elvestad and Arild Blekesaune, "Newspaper Readers in Europe. A Multilevel Study of Individual and National Differences", *European Journal of Communication* 23 (2008), p. 425 (hereafter, Elvestad and Blekesaune, "Newspaper Readers in Europe").

168 Elvestad and Blekesaune, "Newspaper Readers in Europe", p. 428.

TABLE 2. EUROPEAN READERSHIP DATA, 2008

Country	Newspaper reading (minutes/day)	Non-readers (%)
Ireland	53.4	12.8
UK	38.4	26.2
Sweden	36.9	8.1
Austria	36.8	15.6
Switzerland	35.5	9.0
Netherlands	35.0	19.9
Germany	33.3	19.4
Denmark	31.0	21.7
France	22.5	39.4
Belgium	22.8	45.7
Portugal	19.8	41.5
Spain	17.7	49.2
Greece	16.2	66.3

Source: Eiri Elvestad and Arild Blekesaune, "Newspaper Readers in Europe. A Multilevel Study of Individual and National Differences", *European Journal of Communication* 23 (2008), p. 425.

Lyon dominated the French press scene until 1914.¹⁶⁹ Today, the media and the press are concentrated in Paris. Participants in the media focus group confirmed that the French media landscape remains dominated by the national media and the three leading national newspapers, which are *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *Libération*. Three more, which have less influence across the country because they are specialised respectively geographically, politically and religiously are *Le Parisien* (as its name suggests, Paris-oriented), *L'Humanité* (linked to the Communist Party) and *La Croix* (linked to Catholic communities).

In Lyon there is only one daily newspaper with substantial standing, *Le Progrès*, with around 216,000 copies printed every day over the 1 July 2013–30 June 2014 period, down by 3 percent on the previous 12-month period (July 2012–June 2013).¹⁷⁰ However, few focus group participants read it on a regular basis. *Lyon Capitale* is another

169 Stacy Gosselin, "Quand Lyon était la capitale de la presse" (When Lyon was the capital of the press), *Lyon Capitale*, 16 April 2013.

170 See OJD (official statistics agency for the press in France), at <http://www.ojd.com/Support/le-progres-la-tribune-le-progres> (accessed 4 November 2014.)

important publication locally, but it is only published once a month with an estimated circulation of around 30,000.¹⁷¹

According to recent statistics,¹⁷² *Le Progrès* is read by 853,000 people every day. Slightly more men than women read the daily press in general (446,000 compared with 407,000 for *Le Progrès*). This may be compared with the far higher readerships of the national newspapers: *Le Parisien* (2.5 million), the sports newspaper *L'Equipe* (2.2 million), *Le Monde* (1.9 million) and *Le Figaro* (1.2 million). There are also a number of free newspapers available across France with very large readerships: *20 Minutes* and *Direct-Matin* are read by around 4.2 million readers each, while *Metro* has 3 million readers.

Among the nine participants in the focus group on the role of the media, only two read *Le Progrès* every day, one read it once a week and the remaining six never read it at all. None read any other daily newspapers either. The most popular source of information was the internet, which all nine of them used on a regular basis. All participants said that they never or hardly ever listened to the radio.

Television holds a central position, dominated by national stations, especially the top four – TF1, France 2, M6, France 3 – which together account for over half of total television viewing time in France.¹⁷³ In the Lyon area, local television is represented by Télé Lyon Métropole,¹⁷⁴ which was not watched on a regular basis by most of the people in our focus group on the role of the media.

Official direct communications play an important role, through leaflets which the local authorities send to residents. This local information is vital, especially regarding urban development projects. The focus group agreed that there is a lot of information on major projects such as Confluence, a development south of the Perrache train station (the confluence is where the two main rivers, the Rhône and the Saône, meet). However, there is not enough communication at the neighbourhood level for small programmes which are more likely to change the lives of those who live close to them.

According to Odile, a woman in her 30s who has been living in the Etats-Unis area for the past nine years:

In fact, if you really want to know what is going on in our arrondissement, you have to either go to the mayor's office, regularly, or to the public library. This

171 No official statistics could be found for this publication, probably because its circulation is too small for it to be included in nationwide monitoring schemes. The figure of 30,000 is according to Wikipedia: see http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lyon_Capitale (accessed 4 November 2014).

172 See Audipresse ONE 2012, at www.audipresse.fr/node.php?id=1220 (accessed 30 March 2014).

173 "Audiences janvier" (Viewing times in January), puremedias.com, at www.ozap.com/actu/audiences-janvier-tf1-stable-france-2-et-m6-en-hausse-les-nouvelles-chaines-s-installent/451465 (accessed 16 July 2014).

174 See tlm.fr (accessed 16 July 2014).

is for concerts and so on. They may not have everything, but they are usually well-informed, over Lyon as a whole. But if you want to know things about your arrondissement, or your closer neighbourhood, you must go to the mayor's office on a regular basis. There you have a whole load of leaflets but even there you can't find everything because that association (one that had just been discussed in the focus group), I had never heard about it. So I think it would be nice to have something at the level of the arrondissement.

Hector, an amateur sportsman in his mid-40s, who had spent his entire life in the Etats-Unis area, said:

What is missing is practical information about sport and cultural activities. I mean, what events are going to take place in what location in the 8th arrondissement. It's true, we don't know that, do we?

Participants in the focus group on media agreed that what they most needed was information on leisure activities, about cultural topics such as museums and concerts and about sports facilities such as swimming pools. For example, the only local swimming pool had burned down three years before, but the local media had very little to say about it and some of the focus group participants did not even know. However, this was identified (by the participants with children) as one of the most significant events in the area over the past few years.

Participants felt that the 8th *arrondissement* is hardly ever in the news. Almost all participants were critical of the local newspapers *Le Progrès* and *Lyon Capitale*, which were accused of paying little attention to local affairs. According to Anne (aged 49):

If you pick up a copy of Lyon Citoyen,¹⁷⁵ which you get in your letterbox every month, and if you go to the page about the 8th arrondissement, the photographs look really good. Those are the things that they want us to see, such as a school party. But the bad areas are never mentioned.

Most participants did not see this as an important problem, given that the 8th *arrondissement* is quite small. There was, nevertheless, support for grassroots journalists learning their trade by working in the 8th *arrondissement*. The idea of creating a local newspaper was aired, working only with volunteers. This was one of the only practical suggestions which emerged from any of the focus groups. However, when asked, none of the participants knew any journalists, nor were they willing to engage actively with such a project in the short term.

175 *Lyon Citoyen* is a monthly magazine produced by the municipality and distributed free to all households in the Lyon area. See www.lyon.fr/page/vie-municipale/lyon-citoyen.html (accessed 21 February 2014).

12

CONCLUSION

Although this research focused on an area in Lyon that may be regarded as marginalised and vulnerable, it found residents who were generally positive about the future and did not feel particularly disempowered. This may reflect the wider safety net of social protection that is provided by the state as well as the good position of Lyon compared with other cities in France. Participants were positive and proud of their city, and had a strong sense of belonging and identity.

Lyon as a city and the 8th *arrondissement* as a district are ethnically diverse. For most this diversity was not viewed as a problem, nor was it highlighted as a point of celebration; it was rather treated as a fact of living in the city. Several participants mentioned that they came from ethnically mixed backgrounds, or that they had married a person from an immigrant background. It seems that, in very many ways, a great deal of integration has already taken place in the population under study.

There was greater concern about the lack of socio-economic diversity in certain areas. To be more specific, informants were happy that the 8th *arrondissement* had a richer and a poorer neighbourhood (respectively Monplaisir to the north and Etats-Unis to the south), but were keen to point out that the southern part of the Etats-Unis, bordering on the Grand Trou and Moulin-à-Vent on one side and on Vénissieux on the other side, had too many people in socio-economic difficulties. There was strong support for policies of urban regeneration creating more socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods.

The pressures of low pay and the difficulties of meeting the costs of living were raised. Some pension-age participants continued to work to make ends and some were on the minimum wage and struggling. Some commented on the sense that there was a growing gap or fracture in France along socio-economic lines. They felt that decreasing value and respect were given to many low-paid jobs and that education focused on academic qualification at the expense of vocational training.

Despite very real problems in housing and unemployment (several participants were unemployed, many had had to fight hard to get social housing), most of the participants in the research were satisfied with the services they were receiving. This may in part be due to the fact that at the national level Lyon is considered a good place to be. Residents often compare their city with Paris (overcrowded) and Marseille (dangerous) and are therefore content with their situation.

The main areas of concern were security and safety, particularly arising from uncivil behaviour from young people and adults. This theme cut across a number of domains, including education and housing. Lack of respect was a recurring theme. The starkest finding was the number of older female participants who were worried about walking in the city and their district at night. This was linked to loud music, drinking, fast driving, drug dealing, informal barbecues, parking on pavements, etc. The desire to see more visible police on the streets, especially in the evenings, was reiterated by a large number of participants. Many participants felt bitter because the absence of police in public spaces was leaving them open to such dangers as speeding cars.

13

KEY MESSAGES

This section is designed to contribute a few ideas which might help find long-term solutions to some of the issues discussed throughout the research, while building upon the strengths and capabilities identified within the community.

Within France, Lyon is considered a role model for working actively with issues of inclusion and cohesion, a policy defined at national level but controlled at local level which is called *politique de la ville*. Lyon also has a particularly vibrant array of NGOs. It is suggested that local authorities and civil society organisations continue working together and reinforce their collaboration, as this has already proved useful in culture and housing.

Regarding security and prevention policies, it is suggested that official representatives and NGOs work together and consult local residents in order to ascertain what concrete measures would enable residents of the Etats-Unis quarter and adjacent areas to feel safer during the evening and at night. The objective would be to address not only crime and crime prevention, but also more diffuse feelings of insecurity linked to antisocial behaviour such as joy-riding, loud music and littering.

It is suggested that public officials and NGOs join forces, supported by local residents who may not be active in NGOs, in order to address the question of uncivil behaviour on the part of children and adolescents. The numerous schools present in the study area could be approached, in order to work out with school directors, parents and teachers what measures might be rolled out in a coordinated fashion both inside and outside the schools.

The move from “*le bac pour tous*” (“a baccalaureate for everyone”) to a more inclusive educational strategy which encourages and values apprenticeships has recently received support from prominent French politicians as well as the private sector.¹⁷⁶ It is suggested that local authorities join forces with NGOs and with local companies in order to open up new opportunities for apprenticeships in the 8th *arrondissement* and in surrounding areas. Social marketing techniques might be use in order to stimulate interest in these opportunities. For example, if it became known that a few young women and young men who are well known locally are opting for apprenticeships, this may have a knock-on effect.

In a similar vein, local businesses could be encouraged to take on apprentices. Such a process could be kickstarted by arranging for a few companies that are well-known locally to be the pioneers.

176 *L'express/L'expansion*, « Comment relancer (vraiment) l'apprentissage en France ? How to really accelerate apprenticeships in France? », 7 July 2014, at http://lexpansion.lexpress.fr/actualite-economique/comment-relancer-vraiment-l-apprentissage-en-france_1556599.html (accessed 5 November 2014).

The idea of creating a local newsletter was put forward by one of the focus groups during the course of this study. With a little support from local authorities and/or private sponsors, such an initiative could prove useful for promoting social cohesion in the 8th *arrondissement*, which does not have a very strong identity but whose residents are keen to meet each other and participate more in public life.

Participants in this study said they were interested in more direct participation in discussions with local authorities. The citizen councils which are to be set up over 2014–2015 may prove a good way of responding to this concern. However, some people may not want to sign up for such officially constituted organisms. It is therefore suggested to create one or two public places where local people can meet on an ad hoc basis. It would be important for such places to be open during the evenings, in order to accommodate local residents who work office hours.

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Annex 2. Example of good practice (Ville-Vie-Vacances)

Ville-Vie-Vacances (VVV) is a national programme, originally set up in the aftermath of the riots which took place in the suburbs of several French cities in the summer of 1981. From 110,000 participants in 1982, numbers rose to over 900,000 in 1998. An audit published in 1999 pinpointed a number of problems with the programme, including over-bureaucratisation, and questioned the principle of distracting youths by moving them away from their home base rather than engaging with their problems at their place of residence.¹⁷⁷

A similar report on the VVV programme is published every year at national level. In the 2013 report, based on 2012 statistics, it can be seen that 560,000 young people participated, 39 percent were girls and 77 percent of all participants were from a priority area. Quite logically, the large cities used the programme far more than the rural areas. Altogether (at national level), 27 percent of the activities were defined as cultural, 27 percent amusement (*loisirs*), 23 percent sport, 15 percent civic participation, 3 percent the environment, 2 percent of employment, and only 1 percent to solidarity operations abroad. Although the programme was originally thought of as a summer activity, in 2013 only one-third of the activities took place in July or August, the other two-thirds being spread out over the rest of the year. The average activity took 12 days. There was an interesting difference between new activities, with an average duration of seven days, and established activities (in existence or being repeated over several years), with an average of 28 days. This indicates that successful activities are likely to develop with time. In 2012, approximately half of the activities were taking place in the neighbourhoods of the participants, and half in another location. Each activity usually involved between 10 and 100 youths (average 93, because a small number of activities mobilised several hundred participants). Interestingly, one-quarter of the participants were referred to the programme by social services, teachers or other government employees, implying that three-quarters accessed the programme directly. Regarding age groups, 34 percent were under 12 years old, 40 percent were between 12 and 15, 17 percent were between 16 and 18, and 8 percent were over 18. As an example of good practice, the report singles out an activity called “Passeurs d’images” (Become a passer of pictures), which enables young people from underprivileged backgrounds (priority areas, prisons, hospitals) to access films and film-making techniques in a multicultural setting. These social and cultural events take place in the neighbourhoods where the young people live, usually for five days, and sometimes include a trip to a cinema or festival.¹⁷⁸

177 « Evaluation nationale du dispositif Ville-Vie-Vacances » (National evaluation of the City-Life-Holiday programme); available using search terms “vie vacances evaluation” on <http://i.ville.gouv.fr> (accessed 16 April 2014).

178 « Enquête annuelle de suivi du programme Ville Vie Vacances. Enquête 2013. Rapport national” (Yearly monitoring of the City-Life-Holiday programme, 2013. National report) See <http://i.ville.gouv.fr> (accessed 16 April 2014).

Annex 3. List of stakeholders interviewed

Mr Rémy Lefloch, project manager, Mission Egalité, City of Lyon

Mr Samuel Bosc, project manager, Department of culture, City of Lyon

Mr Marc Villarubias, Cultural Cooperation Committee, City of Lyon

Mr Bruno Charles, member of city parliament for the 7th arrondissement (Green Party), Lyon

Mr Didier Bébada, social scientist, Ateliers de la gouvernance, Lyon

Mr René Amberg, consultant, Ateliers de la gouvernance, Lyon

Mr Yves Franquelin, director, CISL (Centre international de séjour de Lyon), Lyon

Ms Sonia Tron, project manager quartiers États-Unis, Langlet-Santy, Moulin-à-Vent, Mission Entrée-Est, Lyon

Mr Thierry Borde, journalist and chairman of NGO Médiacitoyens, Lyon

Mr Serge Buy, director, Centre social États-Unis, Lyon

Mr Roland Lacroix, local activist for sustainable development, Lyon

Dr Louafi Bouzouina, Ecole nationale des travaux publics de l'Etat (Technical University), Vaulx-en-Velin, Greater Lyon Area

Les petits frères des pauvres (NGO against poverty), Monplaisir, Lyon (interview by Michel Jacquet)

Fondation Abbé-Pierre (against poverty), Monplaisir, Lyon (interview by Michel Jacquet)

Action in favour of housing: Grand Lyon Habitat (several informal conversations, no formal appointment could be obtained)

Lyon 8th arrondissement Mayorship's office (several informal conversations, no formal appointment could be obtained)

Furthermore, many local residents and people working in the area or very knowledgeable about the area were spoken with, who for various reasons were not willing or not able to participate in the focus groups. Most of them did not want their name to be mentioned. Here are the characteristics of these key stakeholders (all active in the 8th arrondissement unless mentioned otherwise):

- A security guard working for a local supermarket
- The owner of a small shop (library)
- The warden of a communal building hosting people with economic difficulties
- An Algerian man who had recently moved into the area with his wife
- A person working at the reception of a local hotel

- An employee of one of the private landlords which builds council homes (bailleurs sociaux) who spoke on condition of anonymity
- An elderly man of dual French-Swiss nationality (who was bitter at the diverse fortunes of the two countries in recent years because he felt Switzerland was doing much better than France)
- Several people working in a local theatre, Nouveau théâtre du 8, who were happy to share their views but only informally
- Men belonging to two pétanque (boules) clubs, 8th arrondissement
- Men belonging to retired Army men's club, 8th arrondissement
- Several elderly men, who were outspoken in their criticism of immigration which they saw as being too lax, but these men always refused to come to the focus groups (one of them said that if he spoke his mind, he was afraid of being physically assaulted during the focus group)

Finally, there were at least one hundred other individuals and groups engaged but were able to obtain only short discussions of a few minutes. On occasion these proved informative, in particular the rare opportunities to engage with older men in this way.