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Report on the analysis of an innovative housing project promoting refugees' integration in France: the case of the Cinq Toits (Paris)

Dafne Accoroni, Eunice Cascant, Lauren Dixon, Noémie Dominguez, Emily Mugel, Catherine Mercier-Suissa, Maité Pinchon, Nancy Ottaviano

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Housing for immigrants and community integration in Europe and beyond: strategies, policies, dwellings and governance

Report on the analysis of an innovative housing project promoting refugees' integration in France: the case of the Cinq Toits (Paris)

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MERGING is an H2020 project gathering 10 partners and aiming to foster migrants' inclusion through co-constructive housing. The consortium is formed of 10 partners originated from 6 countries: the University Jean Moulin Lyon (France – coordinator), the University Rennes 1-EHESP (France), Quatorze (association of architects, France), Lyon Ingénierie Projet (academic project management company, France), the University of Valencia (Spain), the University of Bologna (Italy), the Universities of Gothenburg and Malmö (Sweden), COTA (Consultant in public policies, Belgium), and SocialBusinessEarth (NGO, Switzerland).

The MERGING project pursues two main objectives: 1) to offer new tools for enhancing the integration of migrants across Europe, 2) to improve practices and policies at local, national and EU level for the integration of immigrants in European urban and local settings. To do so, the MERGING partners will test, implement and evaluate pilot co-constructive housing projects. Interactions with various stakeholders are expected during the whole project. Collaboration with NGOs and public authorities will be developed and strengthened in order to interview of refugees and volunteers. Experts' committees will be set up to support and advise partners during the implementation and progress of the three pilots projects. Finally, participative works plans will also be set up with beneficiaries, volunteers and civil society member.

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Glossary

CADA	Centre d'Accueil de Demandeurs d'Asile (Reception Center for Asylum Seekers)
CPH	Centre Provisoire d'Hébergement (Temporary Accommodation Centers)
DIY	Do It Yourself
DPH	Dispositif Premières Heures (First Hours Program)
HUDA	Hébergement d'Urgence pour Demandeurs d'Asile (Emergency Accommodation for Asylum Seekers)
OFII	Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration (French Office for Immigration and Integration)
OFPRA	Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides (French Protection Office for Refugees and Apatrides)
RSA	Revenu de Solidarité Active (Active Solidarity Income)
SIAO	Service Intégré d'Accueil et d'Orientation (Reception and Orientation Service)
UPE2A	Unité pédagogique pour élèves allophones arrivants (Pedagogical unit for newcomer pupils)
UTUD	Un Toit c'est Un Droit (A roof is a Right)

1. Executive summary

This work is the country research report prepared within Work Package 3, focused on the case of Les Cinq Toits (Paris). This case is part of the H2020 project *MERGING – Integration for Migrants*.

The main objectives of this report are to:

- Highlight the methodology adopted to select cases, collect and analyse data,
- Present the Housing Project “Les Cinq Toits” and the local socio-economic context it is part of,
- Identify the types of networks involved in the creation and the life of the project,
- Describe the participatory processes in place and the way they work,
- Shed light the main challenges and issues the project and its’ beneficiaries face, as well as the strategies implemented to overcome them,
- Present the innovative aspects of each project,
- Explain how each HP impacts the beneficiaries’ integration into local communities,
- Highlight how the sense of home is built and manifest itself.

The socio-economic context

The analysis of the socio-economic context reveals that the housing project Les Cinq Toits is located in an economically favoured area not used to host temporary housing centres. The arrival of a project like The Cinq Toits generated tensions due to the absence of “reception tradition” locally. Our analysis revealed that a visible and manifest engagement of local authorities (inclusion of the managers of The Cinq Toits in the city council...), is key to starting a project like this one. It also revealed that time management and openness are two critical elements that participate in changing a district’s culture.

The area in which the housing project is located benefits from public transports and services, a dense network of associations and different types of infrastructures. However, the area remains under-dotted in terms of public transports compared to the rest of the city. This under-dotation makes it harder for external people to join the facilities.

Characteristics of the project

Les Cinq Toits is a temporary housing project designed to provide exiled and vulnerable people not only a house but also a place to heal, to meet and interact with local actors to, finally, get their place in the society. It also provides start-ups and NGOs from the social and solidary economy a place to exert their work. It is made of three entities (CHU, CADA and HUDA) receiving 350 persons. The coordinators of the project (Aurore and Plateau Urbain) benefit from a recognised experience and expertise in creating and managing such premises. The project is materially supported by the city hall and Paris Habitat (providers of the building), and financially supported by the state, regional authorities, foundations and by the contributions of partner organisations.

Networks

Four types of networks - made of more or less formalized relationships - proved to have facilitated the creation of the project and its daily activities. Some pre-existing networks, established by the coordinators during previous projects with local authorities, favoured the emergence of the housing project possible. During the implementation and the development of the project, three types of networks have been identified: 1) relations built within the facilities (interpersonal, inter-organisational, individual-organisational), 2) relations built with external actors and 3) external network of which organisation might be part of. These different networks appear to be in constant interaction and shape the activities and decisions made by stakeholders.

Participatory processes

The analysis of the mechanics of the project highlighted the participatory processes implemented during the creation and the exploitation of the Cinq Toits. Due to time constraints, and to empower people and create a 'sense of home', future residents have been involved in the transformation of the building into accommodations. This engagement did not only allow residents to gain self-esteem, but it also made them discover manual jobs and, eventually, turn this experience into job opportunities. Since the creation of the housing facilities, a council has been created to give each member a voice and the possibility to take part into the decision-making process. The clock council meets every month and reunite organisations, social workers volunteers and residents of the Cinq Toits. The objective of these meetings is to discuss about current issue, to present projects to (eventually) get a budget to develop it.

Difficulties encountered

The analysis conducted on the housing project revealed the existence of difficulties face at the individual, organizational and societal levels. The difficulties encountered are related to time management, population and spatial densities, internal and external tensions due to cultural differences, lack of communication and participation to the activities organized internally, dependency to the place and waste management problems.

To overcome these problems, several actions have been taken by the coordinators. The organization of public meetings, visits, and activities within the premises (for citizens and schools), as well as the integration of the neighbourhood council participated in re-establishing the communication with local citizens, reducing de facto tensions and fears. Moreover, the co-creation of the facilities with future residents, volunteers and professionals allowed the coordinators to cope with the time constraints they faced at the beginning of the project. An internal code of conduct describing the rules and obligations of each beneficiary has been created and medical consults proposed to ensure good living conditions and the well-being of all residents. Residents are encouraged to engage in activities and to develop networks outside of the facilities in order to avoid the risk of experiencing a second uprooting at the closure of the Cinq Toits. Finally, activities have been modified to make them more inclusive and closer to residents' realities. Investments have been realized to equip workshops, develop new activities, better manage waste and improve the overall communication.

Innovativeness of the housing project

The innovative nature of the Cinq Toits lies on 4 dimensions. Its eco-friendly approach participates in reducing the ecological footprint of the facilities (favouring, thus, the acceptance from neighbours), raising residents' awareness about ecological issues (building citizenship), and contributing to the economic viability of the project. The diversity of uses and populations contributes to open the facilities to the outside world, creating opportunities to meet and interact, generating an internal dynamic and empowering residents. The development of partnerships with municipalities and local actors, associated with the creation of a toolkit, favours the replicability and the dissemination of the project on other territories. Finally, the originality of the project stems from its capacity to fill local voids and favouring complementarity over competition with existing activities.

Impacts of the housing project on residents' integration(s)

The socio-cultural integration of residents at the 5 Toits is organised toward French classes, cultural visits in Paris and specific trainings and activities. To overcome the learning difficulties faced by residents, innovative techniques have been developed, to make classes less formal, more interactive, and professional-oriented. In the same vein, occasion for discussions and debate on societal issues are organised, which allow social workers to discuss with residents about key cultural concerns. The commitment of volunteers and professional activists, and their close collaboration with the housing project management team, are critical factors to ensure the long-term success of these actions.

The professional integration is granted by the presence of insertion companies (such as La Conciergerie Solidaire, La Bricole, Espero and Ridy) within the facilities using the First Hours Program to offer residents opportunities to develop professional competencies and access to the labour market. They focus on activities related to sustainability issues and in which there is a demand for manpower.

Sense of home

Our case study highlighted the different perceptions residents have about "a home". If common outdoor spaces are highly appreciated for their conviviality, the lack of privacy, ensuing from the forced co-habitation, is sometimes source of tension. In the same vein, people's status and the temporality of the facilities impact the level of individual commitment to daily life tasks and activities of the place.

2. Methodology

Regarding the explorative and comprehensive nature of the Merging project, we decided to run a qualitative analysis through case studies. This approach enables us to develop a context-specific analysis (Cuervo-Cazurra, Andersson, Brannen, Nielsen & Reuber, 2016). It favours a deep understanding of how housing contributes to migrants' integration. Case studies are particularly appropriate to explore critical, emerging or early phase phenomena (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009) since they provide rich, detailed descriptions of actions in their real-life contexts preserving the meanings actors give to these actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

Multi-criteria decision-making (MCDM) techniques are often used in hard sciences to determine optimal alternatives among sets of multiple, conflicting, and interactive criteria (Chen et al., 1992). It follows six steps including, (1) problem formulation, (2) identify the requirements, (3) set goals, (4) identify various alternatives, (5) develop criteria, and (6) identify and apply decision-making technique (Sabaei, Erkoyuncu, & Roy, 2015).

Studying refugees' integration through housing can be assimilated to a complex and multivariate problem. From a housing point of view, several alternatives co-exist, from institutional- to individual driven options. Their scope and impact vary depending on the type and number of actors engaged, as well as on the quantity of resources committed. Projects can be large or small, organised in networks or not, be concentrated in a specific area or diffuse, etc.

2.1 Case identification and selection

The case identification and selection processes lie on 5 pillars, generated by both the state of the art and the experts' interviews done in WP2 (cf. D2.1 and D2.2 for more information). These five pillars are: target audiences, housing characteristics, integration goals, governance, and welfare.

2.1.1 The audience

The MERGING project aims at developing, implementing, and testing participatory pilot projects that would foster refugees' integration in Europe. To do so, MERGING partners need to engage various stakeholder in the ideation, creation, and implementation process: refugees, local communities, local authorities, NGOs, etc. As the MERGING project is focused on refugees and people benefitting from an international protection, we integrated in our scope housings dedicated to both families and single refugees. The cases selected could be specifically dedicated to refugees or include different type of audience: asylum seekers, vulnerable people, etc.

2.1.2 Housing

Our focus being on co-creation practices, we looked for cases promoting diversity and involving cooperation between refugees and the civil society. The notion of diversity has to be understood as a broad concept. It can be related to gender, age, economic situation, administrative status, sexual orientation, etc. Translated to housing, this notion of diversity allowed us to integrate cohabitation projects, notably intergenerational and/or intercultural projects. In the same vein, cooperation with local societies can rely on joint activities (such as workshops, volunteering...) or others. The main idea is to create and/or facilitate interactions between refugees and local citizens. We deliberately excluded institutional cases (such as shelters) offering only housing to refugees due to the absence of organised cooperation with and opening to local societies.

To be as exhaustive as possible, we included into our analysis different typologies of housing, based on the newness of buildings, their location and dotation in public services (transportation, medical facilities, schools, social assistance, etc.). We looked for cases involving the construction of buildings and others based on the requalification of existing facilities, cases located in city centres and others in rural areas. We also integrated cases to offered not only housing, but also different type of services, from manual activities to social and legal assistance. To do so, we identified cases providing housing, and others characterised by their multifunctionality: cases offering the possibility to take part to (or develop) entrepreneurial activities, that provided professional and/or linguistic training, that possessed green spaces, among others.

Eco-friendly projects

Due to the importance of climate change and waste reduction, particular attention has been paid to the sustainability of the facilities, notably the existence of an eco-friendly approach. The objective of the merging project being to contribute to the creation of more responsible societies, we favoured projects that engaged into the ecological transition. Besides sustainability, ecology is a major concern for the French society. Thus, engaging into the ecological transition might facilitate the acceptance of the housing facilities in a given area, as well as create interactions between local citizens and refugees.

2.1.3 Integration(s)

The aim of the Merging project being to foster refugees' integration through housing, a particular attention has been paid to the different components of integration. Based on Bourdieu's definition of social capital (i.e., a set of cultural, economic, symbolic, and relational capitals), we looked at projects offering activities or opportunities for refugees to develop one or some dimensions of social capital. It would not only allow beneficiaries to develop skills and eventually access to job offers, but also to interact with local citizens. These activities and/or opportunities are important as they contribute to refugees' integration.

The literature review conducted in WP2 (cf. D 2.1 for extra information) highlighted the key role of hard and soft skills in the integration process, notably linguistic skills, and professional training.

- Cultural capital: we looked for projects in which activities are being offered to resident to develop their cultural capital. This is a key question, as refugees often suffer from a form of cultural and social downgrading due to the non-recognition of their expertise in the country of arrival. Examples of activities include linguistic classes, seminars on local customs (gender roles...).
- Economic capital: we looked for housing projects that would favour the economic integration of refugees by offering them an access to a qualifying job or a (legal) paid activity.
- Social capital: We also looked for projects that would favour the creation of interpersonal relationships, with citizens and other types of actors. Thus, we observed the social integration potential through the organisation of physical/cultural activities, volunteering, etc.
- Symbolic capital: we looked for projects that would enable the creation of networks, at both the individual (refugees) and organisational (project) levels. Cohabitation, collaborations, volunteering, taking part to a project or even participating to the management of a housing facility might be good ways to start developing a network.

A focus has been made on the temporality of the projects identified, and their impacts. Several questions have been added to our case selection process, such as: are these projects temporary or permanent? Short-term or long-term oriented? Do they help in overcoming racism and discrimination-related issues?

2.1.4 Governance

Developing a sustainable business model for our pilots (WP5) requires us to understand how existing projects are being managed. To do so, we focused on three dimensions: the balance between commercialisation and social purposes, the composition of the boards and the existence of codes of conduct.

We looked at financial features to have a better picture related to the investment and operating costs of these projects, as well as the cash generated by companies or potential activities organised onsite.

We also paid attention to the structure of the board to see how diversified and complex the governance was: is the governance multi-level or not, how diversified are stakeholders (mix of private and public actors...), do refugees participate in the decision-making processes, etc. Our objective here is to identify innovative projects empowering refugees, as well as other stakeholders.

2.1.5 Welfare

The last pillar included in our selection grid was the welfare. The literature review and the expert interviews conducted during WP2 (cf. D 2.1 and D 2.2 for more info) revealed that migrants often suffer from deep mental and health traumas due to the violence of their migration path. Well-being and health condition are two important elements, as a sensation of malaise can slow the integration process. For these reasons, we included wellbeing as a key dimension to segregate the potential housing cases to study. More specifically, we looked for cases offering activities/services dedicated to psycho-social and physical well-being (either directly, or by offering access to healthcare services).

Besides health conditions, well-being also depends on people's ability to take part to a society's life. Having a professional activity increases the level of personal satisfaction, not only because people feel useful, but also because it helps erasing the negative image of being an outsider. It also gives them the financial resources necessary to become financially autonomous and, thus, to be considered as a local: paying rents, taxes, etc. Migrants often suffer from social and professional downgrading, as well as from a difficult access to the job market, as they might not have the linguistic skills, the network relations or the expertise required locally. Thus, we paid particular attention to the services offered to migrants by the housing case to help them establish themselves on the job market. We also looked for information related to the rental conditions: does the housing case implies paying a form of rent or not? If yes, how does housing managers facilitate payments?

The methodology adopted to select cases is the following: an evaluation grid has been developed consecutively to the literature review. Each partner identified a couple of innovative housing projects deserving special attention. These projects have been analysed through the evaluation grid (cf. appendix). For each criterion, researchers had to give a grade, from 0 to +3, and to sum them up. These operations allowed us to rank the cases identified. In France, 6 innovative cases had originally been taken into consideration: The Cinq Toits, UTUD, Singa, IMBY, COALLIA and Saint-Benoit Labre. The results of our primary evaluations highlighted two cases: The Cinq Toits (Paris) and UTUD (Rennes). We decided to run two separate case studies due to the richness and the eclectic nature of these two projects. Indeed, The Cinq Toits is a large project welcoming approx. 350 residents located in an old gendarme station of Paris. The Cinq Toits is made of three types of housing centres (mix of populations, between asylum seekers, refugees, and other vulnerable people) and a third space open to citizens and beneficiaries. Several activities are being offered to residents only, others are open to citizens. The Cinq Toits is based on the co-housing principle: beneficiaries are sharing flats, (8 persons per apartment on average), companies and NGOs are sharing vacant areas, etc.

On the opposite, UTUD is a small case offering migrants individual housing solutions. Contrary to The Cinq Toits, it is not a grouped but a diffuse case of housing – thus, more discrete. To our opinion, analysing and comparing these two cases is relevant to have a good understanding of the potential drivers and/or difficulties faced by migrants and stakeholders when implementing an innovative housing project. This report focuses on the case of The Cinq Toits.

2.2 Data collection and analysis

This section presents the strategy built to collect (2.2.1) and analyse data (2.2.2).

2.2.1 Data collection process

Case-studies have been built through two main data collection techniques, i.e., semi-structured interviews and observations. Interviews have been conducted based on an interview guide established by the WP Leading team (UNIBO & SBE). Three different types of actors have been interviewed: residents (refugees, beneficiaries of international protection, asylum seekers), managers (social workers and/or organisation responsible for managing the housing facilities) and with stakeholders (companies, citizens, other NGOs, local authorities, etc.). From July 15th to August 30th, 3 days of observation and 23 semi-structured interviews (from 8 to 105 mn) have been conducted by UJML and Quatorze at The Cinq Toits. The observations allowed researchers to take pictures of the facilities. It also allowed us to understand how life is being organised locally.

The semi-structured interviews have been conducted onsite whenever possible, or by phone or Visio conferences when necessary – due to the limited availability of some interviewees. Most of the interviews have been carefully recorded, transcribed, and protected through anonymisation and secured storage - in line with the guidance provided in the Data Management Plan (see D 8.3 for more information). When recording was not possible (either due to the refusal of interviewees or due to the interviewer's impossibility to record), researchers took notes of the content of the interviews, and shared it with the members of the research team. Interviewees were informed about the objective of the research and the way data would be used, before signing an informed consent sheet prior to each interview. Table 1 presents the main characteristics of our interviewees.

Table 1. Summary of the data collected

Code	Type	Partner involved	Interviewee	Date	Place	Length
MAIL-UJML-CMS-ENT1-140721	Q&A by emails	UJML	Insertion company	14 July 2021	Online	n.a.
OBS-UJML14-CMS.NO.MP-150721	Observation	UJML & Quatorze	-	15 July 2021	Paris	
MAIL-UJML-CMS-ENT2-190721	Q&A by emails	UJML	Insertion company	19 July 2021	Online	n.a.
INT-UJML-ND-CIT-200721	Phone Interview	UJML	Citizen Representative	20 July 2021	Phone	25 mn
INT-UJML-CMS-ENT3-200722	Phone Interview	UJML	Insertion company	20 July 2021	Phone	50 mn
INT-UJML-CMS-ENT4-210723	Phone Interview	UJML	Art company	21 July 2021	Phone	70 mn
PICT-UJML-DA-020821	Pictures	UJML	-	2 August 2021	Paris	-
INT-UJML-DA-ART-030821	On-site Interview	UJML	Artist in Residence	3 August 2021	Paris	40 mn
INT-UJML-DA-CRA-030821	On-site Interview	UJML	Craftsman	3 August 2021	Paris	15 mn
INT-UJML-DA-MED-030821	On-site Interview	UJML	Pharmacist	3 August 2021	Paris	30 mn
INT-UJML-DA-AS1-040821	On-site Interview	UJML	Asylum Seeker	4 August 2021	Paris	19 mn
INT-UJML-DA-OSTA-050821	On-site Interview	UJML	Sport coach (External Partner)	5 August 2021	Paris	45 mn
INT-UJML-DA-DUB1-050821	On-site Interview	UJML	Dublined	5 August 2021	Paris	39 mn
INT-UJML-DA-SOCW1-050821	On-site Interview	UJML	Social worker	5 August 2021	Paris	18 mn
INT-UJML-DA-SOCW2-050821	On-site Interview	UJML	Social worker	5 August 2021	Paris	8 mn
INT-UJML-DA-NGO1-060821	On-site Interview	UJML	Unit Director	6 August 2021	Paris	63 mn
INT-UJML-DA-INT-060821	On-site Interview	UJML	Intern	6 August 2021	Paris	25 mn
INT-UJML-CMS-ENT5-1000821	Phone Interview	UJML	Company (hosted in the facilities)	10 August 2021	Phone	30 mn
INT-UJML-CMS.ND-ENT6-230821	On-site Interview	UJML	Company (hosted in the facilities)	23 August 2021	Paris	105 mn
OBS-UJML-230821	Observation	UJML		23 August 2021	Paris	1 day
INT-UJML-CMS.ND-ENT7-240821	On-site Interview	UJML	Insertion company	24 August 2021	Antony	90 mn
INT-14-MP-SOC3-250830	Online Interview	Quatorze	Social worker	25 august 2021	Paris	17 mn
INT-14-MP-SOC4-250831	Online Interview	Quatorze	Social worker	25 august 2021	Paris	57 mn

INT-14-MP-SOC5-250832	Online Interview	Quatorze	Social worker	25 august 2021	Paris	45 mn
OBS-14-LD.EM.NO.MP-2750821	Observation	Quatorze	-	25 august 2021	Paris	1 day
PICT-14- LD.EM.NO.MP-2750821	Pictures	Quatorze	-	27 August 2021	Paris	-
INT-14-EM-AS3-270822	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Asylum Seeker	27 august 2021	Paris	48 mn
INT-14-EM-REF1-270823	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Refugee	27 august 2021	Paris	37 mn
INT-14-MP-AS4-270824	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Asylum Seeker	27 august 2021	Paris	52 mn
INT-14-NO-DUB2-270825	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Dublined	27 august 2021	Paris	25 mn
INT-14-EM-REF2-270826	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Refugee	27 august 2021	Paris	75 mn
INT-14-EM-REF3-270827	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Refugee	27 august 2021	Paris	33 mn
INT-14-MP-AS5-270824	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Asylum Seeker	27 august 2021	Paris	51 mn
INT-14-R-SOCW6-270829	On-site Interview	Quatorze	Social worker	27 august 2021	Paris	90 mn
INT-14-NO-NGO2-250832	Online interview	Quatorze	Housing Director	27 august 2021	Paris	52 mn
INT-14-NO-NGO3-250832	Online interview	Quatorze	Director - NGO	30 August 2021	Paris	93 mn

2.2.2 Data analysis

The data collected has been analysed through a multilevel qualitative analysis (at the individual, community, institutional and local levels). The objective is to provide a more encompassing picture of the interaction between the institutional and individual mechanisms that impact on immigrants' experiences of and perspectives on integration.

We double-coded the semi-structured interviews conducted with residents, social workers, and other stakeholders. Coding serves the implementation of *"procedures that not only guide the conduct of the research itself in a way that imposes qualitative rigor, but also encourages the presentation of the research findings in a way that demonstrates the connections among data, the emerging concepts, and the resulting grounded theory."* (Gioia et al., 2012). We conducted a deductive and inductive coding: one researcher focused on the deductive coding; two others focused on the inductive analysis.

As previously mentioned, the literature review conducted in WP2 (cf. D 2.1) allowed us to build an analytical grid based on the key themes, drivers and barriers faced by migrants regarding housing and social integration. This grid has been used for realising the deductive coding.

The deductive coding started with an open coding procedure centred on the informant: informants' terms, codes, and categories should be given key importance. This first stage is important as it aims at giving us the keys to assess and underline the peculiarities of the case study. These first-order codes have, then, been aggregated into second order codes, identified in the literature: housing project's (HP) composition, management, organization, beneficiaries and services, participatory approach; networks; social inclusion, others.

A second coding (content analysis) has been performed inductively through the nvivo software – i.e., without any prior grid. The objective was to develop a deep and anchored knowledge about the case, to develop categories based on our field work. Realising a double coding allowed us not only to develop a thin analysis of the case being studied, but also to compare our field-related knowledge with the literature reviews. The objective is to compare the two codings to identify potential similarities and/or discrepancies between the theory-based and the field-based grid: is our inductive analysis in line with the deductive one or not? What are the main differences? What does the inductive analysis teach us – how does it contribute to enrich existing knowledge? Etc. In total, the inductive coding allowed us to identify 19 nodes and 78 codes.

3. Presentation of the housing project

Figure 1. Localisation and urban morphology of the neighbourhood

NAME	LES CINQ TOITS
ADDRESS	60 BOULEVARD EXELMANS, 75016 PARIS
COUNTRY	FRANCE
DATE OF OPENING	2018
PROJECT DURATION	36 MONTHS
PROJECT LEADERS	AURORE
CONCEPTORS	PLATEAUX URBAINS, YES WE CAMP
CAPACITY	350 RESIDENTS
TOTAL BUILT AREA	8000 M2 (APPROX.)
TOTAL LOT AREA	4500 M2 (APPROX.)

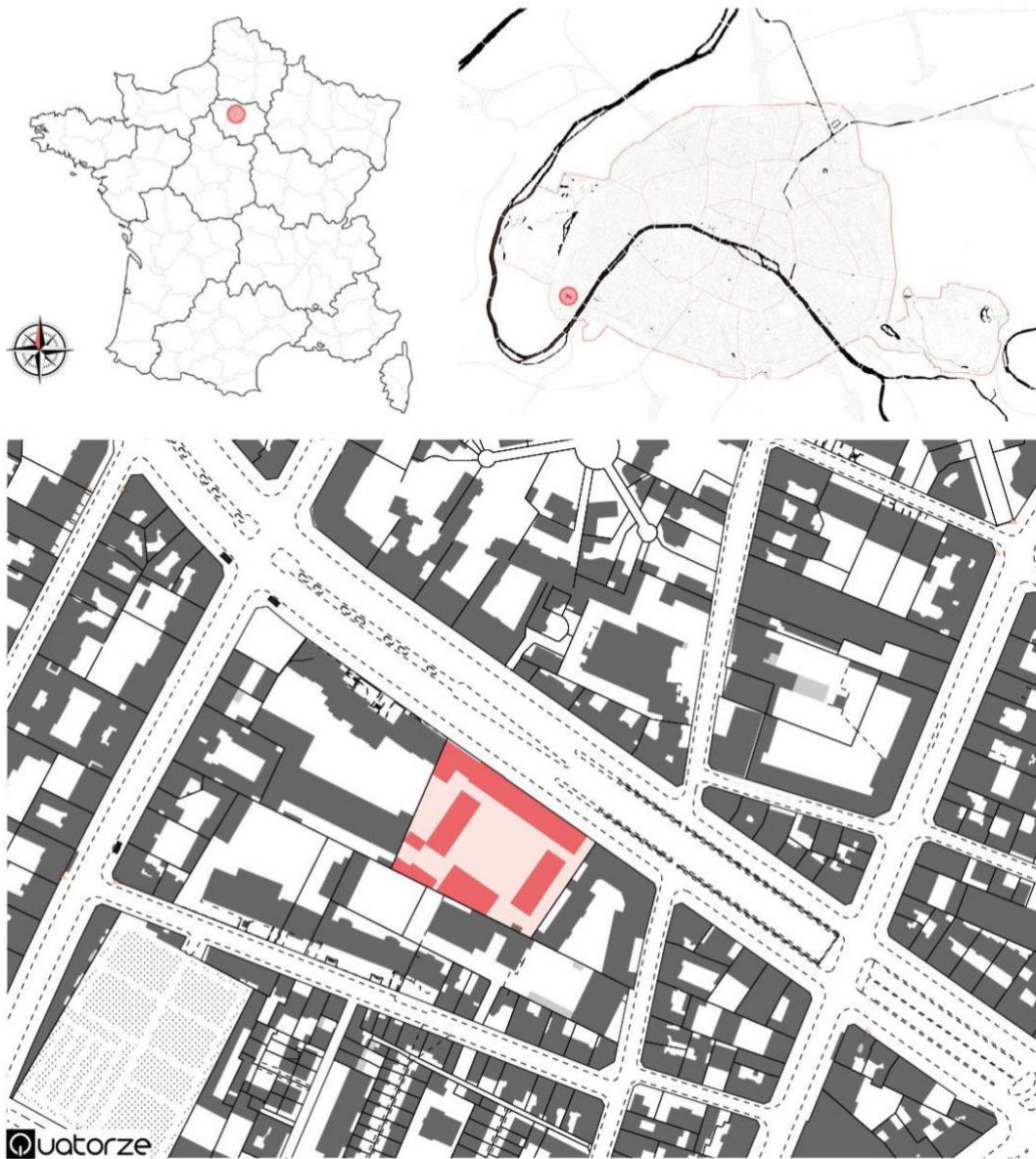
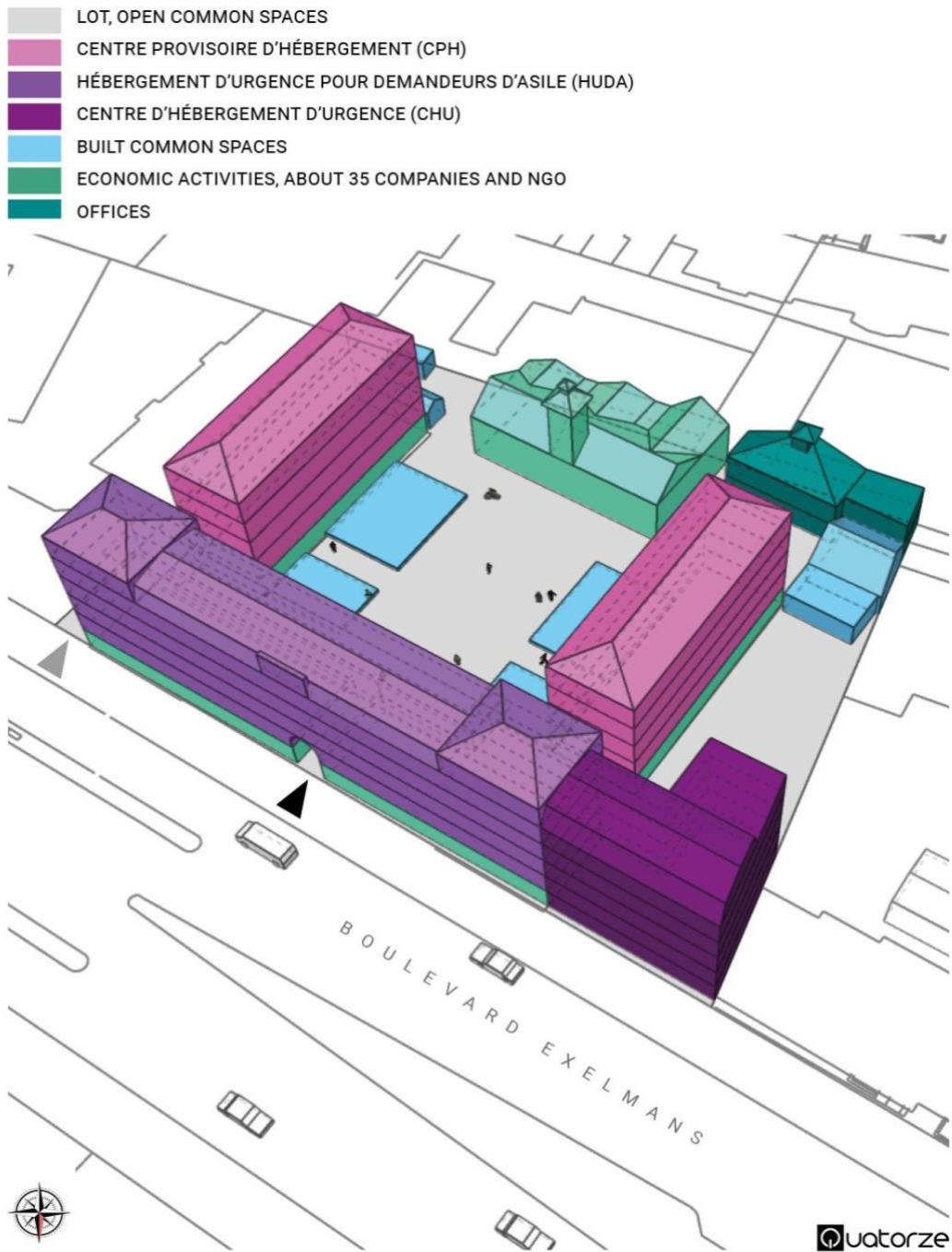


Figure 2. Mixing functionalities within The Cinq Toits



The case selected is located in the 16th district of Paris, one of the richest areas of the capital city. After presenting the main characteristics of the neighbourhood, we will mention its recent reception history.

3.1 The Housing Project in its socio-economic context

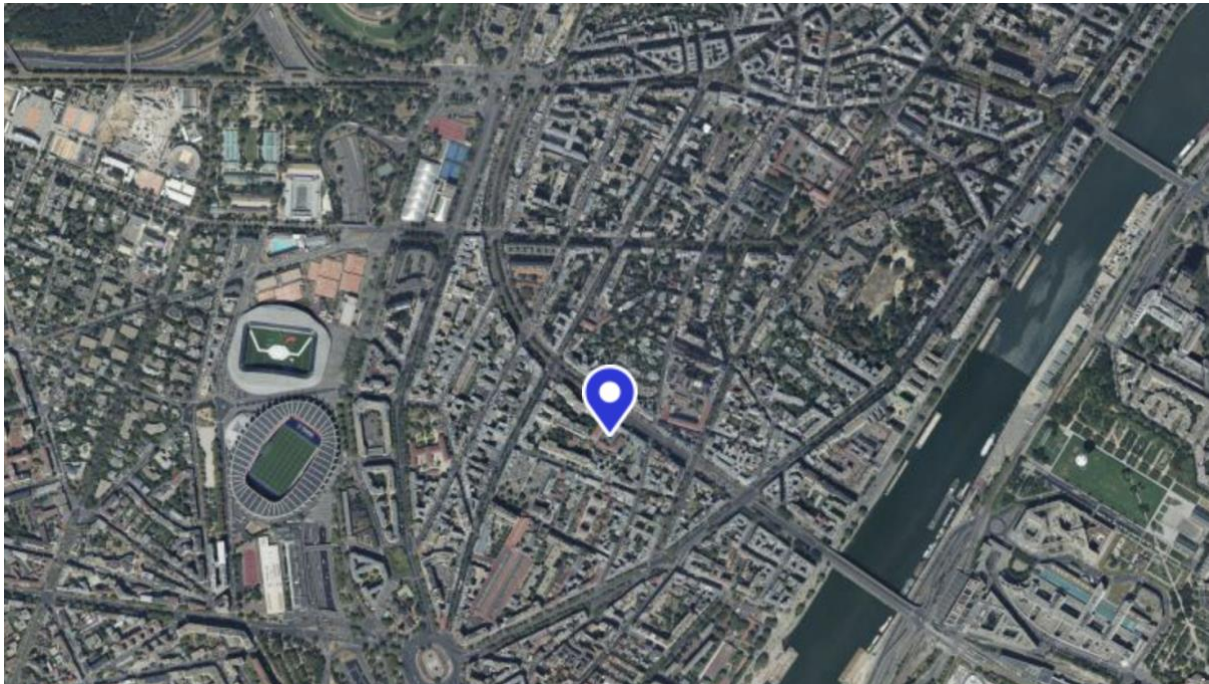


Figure 3. Aerial photograph of the neighbourhood

3.1.1 An affluent neighbourhood

Les Cinq Toits is located in the 16th arrondissement in Paris, Ile-de-France's third richest district following the 7th, and Neuilly-sur-Seine. The neighbourhood is characterized by the touristic area surrounding Trocadéro and the Arc de Triomphe, Bois de Boulogne - a large urban forest delineated by Boulevard Exelmans, and large pockets of residential areas, including Auteuil. Les Cinq Toits is in the South of Auteuil on Boulevard Exelmans, between the Parc des Princes stadium and the Seine, which divides the 16th, 15th, and 7th arrondissements.

The 16th is an affluent neighbourhood, with 166,014 inhabitants (2018 data in Table 1) for a number of 102,748 habitations. It's population density of 101 to the hectare is relatively low in comparison to Paris's general density rate of 206. It is however important to note that this rate includes the Bois de Boulogne which approximately doubles the surface of the 16th.

Nevertheless, the number of inhabitants per room rate of 0.65 is among the lowest in Paris, indicating the relative comfort in which its population lives.

The proportion of owners is high (44.4%) (Table 3). The neighbourhood has more than 80% of primary residences (Table 3) and its secondary residences rate is 11.4%. The vacant housing rate of 8.5% (8,754 housing units) is rather high though it is within the norm in Paris.

Table 1. Population in Paris by district

ARRONDISSEMENT	POPULATION	DENSITY (BY HECTARE)	IMMIGRANT POPULATION		FOREIGN POPULATION		MEDIAN INCOME	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS
1	16093	88	3052	19.0%	2229	13.9%	34 350	9 274	1.71
2	21420	216	3931	18.4%	2969	13.9%	32 700	12 263	1.74
3	34020	291	6849	20.1%	5318	15.6%	33 060	19 788	1.71
4	28763	180	5526	19.2%	4221	14.7%	31 930	16 180	1.75
5	58379	230	9417	16.1%	7041	12.1%	34 250	32 093	1.74
6	40525	188	7013	17.3%	5252	13.0%	40 730	22 451	1.71
7	50196	123	9618	19.2%	7898	15.7%	44 490	27 130	1.81
8	36222	93	6686	18.5%	4879	13.5%	43 520	17 626	2.01
9	59835	274	9692	16.2%	7188	12.0%	35 390	32 048	1.85
10	88557	306	18119	20.5%	13269	15.0%	27 420	46 830	1.87
11	145903	398	26841	18.4%	19402	13.3%	28 530	83 930	1.72
12	139665	86	23089	16.5%	15133	10.8%	28 780	73 966	1.84
13	180632	253	39752	22.0%	24668	13.7%	24 720	91 744	1.91
14	136596	242	27542	20.2%	19830	14.5%	28 340	69 135	1.86
15	232144	274	43579	18.8%	31136	13.4%	31 760	124 656	1.83
16	166014	101	36100	21.7%	26180	15.8%	40 400	82 270	1.99
17	165859	293	30356	18.3%	21346	12.9%	31 940	88 267	1.86
18	193665	322	44523	23.0%	32926	17.0%	23 160	104 239	1.83
19	185513	273	46750	25.2%	31032	16.7%	20 900	87 588	2.09
20	195600	327	42031	21.5%	28228	14.4%	22 100	98 961	1.95
TOTAL TOUT PARIS	2175601	206	440464	20.20%	310145	14.3%	28 270	1 140 438	1.87

Table 2. Key figures on housing in Paris by arrondissements

ARRONDISSEMENT	NUMBER OF HOUSING	PART OF EMPTY HOUSING		AVERAGE SELLING PRICE PER M2	AVERAGE NB OF PERSON PER ROOM	EMERGENCY HOUSING PLACES*
1	13 832	1 390	10%	13 200	0.67	93
2	17 318	1 873	10.80%	12 430	0.74	153
3	26 137	2 417	9.20%	12 710	0.71	285
4	22 902	1 993	8.70%	13 290	0.7	15
5	39 600	2 142	5.40%	12 240	0.69	134
6	31 606	1 706	5.40%	14 570	0.61	26
7	39 675	3 297	8.30%	13 610	0.61	10
8	27 195	3 368	12.40%	11 770	0.64	61
9	40 620	3 417	8.40%	11 310	0.7	233
10	59 790	8 269	13.80%	10 340	0.76	797
11	100 815	9 908	9.80%	10 570	0.74	910
12	87 384	5 870	6.70%	9 860	0.75	1 065
13	105 665	7 034	6.70%	9 390	0.76	1 582
14	84 337	8 024	9.50%	10 450	0.71	563
15	151 916	12 850	9.50%	10 440	0.73	606
16	102 748	8 754	8.50%	11 290	0.65	466
17	105 711	9 968	9.40%	11 100	0.71	756
18	122 925	11 298	9.20%	10 200	0.81	1 785
19	98 919	7 993	8.10%	9 080	0.82	1 187
20	107 750	6 096	5.70%	9 280	0.79	866
TOTAL OF PARIS	1 386 846	117 666	8.50%	nd	0.73	11 593

* Without rooms in hostels

Table 3. Population and housing in Paris 16th

Population in Paris 16 th (2018)	
Population	166 014
Population density (inhabitants per km ²)	10 141,4
Surface area (km ²)	16,4
Population change (average annual rate 2013-2018)	-0,1%
Number of households	82 305
Housing in Paris 16 th (2018)	
Total number of dwellings	102 748
Share of primary residences (%)	80,1
Share of secondary residences (%)	11,4
Share of vacant units (%).	8,5
Households owning their primary residence (%)	44,4

Source: INSEE (2021)

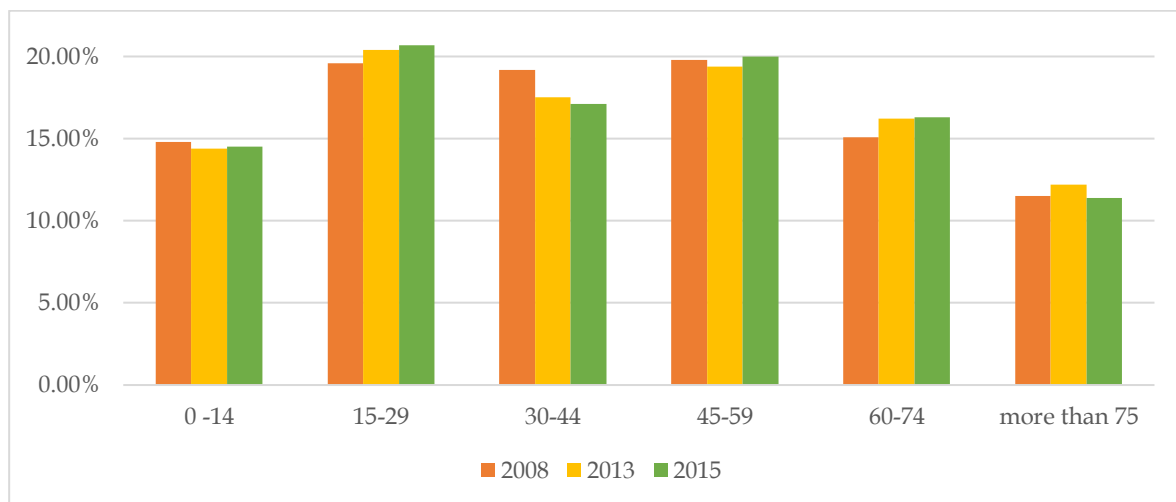
This borough has a high proportion of elderly people (figure 4), executives and business owners (34%) (figure 5). These two categories alone make up 50% of the total population. Along the same lines, 45.5% of residents have a Bac+5, that is, a diploma equivalent to a Master's degree or higher.

On the other hand, there are few single-parent families (7.7%). The poverty rate in this area is 10.8%, below the national rate (14.3%) (Insee, 2019) and relatively low in comparison to the Parisian rate of 15.2% (Table 3). Among different age groups, those under 30 are at a higher risk of poverty with a poverty rate of 23% in their age category.

The median income in the 16th is 40,400€, almost twice that of the average income across Paris (21.000€). Both rates of migrant population and of population with a foreign nationality are higher in the 16th than the medium rate in Paris (respectively 21.7% and 15.8% compared to 20.2% and 14.3%).

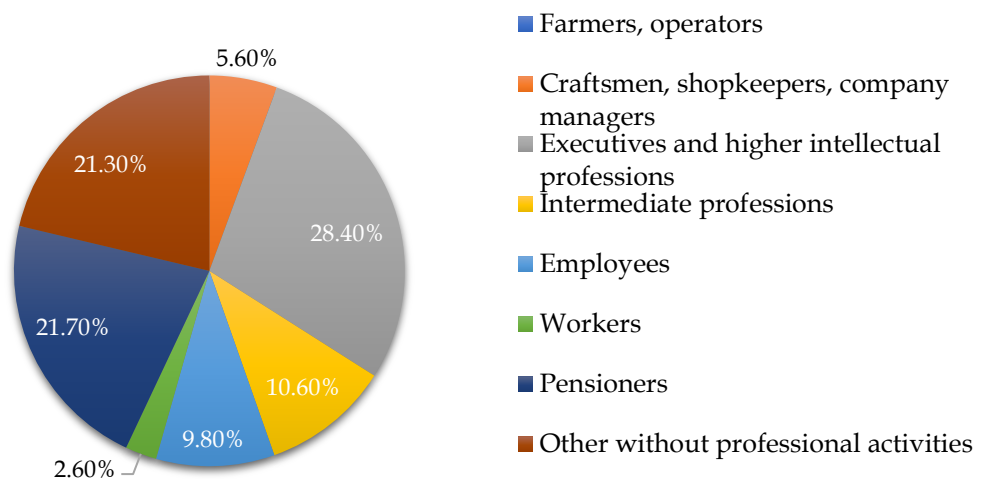
People receiving minimum social benefits and low incomes are not very well represented among the population of this neighbourhood. The 16th district offers 466 places in emergency accommodation (excluding overnight stays in hotels) representing 4% of the global Parisian emergency accommodation.

Figure 4. Population by age group



Source: INSEE (2021)

Figure 5. Population of the 16th District by CSP (2018)



Source: INSEE (2021)

Table 4. Household composition

	2008		2013		2018	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Single households	40 115	48.4	40 354	48.2	38 419	46.7
Single men	14 153	17.1	14 547	17.4	14 146	17.2
Single women	25 961	31.3	25 807	30.8	24 273	29.5
Others	3 251	3.9	2 951	3.5	2 358	2.9
Households with families	39 530	47.7	40 423	48.3	41 493	50.4
Couple without children	17 630	21.3	18 078	21.6	18 140	22
Couple with children	16 639	20.1	16 739	20	16 978	20.6
Single-parent families	5 261	6.3	5 605	6.7	6 374	7.7
Total	82 895	100	83 727	100	82 270	100

Source: INSEE (2021)

Unlike some other districts of Paris, the neighbourhood has not been broadly transformed in the last decades, as it is largely composed of housing owned by its occupants (Table 4). In addition, there has been little construction of social housing in this neighbourhood for reasons that have to do with both the nature of the land and local development strategies.

It should be noted that neighbourhoods located in boroughs that have implemented housing construction programs, particularly social housing, are seeing their populations change, which is not the case for the 16th arrondissement.

The neighbourhood offers a vast amount of equipment from small shops to sports or educational facilities though the number of cultural amenities is rather sparse (1 for 10,000 inhabitants). We will further explore the urban amenities in the neighbourhood in part 3.1. of the report.

3.1.2 An urban centrality

As previously mentioned, The Cinq Toits is located at the heart of the 16th district, a rather residential area marked by its proximity to the historical centre of the capital city, its' dotation in public transports and its' economic dynamism. Urban centrality is a critical point, as it participates to facilitate the integration of refugees. As mentioned by a social worker, *"the key points at Les Cinq Toits that contribute to the integration of refugees is urban centrality. No exclusionary places, under a remote bridge at the edge of the highway"*.

Figure 6. Urban amenities surrounding The Cinq Toits



public services. There is easy access to public transport, to schools, cultural centres, health services, sports services, and markets.

“There are a lot of basic services in town. There is no employment centre, there are few health services, there are few day-care centres, few social housing, we know that. There are few places, few gardens. No, it's not true, there is a park which is not far. There is a small garden...” (Social worker)

One of the key point of the Cinq Toits is its integration within an urban centrality, and the fact that it blends within the urban fabric:

“There are many centres that are geographically excluding, such as Bercy Charenton, that are in Paris but in motorway environments... in geographically excluding places. There is life in the Cinq Toits, there is a neighbourhood.” (Aurore)

“Here we are in the heart of the 16th arrondissement, so we will say that there are always a certain number of services, we are always closer to the metro, when you are in town, in Paris, it is easy to go out for a walk” (Aurore)

Within a 10-minute walk of the project, there is a number of diverse equipment and access to public transport enabling its inhabitants to have access to basic services or to easily reach them further away. Although there are many stores around the Cinq Toits (yellow dots on the map), the building occupies an emptier patch with the equipment polarity area as defined by the IAURIF and APUR, two institutions of urban studies dedicated to the Region and Paris itself. The activities that the project offers thus may fill in a gap.

Public transports

Located not far from a major transportation route, The Cinq Toits is accessible through public transports – notably through subway and buses. The availability of public transports allows access for beneficiaries to the city centre and, inversely, for citizens to the housing project. However, the availability of public transport, notably in buses, is lower in this area than in the rest of the city. A unit manager explains that activities and services exist in neighbouring areas, but *“everything is quickly far away as there is not a density of transport... For Paris, it is weaker than elsewhere”*. This scarcity provides the area a peripheral nature and does not facilitate the interactions between citizens and residents of the housing project: *“with the metro line 9, it is really convenient... but still, you have to get there. Typically, people do not come at The Cinq Toits to have lunch because, as the crow flies, it is not far, but it is still too badly served, too indirect”* (unit manager).

Public services and associations

Despite this relative scarcity of public transports, the area is characterized by a strong dotation in public services, notably healthcare and educational facilities. The district counts 2 child and

maternal protection centres offering free consultations for families with kids under 6 years old, 17 public primary schools, 8 secondary/high schools and 3 universities (or equivalent). Several schools offer classes for children with specific needs, notably for allophone children (UPE2A classes). In the same vein, the central city council (Paris City Hall) offers classes for adults willing to take up or go back to studies, to retrain, etc. These classes are accessible to all residents in Paris, regardless their nationality. In total, more than 300 courses are provided in 13 different domains: Professional accompaniment, Craftsmanship and arts, Applied arts and communication, Office automation and Internet, General education, Entrepreneurship, Environment, French classes, foreign languages, administrative professions, Health and social work, Industrial techniques.

Adult courses offered by the Central City Council of Paris

The courses for adults are organised by the city hall of Paris, in collaboration with 850 professionals from the education sector. The length and intensity vary, from annual to intensive seminars. Their prices vary according to social criteria and the diploma aim of the seminar (from 10 to 150 euros for French sessions of 30 to 90h). Priority is given to those who are following a training course for professional purposes or those who have started a training course at the “Cours d'adultes de Paris”, at the condition that they have respected the registration procedure.

The choice of students selected from among the applications that meet the prerequisites is made according to 1) social criteria (job seekers, subsidized contracts), 2) the objectives and motivation presented by the candidate - priority is given to the candidate's participation in a professional development program and 3) the attendance and results obtained in the previous level when it is a course followed within the Paris Adult Courses.

The tree structure of these adult classes is provided in appendix (appendix 2).

Besides educational and training services, the district also benefit from several sport infrastructures and parks. As summarized by a social worker, *“there are UPE2A classes for allophone children. In fact, we are in the district of the 16th, Auteuil Sud, in which there is the highest density of associations in the 16th, so on the scale of Paris, it's certainly not exceptional, but it's where things are moving. There are a few other social action actors near us, there are a few other housing structures, there is a PMI not far away, there is a local mission, there are great sports infrastructures in the Bois de Boulogne, the lawns of Auteuil, and where there is every type of stadium for every type of sport and that is really good and not too far”*.

Religious building

From a religious point of view, the 16th district is marked by a long Christian heritage. The typology of religious buildings existing locally illustrates this trend. Indeed, the area counts 41 churches and chapels (37 catholic churches and chapels, 2 protestant temples, 2 orthodox churches), 3 synagogues, but no mosque. The absence of Muslim places of worship reduces migrants' ability to practice their religion in a dedicated place, or to benefit from the support religious community could provide.

Other facilities

The presence of health services, including PMI (mother and child protection) answers to residents' basic needs, though for certain specific needs, mobile health services come to the Cinq Toits. Psychological and psychiatric care is nonetheless a true issue, not only in the 16th but more largely in France:

"We have real problems, we have CPMs - psychological medical centres - where there are psychology nurses who are theoretically available but very actually unavailable. The care is very complicated, there is no means of translation of course." (Unit manager)

The neighbourhood offers a large diversity of sporting facilities:

"There are great sports infrastructures in the Bois de Boulogne, the lawns of Auteuil, and where there is every type of stadium for every type of sport and that is really good and not too far." (Social worker)
 Those equipment are regularly used by the residents of the Cinq Toits for sports such as football which they cannot practice within the premises: *"Football sport. I really like this sport [...] I went there this evening. I went to the stadium [...] In the 16th, it nice"* (Refugee)

Green public areas are sparse in the area. There are few places to wander around within a short walking distance, except for small parks and a graveyard. Yet the Bois de Boulogne offers a consequent green space within a 20-minute walk.

Regarding Paris as a whole, cultural amenities are not very represented in the neighbourhood where one may count few facilities such as "the smallest municipal library of Paris" across the street from the Cinq Toits: *"There's a center of animation, there's a house of associations, there's a micro library."* (Social worker)

According to the IAURIF, Third Places (Tiers lieux) have been developed in the area: two co-working spaces and one incubator for sport-oriented start-ups. Finally, only very few spaces are dedicated to youth, cultural actors or young entrepreneurs. Thus, by proposing to be a cultural mixed space, the Cinq Toits fills in a noticeable gap:

"The 16th district is quite divided. How I felt about it, it's quite astonishing, is that, in terms of services, yes, it's a good district, it's not a popular district. Despite everything, in terms of cultural offer, of places that are a bit alternative, a bit nice, that you find a lot in the north-east of Paris, there's nothing here, in any case, for young people, it's not active, it's dead. It's residential here." (Plateau urbain)

The analysis of the socio-economic context reveals that the housing project Les Cinq Toits is located in an economically favoured area not used to host temporary housing centres. The arrival of a project like The Cinq Toits generated tensions due to the absence of "reception tradition" locally. Our analysis revealed that a visible and manifest engagement of local authorities (inclusion of the managers of The Cinq Toits in the city council...), is key to starting a project like this one. It also revealed that time management and openness are two critical elements that participate in changing a district's culture.

The area in which the housing project is located benefits from public transports and services, a dense network of associations and different types of infrastructures. However, the area remains under-dotted in terms of public transports compared to the rest of the city. This under-dotation makes it harder for external people to join the facilities.

3.1.3 The Reception history

Before The Cinq Toits project was launched, another housing project dedicated to exiled people (“La Promesse de l’Aube”) had been implemented in 2016 in the area. It generated a lot of tensions between citizens and suffered from numerous oppositions. One of the founders of The Cinq Toits explains that *“La Promesse de l’Aube generated some really, really violent reactions. There had been attempts at arson, petitions that had reached more than 50,000 signatures, there had been public meetings, including one during which people had insulted each other and thrown projectiles. It had gone very far. Indeed, when we arrived, 3 years later, the fact that this centre was part of the landscape and that it did not make any waves, in fact, created a positive precedent because many people knew Aurore and knew that, even though they had been very afraid, it had gone well, that the centre had been extended since then, without making any waves in the area, because in fact, people had almost forgotten that they were there”*.

The housing project Les Cinq Toits benefited from a less violent welcome for two main reasons. Firstly, citizens already went through a lot of debates when the Promesse de l’Aube project was implemented. With time, they got used to the presence of this centre in their district and were less afraid about such a project. Secondly, Aurore benefits from a solid reputation gained thanks to the successful management of a former temporary housing project: the Grands Voisins. *“Local citizens were not favourable to our arrival, but they trusted Aurore”* (social worker). This expertise participated in decreasing citizens’ reluctances and fears.

However, despite these positive elements, opening a temporary housing project for migrants at the heart of the district was a complex task for several reasons. First, citizens were not used to have social facilities and shelters in the area. Second, some of them perceived it as a treason from the central city hall. Third, other were afraid about criminal issues and about the potential consequences of this project on the value of local real estate. These elements are further developed in part 3.3.

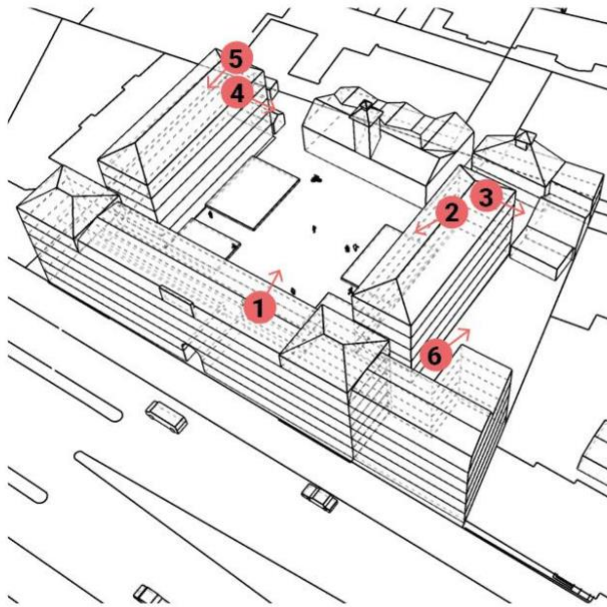
Trying to reinsure local citizens was complex, as an anonymous collective of citizens was formed to stop the implementation of The Cinq Toits. As indicated by a founder of the project, *“we organised a public meeting to discuss about the project, but it was difficult to invite the anonymous collective because, in essence, we did not know who they were. There was this public meeting in the presence of the prefect of the Ile-de-France”*. In this case, the participation of a figure of authority to the meeting participated to reinforce people’s trust in the fact that The Cinq Toits would not cause trouble to the neighbourhood. From Aurore’s perspective, it also gave them the legitimacy they needed to move on with the first steps of the project.

The renovation of the building was handled by professionals in collaboration with volunteers and migrant people (future residents of the housing projects). This collaboration proved to be

empowering for the different stakeholders, allowing people to build relationships, discover handcrafted work, etc. These elements will be further developed in part 4.

In sum, opening the facilities to the external world increased the acceptance of the housing project and its beneficiaries. Several schools came to visit the place to discover local facilities, meet beneficiaries and take part to manual activities. As a social worker explains, *“there are 70 children in school. We got in touch with the deputy mayor's school official right away. They had the schools come in and do some gardening. It went well”*. Local citizens take a more and more active role in the life of the housing project, either by taking part to thematic activities organised by craftsmen within the facilities, or by giving French classes, organising cultural visits or donating food and clothes, among others. The Cinq Toits benefits, now, from several communication relays in the area that help them changing the image of the facilities and their beneficiaries locally. As mentioned by a unit manager, *“now, we have local relays locally. We have some partners who come to support us, typically the house of the associations helps us a lot to relay the information in the district. We have 2 influencers in our address book who relay to people who live here what we propose. We once had a press spin-off, in the newspaper of the 16th.”*

Despite turbulent beginnings, The Cinq Toits is well established in the district. Nowadays, a large proportion of people is indifferent to the project, a small proportion of the residents of the 16th district is highly vehement against The Cinq Toits and a small proportion is highly supportive. To facilitate the discussions between the local authorities, the collective of citizens and other stakeholders, the new mayor added The Cinq Toits to the city council. This political decision does not only reinforce the legitimacy of the project. It also allows the housing program managers to have a better understanding of citizens' fears, but also to have a space for fruitful debates and get support from local actors. One of the unit managers indicates that *“we are members of the Auteuil Sud neighbourhood council. It is quite recent, since we were appointed by the mayor. It is interesting because it is a space of exchange with the residents, in which we realize that there is a large part of people who are indifferent and a small part that is very, very vehement against us and a small part that is very supportive, too, and that says: ‘Exactly, we are happy that you are here, the 16th can welcome, we are fed up with this label that sticks to us’”*.



Viewpoints' localisation



The courtyard, a meeting place

View from the courtyard toward the main entrance ©Aurore, 2019



All pictures ©Quatorze, 2021 unless specified otherwise



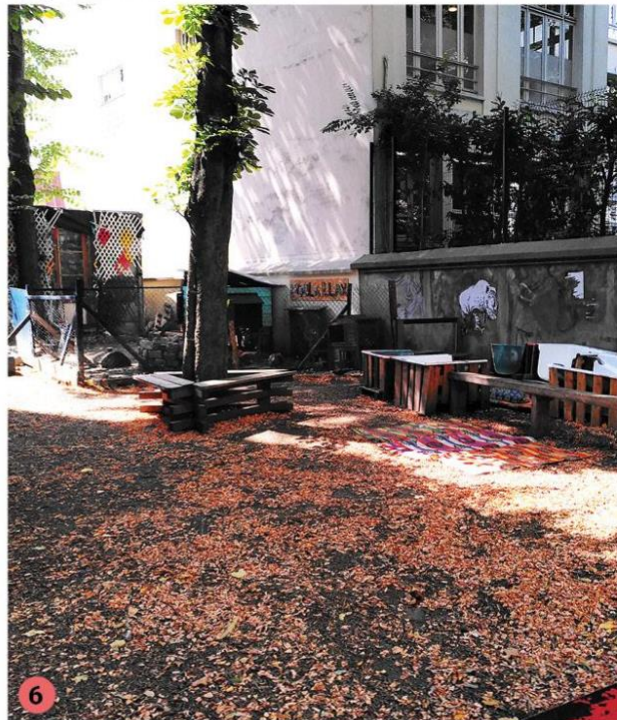
"Le sixième toit"

Rear entrance & sports equipments



Glasshouse and mushroom shed

The garden and its poultry house



All pictures ©Quatorze, 2021 unless specified otherwise

3.1.4 Other housing projects in the region

The Ile de France region receives a high proportion of exiled and vulnerable people due to its' administrative centrality (see D 2.1 for more info). Thus, many housing projects are being developed to offer them a housing solution. They can be temporary or permanent, addressed to a specific public or not, being publicly funded or not. We will present three cases of housing projects currently being developed in the region and explain their differences with the selected housing project.

The Elan program

Many exiled people who are granted refugee status in Ile de France, and more widely in France, navigate between squats, camps, and emergency shelters, due to the lack of suitable places to accommodate them. Several citizen networks have been set up to offer shelter in their homes.

To support households in the Ile-de-France who wish to become involved, Samu social de Paris launched a program called ELAN in May 2015: a multidisciplinary group of professionals, it provides security for this type of reception, support for the hosts, simplification of organizational issues, and offers people who have obtained refugee status social support, psychological support and integration into the workforce.

This program bases its success on three types of actions:

- The first action consists in securing the reception in the home.
- The second strong action of this program aims at supporting the daily cohabitation
- The third action is focused on the reinforced and coordinated support of all the people hosted in the home.

Thus, this program considers the need for the host persons to feel accompanied in the elaboration of their hosting project and to be supported throughout the cohabitation. The support provided by the program's professionals also allows them to be relieved of the integration procedures of the person they are hosting (work, housing, health, etc.).

The humanitarian centre Paris Nord

- **Audience/Program:** First reception for exiled people
- **Capacity:** 400 men per day
- **Surface:** 4 534 m² in total; 950 m² reception desk ; 208 m² healthcare; 3 376 m² temporary shelter
- **Duration:** Temporary (November 2016 – June 2018)
- **Cost:** 5,7 M€ construction; 16,4 M€ (investment & operating) covered by the state and the city of Paris

In 2017, Emmaus Solidarity opened a temporary reception facility for migrants that is unique in Europe, designed by architect Julien Beller. The result is warmer than the usual dormitories in transit camps.

In May 2016, Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris, called on the State to create a first reception structure for the hundreds of migrants who flock to the capital every day. The aim is to create

a dignified, intermediate place to facilitate their passage from wandering to an adapted accommodation centre. In November 2016, the Paris Nord humanitarian centre opened its doors on the site of the former Dubois station. It is a temporary (18 months) and modular centre that can be easily dismantled and reassembled elsewhere.

The land was made available to Emmaus Solidarity and the architect Julien Beller, (commissioned in July 2016), transformed the Sernam warehouse into a comfortable place to live. A former member of the Exyzt collective, he was able to demonstrate his expertise in temporary construction and his involvement with the Roma.

Borrowed from the structures of festive installations, scaffolding, OSB panels, tarpaulins, maritime containers and ultra-coloured graphics distil a little warmth into the premises, so that this stage is conducive to the rest of the residents and the serene organisation of the rest of their journey.

Designed with the "inflatable" structures expert Hans-Walter Müller, the yellow bubble is one of the three spaces that make up the centre, the first one through which the arrivals (between 50 and 80 people per day) pass and where they are directed towards adapted accommodation facilities. The objective was to create an attractive object to formalise this symbolic gateway to France.



© Jean-Baptiste Gurliat

Opposite the bubble, twelve containers form the health centre. The insulation is flocked inside the wood-lined modules, whose doors are kept open, making them easier to move. This is explicit in the temporary shelter centre, designed to house 400 single men for a maximum of ten days.

Installed in the former warehouse, parts of whose facade have been removed to ensure that the smoke is cleared, it is organised into eight quarters of 50 people each. This hierarchy of scales makes it easier for Emmaus Solidarity to get closer to the residents and counteracts the feeling of anonymity that used to lurk in the building. To give them a soul, the neighbourhoods are identified by a colour and, above all, by their shared spaces: a terrace, a refectory and outdoor furniture built into scaffolding, a small attention to detail that helps to create a welcoming environment. The rooms (for four people) are made of wooden frames, heated, soundproofed, equipped with electrical outlets and ventilated. The production of the modules is the work of Maître Cube, a group of wood construction companies that mobilised numerous

factories to meet the urgency of the site. A textile covering that protects against the rain and a variation in height distinguish the houses, which all have a small stoop where you can dry your clothes.

What makes it different from the Cinq Toits?

The Cinq Toits and the First Reception Centre are both temporary, but their overall characteristics differ. The First Reception Centre is an emergency shelter designed to re-orient people to other structures. On the opposite, the Cinq Toits is designed to offer exiled and vulnerable people not only a housing solution but also a place to heal, to receive a training and to integrate the local society. Furthermore, the Cinq Toits mixes uses and audiences (companies, NGOs, etc.) to create emulation that will foster people's integration.

La Maison des réfugiés

- **Audience:** exiled people and the civil society
- **Capacity:** 280 persons
- **Surface:** 800 m²
- **Duration:** Permanent
- **Coordinator:** Emmaus Solidarity and Singa

The "Maison pour tous" is an 800m² space fitted out in a former Citroën garage, located at 50 Boulevard Jourdan in the 14th district of Paris. It is composed of several living spaces. The "House of Refugees" is a building open to all, as much for those involved in hospitality as for those seeking refuge (migrants, asylum seekers, statutory refugees), residents who are convinced or unconvinced by the reception of exiles, committed citizens or those looking for solidarity, and associations and institutions specialized in or confronted with the issue of migration.

Under the impetus of the City of Paris, managed and supported by Emmaus Solidarity in partnership with Singa, the House of Refugees aims to network individual and collective initiatives to promote all cultures and encourage encounters. The House is a place of welcome, information and guidance, training, debate and research, a cultural space, run by a network of solidarity professionals. Guests are invited to train, to learn languages, to debate, to share research and creations, and to celebrate together. People meet over a coffee with a foreign flavour, dance to world music, talk during a cooking workshop, play football or cricket.

Hospitality often means meeting around a dish to share. The kitchen has an essential function in hospitality. Therefore, the House has two spaces for simmering flavours from elsewhere. The kitchens invite families living in social hotels several times a week to cook for themselves.



© Maison des Réfugiés

What makes it different from the Cinq Toits?

Like the Cinq Toits, the House of Refugees offers a set of activities building bridges between exiled people and the civil society: courses, training for civilians and professionals, cultural events, activities designed to empower women, etc. However, contrary to the Cinq Toits, The House of Refugees does not mix audiences (as it focuses on refugees) and does not host companies/NGOs. Accommodations take form of dormitories (rather than in the case of the Cinq Toits, refugees are accommodated in shared flats).

La Promesse de l’Aube

- **Audience:** vulnerable people
- **Capacity:** 200 beds
- **Surface:** 2800 m²
- **Duration:** Permanent
- **Coordinator:** Aurore



© Aurore

The emergency accommodation centre 'La Promesse de l'Aube' (The Promise of Dawn) provides accommodation and support to single people or families, referred by the SIAO Urgence, who were previously homeless or living in social hotels.

Single people have individual rooms of 9m² and shared sanitary facilities; families are housed in two-bedroom flats with a shower-WC block. Each building also has communal living areas: tearoom, refectory, games room, etc.

Residents are supported in the opening of their rights and the implementation of an individual project: access and maintenance of rights, schooling, orientation towards training, qualification, literacy, help with literacy, help with parenthood, awareness of hygiene issues, job search, access to healthcare, access to permanent housing, etc.

The social workers are also keen to offer numerous cultural and sporting activities and outings, thanks to the participation of volunteers. Children of school age attend the neighbourhood schools. They also benefit from several workshops, run by volunteers: homework help, video game programming, art workshops, storytelling and nursery rhymes with Radio France, poetry workshops, etc.

What makes it different from the Cinq Toits?

Like the Cinq Toits, the Promesse de l'Aube offers collective spaces allowing people to meet, share a moment of conviviality. It also provides vulnerable people with the social, medical and administrative support they need to exert their rights and ensure the scholarship of their children.

However, contrary to the Cinq Toits, the Promesse de l'Aube is not necessarily open to the civil society. Single men can benefit from an individual room, which is not the case at the Cinq Toits. Moreover, the premises do not mix uses, as the Promesse de l'Aube does not include any economic activity (hosting companies or NGOs, organising workshops, etc.).

3.2 Characteristics of the selected Housing Project

This section aims at presenting the main characteristics of the project. Special attention will be paid to explain the origins (3.2.1), the financing (3.2.2), the structure (3.2.3), the objectives (3.2.4), the implementing partners (3.2.5), the governance and the temporality (3.2.6), and the target audiences (3.2.7) of the project.

3.2.1 Origins of the project

The Cinq Toits is located in a former police barracks in the south of the 16th arrondissement of Paris, boulevard Exelmans. Since 2018, this project is being carried out by the association Aurore, in partnership with Plateau Urbain, a social innovation project that promotes living together by experimenting with a mix of audiences and activities. The Cinq Toits is a reproduction of the keys to success of the Grands Voisins, a place that promotes diversity of audiences, inclusion, solidarity, and integration of the public while offering, cultural, economic, ecological, and sporting activities in addition to accommodation of its target group which is the refugees and asylum seekers.

Like the Grands Voisins, Plateau Urbain, a partner of The Cinq Toits called for applications to offer workshops in the old barracks to dozens of artists. There are different workshops and activities in the courtyard of the barracks for example, “Do it yourself” furniture workshops that are produced by the “Yes we camp” collective. Other activity spaces include spaces for agriculture, apiculture, Poultry. 4Art Therapy workshops that entail design and architecture, handcraft, and textile.

In 2018, the central city hall of Paris gave a mandate to Plateau Urbain and Aurore to create a temporary housing facility within a vacant building. The objective was to occupy a vacant building while before transforming it into social housing. From the first days, these two actors have been working with professionals but also with future residents to renovate the building. Integrating beneficiaries in the renovation process did not only give them a sense of being part of the project, it also empowered them by giving them new skills, by providing them the opportunity to share their knowledge, or simply by allowing them to discover new manual jobs. These interactions created solidarity among actors and participated to the social inclusion of these first beneficiaries.

3.2.2 Financing of the project

The project is funded by both the state and self-financing mechanisms - notably through the income generated by hosting residents and third-party structures.

For the investment part of the budget, it is important to note that the premises are free of charge. There is no monthly lease payment by the operating partners to the landlord. Yet, to

transform the building into its actual uses, they received some public and private subventions at the beginning of the project. Most of the public money came from the Region and ADEME, a public service dedicated to sustainable development. This fundings were dedicated to the professional kitchen of the restaurant, the construction of La Bricole (also known as the sixth roof), the bicycle pole and all outside space planning and construction.

For the operating part of the budget, the emergency accommodation is 100% funded by the state since it is part of the national reception policy for migrants. To do so a fixed daily allocation per resident is being paid to Aurore. This allocation is dedicated to the expenses of the facilities from electricity and water supply to general maintenance. This also covers all expenses related to social follow-up. Furthermore, the third place contributes to these expenses:

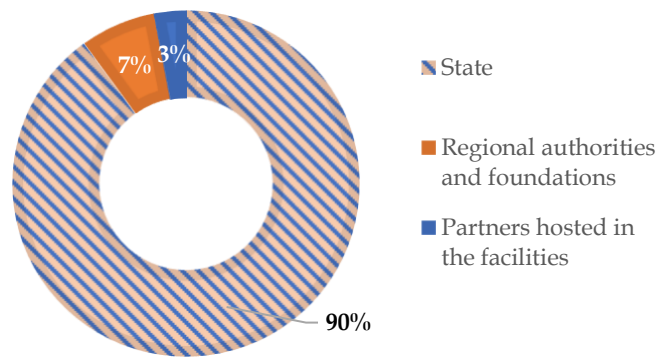
“The hosted structures pay 20€ per square meter [per month]. There is no deposit, no guarantee asked. As I said, only one month advance notice if they wish to leave and all the financial contributions go directly into Aurore’s operating budget, it doesn’t flows through Plateau Urbain but straight to Aurore” (Plateau urbain)

“Through the third place, it will be up to us to find the economic balance in order to be able to develop activities to the outside world, by generating revenue, although most of the revenue is generated by royalties that are paid by other occupants of the place. The sum of these resources constitutes an operating budget of the site and allows the development of activities. We have this balance with this public funding and on the other hand, the generation of an operating budget that is specific to the site” (Unit manager).

The operating budget of the site is mainly financed by the Interdepartmental Directorate of Housing and Housing (DRIHL), as part of the action of emergency accommodation and social support and social support provided by the Aurore association. The mix of public and uses (shared activities, activities, outdoor installations, collective workcamps, etc.) is not financially supported as such. In addition, the contributions of the partner structures for the activity spaces contribute to the payment of expenses related to the occupation of the site. Finally, some specific grants have also made it possible to support projects related to community life, the integration of the people and the opening of the site to the public.

The composition of the budget is showed in figure 7, and the social business model in figure 8. For confidentiality reasons, the value of each budget will not be mentioned. `

Figure 7. Budget composition



Source: internal data

Figure 8. Social Business Model of the Cinq Toits

Social needs: Housing and integration of exiled and vulnerable people, build bridges with the civil society to create more inclusive cities			
<p>Strategic partners</p> <p><u>SSE actors</u> Aurore & Plateau Urbain, Insertion companies, Partner organizations, Foundations</p> <p><u>Institutional actors</u> City Halls, Neighborhood council, Paris Habitat, National institutions, State & regional authorities,</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Management & coordination Material support Financial support Donations Identification of beneficiaries Support</p>	<p>Key activities</p> <p><u>Dedicated to residents</u> Housing, social support, French classes</p> <p><u>Open to citizens</u> Agriculture, Art, Cooking, Counseling, Crafts, Healthcare, Repairing, Medias</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Openness - interactions, activities - galvanizing people & facilities, Generating income, Skills development, Opportunities for inclusion</p> <p>Key resources</p> <p><u>Physical resources</u> Buildings, Restaurant, Workshops, Composters, Garden, Courtyard, Foosball table, Solidarity Grocery Store,</p> <p><u>Financial resources</u> Governmental funds, regional subventions, donations, partners' & residents' contributions</p> <p><u>Human resources</u> Residents, Social workers, Diversity & Mediation teams, Volunteers & Civilian services, Professional activists, Clock council</p> <p><u>Others: DPH program</u></p> <p><u>Impacts:</u> Openness, activities, diversification, support, interactions</p>	<p>Value proposition</p> <p>Create a hybrid housing center: Housing facilities open to the outside world, mixing uses and audiences</p> <p>Hybrid economic model (mixing public and private funds)</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Raise general awareness about migration Create interactions and change citizens' perception about exiled people Build inclusive societies Socio-professional inclusion of residents Build a viable model of housing and inclusion Support initiative and projects</p>	<p>Beneficiaries</p> <p><u>Types</u> Asylum seekers, refugees, beneficiaries from international protection, vulnerable people (notably families)</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Housing, support, social interactions, inclusion, activities, trainings, return to employment</p> <p>Clients</p> <p><u>Types</u> Neighbors, general audience, professional actors, companies</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Activities, trainings, services, donations, interactions with residents and partners, volunteering, better acceptance of exiled and vulnerable people</p>
<p>Costs</p> <p><u>Operating costs:</u> Salaries, fluids, electricity, maintenance/renovation, sanitary expenses</p> <p><u>Investment costs:</u> equipment (Restaurant, workshops, appartements)</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Membership cards, fee-for-service activities, public financing, skill mentorship, volunteering</p>		<p>Revenues</p> <p>Free rental of buildings, Contributions of partner organizations and of some residents, Subventions from regional authorities, donations from foundations and associations (material of financial support)</p> <p><u>Impacts</u> Financing of projects developed by residents or internal partners, trainings, support to professional integration, activities</p>	
<p>Social and/or Environmental impact</p> <p>Reduced ecological footprint (waste management, repairing and upcycling activities)</p> <p>Socio-professional integration of residents (notably women) through DPH programs, events, manual and socio-cultural activities</p>			

3.2.3 Structure of The Cinq Toits

The project hosts 350 people: 100 refugees in the provisional accommodation centre (CPH), 150 asylum seekers in the emergency accommodation (HUDA) and 100 isolated people and families in emergency situations in the emergency accommodation centre (CHU).

“At The Cinq Toits, there are 3 different centres; a HUDA, a CHU and a CPH, In the HUDA, we receive asylum seekers who, as time goes by, they obtain their papers. We also accompany people who have refugee status or subsidiary protection”. (Social worker)

A team of approximately 15 social workers receives and supports these residents on the daily basis in their social – cultural and professional integration.

The premises are also made available to 35 craftsmen, artists, social entrepreneurs, and other associative actors. The objective is to build socio-economic and cultural integration services. These partner structures offer workshops aimed at individuals but also companies for team building sessions. The association 4A promotes, for example, access to art therapy workshops, free creations, training, supervision, cultural and social activities. These workshops aim at mixing audiences in order to allow exchanges through art creations.

The facilities also accommodate a supportive restaurant (le RECHO), a community garden, terraces, a cycling centre, and a shared workshop.

3.2.4 Objectives of the project

The housing project follows two main objectives, namely: 1) the social and professional inclusion of residents and 2) the openness to the city.

The development of social and professional inclusion lies on several elements. First, it is based on the creation of spaces and activities conducive to cater for residents and citizens’ needs. It also relies on the cultural integration and the creation of relationships between residents and habitants. Finally, it is based on the access to vocational training and employment for refugees located at The Cinq Toits. As mentioned by a unit manager, the main objective of the housing project is to *“break the fear of what exile can represent, in France, and to be able to find a maximum of pretexts for meeting because OK, we insert people, but we also have people who come from outside, suddenly, the border that exists, we, we do everything to break it.”* (Unit managers)

Besides facilitating socio-professional inclusion, the project aims at building a more inclusive society in three ways.

First, the founders and the members of the project want to take a proactive role in the construction of the city of tomorrow. Building more inclusive societies lies partially on the mobilization of vacant buildings in the services of united urban planning to fight against precarious housing and speculation. It also relies on the creation of spaces of diversity and the promotion of the emergency of transitional urban planning projects.

Secondly, the project aims at sensitizing neighbours by raising awareness about migration issues: *“Create as many meeting opportunities as possible and consider that this too is an additional tool at the service of social work, to accelerate social inclusion and the integration of people. On the reception of asylum seekers in France, in general it is estimated to take 2 years for a person seeking asylum to have extensive interactions, therefore a real conversation ,with people who are neither, like him, exiled people ,nor people who come from his social support, in one way or another ,the idea is to reduce the deadline as much as possible and to ensure that there is a meeting space in which people from outside learn about the public and at the same time we show that we are creating welcoming pockets in the city ,an idea correlated with transitory urban planning, to show that it is spaces of opportunity to make the city more inclusive and to offer the neighbourhoods that are lacking in dynamism offering them meeting spaces and activities they do not have. It could be wonderful for both the people we support and the surrounding areas. We take advantage of these places to do some advocacy on the reception, exile, on social work and on temporary employment as a tool for social inclusion”* (Unit managers).

Finally, the objective is to raise awareness among all audiences of The Cinq Toits on the challenges of ecology and sustainable development.

3.2.5 Implementing partners

The Cinq Toits project is supported by the Aurore association in partnership with Plateau Urbain with the participation of the “Yes we Camp” initiative.

Aurore

Founded in 1871, the Aurore association fights against exclusion through access to accommodation, care and professional integration. Drawing her experience to experiment with innovative forms of care in adapting to the evolution of the phenomena of precariousness and exclusion. In France, Aurore shelters, cares for and accompanies more than 41,300 people in precarious situations suffering from social exclusion and guides them towards social and professional integration. Recognized as a public utility since 1875, Aurore relies on its experience experimenting with innovative forms of care, which adapt to the evolution of the phenomena of precariousness and exclusion.

The association works in partnership with the State, local authorities, regions, departments and municipalities. Aurore operates mainly in the Île-de-France region and in 7 other regions (Nouvelle-Aquitaine, Occitanie, Centre-Val de Loire, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Grand-Est, Hauts-de-France and Pays-de-la-Loire).

Aurore’s activities are organized around three missions: accommodation, care, and integration. Their areas of focus are:

- outreach, reception, and accommodation of people in situations of addiction,
- activities of social and professional reintegration for people experiencing a rupture of employment or a disability,
- accommodation and accompaniment of female victims of violence,
- care for people in situations of precariousness,

- accommodation and accompaniment of people experiencing psychological challenges
- Aurore is at the helm of Les Cinq Toits as the project initiator. Their role focuses on holistic and individualized social accompaniment to guide those welcomed toward the greatest possible autonomy. This is done through collective actions or individual interviews:
- socio-educational accompaniment: help with schooling, learning French, support for parenthood, help in understanding French institutions and administration in order to make the person more independent;
- Socio-professional accompaniment to guarantee a first integration in France: registration at the Pôle Emploi, orientation towards professional integration mechanisms;
- Accompaniment in administrative procedures: regularization of residence, access and maintenance of rights and social benefits;
- Assistance in finding and maintaining housing: help in finding independent or adapted housing, help with budget management to maintain housing;
- Access to health care: referral to health professionals, prevention, and awareness-raising; Social and cultural activities (leisure activities, cultural outings, meals, etc.).

Plateau Urbain

The plateau Urbain solidary urban planning cooperative offers the provision of vacant spaces at the cost of charges for cultural associations, social and solidarity economic factors.

Plateau Urbain started as an association in 2013 and developed into a cooperative in 2017. Working in the transitional urbanism sector, Plateau Urbain makes vacant spaces available to cultural actors, associations, and the social and solidarity economy.

After the City of Paris entrusted the site to Association Aurore, Plateau Urbain was given the mandate to select and bring to life a community of users with the following goals:

- Animating the place,
- Developing activities contributing to the integration and well-being of the residents,
- Opening up the site to the wider neighborhood.

Yes We Camp

With the participation towards the “Yes We Camp” initiative, this collaborative platform realized the signage and space arrangements and supported the project design and engineering.

Created in 2013, the association ‘Yes We Camp’ explores the possibilities of building, inhabiting and using shared spaces, with the aim of creating new collective narratives that leave more room for everyone's involvement. The collective emerged through the creation of

an ephemeral, artistic and ecological urban camping site in Marseille in 2013 and was involved in the deployment, animation and co-piloting of the former Grands Voisins project in Paris.

The Yes We Camp team works regularly on the Les Cinq Toits project according to the needs of the site: animation, recommendations for cultural programming, advice for the management of the site, the restaurant and the shared workshop, and especially developments for outside spaces (vegetation, signage, graphic identity).

These three partners work together and to summarize their roles:

- Association Aurore is responsible for housing, professional insertion, and internal activities and workshops for residents;
- Plateau Urbain is in charge of partnerships with the associations, offices, artist ateliers, companies, occupying les Cinq Toits;
- Yes We Camp is focused on opening up the space to the wider public by working on design, landscaping and signage;
- The organisers of various onsite initiatives: le RECHO (restaurant), Ridy (bike repair workshop), Les Gens Géniaux (signage), work in collaboration with the project leaders

Temporary occupation is a key skill of the association Aurore and the partnership of the Plateau Urbain. The Cinq Toits project consists of a tremendous opportunity for the social sector providing emergency accommodation at the heart of the city in buildings such as the former Saint -Vincent de Paul Hospital referred to as Les Grands Voisins or the former premises of the national institute of industrial property (L'Archipel). And following the occupation of the Aurore association of the old barracks, owned by Paris Habitat. In the long term, the barracks are intended to accommodate some social housing, an emergency accommodation centre, an area for family pension and a creche.

“Transitory urbanism enables us to really test and experiment, and the fact that we’re meant to stay for a short period puts us less under the pressure of long term. Really, what we experiment and works well will be maintained in the long-term project. At the Cinq Toits, the architect Xavier Brunnuell who works on the long-term project and the forthcoming program for Paris Habitat, spends a lot of time at The Cinq Toits. He inspires himself with what is happening there. We talk a lot. The emergency shelter shall stay in the project, they also proposed to stay at Le Recho, it wasn’t planned at all to have a restaurant in the future project. They also would like to keep the workshops and activities of the ground floor... The architect uses what he sees today a lot to try to influence the landlord of the barracks.” (Unit manager)

“At the beginning we thought that it would last until the 30th of november 2021. We found out one month ago that it will be extended so we really were in big discussions like : ‘How will we do for the 30th of november ?’. In the end we got a small extension of 6 months but, yes it is a big issue stressing out the teams. Also to tell yourself ‘where will all these people go ?’. There is 350 people. We have a find a solution for each of them. For the CPH some may have housing solutions, in this case it’s ok. But for the HUDA and the CHU it will be more complicated.” (Plateau urbain)

3.2.6 Governance and temporality

In January 2019, The Cinq Toits created the “Clock Council”, a council made of artisans, artists, social entrepreneurs, migrants, and associative actors who moved into the premises of The Cinq Toits. It was set up to facilitate meetings, exchanges and collectively address the subjects specific to the functioning of the place and to living together. This clock council takes place every month and brings together social teams of the accommodation centres and the occupants of the premises. The presence of as many people at this monthly governance meeting is highly encouraged. The format is variable and evolves accordingly to the contributions of each.

Two formats alternate, one is a plenary format, that is conducive to transmission of information and general decision making. The second format is “a working group one” which aims at producing content and solve problems that arise. This is collective and works concretely towards the realization of projects.

The Clock Council: proposing and financing collective projects

A common pot, supported by the site's overall budget, facilitates the creation of projects that bring together the various publics of Cinq Toits (residents, social teams, partner structures, partners, neighbours). To be financed, projects must be in line with the objectives and the values of Cinq Toits, as well as allowing to:

- strengthen the links between the public who use the site the site
- amplify the active participation of all
- bring the opportunities offered by Les Cinq Toits closer to people who need them
- promote access to education, training, and employment
- improving neighbourhood relations
- Advocacy and awareness of The Cinq Toits causes

Projects are presented and voted collectively during the Clock Councils. Examples of finance the creation a textile centre at La Bricole (dedicated to residents and neighbours), mediation collect data on the impact of the Cinq Toits project; the creation of logbooks to trace the storie

Besides the clock council, another team – called the Diversity Team - has been created to animate the facilities. The Diversity Team is directed by a social worker who manages a team of volunteers, civilian services and interns willing to organise cultural activities within The Cinq Toits: French classes, cultural visits, etc. Creating this team proved to be positive at three levels. First, it included a wider diversity of actors willing to propose and organise activities. Second, it freed time to social workers, who could focus more on residents’ needs. Finally, it created an additional opportunity for residents and neighbours to interact and create links. As mentioned by a social worker, *"from the point of view of the social team, of the accompaniment of the residents in the legal, medical, social aspect of the persons, we have the reinforcement, the accompaniment of the team that we call the diversity team that takes care of the programming, the*

activities, the life on the centre and the life with the district. And it is great that we have this team because it allows us to develop a whole bunch of activities and projects that we couldn't do if we were an ordinary shelter, without this third-party aspect that mobilizes a lot of different people. This is what makes the difference compared to other housing projects where we stay really focused on the housing mission without opening up more" (social worker).

The composition of The Cinq Toits is illustrated in figure 9.

Figure 9. Composition of The Cinq Toits



Source: <https://lescinqtoits.fr/>

3.2.7 Target audiences of the project

This entails the age groups of people involved migrant, refugees and asylum seekers families. People with refugee status or with the right to subsidiary protection. In addition to 70 children in school. The project also accommodates isolated people. The needs are not exactly the same, depending on the type of audience and the specifications as well.

There are other forms of “mixity” or intergenerational cohabitations both with the occupants and the actors of the project with the aim of fostering interactions with the public and the neighbourhood.

“We see that the place lends itself well to an opening outside, there is a monumental portal as we go in, there is a large courtyard which possibly makes it possible to imagine interactions with the public quite easily, arrange activities, terraces and others. All that was thought about immediately, this site is very well situated to make it a third place that hosts activities other than just accommodation centres, which is also open to the outside, permitting interactions with the neighbourhood” (unit manager).

Selection of residents and their accessibility to housing

The selection is done by the state services through different structures for example through the prefecture, OFII centres that act as receiving points for refugees and asylum seekers. Otherwise, The Cinq Toits does not select its residents. Sometimes the national services (SAMU-115) identify homeless people to be directed to the housing project. The OFII only selects refugees on their waiting lists, and the CPH for the people who come to the day care centre. The residents normally have a 9-month contract with amendments signed within 3 months.

“At the cinq toits, there are 3 different centres; a HUDA, a CHU and a CPH. In the HUDA, we receive asylum seekers who, as time goes by, obtain their papers. We also accompany people who have refugee status or subsidiary protection”. (Social worker)

“As everywhere, in emergency accommodation, people do not choose where they are directed and suddenly, there are people who come here and who consider it a chance”. (Social worker)

The resident centres are the CPH that is dedicated to refugees. It accommodates around 100 people. The Cinq Toits counts two other types of shelters: CHU and the HUDA, dedicated to male asylum seekers and, in the case of CHU, vulnerable people or families that lost their autonomy.

Some spaces have been specifically equipped for children, as explained by a unit manager: *“children have a dedicated space in the CHU family near the offices: there is a large room which serves as a playroom for the children, there is a Sand box on the garden as well, but it remains a space not exclusive for children as it also welcomes other audiences on the site” (Unit manager).*

The peculiarity of The Cinq Toits is that it is primary dedicated to isolated men due to the great vulnerability of this population. Indeed, as explained in WP2 (see D 2.2 for more info), isolated young men tend to be given less priority among migrant populations and, thus, excluded from the National Reception Scheme (due to the saturation of the emergency shelter park). To palliate this need, the city and the prefecture of Paris decided to dedicate these facilities mainly to men.

Involving several actors

The project involves several actors that are involved either directly in the housing projects, such as public actors, Paris metropole, NGOs, social actors, and other actors related to the activities of The Cinq Toits (Aurore, Plateau Urbain, volunteers, etc.).

Their involvement is significant in the governance of The Cinq Toits. Each of them is member of the clock council and can propose projects, discuss about situations, engage into actions, etc. They play a key role in empowering residents, by encouraging them to take part to activities organised within the facilities, and to the decision-making process.

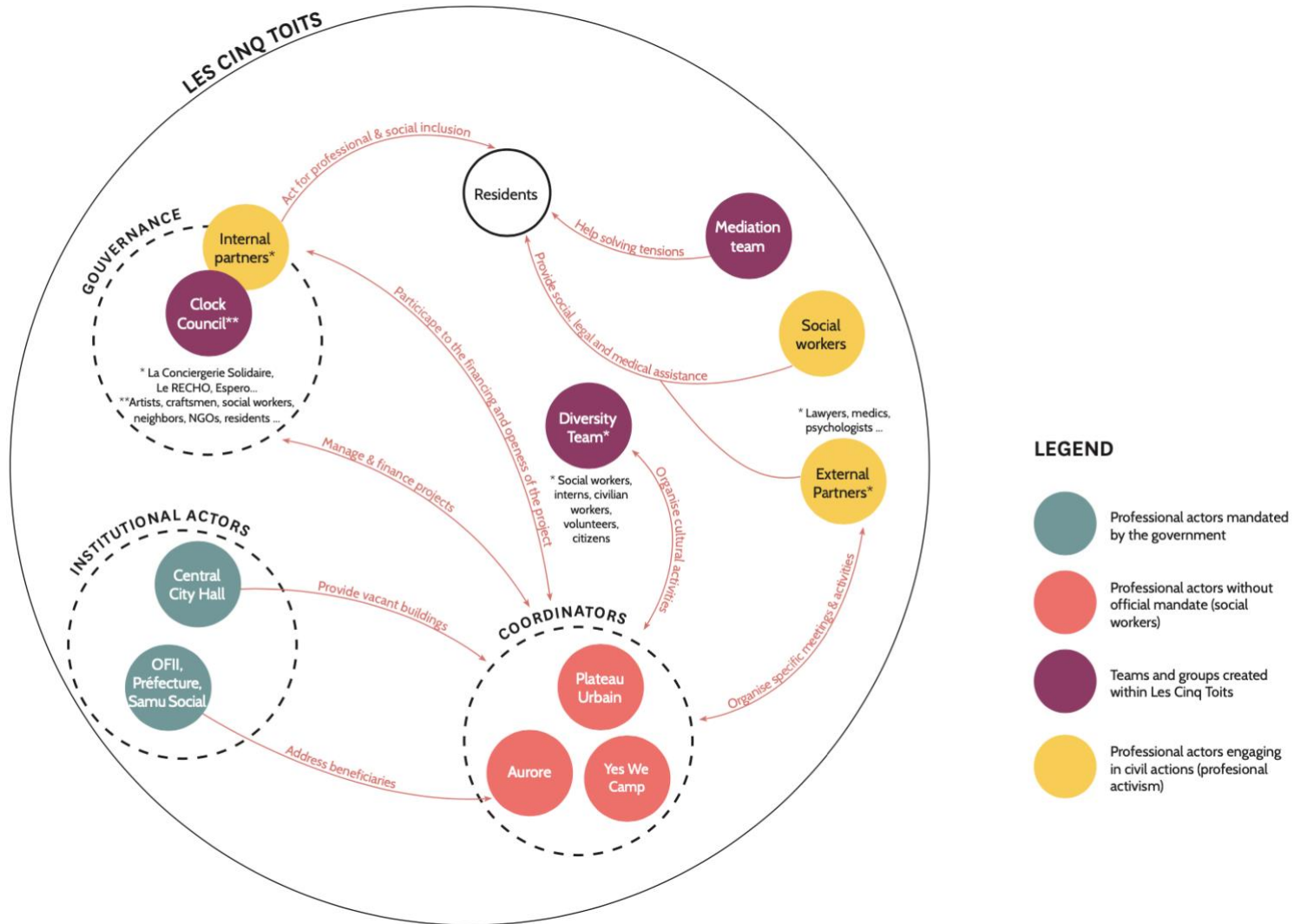
Internally, a code of conduct created by the Association Aurore and signed by each resident at their entry into the facilities, rules the daily life at The Cinq Toits. It mentions the rights and obligations of each resident: cleaning schedules, noise pollution, waste management, etc. As explained by a resident, *“we have a cleaning list. If I cleaned today, then my colleague will have to clean tomorrow, etc.”*. When tensions emerge between residents, social workers intervene to solve the problem – either by resolving misunderstandings or by moving people in another flat.

Besides respecting the code of conduct, residents are asked to pay a rent (10% of their monthly income) when they earn at least the equivalent of a full Active Solidarity Income (RSA). Being able to contribute by paying a rent has a major impact on residents. Indeed, it gives them the feeling of taking part to the host society’s life, to be autonomous. In other words, it is the sign of a new social inclusion.

A social worker explains that *“asylum seekers do not pay rent and they receive a slightly reduced ADA (between 204 and 210€ per month). For refugees, as long as they have no income, they don't pay. On the other hand, from the moment they get the base, it is the full RSA, so 564€ or more, if they have a job, they pay 10% of their income. So those who get the full RSA (564 euros) will give us 56€ per month, that is the financial participation. Normally, in the shelters, it is 15%. We take 10% of the total income, so if they have a job and an activity bonus, we will base our contribution on the total and ask for 10%. That's part of the contract, basically. After that, it has to be legal contracts, we do not ask for 10% from people who work illegally, without a contract. Even if we know that there are people who receive income, the situation being so precarious for these people, we do not ask for... that's it. It is for people who have an apprenticeship contract, a permanent contract, who have the full RSA”*.

Figure 10 summarizes the way The Cinq Toits are being organized and ruled.

Figure 10. Internal organization of The Cinq Toits



3.3 The networks originating from the housing project

Different networks are at the origin of and originated by the housing project. These networks are made of more or less formalized relationships. We will start by presenting the networks that made the housing project possible (3.3.1) before presenting the networks that were formed within the project (3.3.2) and finally the networks that were developed within the framework of the creation (3.3.3) and development of the project with the outside world (3.3.4).

3.3.1 Networks at the origins of the housing project

Four actors are at the origin of the project: the association Aurore, the cooperative Plateau Urbain, Paris Habitat and the city hall of the 16th district. Paris Habitat and the City Hall provided Aurore and Plateau Urbain with a vacant building, with the mandate to create a temporary housing facility for migrants and vulnerable people. The expertise and the reputation acquired when managing a similar project (les Grands Voisins) convinced Paris Habitat and the local city hall to give credit to Aurore and Plateau Urbain.

Besides these initial relations, institutional networks played a major role in the initiation of the project. Indeed, beneficiaries are selected by institutional actors (notably by the OFII) and other social players like the SAMU Social. The association Aurore does not have any influence on the residents' selection process. As explained by a social worker, beneficiaries oriented by state services and are selected by *"The SAMU social (115) for the homeless; the OFII for refugees but they have a waiting list. We have 3-4 places at the CPH that are not occupied. There are people who come to the day center; they have lists of people. [...] Like everywhere else, in emergency accommodation, people do not choose where they are directed"*.

3.3.2 Networks created within the housing project

Several types of networks have been (and are still being) created within The Cinq Toits. These networks can be interpersonal and built between residents and/or between social workers. They can be interorganizational, i.e. built between organizations located within the facilities. Finally, they can be individuals-organizations based, that is developed between residents and organizations located at The Cinq Toits.

Interpersonal networks

The analysis of our data revealed, first, that networks of solidarity have been created between residents – regardless of their status. These networks might be reinforced by the fact of sharing the same nationality, as mentioned by a social worker: *"On the one hand, we have noticed that depending on the nationality, there are groups of people. On the other hand, it seems to us a bit abusive*

in terms of language to speak of networks of Syrian, Afghan, Somali beneficiaries, etc. However, we note the existence of solidarity and mutual aid between people in exile of the same nationality”.

These networks of solidarity can take the form of assistance to language learning, food sharing or even moral support. It can also take an economic dimension. A social worker explains that *“between residents, depending on their administrative status, some have the right to work (refugees), others do not, or under certain rather restrictive conditions (DPH scheme). But between refugees who can, for example, work as delivery drivers (Deliveroo, Uber eats...) and asylum seekers, some errands are subcontracted”*. Despite being illegal, these actions provide asylum seekers with some financial resources they need to cover their expenses and send money to their families. These informal actions could be assimilated to informal networks between people who have the legal right to work and the "subcontractors" who cannot.

Interestingly, these networks of solidarity between residents did not seem to apply to women. Indeed, our analysis did not allow us to identify the existence of such networks, despite the existence of a space dedicated to women. One of the unit managers indicated that *“There is a space that was dedicated to women because... There were several strong moments but in particular, there was a moment, a real question that arose within all the teams of the site, to say: "What is the place of women in this place that, at first glance, can be quite masculine?". In fact, when you go into the courtyard and the weather is nice, it is still very masculine. And where are the twenty or so women? So we freed up a space on the first floor so that they could meet with each other and also cut themselves off from the children because they are all mothers. So we created a women's space”*.

Besides residents, interpersonal networks are also built between social workers to discuss about problematic issues, to share feelings about difficult situations, etc. These interactions are important not only because they allow social workers to share information and to find solutions adapted to specific situations, but also because it gives them the opportunity to constantly improve their practices.

Inter-organizational networks

Just like residents and social workers, networks are being built between organizations hosted by The Cinq Toits. These networks are generated by the creation of joint activities, by shared decision-making processes (during Clock council meetings, for example), etc. As mentioned by an organization hosted within the building, *"we all meet every month. It is a meeting during which we can present our current and future projects."* (4A Therapy). Having frequent interactions allows organizations to have a better understanding of others' activities and expertise and, thus, facilitates the creation of joint activities.

As an example, a troop of comedians used theater to teach residents the vocabulary they need to work safely with architects and other professionals on The Cinq Toits' construction field. The troop stayed at The Cinq Toits for several months after this first experience.

Individual-organization networks

Several activities proposed to residents by the organizations hosted at The Cinq Toits: bicycle repair workshop, beekeeping, among others. These activities allow residents to develop skills but also to build relations that can eventually turn into a job, notably through insertion contracts (cf. part 4 for more information).

3.3.3 External networks of which the project is part of

The Cinq Toits favours flexible partnerships between internal and external actors over formalized (contractual) relations. Four main actors take an active role in providing residents with the goods and services they need to reach full socio-professional and economic autonomy: the Foundation 'Apprentis d'Auteuil', local associations, legal councillors and the city council of Auteuil Sud. These flexible partnerships are formed and developed by the project managers.

The Foundation 'Apprentis d'Auteuil'

The Foundation of the orphan apprentices of Auteuil is a social organization dedicated to the reception, training and integration of youths in social difficulty. This Catholic foundation is under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, the Bishopric of Paris and the congregation of the Spiritan Fathers. By their geographic and social proximity, deep relations have been established between The Cinq Toits and the Foundation. A member of The Cinq Toits explains that the teams established a *"cool partnership with the Apprentis d'Auteuil. They receive a lot of donations because they are a key player in the neighbourhood, and sometimes, they do not know how to handle some of them. We regularly go to meet them, and we exchange things. [...] Our teams [manage these exchanges and spread it accordingly to the activities concerned]. In fact, by activity, it's quite... Let's imagine that it's the recovery of small pieces of furniture to be refurbished, it's going to be the team of the Bricole who will say to themselves: "We will go and see the Apprentis d'Auteuil", for food, clothing or others"*. These exchanges provide workshops with extra resources. They also participate in supplying the solidarity grocery store existing within The Cinq Toits (and dedicated to residents).

Local associations and companies

As previously mentioned, The Cinq Toits is located in an area benefiting from a dense network of associations. Indeed, 187 associations of all types (sports, culture, etc.) are registered in the district. These actors play a critical role in the acceptance and animation of The Cinq Toits locally. They communicate locally on the activities happening and organized within the housing project. This relay participates in opening The Cinq Toits to the society and creating interactions between residents and citizens.

"We have some partners who come to support us, typically the house of associations helps us a lot to relay the information in the district. We also have an influencer, or two, for that matter. We have 2 influencers in our address book who relay to people who live here what we propose" (social worker).

Besides communication, local actors also provide logistic and operational support to the residents of the housing project. This support can be based on skill-based sponsorships, donations (food, clothes, scholar material, furniture, etc.) or other. A unit manager explains that *"we have a partnership with two bakeries in the neighborhood: every Friday morning, we collect unsold bakery goods. We have the Prêt-à-manger chain which allows us to recover fresh donations, we have the food bank from which we get supplies for the solidarity grocery store. And then we have a lot of donations from individuals. Plus, we go through typical platforms"*.

Legal and medical assistance

The residents of The Cinq Toits are mainly asylum seekers, refugees and people who lost their autonomy. Their personal and migration journeys are often marked by deep traumas and complex administrative situations, requiring de facto specific assistance. To answer to residents' needs, legal and medical experts come to The Cinq Toits on a regular basis. Their venue is a good opportunity to work on people's individual issues and organize prevention meetings.

On the legal side, social workers and residents benefit from the assistance of lawyers acting voluntarily in *"legal clinics, lawyers who come. The social workers refer to the lawyers. There is a hotline for foreigners' rights. The social workers often have a legal background. We have 3 out of 6 specialized in foreigners' rights. In fact, I have training in European law. We stopped the hotline because we didn't have enough people coming in"* (Founding member of The Cinq Toits).

From the medical side, social workers also organize consults and prevention actions (notably for sexual diseases) with volunteer doctors. These actions allow residents to benefit from physical and mental assistance. As mentioned by a social worker, *"the 'Psychologists of the Heart' came recently and apparently want to come every Thursday for 2-3 hours, in the courtyard. They are volunteer psychologists. They want to come every week for small exchanges of 30 minutes, to support a little the team present. The Crips also came to make interventions, notably on AIDS, sexual diseases and intimate life. They come and we, in fact, use interpreters and we make language groups, so either dari-pachto, or Arabic-speaking, or tigrinya. It worked out pretty well"* (social worker).

The venue of these actors on-site is particularly important for newcomers, as they might not be willing or able to take the step to meet lawyers, doctors or others out of the facilities.

The Auteuil Sud neighborhood council

Neighborhood councils aim at improving the quality of life through three actions:

- Promoting the expression of the members of the neighborhood
- Co-constructing the borough's projects

- Supporting citizen initiatives

Each council of the 16th district benefit from an annual budget granted by the local city hall of 3306 € of operating and 8264 € of investment budgets.

In 2021, the new municipality of Paris 16th appointed The Cinq Toits as members of the Auteuil Sud neighborhood council – a council joining 6 representant of citizens, 8 elected officials, 8 associations and 2 qualified personalities (the President and vice-president of the neighborhood council). This decision gives Aurore the opportunity to interact with local actors, to discuss with representants of citizens to better understand their potential fears and expectations.

“We are in the Auteuil Sud neighborhood council, which is quite recent, since we were appointed by the mayor. It's interesting because it's a space of exchange with the residents, in which we realize that there is a large part of people who are indifferent and a small part that is very, very vehement against us and a small part that is very supportive, too, and that says: ‘Exactly, we are happy that you are here, the 16th can welcome, we are fed up with this label that sticks to us’” (unit manager).

3.3.4 External networks of which partners are a part of

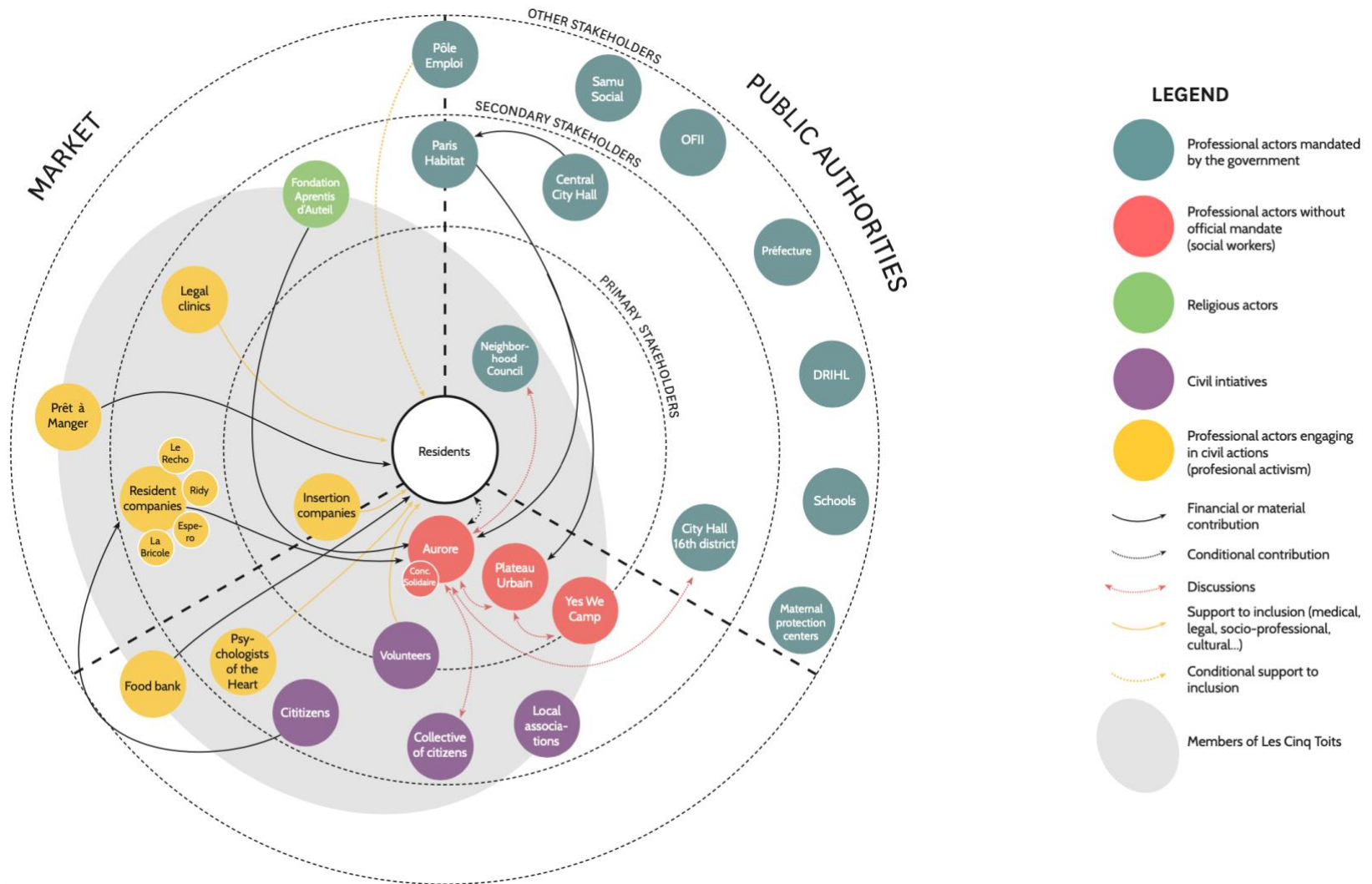
Guiti news: A european network to talk about migration differently

Guiti News is an online media outlet for the public offering a dual perspective on key societal topics. For a fairer, more complex and more coherent vision of today’s world, Guiti News presents only reports produced by a collaboration of two people: a French journalist and an exiled colleague. At the moment, the network consists of three media outlets: [Kohero Magazin](#) (Germany), [Solomon Mag](#) (Greece) and [Guiti News](#) (France). *“In this same logic of reflection, we are creating a network of media mobilized to change the media discourse on migration and exile” (Founder and Director of Guity News).*

Figure 11 summarizes the main networks and their contribution/impact on the housing project. We used Czischke’s (2018) methodology for multi-stakeholder mapping to build the figure. We distinguished three types of actors: the state, the market and the civil society, as their objectives, actions and constraints are fairly different.

- Primary stakeholders refer to actors directly concerned by the project. These actors are impacting and being impacted by the housing project – either because they are residents, social workers or other organizations hosted within The Cinq Toits.
- Secondary stakeholders are actors that remain concerned by the project but that are not part of. They can have a positive or negative impact on it.
- Other stakeholders are actors that remain important to the project but that have an indirect relation to it

Figure 11. Networks and their impact on the project



3.4 Participatory processes

Les Cinq Toits promotes living together by experimenting with a mix of audiences and activities. This will result in the implementation of participatory approaches at different stages of the project, involving different actors.

3.4.1 Participatory process in place during the starting phase of The Cinq Toits

Beneficiaries actively participated in the transformation of the gendarmerie barracks into an accommodation centre, as well as in the installation of the workshop 'La Bricole' in the facilities. Involving residents in the construction of their future housing centre proved to be an empowering experience: it allowed them to discover manual jobs, to make the most of their competences, develop new skills and build relations (with other residents and professional actors). In other words, it initiated the socio-professional inclusion process.

The manager of the workshop "La Bricole" explains that the workshop "*addresses all types of public and besides, the majority of the guys who took part in the construction site of this place were asylum seekers, but the boys that you will meet or that you have already met, them, obtained their residence permit during the construction site, where the logic of the construction site, it was to imply a maximum of residents on the construction of a place which was going to become a resource for them, on a whole heap of manual activities. And by making them participate in this workcamp, there was, and the question of the appropriation of the place within their place of life, of the Bricole within their place of life, and a dimension of training, almost, even if it was not a well-established program in advance but they nevertheless, for the majority, took part in the whole of the trades of the construction of a building. We tried to produce skills assessments and in fact, we realize that it was useful for the boys to project themselves, once they had obtained a title, to say to themselves: 'I worked with wood, I loved it, I could go and train as a carpenter, I have a fertile ground'*".

3.4.2 Participatory process between residents, citizens and organizations at The Cinq Toits

Approximately 40 craftsmen, artists, social entrepreneurs, and associative actors develop their activities in the premises of The Cinq Toits. Mixing housing and professional spaces constitutes an economic, social, and cultural fabric at the service of insertion and a place where participative approaches will develop. The cases of the Recho, the "Pôle Vélo" and La Bricole illustrate quite well the emulation generated by the diversity of uses existing within the building.

The Recho

This restaurant is a solidarity project led by professional cooks, which aims to create links and develop social interaction through cooking. The RECHO brings together 15 residents of The Cinq Toits and 15 people from outside the shelter to cook a buffet that will be shared by all. The objective is to bring people together through cooking, a universal language that brings people together. The employees are supervised by professional chefs and volunteers (cf part 4).

The Pôle Vélo

Born from a collaboration between FUB, the SoliCycle integration project, Les boîtes à vélo, the Aurore association and Plateau Urbain, the Pôle Vélo is a place for exchanging and sharing knowledge open to all. Ridy, a bike repairing company is open to both residents and general public. It holds self-repair permanence (from basic to complex repairs) every Saturdays (even weeks) without appointment. The manager specifies that *“One day per week for those who participate in the self-repair workshop: residents are invited to maintain their own bike or those of the fleet made available and to participate in the workshop to learn the basics of bike repair”*. Besides repairing activities, Ridy also rents bicycles to both residents and neighbours.

The Pole Velo responds to a double challenge: encouraging the mobility of the residents of The Cinq Toits while promoting an ecological and economical mode of transportation. The bicycle center makes it possible to mobilize these residents and neighbors, as well as to create a new attraction around this theme, as close as possible to the bicycle path along the Seine in a territory enclosed by major roads.

La Bricole

Les Cinq Toits opened a 130m² space dedicated to collective manual learning: La Bricole (figure 12). Open to all, this space aims to generate social links through the practice of craft activities, by promoting the reuse and transmission of knowledge and know-how: accompanied DIY, woodwork, metal, textile, repair of small household appliances.

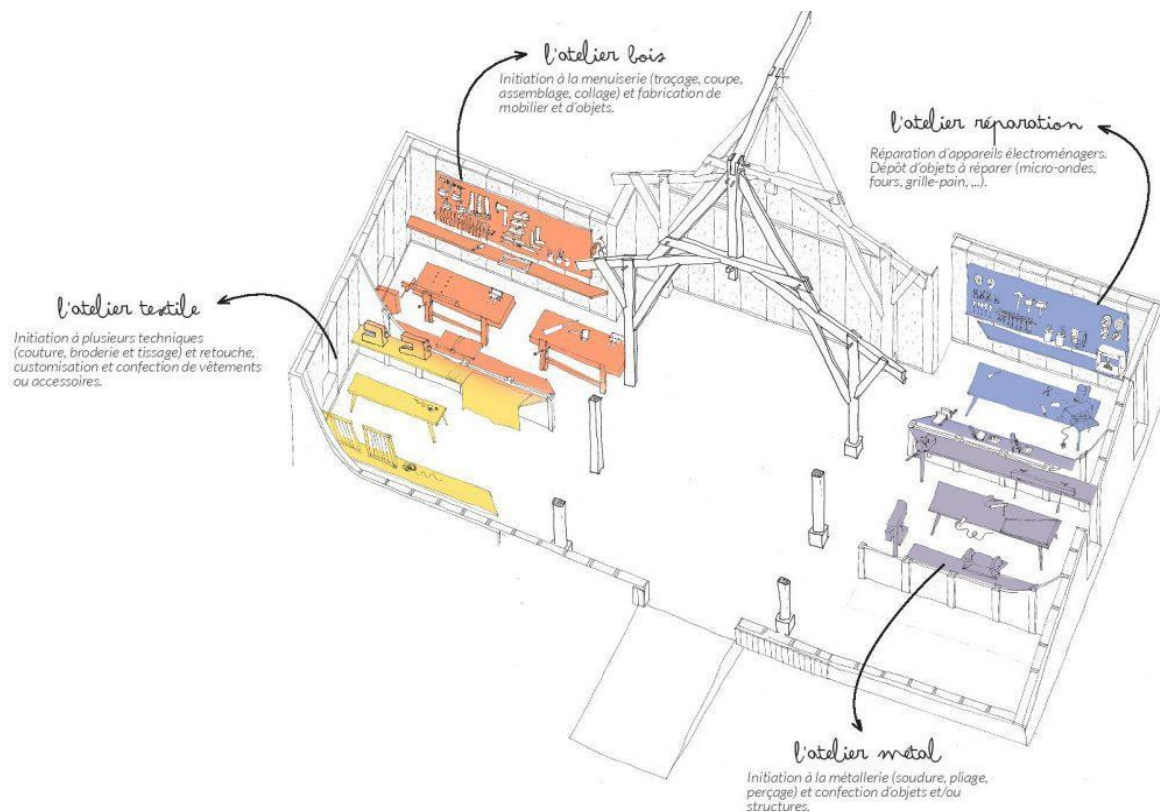
La Bricole is a resource place for the discovery and training of crafts in a circular economy and sustainable production approach. This project also allows the professional integration of people in precarious situations, employed within the framework of the First Hours Program (DPH) (cf. part 4).

The "Premières Heures" program (DPH) is an employment-based integration program for people who are severely excluded, who are far from employment, who are homeless or who have experienced periods of homelessness. The *Premières Heures* program is aimed at people who are severely excluded, who are far from employment, who are homeless or who have experienced periods of street life or wandering. It allows them to re-mobilize on their life project, to regain their self-confidence and confidence in themselves and to re-appropriate

the codes of the of the working world. Integration is based on motivation, without any selection or pre-requisites.

Initiated by Emmaus, it has been deployed in the Paris region since 2013 and will be deployed in 25 French regions from 2020. The DPH provides financial support to structures, associations or companies in the department that offer activities and support to people who cannot access people who are unable to access jobs or integration or to traditional integration projects. At their own pace, with a contract of 6 to 20 hours per week they participate in various missions and benefit from a reinforced socio-professional support.

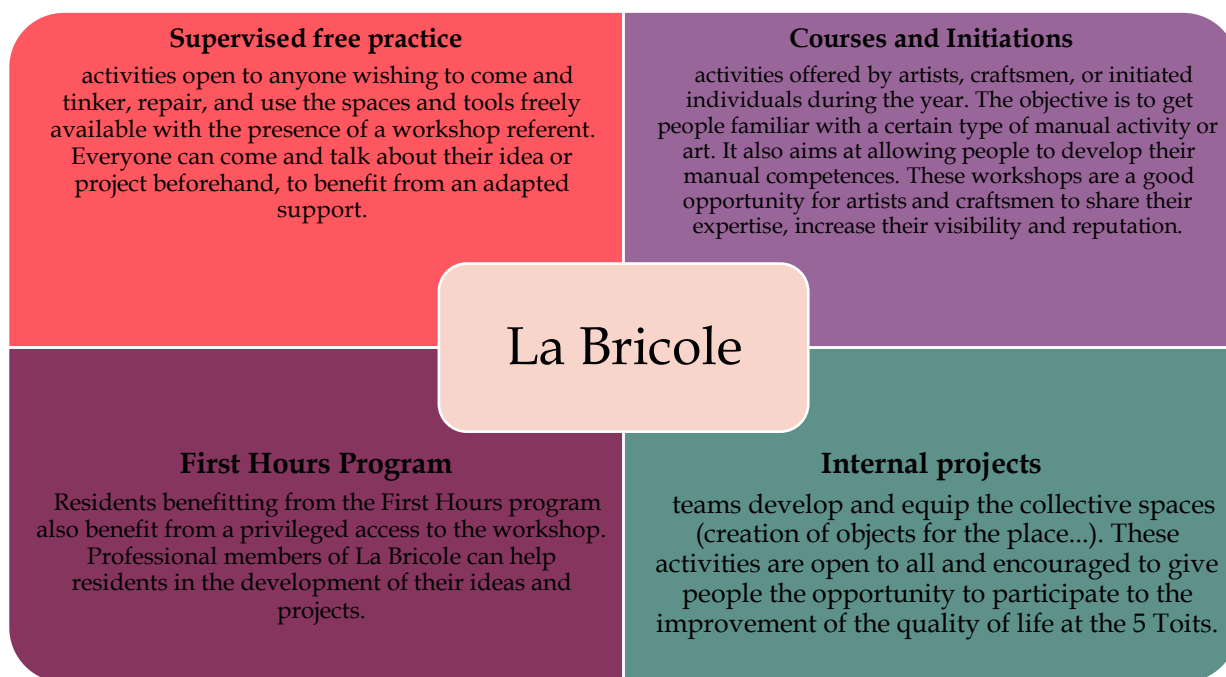
Figure 12. Presentation of La Bricole



Source: <https://lescinqtoits.fr/>

Four types of activities are being organized at La Bricole: supervised free practice, courses and initiations, projects developed by The Cinq Toits and Internal time reserved for services. Accessing and participating to these activities is free for residents, and subject to a membership card (free price, 10 € recommended) for citizens.

Figure 13. Type of activities happening at La Bricole

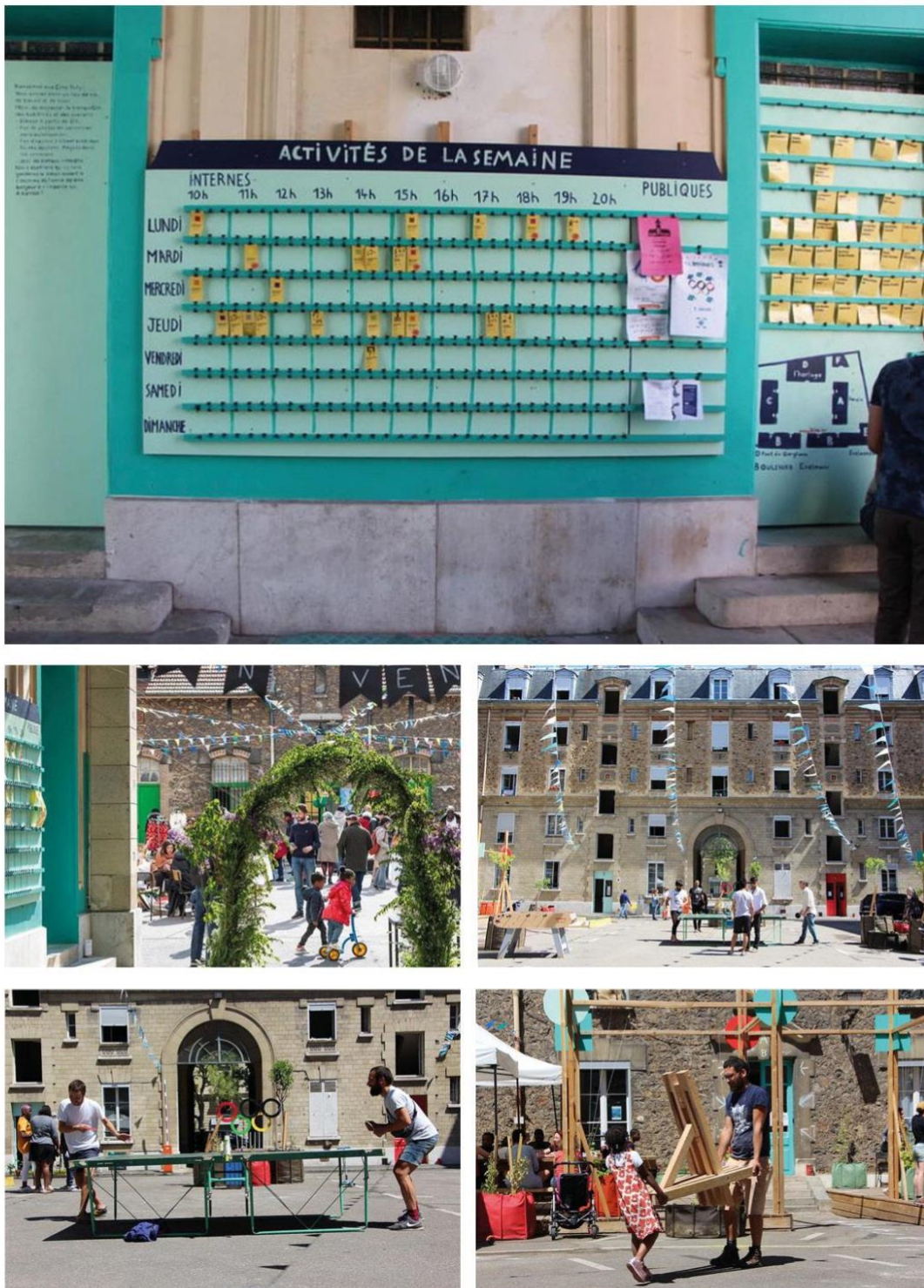


As previously mentioned, many activities organized at The Cinq Toits are also open to the public. This openness participates in fuelling opportunities for interactions and social mix. A list of activities is available in appendix 3.

Family activities

Besides the activities previously mentioned, life at The Cinq Toits is punctuated by series of family-oriented events. These events are open to the outside public: designer stands, workshops, exhibitions, shows, activities for children, concerts, conferences, debates, screenings... Each resident is encouraged to propose activities and initiate projects. However, due to the language barrier, few residents really get involved.

Figure 14. Family oriented and public events and gradations of activities



©YesWeCamp

3.4.3 Participatory process between companies and partner associations



Figure 15. Some posters announcing activities: classes, visits, contests and talking groups

©Quatorze

Each month, a council gathering companies, associations, social workers, volunteers, citizens and residents is being organized in the courtyard of The Cinq Toits. Called the “clock council” due to the configuration of the buildings (meeting happening at the bottom of a big clock), this meeting is the illustration of the multi-level governance in place at The Cinq Toits.

This meeting offers the opportunity to discuss about events, present ideas and projects, debate about the way things are organized, etc. Members discuss collectively about new projects and decide about their financing. Despite being invited, residents are often absent from these meetings. The language barrier, the lack of communication and understanding about the objective and interest about these meetings tend to negatively impact their participation.

As explained by one of the unit managers, “we have a council, which we call the council of the clock, which takes place every month. Roxana, who works with Plateau urbain, manages this meeting. All the partner structures on site, the social teams and the residents are invited. The residents do not come too much, they are invited. We debate and vote on certain budgets. We have a common pot where anyone can propose a project, whether it's a resident, a person from the social team, or a partner. And we vote by a show of hands to know if it fits in the criteria of the use of the common pot”.

The importance of outdoor spaces

Figure 16. Outdoors spaces as places of interactions



©UJML and ©Damien Cernak

The case study conducted at The Cinq Toits pointed the key importance of outdoor spaces and equipment in the participation and inclusion processes of residents. Indeed, the data collected revealed that common outdoor spaces present two main advantages. First, they participate in improving the sense of well-being at both physical and mental levels (as residents are not confined indoors). When tensions emerge (notably between residents sharing the same apartment, or within families in distress), outdoor spaces offer a healing bubble and contribute to maintain harmony. Second, they facilitate meeting, discussion, and joint activities between the different types of public.

The site is open 7 days a week. During the day, visitors are invited to take advantage of the outdoor spaces as if they were a village square to meet, have a picnic, use the outdoor games, play chess, participate in the urban agriculture activities, etc.

Figure 17. Outdoors spaces as places of services



©UJML and Quatorze

3.5 Main challenges and problematic issues faced by residents and the project

The managers of The Cinq Toits formed partnerships with different actors in order to create an innovative accommodation for refugees, asylum seekers, and other vulnerable people.

The analysis conducted on the housing project revealed the existence of difficulties face at the individual, organizational and societal levels. Examples of difficulties encountered include time management, population density, internal and external tensions due to cultural differences, lack of communication and participation in the activities organized internally, dependency to the place and waste management problems. We will present the difficulties faced by chronological order, from the initiation (3.3.1) of the project to nowadays (3.3.2). We will end by highlighting the strategies implemented to overcome these difficulties (3.3.3).

3.5.1 Challenges faced during the preparation of the project

The coordinators of the project faced two main difficulties while preparing the project, namely tensions with the neighborhood, and time constraints.

Tensions with the neighborhood

As previously mentioned, the housing project Les Cinq Toits is in a wealthy area characterized by a very limited number of social housing and shelters. When announced, the project generated high tensions among local citizens, between people favorable and unfavorable to the arrival of such center. Indeed, some citizens lived it as a treason from the central city hall. One of the founders explains that *"it took place in a context in which the centre was seen as being imposed by the central city hall on the local one, which was inaccurate in the sense that the city hall of 16th district was completely in the loop of all these exchanges. Probably there was a real plea from the central city hall, but the city hall of 16 really brought the message to its electorate that "it's being imposed on us, it's not going to happen: "It's being imposed on us, it's a blindside from Hidalgo", when in reality, they knew about it from the beginning, and they deliberately didn't inform the local residents"*

At the origin, the facilities were a gendarme station and local citizens were attached to their policemen. Evacuating the station to transform it into a temporary housing project for migrants was perceived as a treason: *"We chased away our gendarmes to put migrants in their place"* (citizens). Some citizens were afraid about criminal issues, while others worried about the potential consequences of this project on the value of local real estate. A social worker mentions that some citizens claimed to be *"afraid of terrorism, of paedophilia. A lot of very strong stigmas... They superimposed a lot of fears in all directions, they put them on an audience they knew and so a lot of people were really very afraid, in fact. And one of the fears was that there's an elementary school right behind it, and then there was the fear that it would drive down the rent in the*

neighbourhood. There was also the fear of the next program, which was, like after us, there would be public housing, it was going to be even worse, because there again”.

Trying to reinsure local citizens was a complex task because an anonymous collective of citizens was formed to stop the implementation of The Cinq Toits. As indicated by a founder of the project, *“we organised a public meeting to discuss about the project, but it was difficult to invite the anonymous collective because, in essence, we did not know who they were. There was this public meeting in the presence of the prefect of the Ile-de-France”.* In this case, the participation of a figure of authority to the meeting participated to reinforce people’s trust in the fact that The Cinq Toits would not cause trouble to the neighbourhood. From Aurore’s perspective, it also gave them the legitimacy they needed to move on with the first steps of the project.

Time constraints

All these issues can be explained by the innovative nature of The Cinq Toits for a district like Paris 16th – issues exacerbated by the time constraints NGOs had to deal with. Time management was a critical issue when launching the project. This lack of time impacted the NGOs’ ability to discuss properly with neighbours before the beginning of the first renovations. To overcome these time-related issues, the decision has been made to open the facilities to the public in order to be as transparent as possible and gain people’s trust. One of the founders explains that *“when we arrived, a petition that went around, with about 500 signatures. But opening the structure to the public, the fact of making a very active approach to make people talk about us, to invite the people of the district, to allow them to come and see with their own eyes what is going on inside really helped a lot to (?) the fears. A lot of people who came in initially out of scepticism and came back saying, ‘It’s not that bad. The restaurant LE RECHO played a key role in that”*.

Time constraints also deeply affected the social teams. Indeed, the founding teams had limited time to restore the building and prepare to receive the first beneficiaries. One of the founders confirms that *“We did not have time to prepare people, to prepare the neighbourhood, to prepare internal regulations. In the beginning there were thefts and degradation of the building. Many refugees had a complicated history and a lot of anger. We received people 24hours a day, but as we opened the CHU to families, a team of social workers resigned. We did not have enough time to spend on the project and for hosting people”*.

3.5.2 Main difficulties faced nowadays

The main difficulties identified lies on three pillars: citizens, residents, and facility management.

Tensions and lack of interactions with the neighbourhood

Despite the efforts engaged by the managers of The Cinq Toits and their partners, local tensions between some citizens and the housing project managers remain. Acceptance implies, in such case, a change of culture that can only happen with time.

“The Cinq Toits has been working for 3 years, but there is still a big gap between the residents and the neighbourhood. [...] It is a quiet neighbourhood here and the residents have no interest in more movement. Even when there are no people or music, the neighbours complain about the light! (unit manager)”

A social worker endorses in this sense, specifying that *“some neighbours come and tear down the banners, some have climbed the facade. These are attacks by special people, but it is anecdotal today. A journalist from France 2 who lives next door sees naked Afghans... It is impossible, it does not exist. Hostile neighbours are quarantenarians; older people are supportive”*.

The peculiarity of the area lies on the typology of citizens living there, i.e. often people having a wealthy status, with deep connexions with high-rank decision makers and political actors. These connexions make it sometimes difficult for social workers to operate, as some citizens use personal connexions to disrupt the project: *“The neighbourhood is special. In the beginning, there were residents who put a towel hanging in front, on the front. It was the prefect's office that was directly provided. People have direct access to the prefect”*.

Besides these tensions, the interactions between residents and neighbours remain limited - even when they come into the facilities. Interestingly, the restaurant Le Recho, the bike repairing workshop and the activities organized within The Cinq Toits attracts neighbours, but it appears that residents and citizens do not always seize these opportunities to interact. Language and cultural barriers, shyness and lack of time partially explain this phenomenon. As mentioned by a resident, *“People from the neighbourhood come to the restaurant, but they don't talk to us. They come to eat and then go. If they wanted to talk to us, we would say yes, like with you now. But how can you tell your story to people who don't ask you?”*.

Population density and configuration of the buildings

As mentioned, The Cinq Toits is based on a former police barracks: it is made of four large buildings (housings) forming a square, in middle of which the courtyard is situated. This courtyard offers an interesting and large space to organize collective activities, such as gardening, chess contests, etc.

However, the configuration of the place, combined with the density and vulnerability of people living there generate tensions, notably due to noise pollution. A social worker explains that having a *“courtyard, it is great, and it is a very nice living space, but it is also a huge sounding board, and we have a lot of conflicts of use that come from the fact that we are tight like that in very, very dense buildings, tightened around a courtyard and enclosed in a subdivision also very dense [...] There is the problem of nuisances: you cannot do programming here, if you move an eyelash, everyone hears it, because of the density of the place and the courtyard”*.

The impact of these noise pollution is increased by the fact that residents are housed in collective flats. Indeed, The Cinq Toits is based on the cohabitation model: people are sharing a flat with 5 to 9 other residents. Each flat is made of a collective kitchen, a collective bathroom and 3 to 5 rooms (shared by 2 residents). Under such circumstances, tensions might emerge between residents, due to cultural differences, mental health issues, misunderstandings, respect of codes of conduct or cleanliness. As explained by a resident, *“8 people in an apartment, it is a bit difficult. Also 2 people in the room, it is a bit complicated because there is too much noise, but it is France. In the courtyard, there are people coming and making music. It's noisy and when you work at night, and if you want to sleep during the day, it's difficult”*.

Besides cohabitation issues, residents' administrative status and expectations are also source of tensions. Indeed, refugees and asylum seekers are not a heterogeneous group: they had different migration journeys (more or less traumatic), they come from different countries with backgrounds and languages. Some residents have the legal right to access to training and work while others are doomed to wait, without any legal to work, nor financial resources. The emergency that some residents feel drives them to jump from activities to activities, without being able to stabilize them. Due to these elements, making them participate to activities organised locally is complex. As mentioned by a social worker, *“young residents have a lot of expectations when they come, and sometimes they come and go. The mothers have kids that already take a lot of their time. Those who are in the courtyard may go to legal meetings in the morning. Afterwards, there are French classes for all levels, but people do not go to them much...I think that many of them do not make a connection. I asked several times why they do not learn French. One of them, for example, speaks German all the time. Others say that the courses are no at their level. In fact, I feel like I have to pull them to get them here”*.

Mental and physical wellbeing

As mentioned earlier, most of the residents suffer from mental and physical traumas due to their migration journey. Accessing to mental and physical care remains a bit long and complex, due to the lack of resources (human and material).

“There is no medical follow-up, there is a lack of psychologists in addition to translation problems, for the psychiatric part, it is very hard to find space or to have follow-up” (unit manager).

Mental wellbeing extends to social workers who are in daily contact with the victims. However, despite the above challenges encountered, there have been several strategies set up by the premises to act as solutions, some are short term whereas others are long term as will be addressed in the (3.3.3)

Dependency to the place

As mentioned earlier, the objective of The Cinq Toits is to create a place mixing uses and publics, following both a social and housing purpose. Several activities are being organised, and residents are supported by a team of social workers (and, punctually, by legal and medical

experts). The housing project is made to create a safe and quiet place to give residents the opportunity to heal from a traumatising migration journey. Interestingly, it appears that this organisation can create a form of dependency of residents to the place. It does not fully allow them to understand the realities of the housing market locally. When times come, it can also make the relocation to another individual social housing difficult, as explained by a social worker:

“We want to have a dignified welcome, a warm welcome, so that people can, just after a very complicated exile, rest, find their bearings and rebuild themselves a little. At the same time, there is the idea of saying: ‘It’s not just us’ and it is important that they also know how to detach themselves from us. Not at the very beginning, but at some point, they live only by this place, they love this place, they don’t want to leave. We try to make orientations and it is sometimes complicated: ‘But where am I going to go? I’m going to Île-de-France but I only know Paris. And then Paris, there is transportation, and Paris, we can do this, and Paris, we can do that’. We tell people: ‘Yes but living in Paris is actually quite rare. Even us, we don’t necessarily live in Paris. And the rent prices, you do not realize it now, but it is just incredible’. We do all this educational work, saying: ‘You have to accept the fact that you were there for a while and that afterwards, your integration will probably go through different places. It is good that they feel at ease and that they feel great at our place, in the center, afterwards, it’s cool that they have other links with other neighborhoods and that they open up a little bit because otherwise, they stay in a little bit of a little bubble, which looks all good and nice, but in fact, it’s not just that. it’s good that they have other places to go for their French classes, to go to see the doctors, for their sports activities too. Because we have the French classes, the gym, we have the cafeteria with lots of board games, etc., we have the Bricole if they want to learn things, there is a bicycle center, we do urban agriculture, there is a psychologist who comes every two weeks... Well, there are many, many things inside the center and sometimes, there are some who only live in this center, but it is also a problem, it is not the objective. The goal is for them to feel comfortable there, to rebuild themselves as best they can and to have a place where they can gather. Afterwards, I think it’s important that they can still have other ties so that, even for us, when the center closes, it won’t be a catastrophe for everyone and that people have points of reference, people have other ties that allow them to become independent”.

Lack of internal and external communication

The data collected at The Cinq Toits highlighted the existence of tensions and difficulties caused by a lack of communication at both the internal and external levels. Several organisations hosted within the facilities expressed a frustration regarding the digital communication made of The Cinq Toits. Indeed, a focus is being made on the housing dimension of the project (thus on the residents), but less on the activities or work made by the artists and companies hosted in the facilities.

“On social medias, it is not really possible to know that The Cinq Toits also hosts companies, because the focus is put on residents. It is not a critic, they do the best they can, but it is a huge difference with the Grands Voisins. At the Grands Voisins, they communicated a lot on the things that were being organised by organisations hosted there, and it changed everything: it was not just a housing project, it was a place of living, of living together. It gave organisations an incredible visibility. Here, it is not the

case, and it is a bit sad because it does not contribute to change the image some neighbours can have about the place" (artist).

This perceived lack of communication does not only impact companies, it also reduces the opportunities for interactions.

"The 16th arrondissement is an isolated neighbourhood: nobody comes to walk around like that, it's not the Marais. My friends don't know The Cinq Toits at all. The Instagram account is focused on migrants, photos of the courtyard, that's it. Les Grands Voisins was different: they put forward concerts, there were always events, so people came for that and then we also knew the reality of people, so the social side came after ... in short, the 5T is a bit the opposite. People from the neighborhood don't come, there's not much traffic, it's the 16th, you really must know it to come. [...] If there was more information, there would be more people and more potential, as it was the case for the Grands Voisins. [...] Sometimes people from the neighbourhood come to get information, but they are not oriented." (Social worker)

At the internal level, residents are not always informed or familiar with regards to the ongoing activities and different workshops. *"Tomorrow there is a workshop, even we from the workshop don't know which one (!), both because there are so many things going on here, but also because the information doesn't go through well"* (social worker).

Misalignment between the social purpose of The Cinq Toits and the objective of hosted organisations

If the low participation of residents to workshops can be explained by a lack of internal communication, our analysis also highlighted that it can also be related by the partial misalignment of companies' activities and commitment with the so social purpose of The Cinq Toits. This misalignment takes two forms: the lack of commitment of companies to participate in social activities (solidarity grocery store, etc.) and an offer sometimes perceived as not adapted with residents' needs and realities. A project manager explains:

"Some organizations come and leave. We are at the end of the project, so some of them developed their activities and find the place a bit small for them now. For some others, it is a bit different. Several things go wrong with organization. Not that there are a lot of things, but yes, there are subjects on which it is complicated. For companies, it is not easy for them, when they arrive, to find their place. We have a kind of a moral contract, but it is not really palpable, in the end. It is: 'What is expected of us? Is it that, just because I did two volunteer shifts at the grocery store, that's it? Am I an occupying structure that is integrated into the collective? Have I done my part? Should I do more? Am I not doing enough? I just go to the clock council or I just come to breakfast once in a while'. Or 'I'm cool and I get along with everyone, it's okay, I'm in the thing?' In my opinion, yes, but in the general sense, not necessarily, and in particular at the level of social actions, in the sense that if structures that are not going to propose me things for residents, they are not going to see the interest, and they can be sometimes a little hard, even.

I do not necessarily have that definition and I think that if I had to do it again, I would have to put it down from the beginning, because in fact, it is a kind of blur for the structures. They do not really know: 'What does it mean, in fact, to involve me in the collective?' There are these questions... There were big issues, before I arrived, on the restoration, because the RECHO is an important partner of the site. Some

people were concerned that we couldn't have other catering options. The signage, likewise, at the level of Aurore's communication, it blocked... In short, the structures, what they don't like, is that they are managed by Plateau Urbain but they have the impression that Aurore is a huge association and that they are not represented enough. I do not have any problem, I am very well integrated with the Aurore teams, there is no problem, but as far as the structures are concerned, for some of them, they have..."

The lack of clear definition of what was expected from companies hosted in the facilities lead to divergent level of commitments from their side, at both the daily activities and the decision-making process. In same vein, the activities proposed (cf. list in appendix 3) to residents are not adapted to their realities, either due to their price of their current interest – generating, thus, frustrations on both sides. The existence of deep cultural differences, associated with the emergency situation in which some residents are experiencing, increases by tenfold the frustrations felt by these vulnerable populations. As pointed by a social worker, *"many of them thought that they were going to get paid to work here in the workshop, when normally you pay to participate in a workshop. They don't understand the concept of a workshop as a hobby. For them, it is not clear"*.

It must be mentioned that the COVID-19 crisis and the lockdown decided by the French government deeply affected the relations between the coordinators of the project and companies.

"There was the covid which went through, which was not easy, where we had... First confinement, the structures had to leave the Cinq Toits. They were asked to leave. So afterwards, when they came back, it was very, very hard, because they said to themselves. They really questioned their place in the project, saying, 'We are asked to be integrated and we want to be integrated into the collective, but at the slightest crisis, we are the ones who have to leave'." (project manager)

Waste management

Efforts have been made to create an eco-friendly and sustainable place. These efforts do not only take form of sensitization trainings or workshops dedicated to re-use or repair goods (more detail in part 3.4), but they are also deeply rooted in the daily activities and obligations of residents. Despite these efforts, waste management remains a sensitive and complex issue for managers. These issues are not specific to The Cinq Toits, but rather to this type of social and emergency housing facilities.

Two unit managers indicate that *"the question of waste is a huge. It is a huge job to do, which is almost lost here. I think that there are very, very few residents who manage to set up sorting, or even just managing the garbage, in some apartments. It is very, very complicated to avoid overstocking and to ensure a classic roommate setting that he who puts the trash can in front of his door and the one who will have to take it down, otherwise it will never be taken down. This notion has a big impact on the site, on the hygiene issues and it's not nothing. We have a company that we hire to deal exclusively with the tracking of pests, and this is a bit of a related subject because we think about selective sorting downstairs and we have garbage rooms that are adapted to put as much cardboard as normal garbage, we even have a composter on the site. But globally, what happens in the apartments... It is also probably linked to*

different relationships to waste according to the places of origin and the practices. Behind it, there is a management that is relatively difficult to harmonize, not to mention the fact that there seems to be a specific thing. Often, in emergency shelters, people have a very problematic relationship with waste, including with people who are not at all from different cultures. There is a tendency to externalize their suffering by doing anything with their waste”.

3.5.3 Strategies implemented to overcome difficulties

Several strategies have been implemented by the project’s coordinators and by social workers to solve the difficulties mentioned above.

Tensions and lack of interactions with the neighbourhood

To alleviate citizens’ fears, several actions have been implemented by the coordinators of the project: public debates at the city hall, involvement into the local associative network, openness of the facilities to the public, organisation of visits and workshops for the elementary school of the district, etc. At this stage, it must be mentioned that the restaurant plays a key role in opening the facilities to citizens, as it attracts a lot of neighbours looking for gastronomic and organic food.

Besides the actions engaged by the coordinators, the decision of the new municipality to include The Cinq Toits to the Auteuil Sud Neighbourhood Council participates in reducing tensions as it favours a constant dialogue between citizen representatives and The Cinq Toits.

Population density and configuration of the buildings

To prevent tensions between residents due to noise pollution and other, a social Code of conduct has been created by the association Aurore. This code of conduct aims at ensuring that the residents cohabit together in harmony. Residents must sign it at their arrival. It is translated in most of the languages to make it understandable. This code of conduct is made systematically available to the residents on arrival to the centre.

“My room is 8 persons, but we have a plan for the cleaning, for cook, kitchen, bathroom, toilettes. We have the cleaning place for one week, one day, it is me. The next day, someone else has the work, clean, etc.” (Resident).

Mental and physical wellbeing

To improve residents’ mental and physical health, several actions have been implemented by the coordinators, notably the organization of psychological consults every two weeks with the Psychologists of the Heart. Medical consults and meetings are also with doctors to raise awareness about sexual disease, child protection, etc. For the most vulnerable of them, the

mediation team assists them with laundry, mail, problems, or tensions that may arise in the apartments.

The question of mental and physical well-being is not only dedicated to residents, but also to citizens. Indeed, efforts have been engaged to raise awareness and make more visible the journey of exile, the reception conditions very often, there are events that are organized at the center for example in form of films, exhibitions, moments of exchange, various works that are either carried out by the residents or other actors.

Dependency to the place

Preventing the risk of dependency is sensitive, as residents' needs evolve during their stay at The Cinq Toits: new residents have to heal before being able to engage an inclusion process. Others are encouraged to develop networks and to take part to activities outside of The Cinq Toits to ensure that their departure from the facilities will not constitute a second uprooting.

Lack of internal and external communication

To cope with the communication issue, the clock council credited of its members Guity News with a budget to create a newsletter published each month, tracing the daily life at The Cinq Toits (of residents and organisations), and presenting the programming for the month.

Misalignment between the social purpose of The Cinq Toits and the objective of hosted organisations

Several activities have been re-segmented, and the social work has been de-compartmentalized. Both individual and group support has been created, in addition to the promotion of socialization. Although most of the residents do work alongside the social workers in parallel for everyone's benefit.

Cultural integration is being promoted through French Language Courses that are offered on group, pair or individual level basis by volunteers and retirees. The initial idea with the group lessons was to create level groups and set up different time slots during the week according to the level of people.

Partnerships are established with associations for learning French through various daily activities: conversation classes, Literacy and French courses, French singing classes, workshops on local culture and citizenship...

Moreover, the vocation of 4A, a partner association based at Cinq Toits, is to promote access to creation for all: art therapy workshops, free creation, and training, and supervision, cultural and social animation.

Furthermore, several cultural activities that are offered at The Cinq Toits, either by volunteers or by associations and partners. Most of them are free to the residents of the accommodation facilities.

“The fact that there are cultural outings, that there are places where people can get involved, in fact I have the impression that they manage to speak French more quickly and therefore afterwards, there are many things that follow one another. Once they start to speak French, there are a lot of openings for them. The outings are kind of key” (social worker).

Beside these efforts, activities have also been implemented to empower women and give them the opportunity to have moments without their kids. A place dedicated to women has been created to boost their handwork through textile, do it yourself activities and design works. These activities encourage women entrepreneurial activities and give them extra financial resources as they are able to sell their textiles on markets.

Waste management

To deal with waste management issues and sensitize residents with the sustainability and safety issues, several workshops have been organized by the management team. The objective is to create environmental awareness and to promote circular economy among residents. To do so, several partnerships have been created with actors of the circular economy and investments were made to equip the facilities with composters, etc.

“We sort waste, with awareness workshops for residents. We have ashtrays that allow us to collect cigarette butts from all over the place, which are then given to EcoMégot, which takes care of cleaning them up and recycling them. We have a compost that is also made available to the residents and the restaurant, and which allows us to recycle food waste, and this was financed, and we had a mechanical composter that was installed in partnership with Upcycle and managed by the Jury Solidaire advisor. After maturation, they reuse this compost for the maintenance of the garden and the roadway, because, on the roadway, in front, they have made some small spaces for urban agriculture. And then we have a greenhouse with seedlings, so we've kind of introduced everyone to urban agriculture, we have a chicken coop. The hens feed the outdoor spaces with natural fertilizer, they are fed by the families of the UHC and the eggs are distributed, so we have local. Then, in urban agriculture, Pépin Production came to create the greenhouse, so there is the concierge, with the Premières Heures device, which will plant seedlings, aromatic plants, and all that, it has potting workshops that are done either with children or with adults. And then, at the Bricole, it's a lot of reuse and re-employment. Already, the Bricole itself, it was a lot of reused wood, even only reused wood” (unit director).

Table 5 summarizes the main difficulties encountered and the solutions found to overcome them.

Table 5. Summary of the difficulties faced, and solutions found

Difficulties	Description	Solutions
Tensions and lack of interactions with the neighbourhood	A district with little experience of social housings Fears related to potential criminal issues Fears related to the impact of the project on the value of real estate locally Feeling of treason from the central city hall	Organization of public discussion sessions (with the participation of local authorities) Inclusion into the Neighbourhood Council Organization of visits and workshop for local schools Implementation of activities attracting citizens (notably the restaurant)
Time constraints	Lack of time to discuss with the neighbours Creation of the facilities “in emergency”	Co-creation of the facilities with future residents, volunteers and professionals
Population density and configuration of the buildings	Tensions related to noise pollution	Creation of a code of conduct describing the rights and obligations of residents (notably the interdiction of making noise after 10 pm.)
Mental and physical well-being	Mental and physical distressed caused by complex migration journeys	Organization of consults and sensitization meetings with medics Organization of public events to sensitize citizens on the impacts of migration journeys on residents
Dependency to the place	Lack of understanding of the realities of the local housing market, risk of experiencing a second uprooting in case of no interactions with the outside world	Encouragement to do activities out of the facilities and to build networks with external members
Lack of internal and external communication	Lack of visibility for organizations hosted in The Cinq Toits, lack of knowledge related to the activities organized within the facilities (for both residents and citizens)	Creation of a monthly newsletter dedicated to the inside and outside world, depicting the life and activities at The Cinq Toits, and presenting the programming
Misalignment between the social purpose of The Cinq Toits and the objective of hosted organisations	Lack of clarity regarding the social engagement expected from organizations hosted in The Cinq Toits Lack of alignment between the activities offered and residents’ realities and needs – leading to frustration	Re-segmentation of activities Development of activities promoting socio-cultural inclusion (cultural visits, French classes, etc.) Creation of activities designed to empower women
Waste management	Difficulties in avoiding overstocking and managing residents’ waste – leading potentially to sanitary issues	Investments in recycling equipment (composters, etc.) Organization of sensitization workshops

3.6 The innovative aspects of The Cinq Toits

The Cinq Toits can be characterized as an innovative housing project at four levels, namely 1) its' eco-friendly approach and the attention paid to sustainability, 2) the diversity of uses and publics it promotes, 3) its' replicability and 4) the positive impact it has on the neighbourhood, palliating a social void locally.

Eco-friendly approach

As mentioned in the previous section, several initiatives have been implemented to have the smallest ecological footprint. Based on the circular economy principle, these actions stem from urban agriculture to using compost from poultry, recycling cigarette butts, putting up garbage sorting initiatives, creating awareness of environmental issues to the residents, and engaging in waste management initiatives. In addition to creating awareness, adopting a sustainable approach participates in reducing the tensions with the neighborhood, favoring the acceptance of The Cinq Toits locally and developing citizenship among residents. Furthermore, it contributes to the economic viability of the project, as it limits the investments The Cinq Toits would have to do to acquire the raw materials needed to run the activities proposed on-site.

Diversity of uses and populations

The success of The Cinq Toits project can greatly be attributed to the diversity of the audiences and uses promoted by the coordinators. As previously mentioned, The Cinq Toits receives people with a great diversity of trajectories (refugees, asylum seekers and vulnerable people) as well as organizations related to agriculture, art, craftwork, food, media, social and circular economy, etc. Mixing social housing and economic activities creates emulation at several levels:

- It participates in opening the facilities to the outside world, creating opportunities for residents and citizens to meet and interact,
- It creates an internal dynamic, providing residents with opportunities to take part to repairing or creative activities – opportunities that can turn to job opportunities thanks to the First Hours Program (if permitted by residents' administrative status),
- It gives residents the opportunities to take part to the decision-making process (notably through the clock council), to share their opinions, ideas and projects.

By doing so, it contributes to change people's vision of migration and favors the acceptance of exiled people into the local society. It also empowers residents and allow them to gain self-esteem by taking part to activities and decision making.

Replicability of the project

This project has encouraged partnerships with municipalities, bridging gaps between local actors while at the same time encouraging municipalities to give up vacant places to create migrants, refugees and asylum seekers' accommodation spaces. There will be a creche and kindergarten, social housing, a boarding house and an emergency accommodation center managed by Aurore and Paris Habitat Offices. Creation of common spaces that can be used by all future users as resource spaces to create encounters and exchanges between different audiences as seen before through the previous workshops for example the bicycle repairs, the La Bricole DIY workshops, restaurant and catering activities that could be replicated further in other projects with the aim of diversified social inclusion with not only the accommodation population but also with the people within the vicinity. To disseminate the project and facilitate the creation of similar initiatives on the territory, Aurore and Plateau Urbain developed a "toolbox guide, in relation to having similar models to address the problem of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers' housing" (founding member).

Palliating local voids

The last innovative aspect of The Cinq Toits lies on its capacity to fill local voids and to create complementarity between the project and the economic fabric. Looking for complementarity is a way to facilitate neighbors' acceptance as it builds a win-win relationship and participates in dynamizing the area as well as the image people could have from housing centers for exiled people.

As mentioned by a unit director, *"We look, specifically for a third place, at the services that already exist in the perimeter, to think about the programming. For example, if there is no bakery in the immediate vicinity, we say to ourselves: 'Maybe it is not stupid to try to see if we can accommodate a baker on the premises'. This was the case in Grand Voisins: it was very isolated, and given the size of the site... It was relevant because there was no bakery in the immediate vicinity, so we bring a service, we do not come to create a competition that could create animosity, or even rejection of actors who are already present... to identify what could be relevant in terms of complementarity of offers in relation to what exists. We don't come in saying: 'There's a baker who is doing well, we are going to steal his business'. It is rather the complementarity that guides the action"*.

The innovative nature of The Cinq Toits lies on four dimensions. Its eco-friendly approach participates in reducing the ecological footprint of the facilities (favouring, thus, the acceptance from neighbours), raising residents' awareness about ecological issues (building citizenship), and contributing to the economic viability of the project. The diversity of uses and populations contributes to open the facilities to the outside world, creating opportunities to meet and interact, generating an internal dynamic and empowering residents. The development of partnerships with municipalities and local actors, associated with the creation of a toolkit, favours the replicability and the dissemination of the project

on other territories. Finally, the originality of the project stems from its capacity to fill local voids and favouring complementarity over competition with existing activities.

4. The impact of ‘Les Cinq Toits’ on the inclusion of refugees

The objective of this section is to present how, and to what extent, the housing project “Les Cinq Toits” impacts the beneficiaries’ inclusion into the local community. More specifically, it intends to show if, and how, the project allows its beneficiaries to transition from reception to actual housing and, to a broader extent, to take an active role into their receiving community.

We define inclusion as *“a process that enables people at risk of poverty and social exclusion to participate in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a decent standard of living. These people must be involved in the decisions that affect their lives and have better access to their fundamental rights”* (European Commission, 2011). As mentioned by Bouquet (2015), we believe that inclusion is both strategic and transversal. Indeed, *“it is characterized by ‘active inclusion’, which consists of fighting poverty and social exclusion by integrating into the labour market those citizens who are furthest from it, and by ‘inclusion of vulnerable groups’, which aims to protect them from poverty and social exclusion”* (Bouquet, 2015:18-19). In other words, *“Inclusion is not only about processes of professional and economic integration, but also about social, cultural and civic participation in society.”* (Bouquet, 2015:19). Thus, understanding refugees’ inclusion implies the analysis of the phenomenon from a broad perspective: socio-cultural, professional, economic, etc. We will present the elements related to structural inclusion of the housing project’s beneficiaries, i.e. their socio-cultural (4.1) and professional inclusion (4.2).

4.1 Socio-cultural inclusion

In line with Durkheim (1967) and Schnapper (1992, 1995), we define socio-cultural inclusion as the *“will to live together”*, based on the creation of social relations and citizenship. Socio-cultural integration is a complex process involving several dimensions, such as language fluency, cultural knowledge, social skills, etc.

The association Aurore, managing the housing project Les Cinq Toits, developed a set of partnerships with external stakeholders to provide beneficiaries with the cultural elements they need to establish social relations locally. Daily activities are being organised by local associations, volunteers and artists. Due to the vulnerability of the audience and the difficulties people might face when learning about a new culture, special attention has been paid to develop innovative and interactive classes. Examples include French singing and acting classes, workshops on local culture and citizenship, etc.

4.1.1 French language classes

Since the creation of the facilities in 2018, French classes are being offered to the residents of Les Cinq Toits.

“Here, we have group French courses and French courses in tandem” (refugee)

Three types of classes are being organised: group classes, pair classes and more specific classes, with vocabulary related to an activity at La Bricole. These classes are offered by volunteers living in and out of the area, as well as artists and professional actors militating for the inclusion of migrants.

“At the beginning, volunteers were giving the French courses here, and most of them were not FLE teachers before: they learned by doing. Some were... almost all of them are women. Some were teachers, but most of them were not. Most of these volunteers are retired people, a lot of people from the neighborhood” (Social worker).

One of the social workers of The Cinq Toits explained that *“The initial idea with these group classes was to create level groups and to set up different time slots during the week to work according to the level of the people and according to their access to oral and written language and their language of origin too. But as in many places level courses were difficult to organize; offering only group courses proved counterproductive, hence the offer of private courses more adapted to the specific needs of people in exile”* (social worker). Indeed, unexpected difficulties emerged from the heterogeneity of residents’ linguistic and learning skills.

The difficulty to organise group classes on the long run had a negative impact on both residents and volunteers’ motivation. In order to cope with these issues, social workers and volunteers tried to be more flexible by adopting a more personalised strategy. One of the unit directors explains: *“We came up against problems that are the same in all the centres in which we try this kind of thing. From my experience, the problem is that we do not manage to keep these groups of level, because we do not manage to put people in a dynamic in which they come back every Monday at 3 pm. Sometimes, they will come on Monday at 3 pm, and the week after they will come on Thursday at 4pm. The thing is that the course organised on Thursday at 4 pm might not correspond to their level: this group might seem more advanced because people that used to take Monday’s classes may be illiterate and lack crucial bases, etc. And so, little by little, the result was that everybody was going in different types of classes, regardless their level. Teachers are a bit helpless, they don’t really know how to approach each one and make them progress. And people get demobilized because they feel that the courses don’t really meet their needs. So, after a while, there is a loss of interest in the courses. Once we had established this, we still maintained group courses, but we supplemented them with an individual approach because we realized that people were able to progress much more quickly and that the support was much better adapted to their needs”* (unit director).

The difficulties faced by both volunteers and social workers lies partially on the long time spent out of school and the downgrading feeling experienced by some residents of the facilities. Indeed, *“being in a context that resembles a classroom, when you are an adult, is not necessarily very rewarding, even if the person in front of you is the most benevolent and not descending in his or her approach, it is still them behind a desk with a guy in front of them who says: ‘My name is something’”* (social worker). In order to overcome these barriers, peer lessons have been experimented by a set of volunteers and residents. The objective is to make people feel equal and go beyond the classical “student-teacher” relation. This is particularly important for migrants that suffered from scholarship exclusion in their country of origin and that might be reluctant to take French courses in class.

“Creating pairs, to talk about jobs or anything else, it is perhaps a more promising context. Besides learning French, in pairs, there is also another relationship that is created, which is stronger than in the group. We also manage to match temperaments or desires or languages more easily too. So it works well. There are less people who participate but it is more qualitative, so we do a bit of both” (Social worker – diversity team).

Adapting French classes to the specific needs of beneficiaries also implies modifying the format and the content of these classes, to make it more interactive and operational. Indeed, the emphasis is being put on the development of linguistic skills required to be autonomous on the daily life and access to the labour market. Every occasion is used to practice French: *“in the kind of alternative French learning, we had a lot of French learning turned into professional coaching, how it is done, an interview, but also turned into daily life: today, the exercise, it is that we are all going to take the subway to go to the bakery” (social worker).* Besides everyday life activities, volunteers also increase the opportunities to master French and get familiar with the French culture by organizing visits to Paris.

As far as French classes are concerned, two additional initiatives must be highlighted. In 2018, the housing facilities have been prepared by professional actors in collaboration with beneficiaries who volunteered to take part to the project. The association Aurore, managing the project, worked in collaboration with a group of artists that used theatre to teach rapidly beneficiaries the operational vocabulary they need to work safely. One of the managers of The Cinq Toits indicates that *“(Company name) have been present at the Cinq Toits for more than 2 years and they got involved in giving weekly language access theatre classes. They still exist, they work a lot with (proper name). At the moment, moreover, they are at another residence. [...] At the time of the participative building site, we took advantage of having one of the structures occupying the site, which left since. They proposed to organize social stabilization through several ludic techniques and theatre. By discussing with them, they agreed to help us to launch a kind of learning of French but very directed on what we had worked the same day, on the site. There were both safety issues and questions about the tools or materials we were going to use during the day. It was a session, I think, 15 minutes in the morning, 15-30 minutes in the morning and a second time in the evening, at the end of the day, to see if the words were really understood and it worked really well, because, and the trainers relied on that, but also the residents said: ‘Finally I learn words that can be useful for the activity of the day’. It was really interesting work”.*

Ensuring workers’ safety took several forms. One of the initiators of the housing project explains that the success of theatre French classes encouraged the NGO to implement other types of innovative linguistic actions. *“We pushed the thing a bit with the architects to also make pictograms, little drawings. At one point, in the Bricole, there was a huge board painted on a blackboard with a drawing of a saw written in 5 languages, and it's all very stupid but that came about because we had anticipated or activated the thing with the company (Name of the company). So it didn't last all the way through the site, because it's still a big commitment on their part, but let's just say that, in all, it must have lasted one or two months. And it allowed a lot of guys who didn't speak the same language at all to ask for a saw, just an extra piece of language, other than ‘my hands’ or ‘hand me that’” (unit director).*

Besides these action-oriented classes, a troop of artists also organised linguistic classes through songs. The principle was to learn the language in a ludic and inspiring way, i.e. by singing songs in French. *“French classes through singing have been organised for 2 years: it was great. We took very basic songs. It was a lot of work, the team that did it, they were motivated. We would take a song with fairly simple lyrics, translate them into their language, put a lot of visuals in their lyrics and, before each learning of a song, they would spend hours dissecting each verse”* (social worker).

4.1.2 Social inclusion

Les Cinq Toits hosts several offices, fabrics, solidarity-based activities, and accommodation for asylum seekers, refugees, and vulnerable families. It is a hybrid project, which includes several spaces that host activities, workshops, and events with the objective of bringing people together to exchange and promote mutual learning.

At Les Cinq Toits, awareness and training activities are being offered: some activities will be specifically dedicated to beneficiaries, while others will be opened to neighbours. Interestingly, our case study revealed that, among all the activities offered to residents, *“the most mixed and friendly space on the site is the table soccer. It's not a joke. It's where people who don't know each other meet the most. It works all the time, in all weathers, with all types of people. It's great as a meeting tool because we ask ourselves these questions all the time: food, braziers, and crafts and partying, of course, when possible”* (social worker).

The possibility for interaction in various occasions and with different type of people is also very appreciated by some accommodated people:

“I like everything here: the workshops, the festive occasions where everybody eats in the court like today and the fact that it feels like family. In other camps you just go there to sleep. Here there also families with kids; it's pleasant and relaxed. We are not far from the Tour Eiffel here, it's very nice. [...] People from the neighbourhood come to the restaurant, but they don't talk to us. They come to eat and then go.” (Asylum seeker)

Depending on the person's situation the activities are a real way out of the administrative struggles they may encounter:

“It is the first housing centre where I stay. The fact that there are many activities helps. It helps a lot to think of other things [than administrative processes]. That's the most important thing here.” (Asylum seeker)

Creating time and places for exchange, discussion or debate is of key importance to social workers. Indeed, it allows them to organise debates with a specific audience around societal questions, such as gender roles, relation to work, to religion, etc. Having these debates allow beneficiaries to get a better understanding of local habits and expectations. One of the unit managers mentions that *“each Wednesday from 3 to 6 pm, we have a 'blah blah time': residents can come and it's a time of free discussion on subjects that the participants wish to tackle: relations between men and women, relations to religion, to work, clothes, public space, etc. A whole bunch of themes that have been proposed by the residents. The idea is to have a completely horizontal format: people come to*

the table with subjects and questions that they want to discuss, and no one is in a training situation, so it's just a space for exchange" (unit manager).

Some of these activities will be self-managed by residents with the presence of a social worker to ensure a free speech and self-empowerment. In some cases, activities are being organised by external actors for both social workers and residents on specific and sensitive issues, such as the prevention of sexual diseases, secularism, safety, and sanitary issues, etc. One of the unit managers explains that: *"we lead discussion groups with our employees, the trainees, on these subjects to debrief together and try to equip them. There have been a few specific training sessions: there were resident training sessions on secularism some time ago, and I think there was one recently on... the entry prism was sexuality and STDs, how it works, but it was also a space where they could talk about a lot of other subjects of personal social life and male-female relationships".*

Besides gender and health issues, road safety quickly became a key challenge for social workers. Indeed, a rising number of residents are delivering food by bike (Uber, Deliveroo...) to get some extra financial resources. The rapid development of these practices is not without risks: residents are under pressure to deliver food in limited time, they are not always familiar with local traffic regulations and do not always have safe bikes (or even the legal authorization to work). To prevent potential accidents, road safety trainings are being organised by social workers, and residents can repair their bike at the bicycle centre (called Riddy) hosted by The Cinq Toits. As a social worker mentions, *"at the bicycle centre, we have a fleet of bicycles that are intended for residents, who can borrow them on a weekly basis, and we make an appointment during the week, every Thursday, to come and check the safety of the bicycle. One of our civic services is setting up a small format of what road safety is. Because we have, notably among all those who borrow bicycles, many residents who deliver meals. So, we can't afford to let the guys go with every other brake working. But beyond that, we can ask ourselves questions about whether we are comfortable with the fact that the guys are going to ride all over Paris for a maximum of hours a week without having any knowledge of traffic regulations. It is also part of our work".*

It must be specified that, despite their potential interest, attending to these socio-cultural activities remain optional. At The Cinq Toits, *"there are job opportunities, there may be training opportunities, etc. Afterwards, it is of course up to each individual to seize them. We can create a lot of opportunities, but if it's not done, or if it's done on a small scale, we create the conditions so that it can be done afterwards, of course, it's also up to each individual to take ownership of it and to go towards the other person, and yes, it's certain that it bears fruit" (unit director).*

4.2. Professional Integration

The multitude of activities and audiences at Les Cinq Toits has made it an ideal place for refugees to access vocational training and employment. Various professional integration schemes have been set up. From learning French to professional integration projects, actors have set up at Les Cinq Toits to accompany residents towards professional integration, thus

helping them to obtain permanent housing in the future. Several actions are being organised to facilitate beneficiaries' gradual return to employment

4.2.1 Development of technical skills

The arrival of artists, craftsmen, etc... at The Cinq Toits gave people in exile the possibility to develop new skills (or to reinforce their skills) in activities related to restoration, sewing, woodwork, market gardening, beekeeping and mechanics.

Refugees are being offered professional integration contracts. They can also participate, on a voluntary basis, to activities during which they will learn new techniques related to woodwork, welding, market gardening, sewing, etc.

Due to the French legislation, professional integration contracts are exclusively dedicated to the beneficiaries of an international protection. The objective is to facilitate people's integration to the civil society by providing them the opportunity to re-enter progressively on the labour market. As mentioned by a social worker, *"work integration contracts facilitate access to housing and employment. We have different partners at Les Cinq Toits on these themes. [...] In general, the Conciergerie Solidaire manages these activities, here, for Aurore"*.

Aurore's program 'La Conciergerie Solidaire'

Previously located at the Grands Voisins (another temporary housing project managed by Aurore), the Conciergerie Solidaire is located at The Cinq Toits. It is part of the Aurore association and delivers services dedicated to make the integration through economic activity of precarious and long-term unemployed people possible. It uses the Paris City Council's First Hours Program (DPH), which allows people to gradually return to work. Using the DPH allows vulnerable people to progressively return to work. They benefit from a global socio-professional support (opening of rights, housing assistance, access to health care and professional integration) and technical support for a maximum period of 1 year, for a maximum of 3 to 16 hours per week.

Objectives

For long-term unemployed people, the DPH does not only allow them to find a job. Thanks to the Conciergerie and the follow-up made by the supervisor, they benefit from an opening of rights which can then help them to find housing or benefit from state aid such as the Active Solidarity Income (*Revenu de Solidarité Active – RSA*). In addition to this assistance, working at the Conciergerie helps break the isolation from which 83% of homeless people suffer. The personalized accompaniment allows them to feel useful and revalued.

For refugees, the DPH can act as a springboard allowing them to overcome the barriers they face to enter the job market. Indeed, refugees tend to have lower access to employment than local citizens. The DPH program helps them discover and integrate the work codes in the host

country (recruitment process, pay slips, etc.), and allows them to socialize through work and, more broadly, to integrate in France for people who have never worked there. Partnerships are established with associations for learning French.

The goal of the Conciergerie is not only professional integration but also the remobilization of the persons accompanied on questions of housing or health. The Conciergerie also aims to promote social diversity by bringing together the different actors and their employees.

The DPH team

The DPH team at The Cinq Toits is multidisciplinary, composed of employees in social integration, some of whom live in the site's shelters, and of supervisors from the associations Aurore and Le RECHO (presentation below). They provide beneficiaries with a global socio-professional support (opening of rights, housing assistance, access to care and professional integration) and technical support for a maximum of one year, at a rate of 3 to 16 hours per week.

La Conciergerie Solidaire manages and trains nearly 45 DPH employees per year, of whom about 15 are residents of The Cinq Toits shelters, on missions open to the outside world such as the creation of partnerships, the discovery of professional activities, etc.

Since 2017, the Conciergerie Solidaire has developed innovative partnerships allowing for off-site services. For example, a partnership with the SNCF was set up to provide services at the Lyon and Bercy stations (cleaning of walkways, management of green spaces).

As of 2018, the Conciergerie also deployed on other sites of the Aurore association: At Bastion de Bercy (Paris 12) for the maintenance of green spaces and the establishment of a "biodiversity garden", at Chaumes en Brie (77), also for the maintenance of green spaces in the park of the emergency shelter but also for the maintenance of the roadway on the commune and at Cinq Toits (Paris 16) for the roadway, green spaces, do-it-yourself activities, cooking and service at the restaurant La Table du RECHO (see below)

Greening, maintenance and on-site services

The Conciergerie provides maintenance of the outdoor spaces, carries out do-it-yourself missions, ensures the greening and maintenance of the Exelmans Boulevard entrance to the site and carries out urban agriculture projects (compost, chicken coop, etc.).

Services for the site's partner structures

It collaborates with certain partner structures of Les Cinq Toits, notably La Table du RECHO, a social integration restaurant where employees work in the dining room and in the kitchen.

Management of the Cinq Toits checkroom, which allows residents of the shelters to come and get dressed for free. It functions thanks to donations of clothing from the public, which are sorted and installed in the checkroom every week by DPH employees.

Services for external partners

The Conciergerie is also developing innovative partnerships to provide off-site services. For example, a partnership with the SNCF was set up in October 2017 to provide services at the Lyon and Bercy stations (cleaning of walkways, management of green spaces).

The Conciergerie is also developing its actions at the Austerlitz day care centre. This is a day care centre for asylum seekers and refugees that was previously located at the Grands Voisins and was recently relocated to the Quai d'Austerlitz. The Conciergerie is responsible for the maintenance of the green spaces and for DIY tasks.

Waste management

The Conciergerie is also in charge of waste management on the site, as part of a global eco-responsibility objective. The teams ensure that waste sorting is respected and raise awareness among the residents of the accommodation centres, if necessary. They coordinate the composting of biowaste from site users and the recycling of cigarette butts, among other things. Waste management: respect for sorting, awareness-raising, coordination of composting of bio-waste from site users, recycling of cigarette butts, etc. The installation of an electromechanical composter implemented in partnership with UpCycle allows DPH employees to be trained in a future profession while recovering the bio-waste of restaurant owners and neighbours, as has already been tried out at Les Grands Voisins.

Thus, at Les Cinq Toits, people in exile, residents who obtained refugee status and had never worked in France before, can join the DPH program. Working in the framework of the DPH allowed them to discover the French work world.

In 2019, 18 of the people supported by the Conciergerie were refugees, all men averaging 28 years old, and of 6 different nationalities. The other 37 people were precarious people, referred mainly by the Aurore association or marauding services, mostly men with an average age of 43.

The DPH at the Conciergerie: some figures (October 2015-January 2020)

- 143 people had a work contract and benefited from socio-professional support
- 33% of the beneficiaries gained access to a job (integration site) or a qualifying training
- 31 people were able to benefit from minimum social benefits (mainly RSA)
- 68% of the employees were referred to medical care
- 1 person out of 3 was able to benefit from a new accommodation or housing
- 17,660 worked hours

Le Recho: a social integration enterprise at Les Cinq Toits

The restaurant is based on the "integration enterprise" model. The objective is not only to prepare and serve clients, but also to allow vulnerable people to gain professional experience. The manager explains that *"it allows us to hire, among the refugees hosted at Les Cinq Toits, several people in integration as well as hourly contracts for people who are very far from employment [First Hours Scheme]. To date, two people have been trained in the world cuisine of tomorrow at La Table du*

RECHO and hired on contract as cooks in Parisian restaurants!". The RECHO started by employing 7 statutory refugees from the CPH through DPH contracts. In 2021, the restaurant employs 3 people on permanent contracts, among the statutory refugees. Looking at this specific application one may see how the DPH may be a significant step toward professional integration:

"It was a bit ambitious to make a professional restaurant with igh quality food only base on DPH contract [...] so The Recho became a 'integration to employment company' and now they have 4 DPH that became integration contracts." (Unit Manager)

The restaurant plays a key role in the openness of the facilities to the society. Indeed, it serve gastronomic organic food and benefit from a good reputation locally. It takes advantage of the residents' cultural background to propose fusion food, i.e. food melting French and foreign customs. As indicated by the manager, *"Each recipe is inspired by encounters and culinary traditions from countries around the world, especially those from which the residents of The Cinq Toits shelters come (mostly Afghans, Eritreans and Sudanese)"*. Unfortunately, the food served remains unaffordable to residents, limiting de facto the possible interactions that could happen between residents and clients. As explained by one of the unit managers, *"we wanted to have a very qualitative offer. We wanted to have an offer at 8 euros for the residents, but a gastro restaurant is not possible. The insertion worked well. It was the first time they used the DPH on refugees"*.

RIDY: Discover Paris, learn bike mechanics

Born from a collaboration between the FUB, the SoliCycle integration project, Les boîtes à vélo, the association Aurore and Plateau Urbain, the Pôle Vélo is a place for exchanging and sharing knowledge open to all. Today, the company Ridy ensures its opening to the public and the following activities are proposed:

- Bicycle repair services by appointment (Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays & Fridays)
- A day dedicated to self-repair (Thursdays), for the members of the Pôle Vélo
- A fleet of bicycles is available free of charge to residents of the centres
- A fleet of bicycles available for urban rides between residents and citizens

This space responds to a double challenge: to encourage the mobility of the residents of The Cinq Toits while promoting an ecological and economical mode of transportation. The bicycle centre thus makes it possible to mobilize these residents and the neighbours. It also facilitates the development of a new attraction around this theme, as close as possible to the bicycle path along the Seine in an area enclosed by major roads.

To develop the bicycle fleet, the Pôle Vélo welcomes donations of bicycles, spare parts, and accessories. These donations make it possible to maintain the bikes on site and to assemble future bikes for the residents. Donations can also be resold to them.

The residents often use bikes to run errands for Deliveroo or Uber eats. Refugees who are able to work then subcontract groceries to asylum seekers. In any case, these people are poorly paid

and often work in dangerous and/or illegal conditions. The manager of the Pole Velo mentions that *“migrants take our bikes to make deliveries but it's exploitation...they ride all day and even at night in Paris for miserable wages...”*. Despite these issues, renting bikes allows people in exile to familiarize themselves with the streets of the capital. As explained by a member of the Pole Velo, *“Bike delivery is good, they get to know Paris, they talk to people but they are very badly paid”*.

It also gives residents an opportunity to develop maintenance and reparation skills.

“If these people have an appetite for the bike or the mechanic profession, we can help this potential to grow, especially by transmitting know-how and eventually offering a job. This is not currently the case due to a lack of candidates” (Manager of the Pole Velo).

La Bricole

As presented in part 3.2, the workshop is dedicated to residents and citizens without any distinction of status. La Bricole was particularly active during the creation of The Cinq Toits, as it involved a lot of future residents in the construction of the facilities. Involving exiled people in the construction of their future housing did not only empower them, but it also made them discover manual jobs, it gave some of them the desire to train to make these activities a full-time job.

“La Bricole, we address all types of public and besides, most of the guys who participated in the construction site of this place were asylum seekers. But the boys that you will meet or that you have already met, obtained their residence permit during the construction site, where the logic of the site was to involve a maximum of residents in the construction of a place that was going to become a resource for them, in a whole bunch of manual activities. And by making them participate in this workcamp, there was, and the question of the appropriation of the place within their place of life, of the Bricole within their place of life, and a dimension of training, almost, even if it was not a well-established program in advance but they nevertheless, for the majority, took part in the whole of the trades of the construction of a building. We tried to produce skills assessments and in fact, we realize that it was useful for the boys to project themselves, once they had obtained a title, to say to themselves: ‘I worked with wood, I loved it, I could go and train as a carpenter, I have a fertile ground’” (Manager of La Bricole).

La Bricole allows residents having a refugee status (or an international protection) to benefit from the First Hours Program.

Espero France

Espero is social company founded by Maya Persaud – a former American model - in 2016. It is dedicated to empowering refugees and marginalized populations. It develops various projects offering job training, education and promoting social entrepreneurship around urban agriculture and activities related to sustainable agriculture.

Since 2016, Espero has been helping people who are far from employment to find a sustainable activity that respects nature. As mentioned by Maya Persaud, *“today, we run training courses in upcycling sewing, urban beekeeping, and permaculture market gardening. [...] At The Cinq Toits, we are running activities related to urban apiculture and partially to market gardening. However, the sewing workshop is in the city of Antony”*.

Sewing upcycling

A hot topic in the textile industry - featured at the recent Fashion Green Days - upcycling is the action of revaluing unsold (or unworn) clothing by creating a new fashion item from it. Prohibiting the destruction of unsold goods, the AGEC law will be effective on December 31. But, as Fashion Network pointed out, upcycling poses many challenges to brands and designers. To meet this challenge, and while stocks are very high for many retailers due to the health situation, start-ups, collectives and French workshops have specialized in the art of upcycling fashion for brands and retailers.

“In the sewing workshop, we act both for the social and for the environment. The participants are migrants who were dressmakers in their home country, and the fabrics are all donated by leading brands (Balmain, for example) and recycled” (Maya Persaud).

Urban Beekeeping

Espero trains refugees in beekeeping since 2020. In August 2020, Espero organized an introductory beekeeping workshop with a beekeeper, Ibrahim Karout – Syrian refugee. This training was a moment of sharing around the hives, on a Parisian roof. For one afternoon, Ibrahim Karout shared his know-how and passion to the local community. Since 2019, he professionally trains asylum seekers and other vulnerable people to the preservation of the ecosystem.

Permaculture gardening

Espero has been cultivating vegetable gardens in Melun since 2018, and in the garden of the Château de Nanterre since 2020. Their market gardening trainings contribute to the integration path of beneficiaries, and to the promotion of permaculture in Île-de-France.

The gardening activities allow Espero to form partnerships with catering companies that share their values of solidarity and ecological responsibility as The RECHO (Restaurant).

“Walid and Yassin, are the master market gardeners and cultivate a true love for fresh French produce. They help Espero to promote local, seasonal production and to develop their vegetable sales in short circuit. They are responsible for the 5 beneficiaries of the DPH, whom they train to become permaculture market gardeners” (Maya Persaud).

One of the main challenges in the project development phases was the acceptance of the concept by citizens. All the activities developed in the building aim to welcome the local community: restaurant, cafeteria, bike repair workshop, handicraft workshop....

Finally, it should be noted that there are more than 35 structures in the third place of The Cinq Toits to promote professional integration.

All these activities are designed to favour the social, cultural and professional integration of people in exile. It aims at opening the place to neighbours. These efforts reinforce the social mix and promote inclusion.

The socio-cultural integration of residents at The Cinq Toits is organised toward French classes, cultural visits in Paris and specific trainings and activities. To overcome the learning difficulties faced by residents, innovative techniques have been developed, to make classes less formal, more interactive, and professional-oriented. In the same vein, occasion for discussions and debate on societal issues are organised, which allow social workers to discuss with residents about key cultural concerns. The commitment of volunteers and professional activists, and their close collaboration with the HP management team, are critical factors to ensure the long-term success of these actions.

The professional integration is granted by the presence of insertion companies (such as La Conciergerie Solidaire, La Bricole, Espero and Ridy) within the facilities using the First Hours Program to offer residents opportunities to develop professional competencies and access to the labour market. They focus on activities related to sustainability issues and in which there is a demand for manpower.

5. Sense of home

5.1 Meeting with residents of The Cinq Toits

The methodology proposed by UNIBO and SBE took into consideration a way to give an overview on what may give a “sense of home” to the residents of the different case’s studies. To implement this task, Quatorze offered to organise a small participatory action which intended both to meet some residents and introduce the idea of taking a picture right away. Using Polaroid photographic cameras gives to anyone the opportunity of making an instantaneous picture as, with such a tool, the picture does not stay within the camera to be further developed. As digital photographs are present in people’s daily life, going back to the instant creation of a physical artefact led to the idea of a participatory action about taking pictures and making their frames. In a DIY fashion we selected some materials such as cardboards, strings, papers and so on, that are easy to cut, paste and manipulate. The principle was to propose to take a picture that would be given and framed by and for the participants and take two pictures for MERING’s inquiry: one to show their favourite space within the Cinq toits and another one to give us a glimpse of the place that gave them a “sense of home”.



Figure 18. View of the DIY frames and photographs workshop

Then, on the 25th of August 2021, we took place in the courtyard and started to meet residents and potential participants to our small workshop and, most importantly, to MERGING. Out of the fifteen persons who participated in the workshop, only five agreed to be interviewed for MERGING.



Figure 19. A participant during the workshop and the framed photograph

5.2 Panel of interviewees

Organising the workshop in the common spaces led us to a peculiar panel of interviewees. For those who accepted to take pictures of what gives them a sense of home, one shall mention that they are only men, all under 32 years of age and being in various status: 2 are asylum seekers yet, one of them being under Dublin's regulation, and 3 received the official status of refugees. Overall, in the 10 interviews used to write down this part of the report, it is important to take into consideration the fact that they have different time experience of the place, the newest resident we interviewed arrived at Les Cinq Toits two months ago and the latest 18 months ago. Again, we received responses by men only. Few explanatory factors may lead to such a constatation as a person from Plateau Urbain explains it:

"On site there are very few women, but a dedicated space has been created for them here, so that they can meet be their own, with the kids, which makes them feel good. Recently, the women opened a bit to the life on site. Especially since they have a dedicated space at La Bricole. There is a part that has been opened about textile recently. It is the box for the women, it is their space. They launched a collection, they make some tote bags that they sell at the market. I sense that, since this happened, it gave a proper place to women i the project." (Worker at Plateau Urbain)

This extract emphasizes the fact that the spaces for women are mostly inside the premises, about their role as mothers and about their implication in small work activities. These specific practices do not lead them to use the courtyard and its facilities much.

Lastly, the panel of interviewees gives us an insight on the three housing programs existing at Les Cinq Toits: CHU, HUDA and the CPH where most of the interviewees are being hosted.

5.3 From housing to home

Within the CPH and the HUDA the rooms are part of former type 3 and 4 units that used to house policemen and their families. Nowadays, asylum seekers and refugees live in the units which were transformed to suit the new needs of such programs: hosting as many people as possible. Therefore, the living rooms were transformed into an extra bedroom. Thus, there are very few common spaces within the flats: spaces for circulation, kitchens and bathrooms.

"In the rooms we are 2 and in the whole house we are 8 people. [...] From all countries [...] I have been here for two months, I'm new." (Asylum seeker)

"In my case, in the unit there are two families. The neighbours, they are 5, me [we are] 3. He has 2 rooms, I have one. [...] I've been here for the last 18 months." (Refugee)

The persons do not choose to come and live within the Cinq Toits (they are assigned by state services see above) thus, they do not choose their flatmates.

Some difficulty may appear, mostly about sharing the responsibility for cleaning:

"And the cleaning... They don't clean. It is very complicated but I'm looking for another apartment. Because I want to be alone. I started like this. But, here, in the housing facilities, I must ask our friends and the guardian. He said: 'You are eight persons in the unit, no friends, no wife, no girlfriend. It's tough.'" (Refugee)

"I clean and the other person doesn't. It is 8 persons all together. Then you must speak 'Is this clean, is it clean? It's not good.'" (Asylum seeker)

Many testimonies mention this aspect, yet, other found ways to balance it between the members of the unit:

"My place has 8 persons, but they have a plan for the cleaning, for cooking, [cleaning the] kitchen, bathroom, toilettes. We have to clean once a week: one day it's me, another person has to work [then] clean. Other people do not clean no problem. It's not for a long time, just for a small time, after it's finished. After, I will find a job and a house." (Refugee)

The acceptance of the situation depends a lot on the person's future. Even if far from perfect, the perspective of a better future lies with the idea of being in temporary housing. In some cases, this can lead to a lack of involvement in the life of the place both within the units and within the commons and programs of activities.

Embedded in the housework, dealing with domestic waste and bringing down the rubbishes was also mentioned in some interviews, mostly from the workers of The Cinq Toits.

"Sometimes it stays within the flats for days... Because people do not agree on the housework, and bringing down the rubbish is one of them. Maybe it is because they know they won't stay long and thus, because of the little sense of home they may experiment." (Social workers)

This kind of situations may lead to disagreements such as mice or cockroaches:

“My house is OK. [...] I have a shower, I have a toilet, it’s OK. The freezer... It’s OK. But in my room, there are some cafards.” (Refugee)

Thus, the Cinq Toits regularly works with a company to fight against pests and prevent their apparition.

Lastly, for some residents, living in this multipurpose space welcoming visitors, may feel like sharing their personal space. While walking in the courtyard of The Cinq Toits, visitors can notice a lot of colourful signages made to give authorisations or not to enter some parts of the buildings. For instance, visitors are not allowed to access the staircases leading to the appartements. To regulate the level of privacy of each part of The Cinq Toits, the absence of digicodes or intercom systems is noticeable. Out of curiosity, some overpass these small devices, thus openings may feel uncomfortable for some residents. Furthermore, night-time events are not organised at The Cinq Toits as often as at the Grands Voisins because the courtyard acts as a sound box. According to everyone rhythms and a convivial space is not easy:

“There’s too much noise. [...] People come here, and they play some music. So yes, sometimes there is some noise. And if you work at night and you want to sleep during the day it’s... Difficult.” (Refugee)

5.4 Home as gates and common spaces

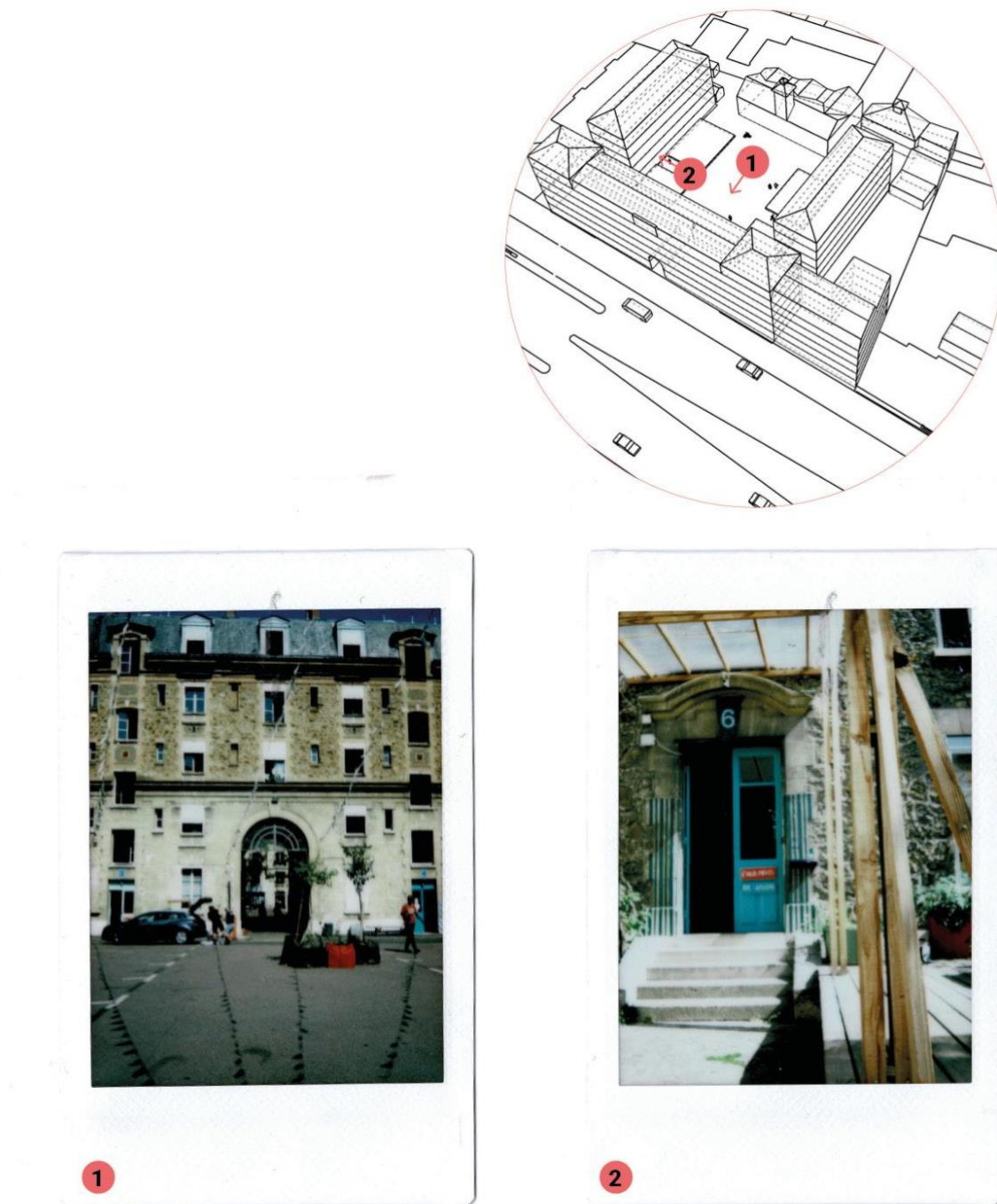


Figure 20. Interviewees' photographs, set A

At the end of the interview, while answering the question “What gives you a sense of home at Les Cinq Toits”, two residents chose to photograph some gates in common spaces. In architecture doors are physical elements that may express symbolic dimensions. Gates both express a limit and materialize a link between two spaces: they usually part an inside and an outside. Thus, choosing gates as symbols of homes is a strong statement about being entitled to access a space.

Picture number one shows the main gate while looking from the courtyard to the boulevard Exelmans. This is the main entry point of the Cinq Toits, the place everyone crosses back and forth, to come in and out of the premises.

Picture number two focuses on a gate located on the courtyard which opens to the staircases and leading to the units. It is a filter towards the actual place where the interviewee lives, it is a threshold.

From these viewpoints and considering the number of doors and windows surrounding the courtyard, one may consider it as a stage. Pushing the metaphor an interview mentions:

- *“ I like it here, it is like a theater here. And I like theater.*
- *Why is it like a theater ?*
- *For instance, people do not come from the same country and do not speak the same language, but they laugh, they play football, they do some stuffs...” (Refugee)*

5.5 Home as beds and windows

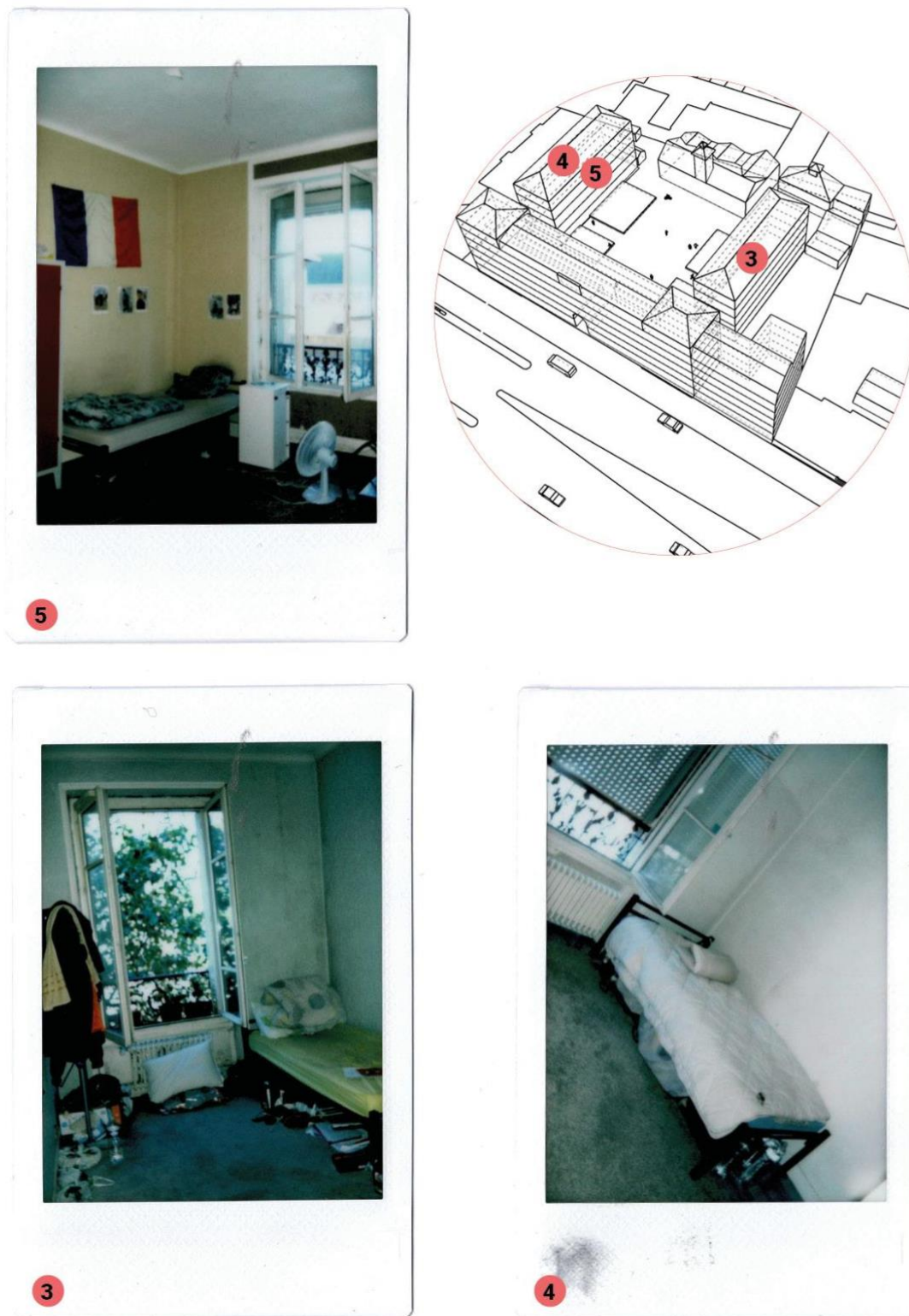


Figure 21. Interviewees' photographs, set B

Each person at the Cinq Toits has 7 flatmates and the units do not have a living room. Thus, for the “sense of home” question of the interviews, 3 people out of 5 chose to photograph their beds. This is very significant as beds clearly are the most private place in the units. These 1.8 square meters are a fundamental function of the housing centre. They are the only space that is not shared. They are the places where one may rest, sleep safely, with a roof above the head. It also is a favourite space to store individual belongings.

Most of the units have the exact same configuration, which also applies to furniture, thus, in the photographs, all beds are right next to windows. This proximity between the place to rest and the opening to the shared space of the courtyard may explain further some complaints about noise which leads to avoiding night-time events or nocturnal uses of the courtyard.

The photographs show various levels of appropriations of these most personal spaces of the Cinq Toits. Depending on how long they’ve been here, and how much they sense it as a home, some people decorate the surrounding walls and immediate floors while others keep it quiet, almost impersonal. One photograph shows few pictures of friends and family and a French flag above the bed. Took by a young man from Afghanistan, this relates to the proudness of being here after a rather difficult journey.

“Before I had no papers. I asked. I slept in the jungles, had no house, no place here. I asked a lot. OFPRA. Before, I asked for a house, a place. They said ‘wait, wait.’ For ten months, in the jungle.” (Refugee)

Knowing that their situation here is temporary regularly came out in the discussions with the residents. The timeframes mentioned were mostly mid-term options, interlinked with the administrative decisions people are waiting for. It is important to mention that we did not meet anyone who wished to leave the Cinq Toits anytime soon.

“Maybe I need to move out soon. I don’t know where I will go. [...] It will be in Paris. [...] It depends on... I asked for social housing. But it is not... I don’t know when, maybe next month, maybe in 3 months, maybe 2, maybe more, it depends.” (Refugee)

“I’m a Dubliner, so I’m waiting for a court decision to become [a] normal [refugee]. I can stay here for 18 months (as a Dubliner), but after that I must leave The Cinq Toits, and I don’t know where to go. I also spoke to my social worker because I really want to work” (Asylum seeker)

In the following extract the “here” relates to Paris:

“I don’t know. I’m just working and trying to save money. I have 30 years, but I have, maybe, I must stay for 5 years. But I have to work. I just have to work otherwise I don’t have money. I have my family from Afghanistan but in Afghanistan it’s not good now.” (Refugee)

Having a bed is a milestone toward social integration and, while this is dealt with, it enables the residents to focus on other aspects of their paths. Thus many people mention the sense of luck of having a shelter, especially while looking back at harder times in their trajectories:

“I feel lucky to be here” (Asylum seeker)

“The first time I told my mum and dad ‘I want to go to London or to France, these two countries’. But after it all depends on luck. I stayed for 5 years in Germany, after 5 years I came here. Then you say...”

For instance 'where does your luck takes you, you can go there, if you want, if you can't or don't want'. [...] It's all about luck.' (Refugee)

This sense of luck is emphasised by the fact that Paris' housing sector is pretty tough, especially for precarious persons or people without stabilised incomes:

"Here, at least, I can stay for free." (Asylum seeker)

"They have to deal with a lot of discriminations. And being in Paris make it even harder, there are a lot of demands [...], gigantic waiting lines for social housing [...]. They suffer from the fact that in Paris, they face a real estate market where the ratio of supply and demand is really tense, and it make it very difficult to access housing, especially when you're a refugee. [...] The residents I talked to do not want to leave Paris because they left everything behind already. [...] At The Cinq Toits they have a great frame. The social workers [...] encourage them to go out of the Cinq Toits, to find out what is happening elsewhere. It is a cocoon here." (Plateau Urbain)

The Cinq Toits is a melting pot, where people are safe to sleep, enable to personalise their private space, autonomous as flatmates, find opportunities to build their social interactions with the teams running the different facilities of the Cinq Toits and are encouraged to explore the surroundings and Paris as a whole. This "cocoon" welcomes many nationalities and personal situations. If the social interactions are a key part of the place and an important step to progressively encourage and favour social inclusion, one shall always remember that living an exile is very difficult. The reasons for leaving, the people left behind and the administrative situations always remain in the background of people's everyday life.

"I share my appartement with a roommate. [...] We are good friends. He's also from Afghanistan. [...] In my apartment there is a guy from Sudan and two from Somalia. We eat together and invite people to eat with us. Among neighbours, otherwise not so much. Everyone has their own problems and only some people can speak English, some don't." (Refugee)

Conclusion

This report presented the analysis of the housing project Les Cinq Toits (summarized in figure 22). The analysis of the socio-economic context shows that the housing project Les Cinq Toits is located in an economically favoured area not used to host temporary housing centres. The arrival of a project like The Cinq Toits generated tensions due to the absence of “reception tradition” locally. Our analysis revealed that a visible and manifest engagement of local authorities (inclusion of the managers of The Cinq Toits in the city council...), is key to starting a project like this one. It also revealed that time management and openness are two critical elements that participate in changing a district’s culture.

The area in which the housing project is located benefits from public transports and services, a dense network of associations and different types of infrastructures. However, the area remains under-dotted in terms of public transports compared to the rest of the city. This under-dotation makes it harder for external people to join the facilities.

Les Cinq Toits is a temporary housing project designed to provide exiled and vulnerable people not only a house but also a place to heal, to meet and interact with local actors to, finally, get their place in the society. It also provides start-ups and NGOs from the social and solidary economy a place to exert their work. It is made of three entities (CHU, CADA and HUDA) receiving 350 persons. The coordinators of the project (Aurore and Plateau Urbain) benefit from a recognised experience and expertise in creating and managing such premises. The project is materially supported by the city hall and Paris Habitat (providers of the building), and financially supported by the state, regional authorities, foundations and by the contributions of partner organisations.

Four types of networks - made of more or less formalized relationships - proved to have facilitated the creation of the project and its daily activities. Some pre-existing networks, established by the coordinators during previous projects with local authorities, favoured the emergence of the housing project possible. During the implementation and the development of the project, three types of networks have been identified: 1) relations built within the facilities (interpersonal, inter-organisational, individual-organisational), 2) relations built with external actors and 3) external network of which organisation might be part of. These different networks appear to be in constant interaction and shape the activities and decisions made by stakeholders.

The analysis of the mechanics of the project highlighted the participatory processes implemented during the creation and the exploitation of the Cinq Toits. Due to time constraints, and to empower people and create a ‘sense of home’, future residents have been involved in the transformation of the building into accommodations. This engagement did not only allow residents to gain self-esteem, but it also made them discover manual jobs and, eventually, turn this experience into job opportunities. Since the creation of the housing facilities, a council has been created to give each member a voice and the possibility to take part into the decision-making process. The clock council meets every month and reunite organisations, social workers volunteers and residents of the Cinq Toits. The objective of these

meetings is to discuss about current issue, to present projects to (eventually) get a budget to develop it.

The analysis conducted on the housing project revealed the existence of difficulties face at the individual, organizational and societal levels. The difficulties encountered are related to time management, population and spatial densities, internal and external tensions due to cultural differences, lack of communication and participation to the activities organized internally, dependency to the place and waste management problems.

To overcome these problems, several actions have been taken by the coordinators. The organization of public meetings, visits, and activities within the premises (for citizens and schools), as well as the integration of the neighbourhood council participated in re-establishing the communication with local citizens, reducing de facto tensions and fears. Moreover, the co-creation of the facilities with future residents, volunteers and professionals allowed the coordinators to cope with the time constraints they faced at the beginning of the project. An internal code of conduct describing the rules and obligations of each beneficiary has been created and medical consults proposed to ensure good living conditions and the well-being of all residents. Residents are encouraged to engage in activities and to develop networks outside of the facilities in order to avoid the risk of experiencing a second uprooting at the closure of the Cinq Toits. Finally, activities have been modified to make them more inclusive and closer to residents' realities. Investments have been realized to equip workshops, develop new activities, better manage waste and improve the overall communication.

The innovative nature of the Cinq Toits lies on 4 dimensions. Its eco-friendly approach participates in reducing the ecological footprint of the facilities (favouring, thus, the acceptance from neighbours), raising residents' awareness about ecological issues (building citizenship), and contributing to the economic viability of the project. The diversity of uses and populations contributes to open the facilities to the outside world, creating opportunities to meet and interact, generating an internal dynamic and empowering residents. The development of partnerships with municipalities and local actors, associated with the creation of a toolkit, favours the replicability and the dissemination of the project on other territories. Finally, the originality of the project stems from its capacity to fill local voids and favouring complementarity over competition with existing activities.

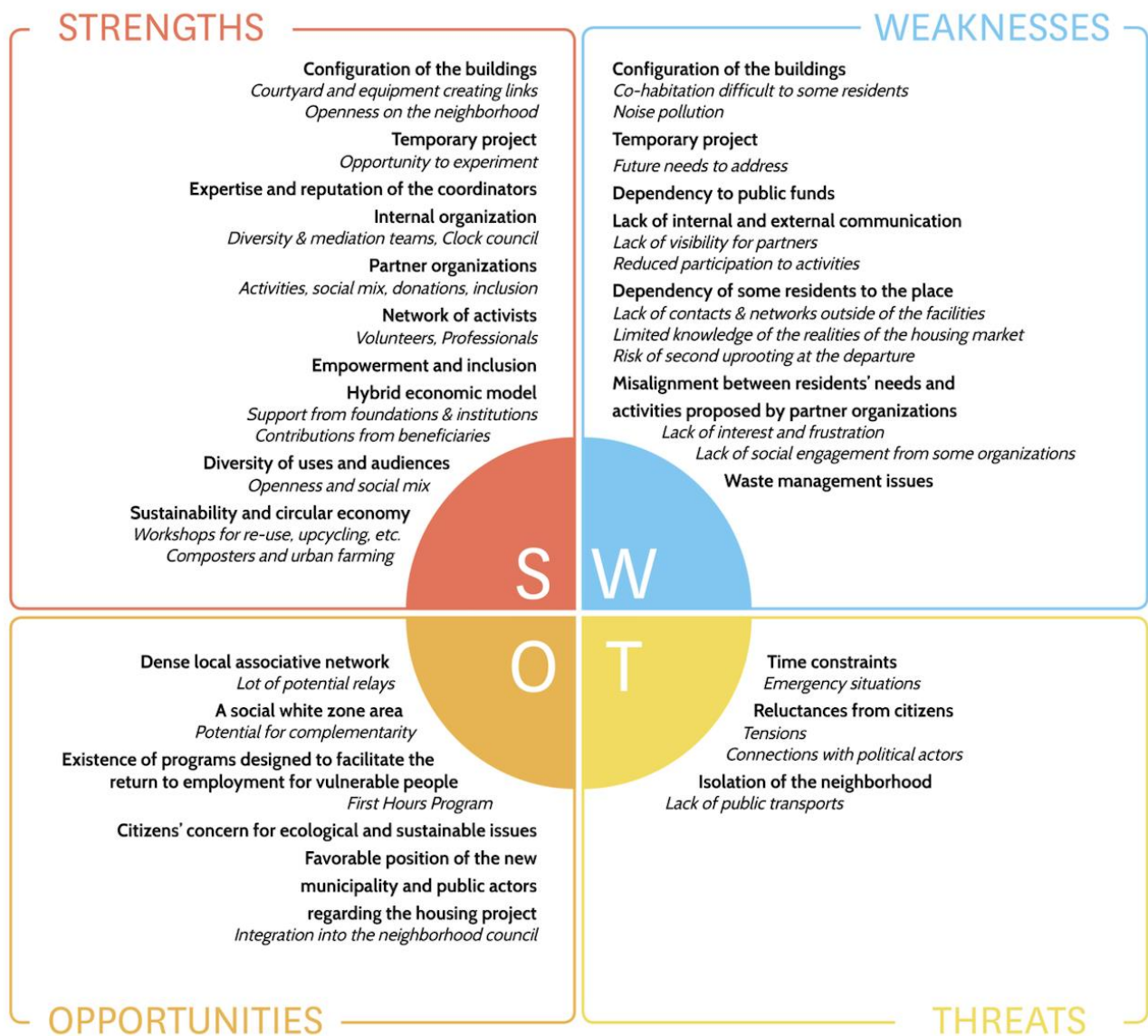
The socio-cultural integration of residents at the Cinq Toits is organised toward French classes, cultural visits in Paris and specific trainings and activities. To overcome the learning difficulties faced by residents, innovative techniques have been developed, to make classes less formal, more interactive, and professional-oriented. In the same vein, occasion for discussions and debate on societal issues are organised, which allow social workers to discuss with residents about key cultural concerns. The commitment of volunteers and professional activists, and their close collaboration with the housing project management team, are critical factors to ensure the long-term success of these actions.

The professional integration is granted by the presence of insertion companies (such as La Conciergerie Solidaire, La Bricole, Espero and Ridy) within the facilities using the First Hours Program to offer residents opportunities to develop professional competencies and access to

the labour market. They focus on activities related to sustainability issues and in which there is a demand for manpower.

Our case study highlighted the different perceptions residents have about “a home”. If common outdoor spaces are highly appreciated for their conviviality, the lack of privacy, ensuing from the forced co-habitation, is sometimes source of tension. In the same vein, people’s status and the temporality of the facilities impact the level of individual commitment to daily life tasks and activities of the place.

Figure 22. SWOT analysis of the Cinq Toits

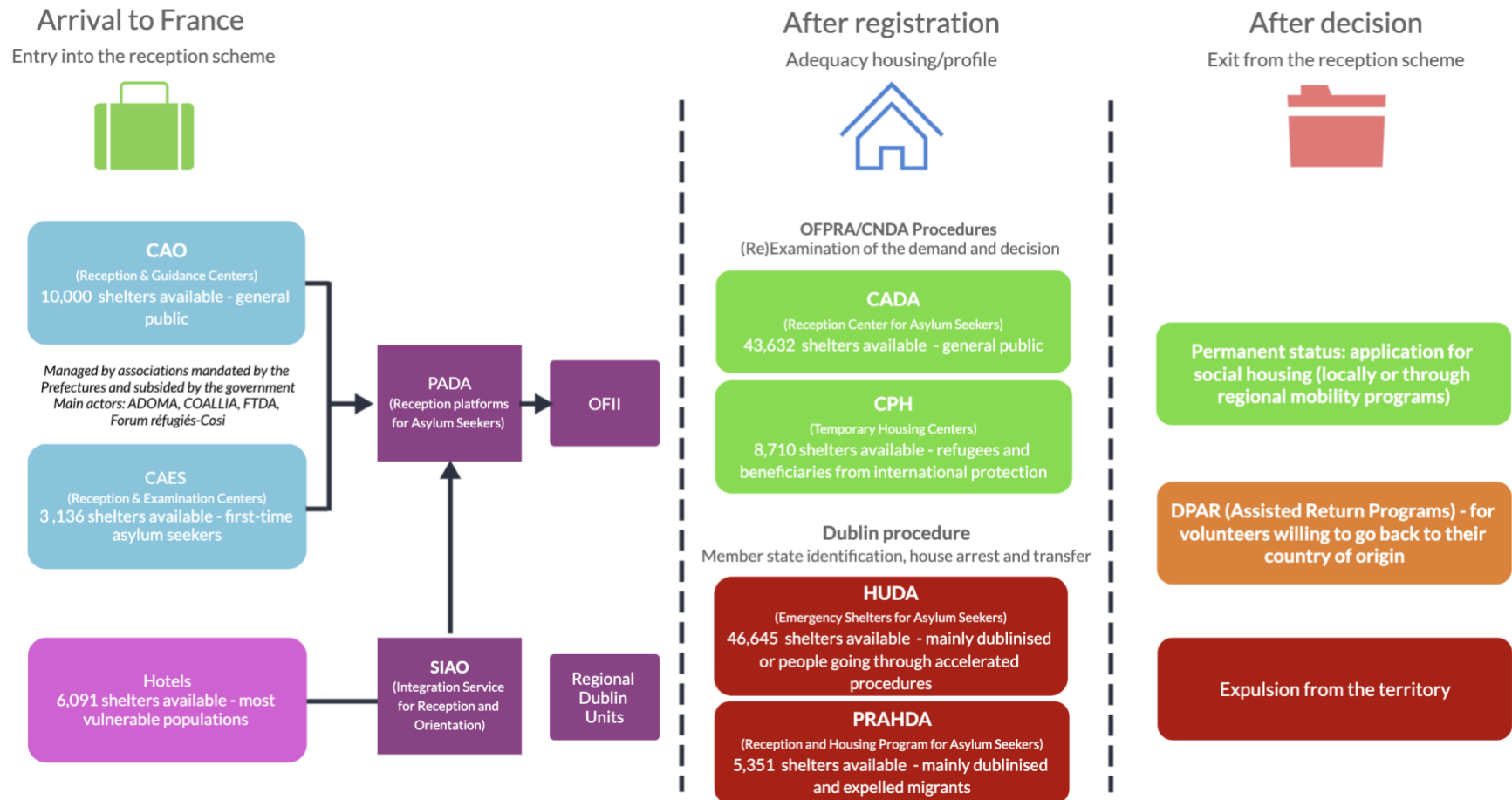


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Appendix

Appendix 1. Reminder - Typology of housings dedicated to exiled people in France, based on their administrative status



Appendix 2. Adult Courses offered by the Central City Hall of Paris

FRENCH FOR NON-FRENCH SPEAKERS (FLE)	FRENCH FOR PEOPLE WITH LITTLE SCHOOLING, FRENCH-SPEAKING (FOF) OR NOT (FOA)	FOREIGN LANGUAGES	REFRESHER COURSES AND GENERAL EDUCATION	PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
300 Courses available	French for French speakers with little schooling (FOF)	German English Arabic Spanish Italian		Professional accompaniment
	French for non-French speakers with low levels of education (FOA)	French Sign Language and Deaf Culture African languages	Baccalaureate preparation	Creation of companies or associations Fashion & textile professions Catering professions Administration jobs Company trades Environment professions
	Training courses with pedagogies adapted to people with disabilities	Asian languages - Chinese - Korean - Japanese - Taiwanese - Vietnamese	Refresher courses	Computer science, programming & web communication Graphic arts, architecture & communication Industrial science & technology
	Training for French trainers	Portuguese		Personal services professions
		Russian		Wood, glass, tapestry, decorative painting & sculpture trades

Appendix 3. Main activities offered to citizens and residents by partner organizations at The Cinq Toits

Agriculture

Organization	Description
Biofield / Oyster mushrooms of Paris	Coffee grounds collection service and valorization of the latter through the cultivation of mushrooms.
Espero - Beekeeping and urban agriculture	Association created in 2016 to respond to the social and environmental emergency, reconciling Men and Nature. Espero's objective is threefold: to develop projects offering training and professional integration pathways for people far from employment and around "green jobs" and "living professions"; to raise awareness of environmental and social issues among the general public and finally, to enrich and enhance the biodiversity of the Ile-de-France region

Art

Organization	Description
Marie Fourcade - Embroidery art	Teacher of art embroidery with hand, needle and Lunéville technique. Instagram
Boinaheri Azad - Visual Artist	This 30-year-old artist's work consists of participatory installations and photography. The subjects he questions in his productions are art and society. For that, he questions the limits of the representations, of the statutes which codify them. Through his works, he highlights social misery and the absurdity of certain situations. To make the spectator think and to confront them with his questions, he tries to integrate them in the creation of installations.
Nathalie Valantin (Gasediel) - Pictorial art	The work of Gasediel aims to stop the unstoppable. Let us open our eyes wide. The walls speak to us. They tell us what has been. What has passed. They are the reflection of thousand moments. On the walls of the city, we find rage, love, boredom, humor... The wall, mirror of emotions, reflection of inner vibrations, connects us to others, by successive layers, brings us together. It is a huge conversation of moments, a concentrate of humanity.
Alexandra Latour - Embroidery art	Graphic and plastic creations; Drawing and elaboration of textile samples and technical research; Luxury embroidery for couturiers and decorators; Realization of models and special orders.
Mélo die Roux-Dufort - Visual art	Between photography, painting and embroidery, her artistic approach revolves around the body, especially the female body. In photography, she captures the movement of clothes that embrace the bodies of her models. In painting, she

	stages the woman in poetic universes, often accompanied by a drape in reference to the history of art. Recently launched in embroidery on mottled clothes, Mélodie is committed to upcycling, offering unique designs that resemble her.
Artemisia Formation - Painting and decorating	Artemisia provides qualifying training in painting and decorating. Students learn and practice painting in various spaces in the Five Roofs.

Crafts

Organisation	Description
Purae - Cosmetics & Candles	Artisanal production of soaps by the cold saponification technique but also of derived products (body and hair balms, care oils). Soap and scented plant candles workshops are regularly organized.
En Dilettante - Ceramic & Flower	En Dilettante is the fusion of ceramic and floral art. The ceramic workshop designs stoneware pieces modeled or turned in small series and composes its own glaze recipes. As for flowers, the compositions are seasonal and local or dried. Initiations and classes are regularly offered.
Les Savons du Jour - Cosmetics	Manufacture and sale of solid soaps made using the cold saponification process, produced from totally biodegradable natural products.
Me & Paper - Stationery	Me & Paper, it's paper objects creations, origami decoration, and a lot of love. Passionate about painting and drawing, Marie-Laure, creator of Me & Paper, now integrates a new space: the Rêverimatique, which offers crafts, mothballed objects, a mini thrift store, a material library, sewing, paper, a corner of greenery, creative workshops ... on a background of reuse and recycling.
Arnaud Romieux - Expert in furniture and art objects	Restoration of chests of drawers, candelabras, torches and other furniture and objects to give them back their former splendor
L'Herbe Bleue - Floral art	Floral & plant creations of the season; initiation workshops to the kokedama technique
Du Pain et des Roses - Floral art - insertion	Offers training and discovery of the florist's profession to women in social and professional reintegration on the one hand; and on the other hand partly self-finances its free training via its event florist activity.
La Petite L - Textile	Creation of children and adult patterns on "lectra system" for companies (subcontracting)

Miss Goupil - Tapestry	Upholstery (repair and upholstery of antique and modern seats) and restoration of furniture and art objects (including bronze, lighting), expertise, brokerage
Sophie Hykes - Textile	Textile designer, colors and materials, Sophie Hykes designs patterns, fabrics and rugs for fashion and decoration weaving companies. She also weaves her own tapestries on a haute-lisse loom in her studio in Les Cinq Toits
Natacha Fouquet - Textile	With its heterogeneous but complementary know-how, Natacha's workshop offers the realization of custom-made pieces as well as the realization of micro-series. Working in collaboration with craftsmen, as well as trusted industrialists, this workshop remains at your disposal to realize the project made in France which looks like you.
La Veste en Jean - Textile	The brand was born from the awareness of the importance of the pollution generated by jeans and the desire to pool the skills of the 3 creators: Natacha Fouquet, milliner, Alexandra Latour, embroidery designer and Delphine Facque, costume designer and tailor. La Veste en Jean is a pure product of French craftsmanship, offering unique personalized pieces. Acting in a solidarity economy, the brand wishes to employ people in vulnerable situations. No matter the condition of the jeans, Veste en Jean recovers them (100% cotton without elastane)!

Catering

Organization	Description
La Table du RECHO - Restoration of integration	Open to the general public, the restaurant aims to promote welcoming and living together through cooking by offering tasty and committed cuisine with a strong social and environmental impact.
Sam Hattal - Les Biscuits de Maman - Gatobio - Pastry and catering	Creation and production of organic and 100% natural pastries

Counseling

Organization	Description
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ORALI Paris - Cosmetics	Long training courses around well-being, materials, ingredients, and noble, natural, organic and sustainable know-how. Consulting and management for the development of know-how and offer in physical and/or digital space; only for organizations and entities that are part of a sustainable development approach.
Wifiz - IT	Wifiz offers a tool that allows merchants and restaurant owners to improve their visibility on social networks, while making their WiFi more reliable.

Design & Architecture

Organization	Description
All Around & Co	Anne-Laure's artistic activities include design and architecture, painting and modeling, plastering and tapestry. She shares her studio-cavern with potter Corentin. From a sensitive listening of the needs and the lived, she accompanies to the perception and the development of spaces through a course made of questionings, opening new perspectives from the existing. Doing with what we have and what we know how to do, Anne-Laure tinkers, repairs and solves.
Les Gens Géniaux - Social Design	A meeting of two designers, Gersende Le Blay and Léa Genovese, Les Gens Géniaux aim to generate artistic creation through a mix of audiences and actors on a project. They wish to encourage new ways of working together and generate social interactions, by integrating users into the project from the design phase to its realization, so that they become actors of their environment. Les Gens Géniaux offer collaborative workshops to encourage social and cultural initiatives within a place, a neighborhood or a city. They also offer support in the management and realization of development projects and events
Rock Your Garden - Vegetal design	Creator of vegetal ambiances & Garden Designer: Alexandra de Brito designs lively and inspiring places that connect humans to nature by inviting it indoors and creating ground and sky gardens outdoors. Welcoming by appointment, selling eloquent green plants, custom hanging baskets, vintage ceramic planters and vases.

Ethical trade

Organization	Description
Les 3 Chouettes - Food	A 100% organic, local and plant-based food company founded in 2016, Les 3 Chouettes' mission is to reinvent the French-style condiment with organic and local vegetable pickles and mezze to put some pep on the consumer's plate.

The Trust Society - E-commerce	E-commerce of innovative sustainable products, made in France and plastic-free for a sunny ecological transition. Zero-carbon delivery objective.
Ma petite couche - Sustainable development	Young EHS company created in June 2017, Ma petite couche offers rental and washing of textile diapers for babies with home delivery cycling. Delivery in southwest Paris for rental/washing and all of France for simple rental.

Health

Organization	Description
Clément Le Perchec - Traditional Chinese Medicine	Proposals of Chinese pharmacopoeia, practice of acupuncture or Tui Na (Chinese therapeutic massage), health advice and Chinese dietetics, Qi Gong or meditation exercises
4A Association - Art therapy	The association 4A promotes access to creation for all: art therapy workshops, free creation, training, supervision, cultural and social animation. These workshops aim at mixing the public in order to allow exchanges through creation.
Protection Civile Paris Seine (PCPS) - Relief and solidarity	The PCPS is an association under the law of 1901 affiliated to the National Federation of Civil Protection which acts in 3 fields: rescue operations, first aid training and social and solidarity action. It gathers more than 1300 volunteers in 36 branches in Paris and its region.

Media

Organization	Description
Guiti News - Online media	Guiti News ("the world and what surrounds it", in Farsi) is an independent online media, constituted as an association, which intends to change the collective narrative around migration. It brings together journalists living in exile in France (from Chad, Pakistan, Syria, Zimbabwe, etc.) and French colleagues, in order to bring a double perspective to the news. In parallel, Guiti carries out media education activities with various young audiences, and develops a European media network

Mobility

Organization	Description
Ridy - Bike repairing	Bicycle repair at the workshop (Les Cinq Toits and Montreuil) or at home by appointment. Turnkey solutions for bike maintenance in companies. Eligible for the "coup de pouce vélo"

