

“At Home on the Street: How Working Class Migrants Use Public Space in Paris”

Carrie A. Benjamin*

© by the author(s)

(*) Department of Anthropology & Sociology, SOAS, University of London,
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG, United Kingdom /
c_benjamin@soas.ac.uk

Paper presented at the RC21 International Conference on “The Ideal City: between myth and reality. Representations, policies, contradictions and challenges for tomorrow's urban life” Urbino (Italy) 27-29 August 2015. <http://www.rc21.org/en/conferences/urbino2015/>

Abstract¹

The Goutte d'Or is commonly referred to as 'Africa in Paris' and is one of the city's last working class neighbourhoods. Since the time of Zola's *L'Assommoir*, which described the impoverished, often destitute conditions of workers in the neighbourhood, public space has been constructed and used as an extension of the home. However, today it is North and West African migrants—mostly men—who domesticize the public squares and sidewalks of the Goutte d'Or, creating places for socialising, eating, drinking, relaxing, and prayer. Every day, Tunisian, Algerian, Malian, and Senegalese men, many of whom have lived in Paris for decades or become naturalized citizens, congregate on the sidewalks of the Goutte d'Or, sitting in folding chairs, leaning on light posts or standing along the walls of local shops, to share news, exchange greetings, drink tea and gossip. While these men seek camaraderie and social interaction outside of their often cramped living quarters, they resist the French discourse that these exchanges should take place in private spaces—whether in the home or in a café. Yet their domesticisation of public sidewalks has led to conflict with businesses in the area, who find that the presence of these men discourages customers from entering their shops. In a rapidly changing quarter that strives to be an 'ideal' Parisian neighbourhood—that is a clean, orderly, law-abiding quarter that is neither an 'enclave' nor a 'ghetto'—public space has become highly contentious. Recent changes have left some businesses scrambling to maintain their customer base or to recruit new clientele, and the visibility of this male-dominated migrant presence has been labelled a 'problem'. This paper analyses these everyday privatisations of public space against the backdrop of urban renewal and gentrification in the Goutte d'Or, where business owners and residents negotiate the boundaries and definitions of public space, and contest its proper usage. I argue that this working-class use of public space becomes uniquely Parisian as it converges with the historical trends of immigration to the capital and the sweeping effects of urban renewal over the last thirty years.

Introduction

The Goutte d'Or, located in Paris's 18th arrondissement, has long been a neighbourhood of migrants. From the mid-nineteenth century, when the area was still a village on the periphery of Paris, the quarter attracted provincial migrants to work in the booming locomotive industry, cementing its working-class reputation. After its incorporation into Paris in 1860, the neighbourhood quickly became known as one of

¹ This is a draft, please do not cite.

the poorest and most miserable neighbourhoods in the capital (Toubon & Messamah 1990: 124). For this reason, Émile Zola selected the neighbourhood for the setting of *L'Assommoir*, which described the impoverished, often destitute conditions of workers in the neighbourhood. He sought to highlight the 'poisonous atmosphere of [Paris's] industrial suburbs...where intoxication and idleness lead to a weakening of family ties' (Zola 1995: 3). By 1890, the population of the Goutte d'Or began to shift from provincial labourers to European migrants, and the neighbourhood welcomed the first arrival of Algerian labourers and merchants (Toubon & Messamah 1990). From the early twentieth century until the 1980s the neighbourhood was known as the 'Kasbah' or 'Medina' for its large Algerian population, and still occupies an important space in the Maghrebian imaginary (Weiss 2009). Although the northern part of the neighbourhood is now known for its large concentration of West African commerce (Bouly de Lesdain 1999), the southern sector still retains a considerable Algerian population and commerce which caters to them.

The history of this migrant, working-class neighbourhood is not unique; it intersects with the history of immigration to France and its capital. Between 1945 and 1974, France specifically encouraged the migration of single males, particularly from their North and West African colonies, to work in factories as a way of discouraging permanent settlement with their families (Amiri & Stora 2007). As a result, the population of the Goutte d'Or during that period reflected this, and the effects of these migration policies can still be seen today. Many of these single men lived in one of the neighbourhood's *hôtels meublés*, which offered small, low-cost, furnished rooms, often with shared shower and toilet facilities for the whole building. Cramped, inexpensive flats that were affordable for migrant labourers and—following immigration restrictions after 1974, their families—constituted a significant portion of the housing stock in the Goutte d'Or in the 1980s and 1990s. Their prevalence was so ubiquitous that one resident referred to his one-bedroom flat shared with his wife and daughter as 'An HLM like everyone [has here], like all the Mohammeds' (Lemesle 2010).

At the time of my fieldwork in 2013-2014, many of these North and West African workers, now retired, still lived in the Goutte d'Or or regularly visited from other areas of Paris and its suburbs. Their continued existence in the neighbourhood was visible through their use of public spaces. They would convene to socialise outside as a way to escape their often-cramped apartments. Furthermore, many of the men lived alone and their families and children were still 'back in the country', and their physical isolation in small Parisian apartments was a strong catalyst for them to venture outdoors in all weather. The isolation and social exclusion of retired, elderly migrants has been documented in cities around the world (Brown 2009; Warnes et al. 2004), and is notably common in France (Dubus & Braud 2001; Gallou 2005; Bas-Theron & Michel 2002). Thus socialising in public spaces was one method of combating social isolation in the neighbourhood. This paper analyses these everyday uses of public space against the backdrop of urban renewal and gentrification in the Goutte d'Or, where business owners and residents negotiate the boundaries and definitions of public space, and contest its proper usage. I argue that this working-class use of public space becomes uniquely Parisian as it converges with the historical trends of immigration to the capital and the sweeping effects of urban renewal over the last thirty years.

Masculine Spaces and Migrant Places

As a result of the migration policies that favoured single male migrants in the 20th century, the public squares and sidewalks of the Goutte d'Or are male-dominated spaces. Women's presence in these public spaces is typically limited or fleeting: there are men and women street vendors in the two market areas, sex workers in the northern border of the neighbourhood, and occasionally women who stop while running errands to catch up with acquaintances they meet in the street. But overwhelmingly, women—typically those from outside the neighbourhood—perceive

the Goutte d'Or as a masculine space, which often marks it as a dangerous area when this masculinity intersects with racialised migrant bodies².

Yet this highly visible masculine presence in public spaces takes different forms in the neighbourhood's many corners. In the south, along a street made infamous as one of several Parisians sites of the Algerian War, young men of French and North African origin congregate during the day to drink tea and smoke cigarettes. Further up the road, older men from Chlef sit on benches and lean against trees to catch up with old friends (Lemesle 2010). Along the aerial metro line, clusters of young men propped against shop walls and construction fences offer contraband cigarettes, hashish, or *subutex* to potential customers (Goldring 2006). In the neighbourhood park, old men of all origins gather around the checkers tables to watch the speedy bottle-cap games until it is their turn to challenge the winner. Finally, around the metro exits and outside the 'African Centrality's' (Bouly de Lesdain 1999) many beauty shops, West African and South Asian men hand out flyers for *marabouts* and braiding services to the crowds of passers-by. While all of these occupations of public space differ in how and why the men use the space, they share at least one commonality in that the men do not alter the physical space to accommodate their presence. That is, they use the existing walls, planter boxes, and benches but do not modify the space to present any sense of visible permanence to outsiders or for themselves, even though such a modification would necessarily be impermanent in the highly policed neighbourhood.

However, in the streets around one of the neighbourhood's three mosques, a small contingent of older men gathers every day to pass the time. Originating from Mali, Guinea, Senegal and Mauritania, many of these men are retired after decades of working in France. Here outside the mosque, they change the physical landscape of the places they occupy by visibly marking it with objects, decorations and furniture, deconstructed each night and replaced each morning. In so doing, they emplace themselves on the streets of the Goutte d'Or in a way that appears permanent and

² For an intersectional approach to the geographies of fear, who is feared, and by whom, see Pain, Rachel. 2001. Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City. *Urban Studies* 38(5-6): 899-913.

often exclusionary to outsiders, yet comfortable and welcoming within their social networks.

To illustrate these practices I draw upon an excerpt of my fieldnotes below, edited for length, which describe the activities of one man who lived up the road from the mosque.

In the late mornings Mussa, brings out a few chairs and stools with the help of his sons. He usually positions them on one of the street corners either along a construction fence or outside one of the shops. He sits next to a stool which holds a wooden bowl full of pink and white kola nuts, and puts several litres of milk he purchased on top of a large crate covered with a white sheet. His leather-wrapped walking stick remains propped against the wall, and a chair beside him remains empty, covered in a white sheet to make it 'clean'. As the day goes on, dozens of men and women pass by his corner to make exchanges. Some people bring religious charity to give to him, understanding that he is either in need of such charity or that he will redistribute it to the poor of the neighbourhood, while others come seeking prayers, blessings or 'traditional' medicines. On the fence, he has two signs written in Arabic, French and English to encourage the giving of this type of charity: FISABILILLAH and SACRIFICES ICI / HERE. His friend down the street gave him several small calendars and cardboard pictures of the Kaaba in Mecca, which he has hung in a group above his display crate. He has also hung a neon yellow vest on the fence, presumably for decoration as much as to keep cars from cutting corners as they make a turn and potentially hitting his display. I asked him about why he decorates the corner with so many things everyday when he just has to take them down again, and he told me 'Because I like it that way. It is in my heart.'...A significant group of regular visitors, typically men, also come to greet him, shake his hand, and converse in Pulaar, Wolof, or Arabic. These interactions vary in duration. Sometimes the visitors stop only for a moment before continuing on their way, shouting greetings from across the street and touching their right hands to their hearts as a sign of respect. Others may spend an hour, sitting in the cloth-draped chair reserved for guests or moving about helping Mussa collect and organise the charitable gifts he receives. When Mussa goes on one of his many walks around the neighbourhood, one of his friends will keep an eye on his corner. If no one is around, the shopkeepers that look out onto his set-up will watch for potential thieves, who are surprising rare in a neighbourhood where mobile phone theft is a daily occurrence. He returns

to his flat in the evening around 19:00, after his son (and sometimes a friend or two) helps dismantle the decorations and signs, and moves his chairs and leftover donated goods into the basement storage of a nearby condominium.
(fieldnotes, January 2014)

Mussa's space was marked with images of semi-permanence, visually articulated for himself as much as for passers-by. While his chairs, donations and decorations had to be dismantled in the evenings, their reappearance in the morning signalled his constant presence on the streets. His decorations changed frequently as he acquired new items and gave others away to suit his tastes, but residents and visitors understood his recurring use and occupation of the same space made it *his* space in some sense. He made no claims to owning the space itself, but did claim ownership over the goods he displayed and decorated with, and these goods marked the space as occupied. However, this is not to say that everyone accepted his continued presence on the public sidewalks and street corners without protest. He regularly had police officers accuse him of street vending, and had clashes with a few neighbours who were unhappy with the way he took up space on the small sidewalks. But in the latter instances, he would return their accusations of privatising public space by asking, 'Does the street belong to *you*?' For Mussa, 'public space' did not mean that the area had to be left open and unoccupied for the general public. Rather, 'public space' meant that everyone had a right to use the space as they wanted, albeit within certain limits of mutual respect and morality. Therefore, his modification of the physical environment with chairs and religious imagery were a proper use of public space within his conception of the term.

Parisian norms dictate that prolonged or meaningful social interactions should typically take place in private spaces. These private spaces may be homes, cafes, or restaurants, but may also include public spaces that can be respectfully and appropriately privatised for intimate social interactions at certain times of the day or year, such as park benches, pedestrian bridges, and public garden spaces. Yet Parisian apartment buildings, where multiple thresholds protect the intimacy and privacy of the home, can be isolating and difficult to access (Rosselin 1999). Additionally, many cafes and

restaurants are expensive and unaccommodating for prolonged and regular use. As a result, many migrant men who reside in the Goutte d'Or live their social lives outside on the public sidewalks, squares and walls of the neighbourhood. In so doing, they both flout Parisian norms of proper social interaction and, as I will now demonstrate, mark the areas as extensions of their homes.

Domesticating Public Spaces

Douglas has argued that 'home is located in space, but it is not necessarily a fixed space...but space there must be, for home starts by bringing some space under control' (1991: 289). Thus for Douglas, the home is intimately linked with the domestic, as home making requires domestication of space. Of particular note is the idea that home must involve the conquering and conversion of space. While she acknowledges that such a space need not be fixed, Douglas's definition still implies a rigid understanding of home as inherently spatial. Yet this static conception of 'home' has given way to more fluid understandings of home as place, recognising that people have many and multiple unbounded 'home-places' (Massey 1994). Accordingly, home is best thought of as 'a mobile, symbolic habitat, a performative way of life and of doing things in which one makes one's home while in movement' in an age where movement has become increasingly common (Morley 2000: 47). Just as 'places are processes' (Massey 1999: 155), we should think of homes as produced and performed *in process*—whether physically, mentally, or emotionally—rather than tied to fixed locations or structures.

However, when speaking of 'home-places' in process it is necessary to unpack the concept of 'domestication', which seems to be explicitly or implicitly present in any discussion of homemaking. Domesticating space implies the taming of space, of bringing an area under the control of an individual, family or community, and thereby exerting some form of ownership over that space. But as home-places need not be physical, permanent or have fixed boundaries, I use 'ownership' to imply a sense of belonging that results from this domestication. Thus in the domestication of space,

individuals or groups continuously emplace themselves and mark their presence through decorations, words, physical constructions, sounds, thoughts, smells, performances, interactions and exchanges, or affective relationships. In so doing, they contribute to the making of multiple home-places.

John Dolan has argued that marginal groups use decorative and architectural displays to 'articulate some sense of themselves' through symbolic representation (1999: 62). While he is concerned with the exterior modifications new, working-class homeowners make to their houses in England, his argument resonates with the domestic place-making practices in the Goutte d'Or. Mussa's particular form of decorating the spaces he occupies with religious imagery and Arabic words can be understood as both an expression of religious identity as they are a sacred backdrop that blesses social interactions (Buggenhagen 2013; Qureshi 1996). But they also domesticate the space by using images and representations commonly used in Muslim migrant houses as well as in Mussa's own apartment. As home-places can be sites of resistance for colonised and racialised peoples, (hooks 1990: 47) migrants may domesticate numerous spaces throughout the city as an act in opposition to an exclusionary society (Caputo 2005). Visual and auditory cues on the city's landscape, such as restaurant signs in foreign scripts, Internet cafes that advertise low rates for international phone calls, and religious sermons that flow from open apartment windows let insiders and outsiders know of the existence of these spaces. Thus for West Africans who come from outside the neighbourhood to shop and socialise and migrants who live in the area, the streets of the Goutte d'Or, marked with these sensory clues, may feel like familiar home-places.

However, rather than thinking of migrants in the Goutte d'Or as simply (re)creating home outside, we should consider these practices of domesticating space as extending the home onto the street. The act of extending the home beyond the walls of the house is a well-documented practice in working-class neighbourhoods, including the Goutte d'Or. Zola's detailed account of the neighbourhood's social life in the nineteenth century describes women changing nappies on park benches, children

playing and being socialised on the streets, and neighbours gossiping in doorways and alleys. The book's tragic main character, Gervaise, is even said to feel right at home outside in the Goutte d'Or, 'for the nearby streets seemed just a natural extension of her own home' (Zola 1995: 160). In contemporary contexts, the public areas of the Mount Pleasant neighbourhood of Washington, DC have been described as 'gathering place[s] for social life in the neighbourhood' (Modan 2007: 75). Similarly, Binken and Blokland (2013) offer insights from an interlocutor who associated the practice of taking couches out to the sidewalk for family parties with distinctly working-class Dutch areas. In fact, Mussa's domestication of the sidewalks around the mosque, and his arguments with neighbours over appropriate usage of this space point to these same practices of extending the home outside of the house. For Mussa and his acquaintances, domesticating the streets and visually marking the area with chairs and decorations effectively claims the space as an extension of their home—albeit with the understanding that it is also the extension of other people's homes and thus belongs to no single person.

The practices outlined above thus demonstrate a working-class Parisian migrant place-making process. These use of three qualifiers—working-class, migrant, Parisian—highlights the intersection of multiple histories within the present-day Goutte d'Or as much as they point to a political counter-narrative. In a local and national environment where migrants who do not conform to the accepted performance of 'Frenchness' are marked as Other, the practice of carving out a public space for private socialisation can be an act of resistance. In their use of the sidewalks and corners of the Goutte d'Or, migrants emplace themselves in the neighbourhood and make a claim to belonging not just in the area but also to Paris as whole. They create home-places by extending home onto the street, and in so doing they contribute to the making of a *counter*-Paris, a Paris that counters the exclusionary, nationally dictated cultural memory embodied in the grand boulevards and breath-taking tourist attractions (Weiss 2009). Moreover, their use of public space as a social space shows similarities with other working-class urban neighbourhoods, where life is lived on the city streets, outside the space of apartments and houses.

Conflicts in the Ideal City

In contrast to Mussa's understanding and use of public space, the French conception of public space is that it should be open to everyone but not privatised by anyone. According to the City, the Police, and certain neighbourhood associations, the Goutte d'Or is notable for its 'degradation of public space' (Droit au Calme 2002; Paris Goutte d'Or 1999; Préfecture de Police 2013). This degradation is attributed to numerous illicit actions in the neighbourhood—street vending, theft, prostitution, a disregard for public hygiene and sanitation, and more broadly the 'privatisation of public space'. In 2012, the state introduced a national security program aimed at reinstating the rule of law into France's 'lawless zones', and the Goutte d'Or was one of the pilot sites. Labelled a *zone de sécurité prioritaire* (ZSP), the project has attempted to bring order to a seemingly disordered space. The official language surrounding the intervention in the Goutte d'Or is that of 'reconquering': taking back land and space that was 'stolen' by delinquency. The Maire du XVIIIe, Daniel Vaillant, has claimed that the ZSP 'is designed to effectively contribute...to the recovery of public space' (Vaillant 2012) and 'allow us to recapture degraded public space, in the service of liberty and civic tranquillity' (Préfecture de Police 2013: 8). The Préfecture de Police affirmed that the ZSP was created 'for the population to take back this space' (Préfecture de Police 2012a), and to 'permit residents to recover their neighbourhood and freely use public space' (Préfecture de Police 2012b). Within this project aimed at producing an 'ideal' Parisian neighbourhood—that is a clean, orderly, and open quarter—the migrant, working-class uses of public space are labelled a problem.

The privatisations of public space by migrants in the Goutte d'Or, particularly those of Mussa and his acquaintances, have recently started to come in conflict with local businesses. In summer 2014 Mussa got into a dispute with the managers of a nearby hotel. The clash was not an isolated incident; it came about after several minor confrontations over the course of a month. Mussa and the hotel's staff had a long, amicable relationship that extended throughout his 15 years in the neighbourhood.

However, as with many of his relationships with other shopkeepers, the friendship was based upon mutual respect and observance of certain social boundaries. Mussa would often joke with his friends, and asked many of the shopkeepers to store his food, groceries or donations during the day until he could take them home. As he was older, he commanded a great deal of respect, and people generally acquiesced to his requests. Their kindness was returned with gifts: Mussa would often share the charitable goods he received or those he purchased to distribute with his friends in the shops. However, minor tensions began to emerge. On one afternoon, three of Mussa's Guinean friends who had stopped by after work to visit with him sat in chairs and leaned against the exterior wall of the hotel. One of the managers came outside and told them, 'you can't do that here. Please go elsewhere, we are trying to work, we have a big group [of guests]'. On another occasion a different manager moved one of Mussa's empty chairs two metres to the side so it occupied the adjacent business's storefront rather than that of the hotel. Mussa saw this, and aware of the tensions boiling under that deliberate action, had me fetch the chair and move it across the street away from the hotel. 'Sometimes they are complicated', he said of the hotel managers.

But these minor clashes finally erupted into a dispute that left the two parties on bad terms for nearly two months. Mussa explained the dispute:

'The hotel there, they are no good. They are crazy...She [the manager] came outside and yelled at me the other day. She said what I am doing here on the street, it is not Muslim. It is not in the Qur'an, it's not Islam, it's not clean. She doesn't know me! She doesn't know what is in my heart...I told them that their hotel is not Muslim. They let unmarried people stay there. They let homosexual men stay there. That is forbidden in the Qur'an. They know it happens [in their hotel] and God will send them to hell for it! What they do is *haram*. And they tell me collecting donations here on the street is not Muslim, [that it] is *haram*! Ha! They are no good, crazy!'

I pressed Mussa further on this argument, and he maintained that he had been doing nothing on the street to anger them. He was 'sitting in [his] chair on the corner' and

talking with his neighbour. But based upon the previous minor disputes observed on the street in the preceding weeks, it was clear that it was their very presence on the corner outside the hotel that was now inciting the managers' ire. It seemed as though the acceptable boundary of respectful behaviour that had governed their relationship until this moment had not been crossed—it had been *moved*. While the critique of each party's actions was delivered through judgements on their respective morality and religiosity, they need to be placed within the larger socioeconomic changes taking place within the neighbourhood to be fully understood.

Since 1982 the municipal government has been redeveloping the neighbourhood by purchasing dilapidated condominiums, demolishing them, and building new 'modern' social housing with ground floor commercial spaces. This has resulted in the poorest residents being forced out of the neighbourhood, and increasing municipal control over new businesses in the quarter. This redevelopment scheme fits into larger municipal and national trends, which seek to 'diversify' the economies and the populations of France's 'ghettos' and 'migrant enclaves', and to reclaim 'dirty' working-class areas (Clerval 2013). While the ZSP project targets security in the neighbourhood, it also acts as the armed enforcement of the city's long-term financial investment in cleaning up the Goutte d'Or. Within this context, local businesses are in a precarious situation: they must grapple with recruiting new clientele as their former customers are forced out and discouraged from returning.

However, the hotel faces a distinct set of problems, as they need to attract tourists to a neighbourhood with a bad reputation in an era when negative online reviews can destroy a business. Loitering men—particularly 'foreigners'—may be viewed as a deterrent for potential customers (Binken & Blokland 2013), and some of the online reviews of the hotel can attest to this. As such, Mussa and his friends, by their continued visible presence on the sidewalks of the Goutte d'Or, risk further conflicts with the hotel as it and other local businesses struggle to secure their place in this changing neighbourhood. They, and their practices of extending home onto the street, become easy scapegoats for deeper social and economic difficulties.

Bibliography

- AMIRI, L. & B. STORA 2007. Les politiques de l'immigration en France du début du XXe siècle à nos jours. In *Immigrances: l'immigration en France au XXe siècle* (eds) B. Stora & É. Temime, 157–182. Paris: Hachette Littératures.
- BINKEN, S. & T. BLOKLAND 2013. Everyday Encounters and Belonging in Public Spaces: Findings from Rotterdam and Utrecht. In *Home: International Perspectives on Culture, Identity, and Belonging* (eds) M. Kusenbach & K. E. Paulsen, 293–314. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Publishing.
- BOULY DE LESDAIN, S. 1999. Château Rouge, une Centralité Africaine à Paris. *Ethnologie Française* **29**, 86–99.
- BROWN, P. L. 2009. Invisible Immigrants, Old and Left With 'Nobody To Talk To'. *The New York Times*, 30 August, New York, A1.
- BUGGENHAGEN, B. A. 2013. Islam's New Visibility and the Secular Public in Senegal. In *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (ed) M. Diouf, 51–72. New York: Columbia University Press.
- CAPUTO, B. 2005. 'Domestication' of Space: Arab Migrants in Milan. *ISIM* **16**, 24–25.
- CLERVAL, A. 2013. *Paris sans le Peuple: La Gentrification de la Capitale*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte.
- DOLAN, J. A. 1999. 'I've Always Fancied Owning Me Own Lion' Ideological Motivations in External House Decoration by Recent Homeowners. In *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (ed) I. Cieraad, 60–72. (Space, Place, and Society). Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- DOUGLAS, M. 1991. The Idea of a Home: A Kind of Space. *Social Research* **58**, 287–307.
- DROIT AU CALME 2002. 'Plan d'Urgence pour Château Rouge': Synthèse des Remarques et Propositions des Habitants.
- DUBUS, G. & F. BRAUD 2001. Les migrants âgés dans les publications scientifiques francophones. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* **17**, 189–197.
- GALLOU, R. 2005. Les immigrés isolés : la spécificité des résidents en foyer. *Retraite et Société* **1**, 106–147.
- GOLDRING, M. 2006. *La Goutte-d'Or, Quartier de France: La Mixité au Quotidien*. Paris: Autrement.

- HOOKS, BELL 1990. *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. Boston: South End Press.
- LEMESLE, B. 2010. *La Goutte D'or, Vivre Ensemble*.
- MASSEY, D. 1994. A Place Called Home? In *Space, Place, and Gender*, 157–173.
- 1999. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MODAN, G. G. 2007. *Turf Wars: Discourse, Diversity, and the Politics of Place*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- MORLEY, D. 2000. *Home territories: media, mobility, and identity*. London: Routledge (available on-line: <http://www.netlibrary.com/summary.asp?id=77292>, accessed 1 June 2015).
- PARIS GOUTTE D'OR 1999. Naissance d'une Nouvelle 'Association pour le 'Droit au Calme'. *Paris-Goutte d'Or*, November, 47th edition, Initiative, 13.
- PRÉFECTURE DE POLICE 2012a. La ZSP Barbès/Château-Rouge: un partenariat en action. *PPrama*, 16 November, 242nd edition.
- 2012b. Lancement de la zone de sécurité prioritaire (ZSP) Barbès/Château-Rouge (18e). *PPrama*, 3 October, 235th edition, À la une.
- 2013. *La Zone de Sécurité Prioritaire Barbès-Château Rouge*. (Les cahiers de la Préfecture de Police).
- QURESHI, R. B. 1996. Transcending Space: Recitation and Community among South Asian Muslims in Canada. In *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (ed) B. D. Metcalf, 46–64. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- ROSSELIN, C. 1999. The Ins and Outs of the Hall: A Parisian Example. In *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (ed) I. Cieraad, 53–72. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- BAS-THERON, F. & M. MICHEL 2002. *Rapport sur les Immigrés Vieillissants*. Inspection Générale des Affaires Sociales (available on-line: <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/034000107.pdf>, accessed).
- TOUBON, J.-C. & K. MESSAMAH 1990. *Centralité immigrée: le quartier de la Goutte d'Or-- dynamiques d'un espace pluri-ethnique: succession, compétition, cohabitation*, vol. 1. L'Harmattan.
- VAILLANT, D. 2012. L'Édito de Daniel Vaillant. *18 Ensemble: le journal d'information de la Mairie du 18e arrondissement*, September, 3.

WARNES, A. M., K. FRIEDRICH, L. KELLAHER & S. TORRES 2004. The Diversity and Welfare of Older Migrants in Europe. *Ageing and Society* **24**, 307–326.

WEISS, L. 2009. 'C'est plus la médina que Zola': Writing Maghrebien Paris through La Goutte d'Or. *Expressions Maghrébines* **8**, 31–48.

ZOLA, É. 1995. *L'Assommoir* (trans M. Mauldon). Oxford: Oxford University Press.