Estela Brahimllari

MULTI-LAYERED PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

The case of low-income neighbourhoods in Paris

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Nuove Geografie. Strumenti di lavoro

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Foreword. Power and Soft policies

by *Alessio Surian**

Worldwide, over ninety large cities have adopted forms of participatory budget (Dias, Enríquez, Júlio, 2019). Fifteen such participatory budget initiatives concern European cities. The Paris experience appears to be particularly relevant.

In terms of actual financial investment, along with Madrid, Paris have been the most relevant one.

Such investment supports planning activities in a city that since 2017 is participating in the Intercultural Cities network, therefore addressing the potential and often untapped "diversity advantage" of this urban context. According to INSEE (2017) 20% of the inhabitants of metropolitan Paris are foreign born. Nonetheless, new waves of migration are still communicated by mainstream and social media as threatening and unprecedented, failing to acknowledge the cultural and economic contributions by migrants to the current French society (Noiriel, 2001; Castañeda, 2018). Paris participatory budgeting involves all residents, irrespective of nationalities and it is featured on the Intercultural Cities network website as a good practice example.

In addition, it is interesting to consider the Paris' participatory budget experience in relation to international trends and networks. Within the Open Government Partnerhsip's network, Paris acted as one of the "subnational pioneers" – along with Jalisco (Mexico), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Tbilisi (Georgia), Scotland (UK), and Madrid (Spain) – that coordinated technical support and learning around participatory budgeting among governments and civil society selected to be part of OGP's subnational pilot programme. Concerning the digital online dimension, Paris reviewed the potential of other open source civic engagement portals such as Decide Madrid in order to adapt their features to the Paris context.

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The salient participatory experience in Paris – one of the few cases where a multi-annual perspective has been introduced – is also an opportunity to review the impact of the 2002 seminal French Law on Local Democracy ("*Loi relative a la démocratie de proximité*"). When this law was approved – almost twenty years ago – European urban areas and citizens were facing increased pressure and new challenges including housing speculations, gentrification and lack of adequate social housing policies coupled with "an increasingly flexible labour market, the change in the family structure, the hyper-isolation of individuals, the mobility problem, the rise of stress level, and the aging population" (Harvey, 2000).

In relation to the urban space, housing speculations and lack of adequate social housing policies are heavily conditioning the life and choices of citizens. In 2016 the project "Solidarity with the Homeless" was the first choice by Parisians who took part in the participatory budget process, highlighting homelessness as a major challenge due to the lack of targeted policies. Through participatory budgeting citizens were able to prioritize a core rights-based issue. This dimension is strictly related to poverty eradication policies and such policies are often controversial. In his 2020 report "The parlous state of poverty eradication", report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights", Philip Alston affirms participatory governance as a fundamental action and political choice to respond to the current challenges linked to increasing global and local poverty trends. According to Alston (2020), the international community has chosen the wrong path in assuming that poverty elimination should be based on the World Bank's focus on

> a standard of miserable subsistence rather than an even minimally adequate standard of living. This in turn facilitates greatly exaggerated claims about the impending eradication of extreme poverty and downplays the parlous state of impoverishment in which billions of people still subsist.

Thus, a political turn would require prioritize participatory governance as well as to reconceiving the relationship between growth and poverty elimination; tackling inequality and embracing redistribution; promoting tax justice; implementing universal social protection; centring the role of government; and adapting international poverty measurement. Alston's take on participatory governance is fairly explicit:

> Policymakers routinely blame poor people for their situation, ignoring systemic factors, such as the unavailability of decent work, unaffordable living costs, adverse institutional arrangements, and the perverse actions of policymakers themselves. Governments need to listen more attentively and to foster genuine public discussion of policies to eliminate poverty and promote an adequate standard of living for all.

Within the European Union 2020, while the provision of housing remains a competence of the Member States it appears of crucial importance to reinforce the housing dimension of the Cohesion, Energy, and Social Inclusion Policies of the EU as article 34(3) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union states: "In order to combat social exclusion and poverty, the Union recognises and respects the right to social and housing assistance so as to ensure a decent existence for all those who lack sufficient resources, in accordance with the rules laid down by Community law and national laws and practices". Since the entry into force of the Lisbon treaty the Charter of Fundamental Rights has the same legal value as treaties. One of the merit of the study conducted by Estela Brahimllari is to explore to what extent and under which conditions spaces of social inequalities can be scaffolded through consultative and participatory governance approaches to spark transformative processes that allow citizens to consider them as places of potential hope, a dimension that is often linked to the ability to develop a responsible and caring attitude towards the social and the environmental context (Hicks and Slaughter, 1998). This implies taking into consideration collective and cultural perspectives in relation to the hope dimension and the way human beings structure their aspirations. Although all individuals are always agents, not all agency necessarily transcends structural social barriers nor can be conceived in isolation from the local cultural context (Appadurai, 2004; Coté, 2007) where the meaning and content of citizenship can be contested (Vandenberg, 2000) and/or claimed. At a time when the capacity to address social and sustainability issues requires challenging established assumptions, the way citizens structure their aspirations and are able to identify, to deconstruct, and to modify routine actions are becoming critical abilities (Hueting, 2008).

1. The Right to the City

Estela Brahimllari's study also enables readers to take into consideration how the Right to the City theory has been developing over the past fifty years in the field of participatory governance. Authors such as Yves Cabannes (2017) look at participatory budgeting as a way for reclaiming the Right to the city. A key dimension of such right and one of Henri Lefebvre's contributions that led to framing the Right to the City theory was that everyday life could be inductive to radical changes in the way to design and build cities (Lefebvre, 1968).

This dimension concerns both the grassroot ability to re-imagine and transform the urban space as well as the level of participation which in

Paris has been growing since 2014 and has been involving participants in participatory budget processes in schools as well, although figures remain modest when compared with other experiences such as the one implemented in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region.

In relation to social and spatial justice, it must be noted that in 2016 Paris introduced participatory budget for low-income neighbourhoods aiming at re-distributing resources to those who are worse off on the basis of a partnership involving the city and the specific districts.

In addition, since 2017 spin-offs agreements concerned RATP and Low income Housing Management Companies. RATP (Réseau Autonome des Transports Parisiens, the municipality public transport company) serves the mobility needs of both commuters and Parisians. Experimenting with participatory budgeting with Low income Housing Management Companies would integrate municipal budget practices with institutional ones, as it happened in the past twenty years with Toronto Community Housing. Cabannes (2017) notes that – in order to be sustainable – participatory budgeting experiences that are able to connect with other forms of participation have to avoid draining people's mobilization from the whole system and emptying these other participation channels of their social energy.

Estela Brahimllari effectively invites the reader to zoom into the ways Paris has been promoting both online and physical balloting by locating hundreds of ballots boxes in different spots for direct voting and by having mobile ballot boxes are mobile. Bicycles can move them around and hold ballots in public spaces: squares, schools, marketplaces. She also draws the reader's attention to the opportunities and the difficulties to build a culture of "co-construction" workshops along with investing energies into promoting "physical" voting. On the positive side this results in a higher number of proposals, a factor that is triggering citizens' imagination and desires and their capacity to learn by doing. The challenge is how to "reduce" the high number of projects into a manageable number of eligible cluster of projects. Throughout this process the support by the permanent staff plays a major role and can result into the ability to connect isolated projects from a specific neighbourhood to city-wide initiatives.

2. Local Administration, Decision making Transformative (Un) Learning

Through her study Estela Brahimllari highlights that the Paris participatory budget was made possible by clear political commitment and strong political will by Paris mayor and senior decision-makers which also resulted in a significant amount of earmarked resources. Nonetheless,

trying to mainstream the participatory budget within Paris' huge administrative machine remains a tough challenge. Her analysis shows that key data are still not screened and made available. "Sharing" of information as well as of agency appears to be a crucial issue for social-related choices. Data availability is particularly relevant for urban policies, a topic that lacks specific data and globally is suffering from an information crisis which is seriously undermining the capacity of most cities to develop and analyse effective policies, according to the UN-Habitat Global Urban Observatory. Therefore, this study contributes to move participatory governance and urban science in a direction that favours active citizenship and critical thinking.

Seeking transparency and data that allow both scholars and citizens to explore transformative connections is crucial as there is a growing awareness that we are "governed by epistemologies that we know to be wrong", as Bateson (2000) used to phrase it while advocating that we should adopt a relational perspective in thinking about the world we live in. Scholars such as Edmund O'Sullivan (1999) connect cultural criticism with the capacity to take position in relation to the sources of knowledge and to understand and process such knowledge, acknowledging that there is not a single, privileged source of science or information but rather an ecology of knowledges. Learning in partnership can be a good example of coadaptation: it contributes both to access and to modify the flow of knowledge. The critical examination of hierarchies should also be considered as a crucial dimension of critical transformative learning. Modern Western historical inheritance is deeply embedded in a hierarchical conception of power based on patriarchy. A critical transformative deconstruction of patriarchy is one urgent (un)learning task to address the destructive effects of patriarchy and deep power structures affecting race, class and gender throughout contemporary societies. Housing and habitat issues involve contemporary struggles that make such power tensions and polarisation particularly evident and provide challenging basis for the transformative and critical (un)learning process.

As noted by Schugurensky (2002), often local urban planners, city officials, community organisers, and participants do not perceive the pedagogical potential of participatory democracy and its link with the urgent need for more transformative personal and territorial practices. For citizens to transform their "meaning schemes (specific beliefs, attitudes, and emotional reactions)" they must engage in critical reflection on their experiences, which – in turn – leads to a perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1997). Such transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; changing these structures

of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrating perspective; and, finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings (ibid.).

Perspective transformation explains how the meaning structures that adults have acquired over a lifetime become transformed. These meaning structures are frames of reference that are based on the totality of individuals' cultural and contextual experiences and that influence how they behave and interpret events. An individual's meaning structure will influence how she/he chooses to vote or how she/he reacts to persons who suffer physical abuse, for example.

The meaning schemes that make up meaning structures may change as an individual adds to or integrates ideas within an existing scheme and, in fact, this transformation of meaning schemes occurs routinely through learning. Perspective transformation leading to transformative learning, however, occurs much less frequently. Mezirow believes that it usually results from a "disorienting dilemma" which is triggered by a major life transition, although it may also result from an accumulation of transformations in meaning schemes over a period of time (Mezirow, 1997). This happens through a series of phases that begin with a disorienting dilemma that triggers self-examination, critical assessment of assumptions, recognition that others have shared similar transformations, exploration of new roles or actions, development of a plan for action, acquisition of knowledge and skills for implementing the plan, try-out of the plan, development of competence and self-confidence in new roles opening up to new perspectives (ibid., adapted from p. 50). Therefore, addressing Schugurensky's (2002) concern for more innovative attitudes by local urban planners, city officials, community organisers, a major value of Estela Brahimllari' study is to identify specific challenges and opportunities to introduce soft (vs hard) policies (Walther *et al*., 2006), i.e. favouring flexible and participatory citizenship arenas and supporting measures in order to address current societal and environmental crisis. Walther and colleagues (2006, p. 44) summarise the key dimensions of such "soft" approach in the following (adapted) table:

Soft policies		**Hard policies**
Local	*Governance level*	National
Restricted	*Funding*	Massive
Flexible	*Organisation*	Bureaucratic
Subject	*Concept of individual*	Human capital
Participation	*Principle of involvement*	Activation
Self-realisation, citizenship	*Aim*	Employability

Such an approach is strictly connected with raising the level of accountability of the local administration. In this respect city councils play a major role. Among the many useful foci presented by Estela Brahimllari, a crucial one concerns the fact that until 2019 the rejection of proposals by the Paris administration during the technical review had only one out of ten rejections explicitly describing the motives for proposal rejection (Pradeau, 2018). This is only one of numerous factual findings that this precious text offers to practitioners to further enhance participatory budgeting along with an effective example of collaboration among higher education internship student-researchers, local administrations, and social actors.

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Foreword. Does the Paris Participatory budgeting of the low-income neighbourhoods contribute to reducing social inequalities?

by *Em. Prof. Yves Cabannes**

Here is a crucial question that Estela Brahimllari explores and beautifully answers in this book. Why is that so? Because, simply, Participatory Budgets (PB) since their early times were conceived as a means to construct a new political, social, and spatial justice order through "reversing" three priorities:

- *Reversing spatial priorities.* Resources are channelled to neighbourhoods, rural and peri-urban areas, villages and remote settlements, non-legalized or occupied lands, derelict city centres, etc., that historically were and still are excluded and do not benefit from public investments and subsidies to the same extent as other productive spaces[1].
- *Reversing social priorities.* More resources are channelled through PB to social groups that historically had less or that had been gradually excluded as a result of the inequity of the development model. This "positive discrimination" towards the "have nots" also means opening up channels and spaces of participation to the most vulnerable social groups. In cities, vulnerable groups are often the youth, the elderly, women, ethnic minorities, migrants, refugees, LGBT+, First Nations' peoples, etc., but vary by city and region. Social justice is an important component in PB experiences, even though it may not necessarily ensure that a greater percentage of resources are allocated to poor communities.
- *Reversing political priorities.* Giving "power to those who were powerless" consists in opening or increasing political space for those who never had political space or those with little access. PB can be effective – though this is not often the case – in shifting power to the powerless

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1. See Soja on theories of spatial justice. E. Soja (2010), *Seeking Spatial Justice*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

by transferring decision-making power about public expenditures and the definition of PB rules.

In addition, asking this question about Paris PB makes a lot of sense, for at least three reasons: the first one is that with 500 million earmarked for five years, meaning about 41€/inhabitant/year, we have in this case a PB with a high redistributive potential when compared with most current PB in capitals and metropolis were the amount put into debate is so limited that their redistributive capacities are quite reduced or just focused on one social group [youth, migrants, …] or on very limited "city dots". Apart from Reykjavik, in Iceland (± 21 €/inh/in 2019), or Quito, in Ecuador and Lisbon in Portugal that passed the 8,5 €/inh/year threshold, respectively in 2018 and 2019, most capital, such as Mexico City, Seoul, New York or Montevideo are way below. This does not mean though that the quality of their participatory process is not interesting, but simply that their contribution to reducing social inequalities is more reduced. The second reason is that, when the investigation was made, Paris had gone through enough cycles to offer a good field for empirical observation. The victory in 2020 elections by the Mayoress who launched PB, offers in addition reasonable hopes of continuity for the next five years. It is worth remembering that PB in capital cities can be short lived as in Madrid or New Delhi, or go through a stop and go process, turning hard any serious observations of the impact of any of these PB incarnations on reduction of social inequalities. This is the case of for instance Buenos Aires, Argentina. The third reason is that we have here a clear pro-active PB that channels 30 millions out of the 100 annual ones to so called "*quartiers populaires*" quite imperfectly translated as low income neighbourhoods.

What makes Estela Brahimllari's answers tremendously interesting and relatively unique in the current scientific production on PB is that what she unveils all through the book is grounded on carefully organised hard facts, systematized details, collected opinions of relevant actors. This makes quite a difference with most of what is published on PB, limited to conjectures, and conclusions relying on very thin evidence and primary information. The empirical material gathered here, *per se,* remains quite enlightening and should be quite useful for any research or reflection on PB in Paris. We shall come back to this issue later.

Now, in relation to the central question at stake on reduction of social inequities through PB, the answer is quite challenging: "*the reversion of spatial priorities through PB in quartiers populaires, has not meant a reversion of social priorities*". In other terms, those most in need in what Paris delineated as *quartier populaire*, have not, by and large benefitted from the significant additional resources that were channelled to the places they live in. Five converging reasons, put forward by Estela Brahimllari,

beyond a nuanced and positive appreciation of the multiple virtues of the process, invite the reader to a detained reflection: lack of human resources despite a positive political will; the fact that PB only allows for investment and not for induced costs hinders to address the needs of the most vulnerable; digital communication prevails, and becomes an obstacle, despite a clear willingness to go towards the disadvantaged groups; the projects of the most excluded in the poorest areas hardly receive enough votes, and finally, the citizens participating are not representatives of the most vulnerable populations. What makes the book worth reading is the role of gentrification of Paris, that have turned the so-called *quartier populaire* and districts, such as the XIX, long known for its working-class population into spaces gained by middle and upper middle classes. And they tend to be those who participate more into PB process.

The reference to Clerval's 2013 book, *Paris sans le peuple. La gentrification de la capitale* [Paris without the populace – or without the people. The gentrification of the capital] highlights the process over the last decades, and the capitalist transformation of Paris. Her lessons are worth for many a capital where inequities are deepening, and brings to the fore conceptual and practical questions for all those interested in PB as a tool to revert spatial priorities: What does *quartier populaire* mean in 2020 in Paris? How to define it? One virtue of Estela Brahimllari's investigation is to explain and detail accurately how Paris carefully defined them, summing up the various limits of different social programmes that sometimes occurred before or in parallel with the gentrification process. This debate offers an opportunity to revisit the potential role of PB in reducing social inequities. This being said, the book highlights that more resources than those planned [the 30 million euros per year] were spent in those neighbourhoods, and that 63% of all projects benefitted public spaces, and therefore potentially, all dwellers, beyond their socio-economic belonging. However, if these projects were not formulated by the historic "laborious classes", these transformations of public spaces might simply turn into a dispossession of "their" public spaces. This remains an open question for future works to explore.

One of the most intellectually and challenging comment in the book, and that turns worth reading it, is probably: "*PB can benefit gentrification*". We shall add two reflections to end up the present foreword.

To begin with, the inversion of social, spatial and political priorities are not three independent drawers from a vintage piece of furniture called PB! They are, indeed, intrinsically connected and inter-dependent. Reverting spatial priorities without taking pro-active measures to revert

social priorities[2] as well, brings limited effects, as demonstrated in this book. In that sense, the proactive measures taken by Spanish cities in favour of the excluded, such as in Conil de la Frontera in Andalusia are worth looking at. Its "*auto-reglamento*" – or set of rules – defines social justice criteria for PB project prioritization that bring additional punctuation to counter-balance the results of the vote. This social justice criteria benefit: "*disadvantaged collective (unemployed, migrants); gender; age (elderly, youngsters, youth); functional diversity. They bring additional marks to PB project proposals that value social inclusion, diversity, tolerance and interculturality or those that are promoting environment justice*".

It is worth to push the reflection sparked by Estela Brahimllari one step beyond and to address the original ideals that inspired Porto Alegre PB and the early PB's message. If one considers that the three dimensions are intrinsically linked, and that, therefore, none of them can be achieved separately, political reversion of priorities in favour of the most powerless seems a priority to take into consideration. What would that mean, in addition to what is currently being done? Well, at least three things:

- Firstly, transferring more power to the powerless, primarily those leaving in so called *quartiers populaires.* This transfer of power could take place during both PB cycles, the first one related to the decision upon public resources, and the second one, during the implementation phase, and even if this might bring during a certain time more implementation delays.
- Secondly, setting up a PB Council, of elected PB delegates that would take place in the different assemblies and fora. The representation system for such a council could consider pro-active measures, along the successful ones implemented by São Paulo PB in the early 2000's that allowed the most excluded ones to be involved and therefore to make their voice heard during the decision making process.
- Thirdly, giving the people of Paris and its PB Councils, under their multiple and diverse realities, the power to define PB rules annually. They would include the best way and methods to address spatial and social inequities. The "*auto-reglamento*" or self-established rules, of Conil de la Frontera – just to mention one on among several examples – are decided annually by the citizens and not by the local government authorities or PB staff.

2. See our publications, for example our chapter in the *Handbook for democracy*, as well as the one to be published by UN Habitat, currently underway (they are scheduled for the end of 2020). They explore and draw lessons from PB practices in different cities in the world, over the last decades to *leave no one behind and no place behind*.

Such measures would allow, as was and it is still successfully practiced in Brazil, to shift from an institutionalized PB to an institutionalizing PB, in which the rules of the game are defined by those who are participating in it. This might be a way to go to fully answer Estela Brahimllari's question, in Paris and beyond.

Thank you Estela for triggering a conversation that might help to profoundly deepen PBs social, spatial and democratic promises.

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Introduction

In a context of increased global distrust towards representative democracy, democratic innovation tools have emerged worldwide as a response to modern society issues which the traditional democratic models fail to properly address. Participatory budgeting (PB) is considered as one of the most powerful of these democratic innovation tools because of the strong decision-making power of its participants. The successful case of Porto Alegre, the birthplace of PB, where substantial data and studies prove that the PB had a strong redistributive effect, has contributed to its expansion all over the world. Today, 30 years after the first Brazilian experiment, more than 5000 cases of PB practices are observed worldwide, although the estimation remains approximate. Despite this rapid expansion, multiple authors studying the phenomenon argue that the recently implemented PB cases are far from the original potential of the Porto Alegre case and that the process in most cases now has a more administrative or technocratic character (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017).

The City of Paris Municipality has initiated its first PB experience in 2014, just few months after the local elections of March, with a promised overall budget of 500 million euros for the period between 2014-2019. This constitutes one of the most important budgets discussed in PB in the world. After the first two editions, a specific attention is payed to the low-income neighborhoods in the city in 2016. In a context of post-terrorist attacks where some of the terrorists lived in these neighborhoods, the Mayor decided to dedicate 30 million euros per year (almost a third of the annual PB budget) to these areas with the expressed aim "to include these [marginalized] groups in… the process and use the participatory budget as a tool for democratic redistribution" (Véron, 2018). At the last year of its first PB cycle, the Paris PB stands in between criticism concerning the poor participation rate, the opacity of projects implementation or the

misuse of the tool to legitimate political choices and statements of the local government concerning PB's achievements all over Paris and the changes it produced in the low-income areas.

Thus, the study presented here aims to explore the potential of the Paris PB to have a relevant contribution in addressing social inequalities. The research has been conducted in the frame of my graduation thesis for the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree in Sustainable Territorial Development. Resulting of several months of research conducted in 2019, the reader will find in this book a work which encompasses a wide range of PB-related elements of the Parisian context, focusing, specifically in the low-income areas.

To do so, the book presents first some of the most relevant insights regarding multiple interconnected concepts such as democracy, participatory budgeting, social inequality, and gentrification. Next, the reader will be presented with a number of PB cases from all over the world, considered successful examples in addressing social inequality issues, with the aim to extract lessons which might be applicable to the Paris case. This will be followed by the presentation of the technical process of the Paris PB, which will be enriched with a comprehensive panorama of the existing participatory mechanisms and other relevant policies in Paris. In the following chapter, a presentation of the collected data including qualitative data gathered through semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders, quantitative data related to the budget, the number and types of projects and my personal observations drawn from several PB-related activities. The book will be concluded with a discussion of the most relevant elements emerged from the research in order to elaborate the conclusions of the study, as well as some recommendations regarding the evolution of the process and suggestions of interesting topics for further research.

1. Research objective

Since 2016, almost 30% of the total investment budget discussed in the Paris PB is dedicated to projects located in low-income neighbourhoods. The territory of low-income neighbourhoods in the Paris PB context reassembles different administrative entities: *QPV (Quartier Prioritaire de la Politique de la Ville)* defined as priority neighbourhoods, *QVA (Quartier de Veille Active)* defined similarly to the QPV as priority neighbourhoods which do not display the same concentration of low-income population, but are nonetheless kept under close observation, *GPRU (Grand Projet de Renouvellement Urbain)* and *NPNRU (Nouveau Programme National de*

Renouvellement Urbain) which both refer to projects of urban renewal, and other neighbourhoods included based on the rates of social housing, family quotients and priority education zones. The expressed reason behind the political decision to allocate a budget to these specific areas has been to reduce inequalities between territories and involve marginalized groups in the process. Indeed, multiple territorial problematics are recognized and studied in the above-mentioned administrative units, in parallel with social and political inequalities.

Thus, a question might be raised on whether the territorial approach of the Paris PB also holds a potential to reduce social inequalities present in the territory. The general objective of the research is to describe the Paris PB process focusing on the low-income neighbourhood component, analyse its potential to contribute to the reduction of inequalities in these areas and outline the inclusion of the disadvantaged and most vulnerable social groups in the process. In the framework of this analysis, the design of the PB, its materialization in the territory and external contextual factors will be considered aiming to have a comprehensive overview of the situation. The study has been structured around two research questions:

- Does the Paris Participatory budgeting of low-income neighbourhoods contribute to reducing social inequalities?
- How and to which extent the most disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups have been involved in and/or touched by the PB process?

2. Research methodology

As the nature of this research is explanatory, a mixed method research has been used to explore the various components of the Paris PB. This has reinforced the understanding of how the Paris PB works, what is its potential to address social inequalities and how the most disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups are involved in the process. Thus, the study made use of a triangulation of methods including qualitative research, quantitative research and in-site visits and observations. Multiple data sources have been used throughout the development of the research, the convergence of which lead to the structuring and analyse of the problematic, as well as the formulation of the answers to the research questions and research conclusions.

Extensive literature review has been used to explore a broad range of concepts closely linked to participatory budgeting. Desk research has been crucial to learn about the structure of the local government in Paris and to collect relevant quantitative data about the projects, the budget, and their territorial distribution. In addition, work with maps has been essential to understand the territorial specificities between districts and neighbour-

hoods, and to observe the geographical distribution of the projects in the city. Three main components have been used in this regard: (1) the interactive map of the participatory budgeting website (budgetparticipatif.paris.fr, 2019c), (2) the map showing the gentrification dynamics in Paris elaborated by Clerval (2013) and (3) the data provided by data.gouv.fr on the distribution of projects which have been elaborated using the software ArcGIS. Official documents used to investigate on relevant existing citizens participation elements in Paris include the citizens participation guide, the Parisian charter of citizens participation, the PB guide, the PB charter, the APUR 2019 published studies as well as other referenced documents. The study has also been enriched with statistical data extracted from reports drafted by the PB Department.

In addition, semi-structured interviews and short questionnaires for in-site visits have been used to collect qualitative data. While the choice of the stakeholders contacted, and types of interactions will be thoroughly analysed in the upcoming chapters, it would be worth noting that the data collected through interviews has been analysed through the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. After the interviews have been conducted, a detailed transcript of the recorded conversation or a summary of the interaction (if not recorded) has been made. The transcripts then, have been exported to NVivo where a second systematic reading has been made highlighting the different topics emerged during the interviews. This procedure has facilitated the identification of similar topics emerged in different interviews, enabling their grouping, and structuring the into major themes which have been analysed as will be presented later in the analysis chapter.

Lastly, my personal observations have been crucial to deeply understand the institutional aspects of the Paris PB and their materialization in the field. These observations derive merely from two sources: (1) the volunteering experience at the NPO "Les Parques" from January to February 2019 and (2) the activities conducted during the internship experience at the Paris Participatory Budgeting Department from March to August 2019. A summary of the most relevant of these activities might be found in *Annex 8*.

Part I

Participatory budgeting between theory and practice

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1. Concepts and definitions

This chapter provides an extensive literature review which explores concepts and definitions related to four main conceptual domains: participatory democracy, participatory budgeting, social inequality, and gentrification. Each of these domains includes a broad range of concepts considered relevant to have a comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic, socio-spatial, and socio-political context of the case study standing at the core of this research. Without pretension of exhaustiveness, the objective of the literature review is to analyse these concepts directly or indirectly related to Participatory Budgeting and create a solid base for the structure of the conceptual framework presented in the second part of this chapter. This conceptual framework will further help answering the research questions.

1. Literature review

1.1. *Participatory democracy*

The concept of democracy has been continuously discussed, praised, or criticised for over twenty-five centuries. Ever since the Greek origin of the word "power to the people", the concept has acquired today a more complex signification. It is defined as "the belief in freedom and equality between people, or a system of government based on this belief, in which power is either held by elected representatives or directly by the people themselves" (Cambridge dictionary, 2019) or "a situation, system, or organization in which everyone has equal rights and opportunities and can help make decisions" (WebFinance Inc., 2019). While the notion of "equality" represents clearly one of its inherent elements, democracy in

practice appears to acquire multiple forms. In his publication "On democracy" Dahl (2000) argues that not only in democratic countries one might identify different levels of democracy, but also that it is not unusual to find military dictatorship governments which adapt a pseudo-democratic façade to survive politically. Thus, it would be relevant to include to this analysis the two concepts of "*real-existing democracies*" referring to "modern liberal representative political constitutional democracy" (Schmitter, 2007) and "*counter-democracy*" which refers to "a durable democracy of distrust which complements the episodic democracy of the usual electoral representative system" (Rosanvallon, 2008).

In this context, *representative democracy* is the most common form of governance in democratic countries although exceptions where the governments need the consent of the governed have evolved over time mostly in central and north Europe (Dahl, 2000). Robert Dahl (1971) has employed the term "*polyarchy*" to describe a form of democracy where citizens are considered as equals and the government has a continued responsiveness to their preferences. However, the arise of global change problems combined with the strengthening of neoliberal policies has created a general distrust around the traditional conceptions of representative democracy (della Porta, 2013). Several problematics have manifested in different contexts all over the world, but authors recognize that especially after the 2008 economic crisis there has been an exponential increase in unemployment which led thousands of people in poverty and exclusion in Europe (Dias & Júlio, 2018). As a result, a populist wave is advancing in the heart of Europe in recent years. Elements that highlight how the traditional twentieth century schemes – left and right, conservatives and progressives – are judged insufficient by voters to give (new) answers to often ancient problems, such as economic crisis or migrant emergency. The extreme wings of politics thus fly over claims and common ailments, despite often distant ideologies (Dias & Júlio, 2018, p. 17) Authors such as Schmitter (2007) or Font *et al.* (2014) argue that this crisis of "real-existing democracies" is a result of the combination of internal and external factors. On one side there is a growing discontent of its citizens with the way public authorities (or representatives) address present-day issues and on the other side there is a constant cultural and cognitive evolution of the social structure which has increased political awareness among citizens. A "falling out of love with democracy" which is also reflected in the low level of participation in elections in multiple countries in the world.

Regarding the "counter-democracy" concept, Rosanvallon (2008) argues that "the inability of electoral/representative politics to keep its promises (has) led to the development of indirect forms of democracy" (p. 274), which allow citizens to exercise their political power beyond the formal

act of voting. Moreover, in the publication "Participatory democracy in Southern Europe" Font *et al*. (2014) argue that public administrations are also adapting by changing the way they work following a new public management paradigm. This new paradigm influences not only on a horizontal level by requiring more flexibility, transversality and cooperation between different sectors, but also on a vertical level by continuously requiring the inclusion of citizens as important stakeholders. This inclusion is realized by the creation of institutional participatory mechanisms which aim to legitimate the representative institutions including critical citizens to the debate, but also stimulating the voice of different (often traditionally excluded) types of public. There is no shortage of experimentation, but in practice most Western governments struggle to impose themselves and demonstrate their ability to attract the most remote citizens of political life. The question is "why is the act par excellence of the exercise of citizenship so unmotivating for such a large section of the population?" (Dias & Júlio, 2018, p. 17). While the level of participation is influenced by a number of factors, in general larger cities tend to have more participatory initiatives when compared with smaller ones and "participation tends to become resilient, particularly when it is institutionalised into specific participation plans and/or departments for participation" (Font *et al*., 2014). Referenced to as "*democratic innovations*" by Graham Smith (2009), these different types of mechanisms – aiming at increasing and deepening citizen participation in the political decision-making process – take multiple forms depending on the context they are applied to and their final aim. However, authors identify three main forms of institutional formats: (1) assembly based, open to anyone who wants to participate, (2) "mini-publics", with participants usually selected by lot and (3) civil society organisations/ including specific stakeholders (Smith, 2009; see also Font *et al*., 2014).

Democratic innovations' contribution to democracy

Although different from one another, these forms of "democratic innovations" have in common the attempt to stimulate three main democratic qualities, namely (1) participation, (2) deliberation, and (3) empowerment (Font *et al*., 2014). Discussing about participation, authors argue that while there is an important added value theoretically, in practice it is difficult to create and maintain a representative participation. Indeed, in terms of numbers, some common elements appearing in multiple participatory formats include an initial excitement (high number of participants) while implementing a new technique and a lower number of participants as time goes by as a result of participation fatigue or discouragement due to a lack in showing direct results of their engagement. In terms of participants profile, studies in Europe have shown a tendency of middle and upper

classes to participate and be vocal due also to the higher oratorical skills and self-esteem. "These forms of participation can reproduce political inequalities, or at best only slightly reduce them" (Font *et al*., 2014). Thus, different forms of involving citizens have been continuously explored and adapted in order to ensure representative participation not only in terms of numbers, but most of all in terms of the capacity to speak during meetings. Deliberation is a desirable element of democracy – one that has often been overlooked (Smith, 2009). Its relevance stands in the possibility to aggregate ideas and decisions through discussion and the exchange of opinions. In order to have proper deliberation, authors argue that it is crucial to develop a well-conceived device by considering context-appropriate elements such as: (1) the provision of information, (2) the presence of experts and (3) preliminary study. However, it would also be important to keep in mind that deliberation proceeds through "a transformation of the preferences during the discussion and as a result of it" (Blondiaux, 2007). As the third democratic quality stimulated by democratic innovations, empowerment is linked to the capacity of the citizens taking part in participatory activities to actually influence the decision-making process. Studies on this topic show that there is a justified scepticism of citizens which comes from the fact that in reality "the prevailing division of powers between public authorities and citizens is far from challenged" (Smith, 2009). Authors identify three stages in the decision-making process in which participatory mechanisms are involved: (1) diagnosis, (2) programming and (3) implementation. Participation in the first two stages remains the most common, while participation in the implementation phase tends to be quite rare even for participatory budgeting practices. However, while in general there is an often-negative correlation between the empowerment of citizens and the relevance of the issue at stake – with greater empowerment usually related to less contentious and significant issues for most of the participatory practices – PB is considered to represent a relevant exception (Font *et al*., 2014).

Who participates?

Research has shown that in either bottom-up or top-down participatory activities, participants appear to be more knowledgeable, more critical, and more active than the rest of the population. However, it is difficult to affirm whether these characteristics are due to their participation or if their participation is due to these characteristics. While "it would be possible to assume that the group of participants on the participatory activities had a general positive attitude towards participation due to these initial characteristics and that is the reason why they chose to get involved in the process in the first place", research shows also that participants do not leave the

process as they entered. They acquire new knowledge, more expressive attitudes and in some cases, become more politicized (Font *et al.*, 2014). An important element emerging from the research conducted by Navarro and Font (2013) is that these participatory processes have the potential to become "schools of democracy". The most relevant impact of which is for first time participants but depending from the types of activities and their institutional design there is also a different level of satisfaction and effect on the participants. While mini publics increase individual knowledge, participatory budgeting tends to foster interest in and skills for participation (Font *et al.*, 2014). Thus, participatory budgeting has, in a way, become part of the social and political movement in defence of participatory democracy (Dias & Júlio, 2018).

1.2. *Participatory budgeting (PB)*

Often referred to as a process of "democratizing democracy", participatory budgeting (PB) first appeared in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in 1989. Ever since, the city is referenced to as "the cradle of participatory budgeting" all over the world (Dias & Júlio, 2018). Using an early definition by Uribatam de Souza in 1989, participatory budgeting might be defined as "a mechanism or a process through which people make decisions on the destination of all or a portion of public resources available…" (Cabannes, 2017). Other authors argue that more than a tool, participatory budgeting must be considered as an "enabling environment which can influence the transformation of policies aiming to improve the general quality of the territory" (Allegretti & Copello, 2018).

The evolution of participatory budgeting

In the publication "The next thirty years of participatory budgeting start today" (2018) Nelson Dias and Simone Julio argue that over the last thirty years PB processes all over the world have been evolving in a dual socio-political context which had a positive tendency and a challenging one. On one hand processes as the dissolution of the socialist block of Eastern European countries, the Arab Spring or the evolution of the Internet have created a favourable ground for the evolution of democracy and inclusion of participatory practices from abroad in countries which were isolated or less open to begin with. On the other hand, multiple crises and conflicts have been building-up contexts which limit the potential of participatory initiatives to grow (Dias & Júlio, 2018). However, PB practices have shown high levels of dissemination in the last three decades and PB has been considered as a democratic innovation of the last 30 years (Cabannes, 2017,

p.19). In the publication "Participatory budgeting: a significant contribution to participatory democracy" (2004) Yves Cabannes identifies three main phases of the evolution and spread of participatory budgeting: (1) the "experimentation" phase, (2) the "Brazilian spread" phase and (3) the "expansion and diversification".

The first phase extends from 1989 (first participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre) to 1997. It is a moment of experimentation of new forms of managing public expenses in few cities in Brazil and Uruguay. The second phase is shorter, but intensive. From 1997 to 2000 more than 130 Brazilian municipalities adopted the model to their context and needs. This phase corresponds to the implementation of the National Program of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil. The third and ongoing phase, from 2000 on, is marked by the adoption of the PB model from numerous Latin American cities and lately numerous cities in Europe. Today, thousands of municipalities all over the world have adopted a form of participatory budgeting (Dias & Júlio, 2018). This wide dissemination of PB processes from South America to the rest of the world came with an important diversification and multiple adaptations from the original model. Authors argue that the awareness of the inclusive and collaborative roots of PB did not translate into other contexts "limiting its political pedagogic potential" (Allegretti & Copello, 2018). While participatory budgeting practises have generally emerged as a response to a context of crisis, their potential to have a tangible impact is proportional to their own dimension (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 46). Although this capacity to act is often limited, PB practices have a "methodological and conceptual elasticity" which makes them adaptable to different contexts and purposes (Dias & Júlio, 2018). As the implementing forms vary greatly "from symbolic participatory gestures with little transformative impact, to vectors of structural change in cities' governance systems" (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017), so do the reasons behind the adoption of such a model.

Three main logics have been identified standing at the heart of the implementation of a PB process going from radicalizing democracy to good governance and technocratic management (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017). As represented on *Figure 1*, authors explain that while under the "political" logic the PB process serves as "an instrument to radically "democratize democracy" and contribute to the building and deepening of participatory democracy", on the "good governance" logic PB is considered to be "an instrument to establish new societal priorities and construct new relationships between citizens and governments, re-establish and/or strengthen the links between actors, deepen social ties and improve governance". Under the "technocratic" logic PB becomes an instrument to improve financial efficiency and optimize the often-scarce public resources and service delivery.

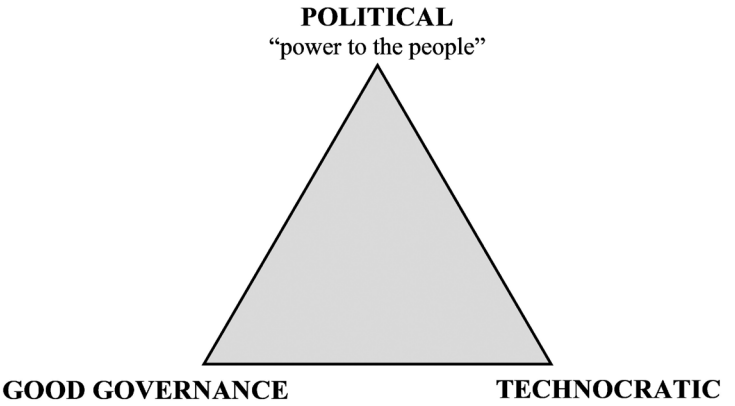

Figure 1 - PBs competing logics

Source: "Revisiting the democratic promise of participatory budgeting in light of competing political, good governance and technocratic logics" (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017)

These underpinning logics are not literally expressed in a PB process. Instead, they might be recognized by observing the implementation of the process, its actors' interaction, inputs, direct outputs and eventually the outcomes in the long term.

In addition, Cabannes and Lipietz (2017) propose another form of categorizing PB practices as represented on *Figure 2*. The authors argue that PB practices might be "territorial based" which prevails as the most common form, "thematic" or "actor-based" (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017). The actor-based PBs – although less frequent in number – are those which better target the issue of participation of traditionally excluded social groups and have the specific intention to empower the most marginalized segments in the city (Cabannes, 2004).

In this context of diversity, a question might be raised on which elements are to be considered as universally essential for a PB practice. French researcher of political sciences Yves Sintomer (2005) proposes a methodological definition of common criteria to be fulfilled by PB practices. According to Sintomer, a PB experience must:

- include an explicit debate on the financial and budgetary dimension;
- be organised at the local government level structures;
- be a continuous and repeated process in time;
- include some form of public deliberation on the budget component;
- publicly promote accountability for the outcome of the process.

While overall accepted as a comprehensive set of criteria, this definition does not include specifications about the amount of resources to be

discussed in the process. This would represent an arguable element as the discussion of a substantial amount of resources (or not) is considered crucial for the empowering potential of PB. Moreover, the lack of specification on the (minimal) amount of resources to be discussed for a PB process to be considered as relevant, has enabled the emergence of multiple self-expressed PBs with rather insignificant budgets. This phenomenon not only has led to misconceptions about PB and its relevance, but it has also created disagreements among researchers over the estimation of the total number of PB processes worldwide.

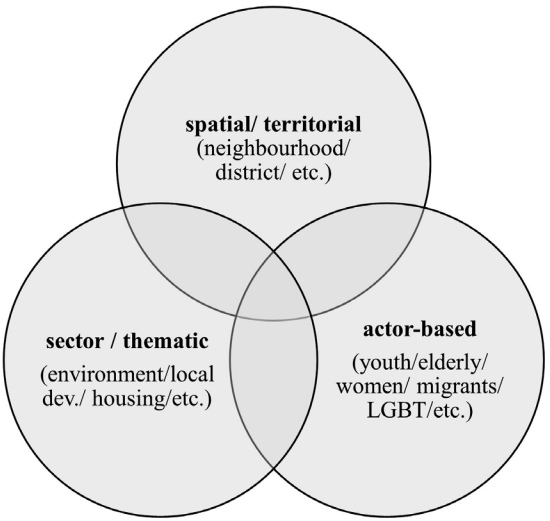

Figure 2 - Types of PB

Source: "Revisiting the democratic promise of participatory budgeting in light of competing political, good governance and technocratic logics" (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017)

In the majority of cases, PB practices are indeed initiated internally by the local government and depend on the will of the elected to be developed and implemented. However, there are also exceptional cases like the PB initiatives in the Russian Federation, where the process is initiated and structured by specialists of the World Bank as a community development tool under the name of Local Initiatives Support Program (Dias & Júlio, 2018). In other cases, the process is institutionalized or regulated by law. Examples include Peru, the Dominican Republic, South Korea or Poland which stand out as exceptions to the PB worldwide. According to Allegretti and Copello (2018), what is crucial to understand about

the complexity of PB processes especially when they are first implemented is the duality between, the need of an appropriate coordination between the PB and the administrative machine and the need of coordination between the PB and other processes of social dialogue. Indeed, PB processes usually operate in a context of "participatory ecosystems" of multiple tools and policies put into place to enable shared decision-making between local authorities and citizens. In addition, studies have shown that PB has the potential to go far beyond being an administrative tool, preparing the ground to structure alternative models for development and reframe the concept of the "Right to the City for all" by valorising and recognizing the contribution of all the different actors involved (Allegretti & Copello, 2018). This concept will be further analysed and contextualised in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Budgeting and transparency on public accounts

"Putting money in the first stage" remains the aspect which made the difference for PB in regard to other participatory processes (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 35). Therefore, the control on budgetary spending is a crucial element determining citizens empowerment (or not) and the inversion of social priorities. Usually in participatory experiences, the resources availability is kept on the second plan and only discussed in the end of the process after decisions have been taken and ideas have been structured, often preventing their realisation because of high cost. On the contrary, in PB money does not have the role of "final gatekeeper". Authors argue that the discussion of resources upfront results in more substantial participatory decisions, more engaged and responsible participants, and a rare confluence of interests of stakeholders which usually have different agendas (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 36). However, studies show also that PB practices have a limited effect when it comes to increasing the transparency level of budgetary documents or citizens understanding of how they work (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 38). According to the Municipal Transparency Index (MIT) only few cities with ongoing PB's have a high ranking and this might be interpreted as an indicator that PB does not affect the transparency of local authorities, despite their commitment to do so (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 48). It is also common in PB practices to notice sometimes important differences between planned and implemented resources and "this obstacle jeopardizes the exercise of PB and its legitimacy" (Cabannes, 2004). Although more and more cities today have open data policies or interactive websites, there is still much to do for making the published documents understandable and improve civic financial and budgetary literacy (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 48). It is worth noting

that while most of the time it's the municipalities which identify the amount of resources to be discussed, in some cases it's the citizens who decide and this allows them to have a more meaningful involvement in the process and deeper comprehension of how municipal finances work. Moreover, a decrease in tax delinquency has been noticed when a PB process is properly implemented and because of their contribution in decision-making and implementation, citizens show a willingness to maintain the public infrastructure which results in "avoided costs" for the municipality (Cabannes, 2004).

The future of participatory budgeting

In a context where technology, global change dynamics and environmental issues will be more and more present, multiple challenges and necessities for the future of PB practices will have to be faced (Dias & Júlio, 2018). Authors discuss the necessity of the *scaling up of PB* in the future. While for Dias and Julio (2018, p. 28) this scaling up includes different dimensions of PB such as institutional, territorial, or representative, for Allegretti and Copello (2018, p. 49) more attention must be paid to the budgetary dimension of PB experiences. Citizen participation needs to gain space in the priorities of international organizations and be more present in the measures taken to face global change challenges. A territorial and institutional upscaling is needed in order to overcome the limitations most of the PB practices worldwide are facing because of their local character and on the institutional scale, authors argue that it is necessary "to find ways of establishing a legal framework… to help consolidate these processes" (Dias & Julio, 2018).

Furthermore, a big challenge for the future of PB is also its *articulation with the SDG* focusing on the most pressing challenges in each context (Dias & Julio, 2018). Authors argue that this might be possible by on one hand taking into consideration the potential of PB to contribute to the SDG through local governments, social organizations and citizens and on the other hand by articulating the PB process with other social and political movements in order to broaden the base for these initiatives and gain greater political support. Indeed, as PBs so far have proven to be "fragile and insufficient to meet the challenges of a high-quality democracy", there is a need in the future to complement PB with other citizen participation practices (Dias & Julio, 2018).

Regarding the budgetary component, Allegretti and Copello (2018) argue that there are no reasons for local administrations on consolidated democracies to shrink the PB discussed resources or keep them on a limited level besides the unwillingness to share decision-making power. Indeed, as a heightened form of traditional community engagement, PB at its original form is about empowerment and transfer of power and influence, which

might sometimes be challenging to those already holding power (PB Network, 2016). On this logic, research has found that "the limits on budgets discussed in a specific PB determine its capacity to be an incisive tool (or not) for addressing social inequalities" (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 52).

1.3. *Social inequalities*

Studied and analysed from multiple perspectives, the concept of social inequality remains a vague yet "intrinsically multidimensional" concept or even "a commonly used label for multidimensional inequality" (Binelli, *et al.*, 2013). The presence of inequalities in modern democratic societies is generally accepted and considered almost inevitable not only as a result of differentiated reward for personal effort, but also as a crucial element for economic growth. However, scholars argue that in practice inequalities are not merely a result of meritocracy, but stem primarily from differences in starting positions or as a consequence of institutions that are benefiting some people more than others (Doidge & Kelly, 2013).

Sociologists make a distinction between social inequality as viewed in *attributional* and *relational* terms (Goldthorpe, 2009).

The attributional perspective is the one mostly used to analyse social inequality in terms of distribution of socially valued resources to the members of a society. As the resources vary, so do inequalities which take multiple forms that do not manifest themselves in isolation in society; on the contrary, they interact and reinforce each other (Binelli *et al.*, 2013). For descriptive purposes inequalities might be grouped into three major clusters as represented on *Figure 3*: (1) Inequalities related to everything that represents the material in a society; income, wealth, housing, consumption,

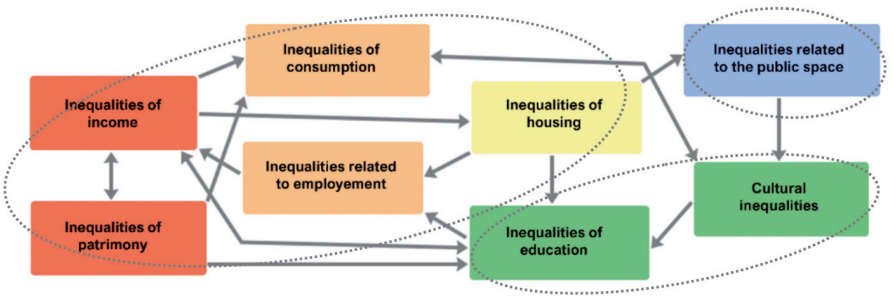

Figure 3 - Aggregated scheme of the multiple forms of inequalities and their interaction
Source: (lesbonsprofs.com, 2015)

etc., (2) Inequalities related to the ability to apprehend and give meaning to the world where we live; access to school, cultural activities, etc., and (3) Inequalities related to the power to act and participate in the world we live.

This interaction of the different forms of inequalities is discussed by the Cumulative Inequality Theory, a systematic explanation of the evolution of inequalities, initially developed by Merton (1988) and then discussed by other sociologists. According to Ferraro and Shippee (2009), cumulative inequality or cumulative disadvantage theory is composed of five main ideas.

1. Social systems generate inequalities that manifest themselves in the course of life through demographic and development processes.
2. Disadvantage increases risk exposure but benefit increases exposure to opportunities.
3. Life trajectories are shaped by the accumulation of risks, available resources and human relationships.
4. The perception of life trajectories influences subsequent trajectories.
5. Cumulative inequality can lead to premature mortality; therefore, non-random selection may give the appearance of reducing inequalities later in life.

The disadvantage concept, however, is mostly related to the *relational* perspective which represents a deeper level of thinking about inequalities. It takes into consideration social relations in a stratified society in which individuals are advantaged or disadvantaged because of their belonging to a certain stratum. Thus, under this perspective, social inequalities are of a structured kind, "inherent in prevailing forms of social relationships that have in some degree an institutional basis" (Goldhorpe, 2009) and therefore more difficult to address. Social stratification has been studied by political economist and sociologist Max Weber (1921) who elaborated the so-called "three-component theory of stratification", making a differentiation between *class*, *status*, and *party* as distinct types of social stratification. For him, these three types of hierarchies do not overlap between each other and correspond to three different spheres namely: (1) the *economic* order which is at the origin of classes; (2) the *social* order where the prestige of occupied positions ranks status groups and (3) the *political* order where the parties clash for the conquest of power. Goldthorpe (2009) focuses on the first two components while exploring inequalities in the structure of modern societies. On one hand, the class structure is linked to the social relations of economic life (labour markets and production units). A first differentiation here would be the one between *employers*, *self-employed* and *employees.* Further differentiation might be made between employees according to their relation to employers, type of contract and so on… (Goldthorpe, 2009, p. 733). On the other hand, the status struc-

ture refers to social relations of superiority, equality, or inferiority, formed based on the evaluation of certain individual characteristics attributed at birth or because of the social position. In modern societies the type of occupation is a strong determinant of status. The status order is mostly expressed as a differentiation of the most intimate forms of social relations such as friendships or marriage, but also as a differentiation of "appropriate" lifestyles for different status levels (Gopdthorpe, 2009, p. 733). Discussing the relationship between class and status, Goldthorpe argues that while there is a correlation between the position individuals hold in the class structure and status hierarchy, it is possible to identify various social groups which have an incoherent class-status position. Moreover, the author adds that social stratification is a crucial element to the understanding of inequalities as described at an attributional level because the class and status position influences differently the outcomes which stand at the origin of the different types of inequalities. "While the economic life-chances are mostly conditioned by class than status, the extent and form of social consumption and participation are stratified far more by status than by class" (Goldthorpe, 2009, p. 733). Going back to Weber's work, the third type of social hierarchy, the party, refers to social relations based on the common objective to attain a "tactically chosen goal" which can be factual or personal. These relations might be present in multiple forms: from "societal clubs" to "states" and from "ephemeral" to "enduring" structures. Also, parties' sociological structure differs depending on the social action generated and on the stratification of the political community. Weber argues that parties are possible only in communities which have some kind of political structure, which the party will aim to influence or take over (1921). Thus, this kind of social stratification is deeply related to the notion of power which might take multiple forms largely studied and discussed in literature. However, three types of "power" appear to be the more relevant for the purpose of this research: (1) *power over*, (2) *power with* and (3) *power to*. The notion of power is globally addressed in political science under the connotation of "power over" which would imply the ability to decide, to act on others, especially when this action is to the detriment of others (power sharing demanded by self-managers and political strategies that speak of taking power) (Pansardi, 2012; see also Bacqué & Biewer, 2013). "Power to" refers to the type of power where the actor is able to act autonomously in order to get out of dependency. It is a generative power that has the ability to promote change; power is understood as an energy and a skill (Pansardi, 2012). As a middle ground, "power with" refers to the power to do with, to build with, to be part of a collective approach to take control of your future and social transformation that is built precisely with this power (Bacqué & Biewer 2013). Discussing

the notion of democratic empowerment, Bacqué and Biewer (2013) argue that it is crucial to make this distinction between "power over", "power to" and "power with" in order to identify strategies of social transformation where the voiceless people might have a central place. The relational perspective and especially the notion of "power to act" are considered essential to have a comprehensive discussion about inequalities as the concept is usually analysed only in attributional terms (Goltdthorpe, 2009; Binelli *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, exploring the relationship of community engagement and inequalities in the publication "'Hard to reach' or 'easy to ignore'? Promoting equality in community engagement", authors argue that inequalities in health, wealth, income, education… (attributional terms), can be arguably seen as coming from inequalities in power and influence (relational terms). They add that community participatory processes can simply "reproduce existing inequalities, unless they are designed and facilitated to distribute influence by ensuring diversity and inclusion" (Lightbody, 2017).

Thus, how can social inequalities be addressed in all their complexity? The discussion about inequalities is inherently associated with a sentiment of injustice and it implies an understated need or quest for equality in society. Shaw *et al.* (1999) argue that while equality constitutes the foundation of all contemporary theories about a just society, it must be accepted that the concept in itself is composed by a number on incommensurable criteria and variables. The International Forum for Social Development (IFSD), however, lists three general domains of equality/equity which are present in the most important charters and texts used today by the UN or other important organisations such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Charter of the United Nations: (1) *equality of rights* which includes "the elimination of all forms of discrimination and respect for the fundamental freedoms and civil and political rights of all individuals", (2) *equality of opportunities* which implies "stable social, economic, cultural and political conditions that enable all individuals to fulfil their potential and contribute to the economy and to society", and (3) *equity in living conditions* for all individuals and households (2006, p. 15). Authors recognize that the concept of *equity* is inherently vague and controversial, but nevertheless remains "the most logical reference point in determining what is just and what is unjust with regard to living conditions and related matters within society". The second mentioned domain, "equality of opportunities", is considered to be the core principle of the majority of health, education, and housing policies today, as a critical aspect of social justice (IFSD, 2006). However, it would be arguable which relative weight to attach to *equality of opportunities* as opposed to *equality of outcomes* in the quest for a just society. The former consists of the elimination of

any form of discriminatory and arbitrary obstacles before people begin socio-economic activities and the latter relates to the re-distributive effect of taxation and social security systems. While these two concepts are often considered as contrasting, several authors see them as complementary, arguing that equality of outcomes is crucial as long as inequality of opportunities prevail (Tachibanaki, 2005).

"Social justice" as a concept is relatively new as it developed with the emergence of the industrial revolution as a form of protest towards the perceived capitalist exploitation of labour. Today, social justice is often associated with the concept of distributive justice. Theoretical literature on the subject offers different interpretations, but the definition found in the "The Oxford Handbook of Distributive Justice" might represent a general understanding that distributive justice is "justice in the distribution of benefits and burdens to individuals, or balancing of the competing claims persons make on the benefits that are up for distribution" (Olsaretti, 2018). Alternatively, in literature addressing issues related to social inequalities, one might encounter the concept of "economic justice" which refers to the first cluster of attributional social inequalities as mentioned above and might be defined as "the existence of opportunities for meaningful work and employment and the dispensation of fair rewards for the productive activities of individuals" (IFSD, 2006, p. 14). Economic justice is often treated as part of social justice as it represents one of the multiple dimensions constituting life in society. One last and important element to add to the analysis of social inequalities is their spatial aspect.

The spatiality of inequalities

The inclusion of the spatial analysis into social sciences and humanities during the second half of the twentieth century constitutes an important turning point in the studying of these domains also known as the "spatial turn". It has enabled scholars in a wide range of disciplines to use the spatial dimension of human activities as an additional critical and analytical tool in their work. In this context, in his book "Culture and Imperialism" Edward Said (1994) states that "Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings". The spatiality of social inequalities is considered, therefore, of great importance for a comprehensive understanding of the concept of inequality itself. Studied from a geographical perspective, socio-economic inequalities are often found in literature as "territorial inequalities" which might be briefly described as "the imbalances in welfare and living conditions between places" (Mehlbye *et al.*, 2019).

Territorial inequalities are today studied in different scales from local to regional and global, in between different territorial entities or within them (Giordano *et al*., 2019). In the large spectre of disciplines approaching inequalities, spatial analysis has been used, among other, to expose the ideological structures and distributive effects of policies and laws (Blank & Rosen-Zvi, 2010). Discussing the risks of increasing territorial inequalities, authors argue that while in some cases territories "suffer" from an inherited inequal spatial development due to "specialisation and agglomeration of economic activities which maximised economic growth and lead to polarisation", today an important thread stands in "spatially blind policies" which would accentuate existing territorial inequalities (Giordano *et al*., 2019). In this context, Mehlbye *et al*. argue that the lack of adequate policies holds a high potential to create a vicious circle where "disadvantaged places produce disadvantaged inhabitants, citizens with lower chances to fully participate in society" (2019, p. 3). Authors argue that the new inequality debate is about '"people left behind' living in 'places left behind'". This is referred to as a structural and psychological situation which demands a re-integration of "people and places left behind" which cannot be addressed by monetary investments alone. Instead, "wise future-oriented concepts and a true – and perceived – inclusion of the citizens of such places are needed" (Mehlbye *et al*., 2019).

Thus, the question arises as to how territorial inequalities are being addressed in practice. Since the late 90s, European Union Institutions have employed the term "territorial cohesion". While it remains a vague and complex concept with a broad range of institutional interpretations, Medeiros (2016) proposes the following definition: "Territorial Cohesion is the process of promoting a more cohesive and balanced territory, by: (i) supporting the reduction of socioeconomic territorial imbalances, (ii) promoting environmental sustainability, (iii) reinforcing and improving the territorial cooperation/governance processes, and (iv) reinforcing and establishing a more polycentric urban system". However, the concept of territorial cohesion is considered a European construction, far from being expanded as a global political and academic discussion (Medeirons, 2016).

In addition, in scientific literature the debate develops around the spatial thinking of justice. Although the terms "territorial" and "spatial" are considered and used as synonyms in several publications, "spatial justice" appears to be the one which embodies the broadest meaning when addressing justice issues from a physical environment perspective (Soja, 2010). Soja explains that almost all kinds of injustices are at least in part related to the socially produced unjust geographies in which we all live, and therefore the struggle for spatial justice holds a great potential to "generate new and more effective ways of achieving major human goals…"

(2010, p. 3). In addition, the author argues that the concept of spatial justice has a strategic convergence with multiple ideas linking the physical environment with justice such as *environmental justice*, *territorial justice*, *the geography of social justice*, and *the search for the Just City.*

Soja considers that these concepts are intrinsically related with Lefebvre's concept of the "Right to the city" (1968) "rooted in taking control over the social production of social space, in a kind of consciousness and awareness of how space can be used to oppress and exploit and dominate…" (2010, p. 3). Henri Lefebvre declares that "making the city should not be reserved to the elite: integrating citizens into the process of building the city becomes fundamental to exercise equality and freedom to act" (1968). This right allows each individual to "take part in the city as it exists, but also in its production and transformation and gives the right to participate in its development, the political right to define the city, the right to a healthy environment and the […] right to adequate housing or accessible public transport". The population must be able to "think of neighbourhood life and city life", in order to appropriate the urban space (Lefebvre, 1968). Spatial Justice and the Right to the city are considered as "concretizing examples and strategic enhancements of the struggle to social justice…" (Soja, 2010). However, the author adds that the quest for spatial justice and equality has undeniable limitations as complete socio-spatial equality is never achievable. "Every geography in which we live has some degree of injustice embedded in it, making the selection of sites of intervention a crucial decision" (Soja, 2009, p. 5).

How are inequalities measured

As a multidimensional concept, inequalities are usually measured separately in multiple single dimensions such as income, wealth, housing, access to education, health etc. This provides a practical method to make comparisons between the level of social inequalities in different contexts where authors compare the changes in equalities from singular dimensions (Neumayer, 2003). Another way of measuring inequalities in practice refers to the use of multidimensional aggregated indexes, a number of which are presented below.

Human Opportunity Index (HOI) which measures how individual circumstances such as place of residence, gender, and education of the household head, that should not determine access to basic goods and services, can affect a child's access to basic opportunities such as water or education (The World Bank, 2019b).

Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) which combines a country's average achievements in health, education and income with how those achievements are distributed among the country's

population by "discounting" each dimension's average value according to its level of inequality (United Nations Development Programme, 2019).

Gini Index which measures the distribution of income across income percentiles in a population. A higher Gini index indicates greater inequality (The World Bank, 2019a).

Palma ratio which is the ratio of the richest 10% of the population's share of gross national income (GNI) divided by the poorest 40%'s share (OECD, 2015).

These indexes are used to monitor the evolution of inequality levels although there is no generally agreed level of acceptable inequality. It is, however, generally accepted that the levels observed today in many countries are too large, and that inequality stands at the source of political, social, and economic distress. Indeed, according to Binelli *et al.* (2013) "countries with less social inequality have higher levels of economic performance and human development, and stronger political institutions". Hence, it is crucial to have a proper measurement of the level of "social inequalities" in accordance to its multidimensional character as it is a relevant expression of people's wellbeing. The authors refer to Amartya Sen's capability approach (*Figure 4*) to propose an aggregated index which measures social inequalities in terms of "actual achievements and means to achieve outcomes in the future" (Binelli *et al.*, 2013).

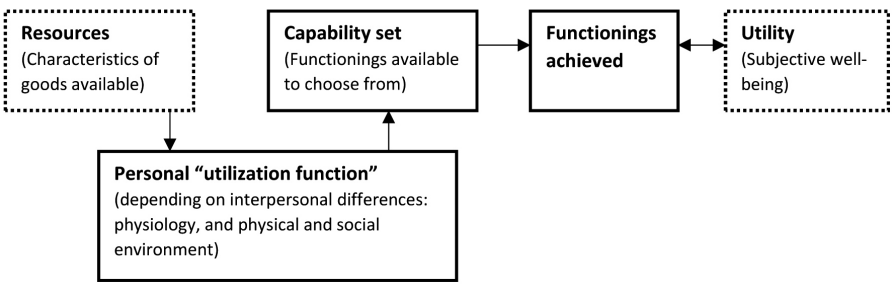

Figure 4 - Amartya Sen's capability approach

Source: www.iep.utm.edu/sen-cap/

Resources here are considered as an input, but their value depends upon individuals' ability to convert them into valuable functioning which depend, for example, on their personal physiology (such as health), social norms, and physical environment. While the importance of the capability's approach in debates about the nature of social inequalities and relative poverty has been broadly recognized by sociologist, critiques have

been raised regarding its distraction from the social justice concept. In this regard, Dean (2009) argues that "the capabilities approach is well suited to a consensual approach, but a politics of need should be about struggle, not consensus: the struggle for the recognition of unspoken needs; the struggle for more direct forms of political participation; the struggle against exploitation and the systemic injustices of capitalism".

Thus, between social justice and socio-economic stability, the necessity to address inequalities in their complexity has both ethical and instrumental foundations (Doidge & Kelly, 2013). The inclusion in 2015 of a standalone goal in the United Nations development agenda is considered an important step in this direction. Indeed, Sustainable Development Goal 10 (SDG10) aims to "Reduce inequalities within and between countries". It concerns not only the reduction of vertical economic inequalities, but also horizontal group-based inequalities, affecting the most vulnerable social groups, by promoting inclusion and non-discriminatory policies. Moreover, equality of opportunity and equality of outcome are both considered as complementary elements (United Nations, 2020). However, this goal is criticized for having a conservative formulation throughout and most importantly failing to set clear benchmarks for progress. The formulation of SDG10 holds the great merit of recognizing the need to reduce the rising multidimensional inequalities at the international level but at the same time exposes the complexity and challenges in having substantial results in this direction (Doidge & Kelly, 2013).

PB contribution to reducing social inequalities

Studying social inequalities and PB researchers mostly concentrate on singular aspects such as the social empowerment potential of PB (Boulding & Wampler, 2010; Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017; Khutkyy, 2017), its contribution on reducing health disparities (Hagelskamp *et al.*, 2018), infant mortality (Gonçalves, 2014) or poverty (Grillos, 2017) to name a few. Overall, there is a general understanding between scholars that PB has an important potential to be a tool of deepening democracy, include the traditionally excluded and promote innovative public policies. The general argument is that traditional representatives usually promote their own interests, so the inclusion of ordinary citizens with different or even conflicting interests to the discussion, would necessarily translate into a reorientation of public policies in the direction of further social justice (Young, 2000).

In a practical guide about designing and implementing inclusive PB processes published by the PB Network in 2016, it is stated that while not all of the self-defined PB processes manage to properly involve and address the needs and aspirations of all the citizens involved, PB "should

always aspire towards deepening citizen led decision making". The publication emphasizes on three crucial elements: (1) involving citizens on the outset of the process, (2) having the necessary human resources throughout the process and (3) having sufficient and sustained political will. The proper implementation of the first component is considered crucial for PB processes to act as vectors of democratization as PB is defined by "the ability to inverse key developmental priorities in cities" (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017, p. 12, *see also* Cabannes, 2019).

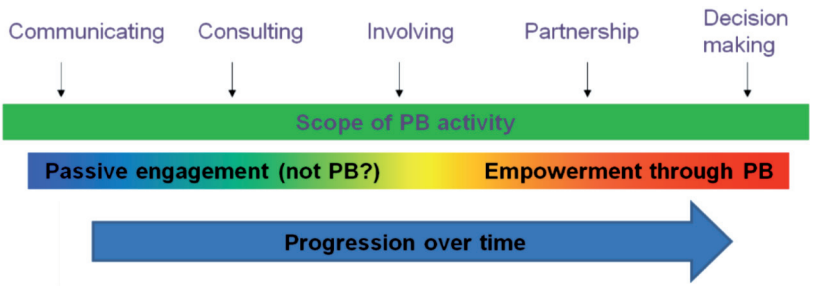

Figure 5 - Scheme of empowerment through PB

Source: "Mainstreaming PB. Ideas for delivering PB at Scale" (PB Network, 2016)

Indeed, while both dimensions of "participation" and "budgeting" are equally important in the PB process, a great importance is given in literature to its potential to reverse priorities and bring the marginalized groups in the centre of the decision-making process (Cabannes, 2004). This inversion of priorities was originally understood in territorial and political terms. The "territorial" or "spatial" inversion of priorities refers to the channelling of resources in territories which historically were considered deprived from public investments, while the "political" dimension refers to the possibility to exercise power by those who previously didn't or had little access to the political space. A third component refers to the "social" inversion of priorities which consists of channelling resources to the historically marginalized groups which can now express their voice. Ever since the first Brazilian experiences in the 90s, PB processes have represented a powerful tool to redefine power relations in society and between society and institutions (Cabannes & Lipietz, 2017 *see also* Allegretti & Copello, 2018). However, a common statement in different publications is that European PBs do not have the same potential as the first Brazilian experiences when it comes to inclusion or reversing of priorities (Talpin, 2008; Nez, 2013). Talpin argues that this "gap" in

between the two experiences is due on one hand to the fact that European PBs do no provide for primary needs of the population, and on the other hand because of their relatively limited capacity. Most of the time, PB practices in Europe deal with urban development issues, urban planning and sometimes cultural or educational issues. In any case, participatory democracy, in the European context, seems to have only a limited impact on public policies (Talpin, 2008). In this regard, while Nez (2013) argues that popular classes in Europe might be attracted to PB only by giving them direct access to decision-making on central issues for their daily lives, contrary to the experiences of French voices that often boil down to a consultation on secondary issues, Talpin (2008) suggests a territorial reorientation of public policies towards the most marginalized neighbourhoods of the city, in a form of "positive territorial discrimination" as an effective way to redistribute resources towards the disadvantaged social groups. The definition of disadvantaged or vulnerable groups varies greatly from one context to another. For the purpose of this study, the referred to definition is the one formulated by Cabannes (2019):

> Disadvantaged is defined as individuals or groups of people that already faces a problem or a situation. Vulnerable is defined as individuals or groups of people at risk of facing a problem or a situation. Disadvantaged or vulnerable groups experience higher risks of poverty, social exclusion, discrimination, and violence than the general population, including but not limited to the disabled, ethnic minorities, migrants, elderly, women, children, and youth. The concept of "disadvantaged" also focuses on being "denied access to the tools needed for self-sufficiency".

Cabannes (2019) argues that there is a difference between PB made *for* or *with* these societal groups and uses four questions (listed below) to analyse the potential of the different practices:

1. Who participates in assemblies and PB forums?
2. Who decides on the PB regulatory rules?
3. Who makes the final decision in prioritizing projects?
4. Who has ongoing oversight and control of the PB projects' implementation and budgetary spending?

Moreover, Cabannes (2019) differentiates two types of PB approaches used by cities worldwide to specifically address the needs of the disadvantaged social groups: "earmarking resources for a specific group" and "targeting deprived or disadvantaged areas". Placing the Paris PB experience into the second group, the author adds that the practice in Paris "focuses primarily on vulnerable areas instead of vulnerable people" (2019).

Social inequalities in France

In 2019 the French inequalities observatory (L'Observatoire des inégalités, 2019) has published its third report on inequalities in France. The report offers a comprehensive view of the situation in multiple dimensions such as income, education, housing, employment, lifestyles, etc. It analyses the differences between social circles, according to gender, origin, or age. Analysing the income inequalities, the report states that the rich in France are becoming even richer. Only a sustainable decline in unemployment could actually weigh on income inequalities (p.9). Moreover, rising inequalities in terms of employment have been exposed as the precariousness of employment concerns a growing number of employees, the unemployment rate is progressively higher and the share of employees subject to work pace constraints is higher (p. 13). The report also states that living conditions are not improving for the majority of the population. Progress is slow in the area of housing compared to previous decades. Health conditions depend a lot on working conditions, which is worsened by the grown precariousness. In politics, the place of women appears to have improved, although quite slowly for positions of responsibility and there is no relevant representation of the popular classes.

The question of the presence of social classes in contemporary French society constitutes a subject of debate for sociologists. One might find in literature two major and different analyses to the question. On one side, Henri Mendras (1988) believes that we must speak of "averaging" and scrambling social classes. He argues that the French society is no longer hierarchical pyramidally. Instead, it has now the shape of a whirligig with a very large middle social class (including workers and executives) in the middle, a small pocket of poverty at the bottom, and some elites at the top. On the other side, Louis Chauvel (2001) opposes this approach and reintroduces the pyramidal structure of society. He believes that there is a real "return of social classes" based on the return of economic inequalities with exploding high incomes in front of static low incomes. He argues that cultural and social practices remain also unequal: everyone does not go to opera and access to education remains different depending on the social background. He cites the fact that 90% of executives have a general a university degree against 20% of workers. Moreover, there would be new inequalities due to the precariousness of employment.

The above-mentioned social and statistical data of the French inequalities' observatory seem to confirm that the analysis of the second is currently considered as more adequate.

1.4. *Gentrification*

The phenomenon of gentrification is closely related to social inequality as it is considered "the neighbourhood expression of class inequality" (Lees, 2008, p.80). The term was first employed in 1964 by the sociologist Ruth Glass to describe "the invasion" of many poor areas of London by the middle class (Glass, 1964, p. 18). The sociologist explained that once the process is initiated in a neighbourhood it goes on fast until all of the original residents are displaced "and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass, 1964, p. 18). Initiated by "pioneers" who entered the run-down post-war neighbourhoods and renovated individual homes for personal use (Smith, 1979), the consolidation of this phenomenon in the Global North took place between 1973 and the end of the 80s. This period is considered to be the "second wave" gentrification, marked by the role of construction firms in rehabilitating housing for the middle class which was followed by the displacement of low-income residents (Cocola-Gant, 2019, p. 3).

Two classic approaches can be identified in literature regarding the causes of gentrification. The first, which might be described as "socio-cultural", is on *the demand side* of housing and services and explains gentrification as a consequence of the tastes of a new urban social class eager to live in the city centre. The second, with a more economical approach focusing on *the offer side*, explains gentrification by the creation of a new supply of housing, in other words by the action of economic agents as developers, real estate agents, etc. Authors argue that these two approaches have the common feature to privilege and disseminate of a linear, orderly, and sequential design process, and centralize the market logic that governs real estate. In a way this simplifies the gentrification process (Chabrol *et al.*, 2016).

The early works on the subject, whether North American, British, or French, generally present gentrification as an emancipating process without evoking the issue of conflicts between gentrifiers and populations "already there". Overall, these approaches present gentrification as a gradual process in which certain groups in path of social and political emancipation (women, artists, homosexuals, students, etc.) play a pioneering role because of their greater tolerance in regards to the reputation of certain popular neighbourhoods and therefore more likely to mix their social trajectories and values with the marginalized social groups living in these neighbourhoods. However, by investing in the neighbourhood, they change its image and "prepare the field" for other social groups less inclined to cross social barriers (Chabrol *et al.*, 2016). Nowadays researchers accept the integration of theories as complementary interpretations (Lees, 2008). Therefore, an

adequate explanation of gentrification needs to be seen in two perspectives: the production of urban space and the consumption of urban lifestyles (Schwanen *et al*., 2019, p. 3). In this regard, Hochstenbach (2017) argues that "only by considering the different forms and expressions of gentrification in conjoint fashion, the substantial impact of gentrification on the reshaping of social and spatial inequalities would come to the fore" (p. 209). Likewise, Chabrol *et al*. (2016) make the observation that in practice, the linear process of waves of installation of different groups from the middle and upper classes is rarely observed as described in theory and the same goes for the inevitable and complete eviction, of the inhabitants "already there". On the contrary, despite the "spectacular" nature of gentrification, large cities remain the places where great wealth and great poverty are equally present (Chabrol *et al*., 2016).

The role of the state

In the neoliberal context the state is considered to play an important role in the process of gentrification as it is included in public policy as an engine of urban regeneration (Lees, 2001). Indeed, analysing the process in its contemporary form in "Postrecession gentrification in New York City", Hackworth explains it as "the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users" (2002, p. 815). Such state-led gentrification policies rely on the rhetoric of social mixing which considers that the arrival of an upper class of residents in the neighbourhood will benefit the whole community, including the poorest by improving economy and social-cultural dynamics as a whole (Schwanen *et al*., 2019, p. 8). In this logic, the HOPE VI programme in the US financed the demolition of social housing complexes and construction of middle-class dwellings (Wyly & Hammel, 1999) and in London council estates are being demolished and replaced with mixed income housing (Lees, 2008). Likewise, the first authors to study gentrification in France put an emphasis on the role of the state in the development of "new middle classes" or "employed middle classes" occupying especially public jobs (Bidou-Zachariasen & Poltorak, 2008). French sociologist Anne Clevral (2011) argues that in the context of capitalism, social groups are not evenly distributed in space and their spatialization is linked to the price of rents. Thus, the social division of space is "the result of a particular alchemy by which the social relations of domination fit into the material structures of the city throughout history" (p. 65).

Gentrification in Paris

The first theories about gentrification at the end on the 80s were elaborated on the basis of studies of mostly British or North American cities. Thus, they do not represent a full picture of gentrification as a global

phenomenon. For instance, the studied context greatly differs from France, where middle and upper classes generally are present in big city centres, while in the United States and Canada, for example, in the years 1950 and 1960 there was the so-called "white exile" a phenomenon of exile of the middle classes towards the suburbs, which concerned mostly whites (Chabrol *et al*., 2016).

The case of Paris, however, perfectly illustrates this phenomenon as Anne Clerval has shown in her study on the gentrification of the city "*Paris sans le people. La gentrification de la capitale*" (2011). The author defines the notion of gentrification as a "particular form of *embourgeoisement* or upward filtering in working-class neighbourhoods which entails changes in the habitat, in the public spaces and in the retail trade landscape". Mobilizing census data between 1982 and 2008, Clerval argues that for several decades now the capital has been experiencing a specific gentrification process of working-class neighbourhoods through the physical transformation of the city (housing rehabilitation, renewal of shops, beautification of public space) and this comes partially as a result of public policies. Clerval (2011) explains how following a criterion of social diversity that does not consider the ongoing gentrification, social housing construction policies are helping to accelerate the process through the construction of low-income housing middle classes. The author has also elaborated an interesting graphic model of the gentrification dynamics in Paris going from the 60s to our days (*Annex 1*).

Moreover, French sociologist Anaïs Collet (2015) describes in «*Rester bourgeois. Les quartiers populaires, nouveaux chantiers de la distinction*» the transformation carried out in the "popular" neighbourhoods occupied by the middle classes in Paris. The author argues that the triggering element in the Parisian context is the existence of an old housing stock that is released at affordable prices for middle classes. This can be housing or small factories or workshops that close. The young households who gradually settle there, transform the neighbourhood. Rising prices in the real estate market are also encouraging gentrification by pushing households to settle in neighbourhoods that do not seem like they belong to (Collet, 2015). In regard to the segregation of the "already there" population Collet argues that homeowners or people living in social housing, are not directly threatened to leave. On the contrary, those who pay a rent in the private sector are the most vulnerable group as gentrification often results in higher real estate prices, causing homeowners to sell or find a way to put their tenants out of the house and then increase rents. There is also indirect foreclosure in the sense that new households of these popular classes can no longer access these neighbourhoods which in time become too expensive.

In this context, Héloïse Nez (2013) raises the question whether PBs might be "serving" the gentrification process.

2. Synthesis of literature review

As the awareness about global change problems arises and the neoliberal economy market has polarized societies worldwide, a growing dissatisfaction about representative democracy and distrust about political representatives and institutions has been noticed in several studies. Under this context, multiple forms of "democratic innovations" (Smith, 2009) have arisen aiming to increase citizen participation in the decision-making process beyond the simple act of voting. These forms of democratic innovations have the potential to stimulate three main democratic qualities: (1) participation, (2) deliberation and (3) empowerment (Font *et al.*, 2014) at the condition that the participants are representative of the concerned population. On the contrary the risk is that these forms of participation might reproduce inequalities. Moreover, research has shown that while the capacity of participants to influence the decision-making process is often negatively correlated with the relevance of the discussed issue, participatory budgeting constitutes an exception (Font *et al.*, 2014).

Adopted for the first time in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre in 1989, participatory budgeting (PB) has experienced a widespread worldwide in the last 30 years. Authors recognize the existence of over 5000 PB practices today which greatly differ not only from the first PB experiences, but also from one another. The diversity of self-expressed PB experiences has been largely analysed by Cabannes (2004) who proposes a classification model with three logics behind the adoption of PB. The first logic is *political*, and it refers to PB practices which aim to deepen democracy and allow citizens to be an integral part of every step of the process. This logic is often challenging for local governments because it requires a true political will to give up on part of the decision-making power. The second logic is related to *good governance*, and it refers to practices where the citizen is invited to participate in the decision-making process and in a way to legitimate the actual governance. This logic is often present in big cities as a way to bring closer citizens and the institutions. The third logic is a *technocratic* one and it refers to practices which have as core objective the improvement of financial efficiency and the optimization of the use of public resources. If this triangular approach serves to translate the hidden aspects of PB experiences or their background, Cabannes and Lipietz (2017) propose another scheme to analyse the forms how PB is materialized in practice. The authors explain how self-expressed PB

practices might be "territorial", "thematic", "actor-based" or mixed types. Territorially focused PBs are considered to be the most common practices, while the "actor-based" approach remains the most inclusive form of participation targeting the most vulnerable and marginalized social groups. Several authors indicate that PB processes tend to respond better to the needs of the disadvantaged groups when the selection criteria have been elaborated from the concerned individuals directly and not for them from other entities.

In addition, authors recognize that a great merit of PB, in comparison to other participatory practices, stands in making the budgetary issues central to the discussion of the problematic. This is considered an essential component which contributes to a better understanding of how public finances work from the participants and improves the feasibility rate of the approved projects. Moreover, PB holds the inherent quality of being a redistributive tool whether on the social, spatial, or political prospect. Thus, PB has a great potential to address the multidimensional nature of social inequalities.

Sociologists explain how social inequalities continuously interact and reinforce one another, ultimately affecting the course of life. In this context, Amartya Sen's capability approach appears to be relevant for the purpose of this research as it builds on the idea that it is not enough to provide resources to those who are deprived, it is also important to provide the right resources. Furthermore, great attention is paid in scientific literature to the spatiality of social inequalities and the quest for socio-spatial justice. Authors argue that socially produced unjust geographies in which we live are related to all different forms of inequalities. Mehlbye *et al.* (2019) draw the attention toward what they call the vicious cycle of disadvantaged places producing disadvantaged inhabitants and several authors highlight the need for territorially adequate and socially inclusive policies to properly address inequalities. In this context, the potential of PB to include in the process the traditionally excluded social groups and its potential to transform territorial, political and social priorities represent an important tool in the struggle for socio-spatial justice.

In big metropoles, the territoriality of social inequalities is often studied through the presence of the gentrification phenomenon. The city of Paris has been experiencing a quite dynamic process of gentrification for several decades now. Authors and academics argue that the state has an important influence in this process. Indeed, local development policies which have been implemented for several decades in the poorest neighbourhoods of the French capital, also known as the "popular", "low-income" or "difficult" neighbourhoods are considered to be the driving factor of the gentrification dynamics.

3. Conceptual framework

The literature review highlights in several moments the potential of PB to be a tool of transforming social, political and territorial priorities and overall, its potential to channel resources to the social groups which lack them and/or have difficulties accessing them from other channels. On this basis, the objective of this study is to explore how this inherent quality of PB cooperates with the specific Parisian context of low-income neighbourhoods. To which extent the Paris PB is "tailored" to respond to the needs of the Parisian citizens? Which citizens? How is it integrated to the "participatory ecosystem" and general development policies?

Consequently, it would be relevant to first establish where the Paris PB stands in both the "PB underpinning logics" scheme and the "Types of PB" scheme. As analysed above, different types of PB reveal a different potential in terms of addressing the needs of the concerned public. Second, it would be important to well define the context in which this PB practice operates. What is the socio-spatial structure of the city and which challenges are more evident/pressing in terms of socio-territorial development and participation in the "popular" neighbourhoods?

Furthermore, the purpose of this study is not to do an evaluation of the impact of PB in the "popular" neighbourhoods, but rather to explore its potential to have a relevant contribution in reducing social inequalities in the future. For this purpose, the conceptual framework which will be used is based on the one proposed by Binelli *et al.* (2013) which sees disparities in both terms of *actual achievements* and *potential to achieve outcomes in the future*. The aim here will not be to use the aggregated index elaborated by the authors, but rather the logic behind it, meaning that individuals' wellbeing is a matter of actual and future achievements. In this setting, Amartya Sen's capability approach offers a good logical scheme to assess whether the Paris PB addresses the needs of the vulnerable and disadvantaged social groups in the city as defined by Cabannes (2019).

Focusing first on actual achievements it would be possible to define a framework of relevant elements to consider. On one hand there is the *input* of the local government and on the other hand the translation in terms of direct *outputs* of the process. As represented in the scheme below, this binary approach helps give a comprehensive overview of the actual achievements of the Paris PB in the "popular" neighbourhoods (*Figure 6*).

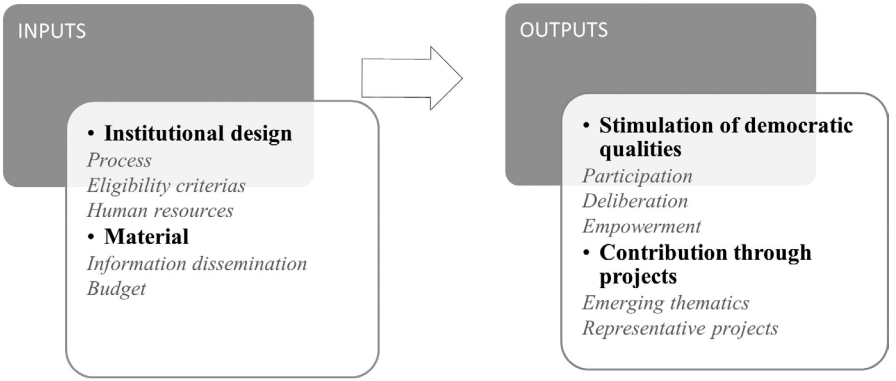

Figure 6 - Schematic representation of "actual achievements" framework

On the input side, the elements to consider are of a technical and material nature. As explained by several authors quoted above, the technical components of a PB practice (or its institutional design) are essential to deliver the expected results at the end of the process. These include the human resources dedicated to the process and the establishment of the selection criteria. On the output side, the elements to consider refer to the stimulation of the democratic qualities (participation, deliberation, empowerment) and the tangible results in terms of PB projects. Exploring the three democratic qualities that participatory innovations are intended to stimulate, it would be relevant to discuss: Who participates and how? How do the actors interact between them? How do the projects emerge? How are the citizens included in the different phases of the process? How is the implementation process structured?

Moreover, exploring the PB projects, it would be relevant to assess which of the emerging themes might be related to the multidimensionality of social inequality and what is the story behind some of the most representative projects.

Furthermore, focusing on the means to achieve outcomes in the future, it would be relevant to include to the analysis potential external factors of the socio-spatial Parisian context (such as the gentrification phenomenon) which might eventually influence the process itself and possibly its long-term outcomes (*Figure 7*).

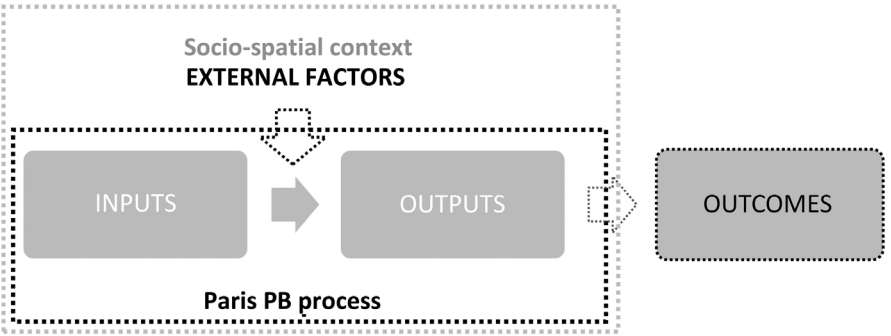

Figure 7 - Schematic representation of "means to achieve in the future" framework

2. *Benchmark cases*

As discussed in the previous chapters, the large number of PB experiences comes with a wide range of distinguishing components. Each has its particularities which depend on the socio-economic and political context where it is applied, the actors involved, the problematic to be tackled and so on… Moreover, the success of a PB experience not only depends on the above-mentioned factors, but often remains a subjective matter of interpretation. Nevertheless, within the multiple PB experiences worldwide, it is inevitable to find several interesting cases. In this context, a selection has been made of PB practices around the world which might enrich the discussion about the Paris case furthermore. It is important to highlight the fact that none of the selected PB experiences is considered as an ideal example to follow, but there is however a general understanding among scholars about the successful representativeness of each of them on a specific PB related issue. These issues will be synthesised and discussed in the last part of the chapter.

1. Porto Alegre, Brazil

Porto Alegre and Participatory Budgeting is an undividable linguistic pair. With a population of about 1,480,000 inhabitants, the Brazilian city is where PB has been first experimented in 1989 in a context of post military dictatorship and high corruption. This experiment was followed by other Brazilian cities which, although had differences between one another, were structured around the same foundations constituting the early stage of PB.

Allegretti and Copello (2018, p. 41) define three main principles of early PB processes in Brazil.

1. They were essentially co-decisional spaces, because they recognized that the shrinking trust in institutions prevented the possibility of attracting people to advisory processes, which are still solidly in the hands of traditional decision-makers, who do not accept to reduce their discretionarily exerted decisional power.
2. They were shaped in order to be attractive for individuals, recognizing that our present societies mistrust every form of self-declared "representativeness". Hence, individuals focus on arenas where they can directly (if they so decide) invest their time in participating in those spaces of dialogue.
3. They were articulated as cycles in order to allow people to reflect, digest the information, elaborate proposals, and think before expressing their positions. Such cycles started well before institutional deadlines, in which budgets are refined and approved, to allow time and space to reshape programmes.

Over thirty years later, the Porto Alegre PB might be defined as divided into two stages. In the first years of its implementation, it was considered to be a great success and an innovative tool which has been subject to dozens of national and international studies analysing its impacts. These studies have shown how the PB had an important redistributive effect which not only had a positive impact on the city's urban design, but also on the civil society organisation. Moreover, the available data prove that PB in Porto Alegre has been a great tool to not only raise citizens involvement in decision-making, but also to break down existing clientelist relations, build and democratize civil society and develop administrative capacities (Abers *et al.*, 2018; Santos, 2002; World Bank Group, 2002).

Another positive effect attributed to the Porto Alegre PB is that as the years went on, more funds were discussed in the process, and it gradually scaled up until aiming to be used for large scale infrastructure. Studies show that while in the beginning it was the poorest neighbourhoods of the city who mostly benefited from the process, over time there was a cycle of expansion of the investment area, but also of civil society mobilization (World Bank Group, 2002). However, authors argue that the process was not able to continue its redistributive effect over time. Practice has shown that it was much more difficult to implement an inclusive and participatory approach with larger scale infrastructure as much of this infrastructure did not have the same kind of transformative power for the community as the projects implemented in the early stages of the process at a smaller scale (Abers *et al.*, 2018).

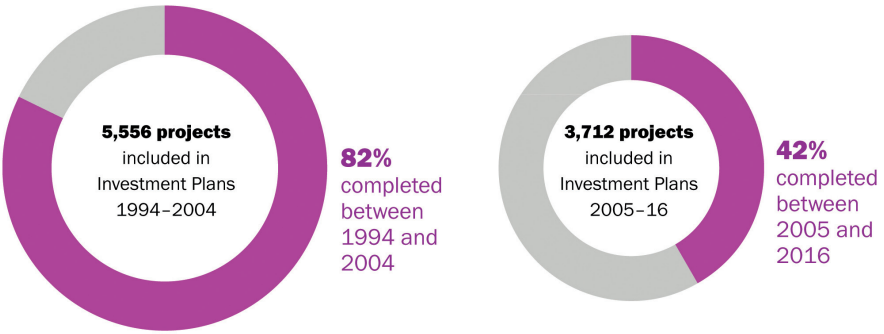

Figure 1 - Porto Alegre PB project execution before and after 2005

Source: "Porto Alegre : Participatory Budgeting and the Challenge of Sustaining Transformative Change" (Abers *et al.*, 2018)

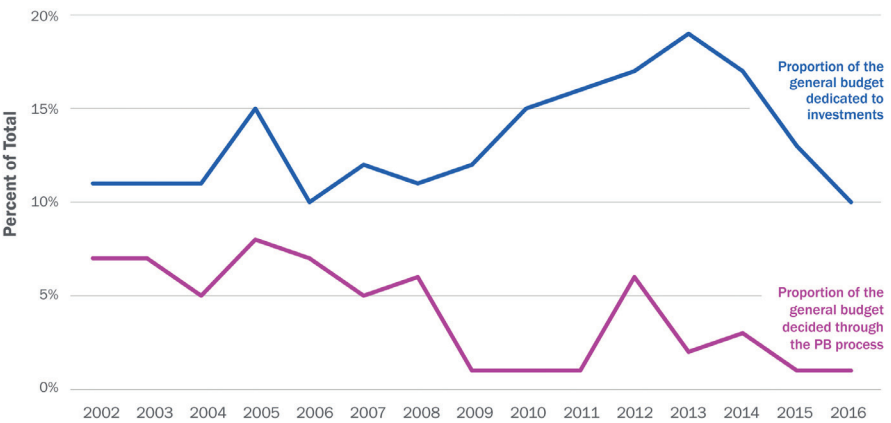

Figure 2 - Expected spending on total investments and on investments listed in PB Investment Plans in relation to the total budget (millions of reais)

Source: "Porto Alegre: Participatory Budgeting and the Challenge of Sustaining Transformative Change" (Abers *et al.*, 2018)

Authors argue that this weakening of the process in Porto Alegre is mainly due to the decline over time of the city government's commitment to the PB process on one side and the change of the type of funding on the other side, but also to the limits of the PB itself (Abers *et al.*, 2018). Moreover, while the model of PB was structurally maintained during the whole period between 1990 and 2016, the changing political conditions and the changing relationships with funding for major infrastructure,

completely changed the meaning of why the model was implemented in the first moment and therefore lost its inclusive character. The Porto Alegre case demonstrates the difficulty in scaling up participatory and inclusive projects. Participatory processes in small scales appear to be much more feasible than large scale infrastructure where powerful interests care about how money is spent and what the decisions are made of.

2. Canoas, Brazil

The city of Canoas is one of the most important industrial poles of Brazil. With a population of 346,616 inhabitants (ibge.gov.br, 2019), it has the second GDP in the Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil (UN HABITAT, 2013). The local administration has put an emphasis on transparency, participation and social inclusion since 2009 on its governance model (United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), 2014) and it is in 2009 that PB was first adopted by the Canoas Municipality (Needleman, 2016). However, an innovative system was introduced in 2013 when the local government initiated a new management project; the so-called "System of Participatory Management" which aimed to integrate and structure new and already existing participatory tools in order to optimize their joint impact (Allegretti, Copello, 2018, p. 58). A total of 13 different participatory tools are structured in four groups:

- Tools for collective demands.
- Tools for individual demands.
- Tools for strategic elaboration.
- Tools for consultation.

PB is included in the first group together with four other tools such as Plenary of Public Services, Better Neighbourhood, Company Polygons and Mayor in the Station (UN HABITAT, 2013).

Studies show that this system has significantly impacted the city's public planning, but also the overall management system as more and more citizens make use of these participatory tools. Moreover, the number of participants in the PB process has also considerably increased, as official data show a participation of 61,000 citizens, or about 46% of the city's inhabitants (UN HABITAT, 2013).

3. Belo Horizonte, Brazil

First implemented in 1994, the Belo Horizonte PB is one of the pioneers of this practice in Brazil and worldwide. It is considered, yet another successful case structured around important information campaigns aiming

to mobilize citizens in actively participating in official face-to-face discussion meetings. Cabannes (2019) argues that it represents a unique positive example of how PB can be used to address the needs of the most vulnerable groups and especially the homeless. Indeed, significant resources of the Belo Horizonte PB process have been allocated to the development of low-income neighbourhoods and favelas and the construction of new self-managed housing blocks from the homeless.

In addition, the Belo Horizonte PB case has been studied in relevance to its use of technology. Online participation was included for the first time in Belo Horizonte in 2006 to complement its face-to-face actions. This innovation at the time offered a deliberative space on the online forums created by the local government instances, while also providing the possibility to vote online. The first edition of online PB in 2006 and the second one in 2008 "are now recognized as examples of the most successful e-democracy experiences in Brazil" (Barros & Sampaio, 2016). About 174,000 participants engaged in 2006 and approximately 124,000 in 2008. Thus, the use of technology has been considered an important complementary tool not only to renew the citizens interest in participation and the PB process specifically, but also to engage a new set of citizens which were not previously participating in face-to-face meetings. However, the 2011 edition recorded only 25,000 participants, a fact which seems to indicate significant loss of confidence in the process. Thus, while in the period from 2006 to 2008 studies show an increase in participation numbers and an overall positive feeling about the process, numbers from 2011 show an increase on dissatisfaction and distrust towards the process. Barros and Sampaio (2016) argue that this drop in online participation might be a result of the fact that participants do not feel really listened to from behind a computer (p. 309).

4. Taoyuan, Taiwan

Since 2015 multiple PB practices have been adopted by different cities in Taiwan. These top-down initiatives are facing important criticism regarding their poor impact on civic engagement and associational activities. Poe Yu-ze Wan (2018) argues that existing power relations have been reproduced during these processes and that because of their engineering they have not been able to "sufficiently improve the practice of public participation nor substantially broaden the public sphere essential for deepening of democratic governance".

However, in November 2018 the city of Taoyuan has won the Best Practice in Citizen Participation by the International Observatory on

Participatory Democracy (OIDP) for the PB process launched in 2017 by the Department of Labour under the Taoyuan City Government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of China (Taiwan), 2018).

Taoyuan has a population of 2.1 million residents, 5.2% of whom is composed of migrant workers (110,000 residents) of different nationalities. In this context, the Department of Labour has launched a PB process, discussing a budget of 40,000 euros, about the precise thematic of "leisure activities for migrant workers"; "a mixed actor-/sector-based PB" (Cabannes, 2019). The process had a duration of 5 months and was organized in four phases: *brainstorming*, *discussion*, *voting* and *implementation*. Three introductory sessions have been carried out during the brainstorming phase. The discussion phase has included two workshops where proposals have been elaborated, preceded by training courses for the staff. A total of 13 proposals have been submitted to the voting of not just the migrant workers involved, but all citizens of Taoyuan. As a result, with a total of 7673 votes, three projects have been accepted and passed to the implementation phase (Luo & Shih, 2017). In addition to the common challenge of putting together different actors that all PB processes face, the Taoyuan process had to coop with the issue of passing through the language barrier. And is exactly the way how this element has been tackled which holds the innovation brought by this case. The process has been engineered by the collaboration of the Department of Labour and two external actors: The Taiwan Reach-out Association for Democracy (T-ROAD) who designed the mechanism of discussion, voting and implementation and Serve The People Association (SPA) who was in charge of information distribution, mobilization of migrants and language translation.

The translation has been made simultaneously in all the concerned languages during workshops (*Figure 3*) and information material has been printed in 6 different languages including Vietnamese, Indonesian, Philippines Tagalog, Thai, English and Chinese (Luo & Shih, 2017). The after voting results show that although there was a participation of Taiwanese citizens, their participation was quite poor with only 9% (285 votes out of 3052 voters in total). However, this is considered as a first step to "bridge the gap between nationals and migrants, even if modestly" (Cabannes, 2019). Although a young experience, the Taoyuan PB represents one of the most interesting and innovative ones implemented worldwide. Besides the innovatory way of organising the multilanguage workshops, the Taoyuan PB takes credit for demonstrating that "PB *with* marginalized groups, as opposed to *for* them, is feasible" (Cabannes, 2019).

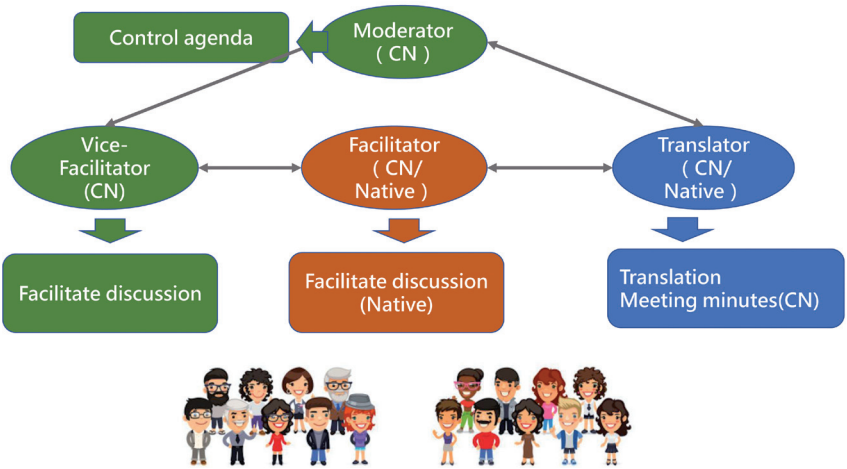

Figure 3 - "How to discuss in different languages" scheme

Source: "Non-citizen participation. 2017 Participatory Budgeting for Migrant Workers in Taoyuan". (Luo & Shih, 2017)

5. Seville, Spain

In the late 1990s local governments in Spain started to use democratic innovations in their governance models (Font & Navarro, 2013). In this context, the Seville PB, initiated by the United Left and The Social Democratic Party coalition government, started in 2004 and has been carried out until 2011. Although the practice has been interrupted for political reasons, it remains an important case in terms of socially oriented PB practices (Cabannes, 2019).

Participants in the Seville PB discussed on the use of 50% of the local government's budget. The process is considered highly interactive as it was composed of three different assemblies which followed the process from the projects proposals to its final voting. The first assembly had an educative character; participants would get information about PB and the pervious funding to create a panorama of which sectors had benefited previously. The second assembly was dedicated to voting; participants would choose which proposals would go to the district councils, while also choosing their representatives. The third assembly is the one which has the final decision-making power discussing the final proposals and their translation into policies (participedia.net, 2018). While this process has faced criticism for being time-consuming, one strong positive point to mention is that by organizing the first informative assemblies, participants were

enabled to have considered judgment when voting. Moreover, an interesting aspect of the assembly's decision-making was the inclusion of "social prioritization" as an evaluation criterion for the proposal's relevance. Each project was evaluated with a total of 100 points divided into 60/40 into "common criteria" and "social prioritisation". The latest, is divided into two subgroups: characteristics of beneficiaries and content of the proposal. The project gets a set of points if the beneficiaries fall under any of the following categories: gender equality; childhood, youth and elderly; disadvantaged groups; LGBT community; or people with some impairment (Cabannes, 2019).

The Seville PB is also best known for being one of the first examples to include of the so-called "Grupos motores" here referred to as "citizen-based steering groups" (Cabannes, 2019). These groups were composed of volunteers which engaged in diffusing information about PB, mobilizing citizens to participate in assemblies and help in structuring the projects before they are discussed in the assemblies. The citizen-based steering groups did not have decision-making power, but they operated as a structure of self-organized volunteers which supported the activities of the PB staff. Moreover, they played a crucial role in the carrying out of PB processes "*by* the people rather than *for* the people" (Cabannes, 2019) as well as in improving the representativeness of different social groups.

6. Grenoble, France

With a population of 158,454 inhabitants (citypopulation.de, 2019), the city of Grenoble has launched its first PB in 2015. The process has a one-year cycle and it is structured in four phases: (1) projects' submission, (2) preselection, (3) voting and (4) implementation (Ville de Grenoble, 2019). Citizens are included in all four phases. Submitted projects must fulfil a set of pre-defined obligatory criteria:

- the projects must concern general interest;
- they must not have any operational cost as only investment projects are financed;
- the cost of the project must not exceed 400,000 euros.

However, the projects which fulfil these criteria are not automatically submitted to voting. An assembly of citizens and city services representatives is reunited during the second phase to discuss about the projects which will be submitted to voting. This is also a moment to ask those who have submitted the proposals for further clarifications if needed. Thus, the Grenoble PB process operates through a double voting procedure; on the second and third phase.

Once the final projects have been announced, the city services engage in a discussion with the citizens who initiated the project and those who wish to engage in its realisation to establish the respective working groups (Ville de Grenoble, 2019). As a result, a handbook on running PB from the perspective of the citizens with detailed suggestions aimed at people who want to get involved themselves in the process has been recently published by the Grenoble Municipality (Allegretti & Copello, 2018, p. 58). This case represents a good example of citizens implication on all phases of the PB process which (as will further analysed in the next chapter) is very similar to Paris.

7. Lessons learned

The above mentioned PB experiences provide crucial learning that is intertwined with the rich critique concerning PB practices worldwide. It is clear that PB is not a "magic" tool which automatically unlashes its full potential after its implementation. The success of a PB experience depends on multiple factors and the definition of success itself is also arguable and context related. From the overview of these and other experiences worldwide, it would be possible to say that a determinant key factor of a successful PB is the clear definition of its objectives and an initiating entity which is truly committed to it.

The Porto Alegre case is a clear example of how a successful and empowering practice can lose its relevance once its objectives change and the local governance loses its internal synchronisation. In addition, it would be possible to wonder how realistic it is to expect sustainability from PB as a cyclical repetition for several years appears to cause loss of interest in the process and participation fatigue. Although the Porto Alegre example remains a true inspiration and a successful reference model for new PB practices all over the world, it is also a representative example of the limits of this democratic innovation tool over time. It also demonstrates the need of adaptation required to the structure of the PB process itself when a new socio-economic and political context is established.

Moreover, the Taoyuan and Seville cases demonstrate the importance of NPOs, facilitators, and volunteers in building an inclusive PB process and going towards the people in order to pass beyond the great barrier of self-exclusion, although solutions in practice vary. The common lesson arising from these examples is that a socially oriented PB process focused on the most vulnerable social groups is not only possible, but potentially very successful. However, to have fruitful results, it would be imperative

to engage on a thorough specific engineering of the process preceding the execution phases and the engagement of a sufficient number of staff members.

Another important element emerging from these examples is the necessity to involve the citizens through deliberative meetings and to enable them to make informed decisions. As this might be a time-consuming engagement, often impossible to follow in person, online participation appears to be an innovative support and integrative measure. Indeed, the Belo Horizonte case demonstrates that while face-to-face meetings have proven to be effective in addressing the needs of the most vulnerable social groups, online participation has involved in the process citizens which did not/could not previously participate. However, this does not appear to be a sustainable participation form as the online participation rate in this case has dropped considerably after few years presumably due to dissatisfaction or distrust towards the process. Thus, it would be possible to conclude that in-person and online participation are complementary, rather than substitutes of one another. Also, a question in terms of participation forms and representativeness might be raised: to which extent online participation should be considered as contributing to inclusive participation?

While most of the presented cases come from non-European contexts, the Grenoble PB case provides an interesting French example which extends PB to participatory planning and implementation. The citizens' inclusion in the projects' implementation is a distinctive aspect which not only is recognized to be an important element for the successful outcome of the PB process, but also represents an unusual feature for European PB.

To conclude, the above-presented cases are just a small representation of the large number of PB experiences worldwide. *Table 1* offers an overview of the elements discussed in this chapter and the most relevant lessons to be retained for the purpose of this research. Despite their differences and specificities, what all PB cases have in common is that they all face criticism at some point in their evolution, either related to the structure of the tool and/or to the context where it is applied. Likewise, the Paris PB, which will be presented and thoroughly analysed in the following chapter, is no exception.

Table 1 - PB cases comparative table

City	Population	First PB	Lessons to learn
Porto Alegre	1,480,000	1989	A representative case of PB limitations in regards to its scale and timeframe. The process appears to be more inclusive and socially impactful when applied to small scale projects and the cyclical repetition for an extended period of time induces loss of interest and participatory fatigue.
Canoas	346,616	2009	A case showing that the structuring of existing participatory tools and integration of PB with other practices, increases the overall citizens' participation rate in public planning.
Belo Horizonte	2,512,070	1994	An interesting example on participation methods demonstrating the complementarity of face-to-face and online participation for an inclusive PB process, but also their limits. Face-to-face meetings are time-comsuming and difficult to follow, while participation online appears to lower over the years.
Tayouan	2,100,000	2017	A migrant-oriented PB process which is considered a one of a kind example on overcoming the language barrier between participants and creating a bridge between them and nationals.
Seville	688,592	2004	One of the most relevant socially oriented PB which stands out as a highly interactive and inclusive example with a quantified focus on marginalized social groups.
Grenoble	158,454	2015	A French PB practice which holds the merit of including the citizens in the projects' implementation phase.

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Part II

The Parisian experience

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3. The Paris PB case

The following chapter aims to describe and contextualize the Paris experience with participatory budget (PB). It includes information provided by the official website of the Municipality of Paris (paris.fr), and the official website of the Paris PB (budgetparticipatif.paris.fr), but also reflections based on the practical experience acquired during the internship conducted at the Paris Participatory Budgeting Department.

The PB of the city of Paris has been implemented in a context of multiple already existing PB practices in the country. Indeed, several PB experiences have been launched in France in the early 2000s, but there was renewed interest in the idea following the 2014 municipal elections. According to a survey made by lesbudgetsparticipatifs.fr (2018), only six cities had launched such initiatives before the elections, while in 2016 twenty-five PB practices were registered in France. Their number had almost doubled in 2017 to forty-seven cities and has grown even more ever since. These PB practices are quite different from one another as the decision-making process (meetings and physical vote, online platforms), the amount and nature of funded projects varies greatly. What also varies is their territorial scale. PBs adopted not only in big metropoles like Paris, but also in very small communes like Tilloy-lès-Mofflaines (1450 inhabitants) and in average size cities. Meanwhile, it is mostly municipalities with a left or centre political orientation which appear to have more frequently a tendency to implement PB practices (lesbudgetsparticipatifs.fr, 2018).

1. PB in Paris as a multi-layered practice

Since 2014 the Municipality of Paris has decided to dedicate up to 5% of the city's investment budget to PB. This represents an engagement for

a fixed period of 6 years (2014-2019) with a preannounced total budget of over 500 million euros. This constitutes one the most important budgets per inhabitant discussed on PB worldwide with about 45 euros/inhabitant. As officially stated by the Municipality of Paris, the creation of this PB practice comes as a wish of the local government to give citizens the possibility to influence the city's governance, by expressing their preferences regarding the use of part of the municipality's budget (budgetparticipatif.paris.fr, 2019b).

The process has been initiated at the city level, while all the 20 District Municipalities *(in French: Mairies d'arrondissements)*[1] have agreed on a voluntary basis to adopt the practice also at the district level. Thus, the Paris PB has a double institutional layer, regulated by the signature of the Participatory Budgeting Charter between the City of Paris and each one of the District Municipalities. At both levels, the process follows the same calendar and general rules of eligibility and technical review, although District Municipalities have a degree of autonomy to adapt the process as run at the city level according to their specificities. Therefore, every year since 2015, the Mayors of the 20 districts are encouraged to undertake the following actions (although their translation in practice varies greatly):

- Encourage local democracy bodies, and, in particular, Neighbourhood Councils, to organize public meetings and thematic commissions on the proposals they wish to make in the framework of the PB.
- Organize one or more public information meetings on the PB to mobilize the local democracy authorities, especially the neighbourhood councils, the associations and more generally the inhabitants of the district.
- Conduct exploratory walks to raise citizens' awareness of public space planning issues and to initiate the co-construction of collective proposals (Ville de Paris, 2014).

Another layer has been added to the Paris PB experience in 2016 when the Mayor of Paris announced that a budget of 30 million euros per year will be earmarked for the so-called "popular" neighbourhoods (in French: *quartiers populaires*). For the purpose of this research, these territories will be referred to as "low-income neighbourhoods" – a definition used by Cabannes (2017).

In parallel to the Paris PB, two other PB experiences have emerged since 2016 in the city of Paris: (1) the Schools and colleges PB and (2) the social housing PB, also referred to as "low-income housing rental compounds" (Cabannes, 2019). An envelope of 10 million euros is dedi-

1. The translation from French to English of the institutions' names has been made by the author. In italic the original name of the institution in French.

cated to schools and colleges, aiming to enable students to both learn and practice participatory democracy while investing in the life of their school. Students vote on a predefined list of projects which are grouped around 4 themes: experimentation, digital life, sports, and college life. This process does not concern all the schools and colleges of Paris; participation is made on a volunteering basis by school management and teachers. The selected projects are presented in September with the rest of the awarded projects. Moreover, from 2016 three social housing landlords of the City of Paris (Paris-Habitat[2], RIVP[3], Élogie-Siemp[4]) organize a PB experience within the social housing compounds they administrate. Each of the landlords have autonomy in the carrying out of the process, although in general it follows the logic of the Paris PB. All residents are invited to participate and submit their projects according to a specific timeline. The projects are then analysed by the social housing landlords' committee in accordance to the initial eligibility criteria. The eligible projects are then submitted to the voting of all of the residents and the winning projects are implemented by the respective landlords.

In this context of multiple participatory budgeting practices found in the city of Paris, the research will be focused in the "Paris PB" which includes the three-layered process of city PB, districts PB and low-income neighbourhoods PB. More specifically, the study will be concentrated on component dedicated to low-income neighbourhoods which will be thoroughly analysed below.

1.1. *Technical components of the Paris PB*

2019 marks the 6th edition of PB in Paris and yet, several medias raise the concern that this mechanism is still unknown to the majority of the citizens of Paris. Information about the process is made available through various channels although the most important one remains digital. The whole process can be followed through the official PB website budget-participatif.paris.fr which represents the main source of information and interaction among citizens and between the citizens and the city services. Everyone has access to it, although only registered users, holding an account on the city of Paris website, can interact. To create an account, it is necessary to provide the following information: username, email address, password, and some personal information (gender, name, first name, date

2. For more information on the process: parishabitat.fr/budget-participatif.
3. For more information on the process: rivp.fr/budget-participatif.
4. For more information on the process: elogie-siemp.paris/budget-participatif.

of birth, address). Registered users can not only submit projects, but also follow or comment on submitted propositions. Moreover, the website is used as a source of information on the calendar, the procedures, the budget, the follow-up of the winning projects' implementation, but also to download informative documents. In addition, other information diffusing channels include open meetings and social gatherings organised at the city or district level where flyers and informative documents on PB are distributed to the participants.

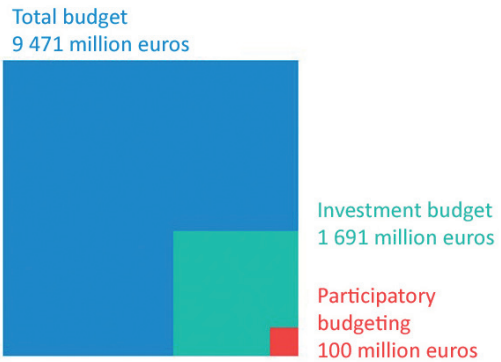

Figure 1 - Paris PB budget compared to the city's total budget for 2018
Source: budgetparticipatif.paris.fr

As previously mentioned, the declared budget of the Paris PB remains a remarkable element of the process with a total of 500 million euros pre-established for the whole duration form 2014-2019. The overall envisioned investment of approximately 100 million euros per year includes the city and the districts budgets. These two separate envelopes have a proportional relation which differs from year to year, while the budget for low-income neighbourhoods is counted inside the totality of these two envelopes. Thus, it would be important to describe the specificities and differences between the city and districts budgets. The city budget concerns all projects that by their importance benefit all the citizens of Paris (although they might be located in one of the districts) and/or projects which have been proposed as located in one of the districts, but might be reproduced in other or all 20 districts. The district's budget concerns all projects which benefit the citizens of the concerned district. For each, the budget is financed partially by the Paris Municipality and partially by the District Municipality. Thus, the total amount at the disposal of each district varies and depends on several

factors such as the number of inhabitants, the willingness of the District Municipality to invest through PB and the presence of low-income neighbourhoods in the district territory.

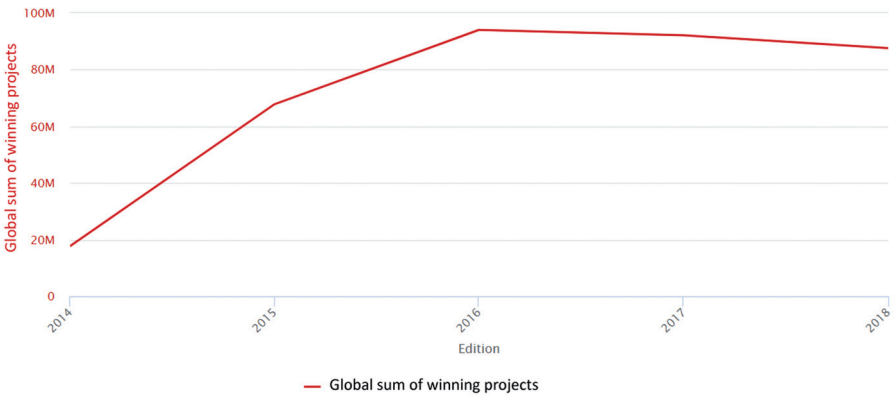

Figure 2 - The allocated budget for each Paris PB edition from 2014 to 2018

Source: opendata.paris.fr

The calendar of the Paris PB has a pre-defined one-year cycle which has been repeated much or less coherently in each edition. The process goes through five different phase*s* (*Figure 3*), each of them described more in detail below.

Figure 3 - Illustrating scheme of Paris PB process phases

1. Projects development phase

The first phase of the Paris PB process coincides with the projects' submission timeframe which usually takes place between January and February. During this period, all the people residing in the city, with no age or no nationality limit have the right to submit a project through the official website. Projects might be submitted individually or by a group of people, an NPO, the neighbourhood council etc. and the submission must

be done online through the official Paris PB website. There is no need for a detailed project plan to complete the submission. Following a step by step online procedure, citizens are required to draft a short description of their idea, specify whether the project is located in one of the 20 districts or at the city scale, as well as to estimate an approximate necessary budget for their idea. Moreover, proposed projects must be associated with one of the following thematic: *Solidarity and Social Cohesion*, *Health*, *Education and youth*, *Transport and mobility*, *Environment*, *Sport*, *Prevention and security*, *Cleanliness*, *Living environment*, *Economy and employment*, *Culture and heritage*, *Smart and digital city.*

After all the steps of the project submission procedure are completed successfully, the project is automatically published on the official Paris PB website and is visible to all its users. No modifications are possible from this moment on, but the user who proposed the project can delete it and resubmit again or submit several other projects without a number limit. While the project development and submission process are often carried out autonomously by the citizens, a number of NPOs have been engaged by the Municipality of Paris since 2016, to provide support in low-income neighbourhoods.

2. Technical review phase

After the project submission deadline is passed, all submitted projects go through the process of technical review. Thus, between March and July, all the propositions received during the first phase are reviewed by the city services. This review consists in establishing the projects' feasibility and eligibility ultimately aiming at drafting a final list of projects which will afterwards be submitted to the voting phase.

A project is considered eligible if it fulfils all four eligibility criteria, pre-established by the Municipality of Paris which are:

a) The project must concern the general interest (and not to be manifestly unlawful, defamatory or discriminatory).
b) The project must fall under the competences of the services of the City of Paris.
c) The project must represent an investment expenditure in the public space, local equipment or in digital projects.
d) The project must not generate excessive operating expenses.

Moreover, as per the Paris PB website, several additional conditions to be fulfilled (Annex 2) have been included for the 2019 edition.

Accordingly, projects which do not fulfil the integrity of these criteria will be officially rejected by sharing a public message on the Paris PB website. The refusal messages aim to be educational describing the technical reasons of the rejection and (if possible) giving instructions

on how to further elaborate the project in order to successfully resubmit it the next year or refer to other instances which could support the development of the idea. The City services might also refuse a project for specific technical reasons compromising its feasibility. Moreover, during this phase the City services make a re-evaluation of the cost of the project. While this remains an approximative estimation, it is an important step to avoid too high or too low pre-estimations of budgets. After citizens' proposals have passed this first filter of eligibility and feasibility, a second review is made in order to identify the projects which have a common location and/or common goal. Following a case by case logic, these projects might be *grouped* or *co-constructed* during workshops organized at the city or districts level. In practice, groupings of projects might be carried out directly by the concerned districts or by the services of the municipality. For instance, if several citizens have proposed to embellish empty facades of buildings in different locations of the city, these projects will be placed together under a common name "Embellishing empty facades in the city". Thus, only one grouped project will be submitted to voting. If this project results to be a winner, all the subprojects that compose it will be implemented. Alternatively, a different procedure is followed for co-constructed projects. Citizens who have submitted the projects and those associated (which follow the project's evolution on the website) are invited to meet and deliberate between them and with the city services in order to elaborate a common proposal. This proposal will be translated into a new project, which, if results to be a winning project, will be implemented. Moreover, a requalification of certain Parisian (city) projects as district projects or vice versa is determined by the city services during the technical review phase. These internal modifications of the original propositions aim to improve the overall quality of the voting process and facilitate citizen's choice in between the large number of eligible projects.

The final list of city projects submitted to voting is approved by the mayor of Paris who relies on the recommendations of the Paris commission for the selection of projects. Likewise, the final list of district projects submitted to voting on each district is approved by the District Mayor after consultation with a commission including elected representatives and representatives of local democracy bodies.

3. Voting phase

The third phase consists of the organization of the voting process at the city and districts level. The voting period usually takes place in the month of September. All the people living in Paris can vote, regardless of age or nationality. There is no minimum age for children either; they

are allowed to vote as long as they understand the purpose of their vote. Voting can be done online at the official PB website (at the condition of having an account or creating one afterwards) or in person by depositing a paper ballot in the urns placed in multiple locations throughout the city. To act the physical vote, voters must identify themselves on an enrolment register by providing the following information: surname, first name, address, date of birth, email address and indicate whether he/she voted for the city and/or districts projects. In theory all citizens can vote for the city projects while for district projects, they can only vote for those of the districts where they live or work. There is no obligation to vote on both city and districts projects, and it is quite difficult to determine the voters' behaviour on this option as voting is strictly anonymous. The information provided by voters during the voting process is not associated with the choice of projects made. Voters' personal data is only used to ensure the regularity of the ballot and to keep them informed, if they wish, of the results of the process.

After the voting process (which usually takes several weeks) is over, the establishment of the final list of winning projects depends on the amount of budget allocated respectively to the city level and to each district, while also taking into account the 30 million euros dedicated to projects in low-income neighbourhoods. Thus, the number of winning projects varies each year.

4. Budget approval

The fourth phase represents an important administrative step which follows the announcement of the winning projects. While the Paris Council approves the City budget for the following year, it accordingly approves the financing of the PB winning projects.

5. Implementation phase

The last phase of the cycle officially starts on the 1st of January of the following year. After the projects' financing is approved, the respective city services include them in their regular agenda. Citizens at the origin of the projects may be involved in the project's implementation, and/or be invited to consultation meetings, but this does not constitute a rule; on the contrary, it concerns exceptional cases. An important part of the implementation phase is the identification of multiple operations within the same project. Each operation represents a different project inside the global one which has been voted. This division occurs when the project has different locations and/or different beneficiaries (schools, associations, etc.), or when the city service identifies different actions/interventions to be implemented which might also have a time gap between one another.

Thus, the number of operations varies from one project to another. Each operation is composed of an elaborate set of actions which often require the collaboration of different services within the municipality, separate budgets which might or might not comply with the total foreseen for the project and often different stakeholders which require a specific follow-up. Consequently, the workload that each winning project represents varies greatly and the time needed to complete each project varies as well. A project is considered implemented when all its constituting operations are finished. As for the most part the implementation is carried out by the city services, specific technical challenges are unknown to the public. The city's objective is to deliver winning projects within a two years period from their voting although this is not always the case. Technical constrains and initially unidentified issues might arise while carrying out additional in-depth diagnostics and studies which may ultimately lead to the project modification or abandon.

In any case, the evolution of a project's implementation might be followed on the PB website in the "Follow-up of achievements" section where the respective projects go through the following stages:

- Project study and design.
- Initiation of proceedings.
- Works execution.
- Delivery.
- Finished.

In addition, the following graphs provide data about the tendencies of winning (laureate) projects until 2018. Comparing projects at the city and districts level (*Figure 4*), one might notice that there is a noticeable numeric difference between the two, while the overall investment budget is comparable. Thus, city level projects have a more important financial weight in the process.

Moreover, considering the distribution of laureate projects and their respective budget through each thematic (*Figure 5*), it would be possible to say that there is a considerable difference between projects concerning the Living environment and the rest. *Health*, *Economy* and *Smart and digital city* are the thematic with the lowest number of projects and budget. A more in-depth analyse of this distribution in low-income neighbourhoods will be provided in the following chapter.

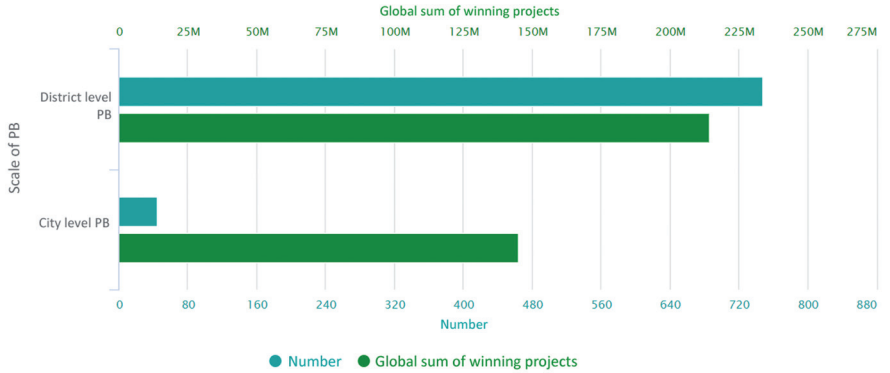

Figure 4 - Comparison between city and districts level projects in terms of number and total investment budget from 2014 to 2018

Source: opendata.paris.fr

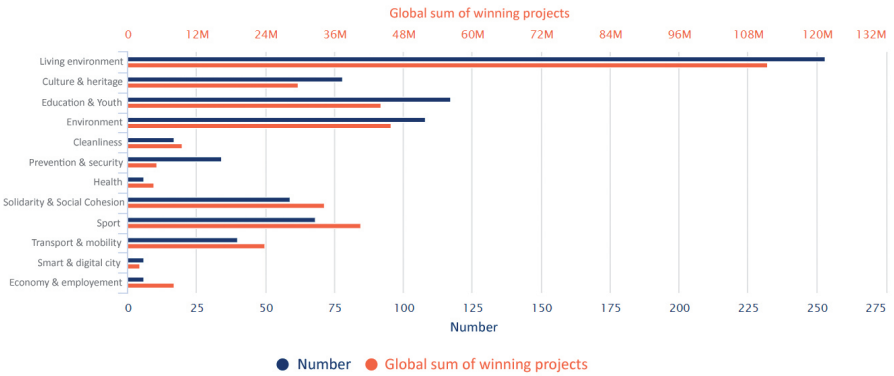

Figure 5 - Comparison between the number of laureate projects and the total investment budget for each of the potential thematic

Source: opendata.paris.fr

1.2. *Analysing the typology of the Paris PB*

Using the schemes proposed by Cabannes and Lipietz (2017) about underpinning logics of PB and the different types of PB processes, it would be possible to make a first assessment of the typology of the Paris PB process and its inherent characteristics in relation to the above-mentioned technical components.

Thus, the Paris PB appears to fall under the "good governance" logic with a clear territorial approach. It represents a tool used not only to bring citizens closer to the local administration, but also to legitimate local governance by facilitating the emergence of important topics requiring attention and prioritizing on the spending of a part of the budget. Moreover, the Paris PB has the particularity of comprising different layers of territorial approach within the process. Thus, a supplementary coordination is required between the city and districts levels in incorporating the "low-income neighbourhoods" component.

2. Low-income neighbourhoods

Since 2016, the Paris PB has a budget of about 30 million euros per year dedicated to the so-called "low-income neighbourhoods". This budget aims to further improve the living conditions in these areas and encourage inclusiveness of marginalized social groups based on the equality between neighbourhoods (Ville de Paris, 2019).

The notion of "popular", "modest" or "poor" neighbourhoods is quite familiar not only in the Parisian context, but further on the country scale, as it refers to a series of historical events which have resulted to the creation of a number of neighbourhoods with distinguished architecture features and socio-economic issues. A number of intervention strategies at the national and local scale (further explained below) have been elaborated for several years now in these territories considered as "priority". However, the general perception about these territories is that they are abandoned areas, almost detached from the rest of society often compared with the American "ghettos". It is assumed that they have a population mainly made of immigrants, unemployed people, and/or low-income families. Yet, the social composition of these neighbourhoods appears to be quite mixed according to multiple studies concerning the on-going gentrification occurring for several decades now. As these "priority" territories have a specific status recognized by law, the "low-income" neighbourhoods as referred to in the Paris PB process assemble different administrative entities. What these territorial specificities imply and how they affect the PB process, will be further analysed below.

2.1. *Historical evolution*

The history of low-income neighbourhoods is closely related to the history of urbanization and industrialization in France. These "popular" suburbs were in fact created in the late nineteenth century to house the

working classes. The Siegfried law in 1894 initiated the construction of the so-called affordable pricing housing (*HBM – Habitations à Bon Marché*). This law constitutes the legislative base on which will develop the social housing policy in France.

Article 1 of the law defines the target of social housing; it is intended "for people who do not own any house, especially to workers or employees living of their work or their salary". It contains provisions encouraging the establishment of HBM companies through tax exemptions and the creation of HBM departmental committees.

The Siegfried law was followed by other laws such as the Public health law (1902), the Strauss law (1906), the Ribot law (1908) the Bonnevay law (1912), the Loucher law (1928) and Bonnevay law (1930) (more information about the contents of these laws might be found in *Annex 3*). This legislative ensemble constitutes the state's general reforming policy, going from *HBM* to the actual buildings of reduced rent (*in French: HLM – Habitations à Loyer Modéré*), aiming to promote the social and political integration of "modest citizens", a new social category which replaces in the institutional vocabulary of the categories of workers or poor people (Magri, 1991).

How did this evolution occur in Paris from the XIX century to our days? According to Fourcaut *et al.* (2007), the constitution of the "popular" suburbs is marked by the superimposing of three historical moments which are still visible in the "architectural-palimpsests" of the territories today: (1) the age of the *industrial "faubourgs"* (suburbs); (2) the *red suburbs and municipal socialism* period and (3) the *construction of large complexes followed by the crisis of the model from 1970.* The authors argue that the contemporary suburbs are a result of the capital's modernization under the Second Empire. Paris reached its actual size in the first of January 1860, in application of the law of November 3rd, 1859, passing from 12 to 20 districts. This initiated a homogenization process of the new capital city by spreading urban facilities, easing the demographic pressure from the centre, and transferring the industry beyond the "fortifications". However, the public power disregarded at this point the development of the suburbs. Their open spaces welcomed warehouses, big industries such as metallurgy, machine tools, chemistry, and other functions casted aside from the city centre such as cemeteries, hospitals, and social housing. While the First World War reinforced the industrialization process occurring in Paris and other metropoles located far from the front, big factories moved out of the city as a result of decentralization policies, causing the disappearance of entire sectors of industry which structured working class societies. Furthermore, the period between the two World Wars has been marked by an extensive housing crisis. As a consequence, a large number of persons settled in the suburban neighbourhoods paying a small credit for a plot

of land without any equipment resulting in a critical situation of informal settlements in the mid-20s (Fourcaut, 2000). Thus, the financing of essential amenities in these territories such as the road network began in 1928.

Fourcaut argues that the elections of 1935 mark a turning point in the history of the Parisian "popular" suburbs and the second phase of their evolution. Indeed, the elections represent a remarkable political moment when an important number of municipalities of the 80 suburban communes of the department of Seine are headed by a communist mayor. The author suggests that the creation of a class-based local patriotism during this time, fostered a culture of the poor which in a way was able to turn around the stigma attached to the working-class suburbs (Fourcaut, 2000).

The third phase of evolution begins in a context of growing urban population resulting of the baby boom generation, the beginning of economic growth and the rise of provincial and foreign immigration. Paris faces another housing crisis as the existing housing units of the suburbs are overpopulated, old and underequipped. Thus, housing becomes an issue treated at the national scale. From 1946 to 1975 a massive construction of large estates of minimalistic architecture begins. Standard blocks and towers have been built on large plots of land. Moreover, the rapidity of their construction and the complexity of the financing methods lead to a lack of collective facilities, except for primary schools which followed later together with the means of public transport. While the population housed in these buildings was primarily composed by young working couples which were selected by the administrators of the social housing buildings, the poorest people, large families, foreign and immigrant populations are housed in slums of old cities, homes for single immigrants, transit emergency housing units. These specific dwellings, with sometimes a strong supervision of social workers, are explicitly intended for the "social maladjusted", who had to be educated before being able to be housed in new cities built for French employees. The housing of foreigners is designed to offer them the possibility to either install themselves or entrust the public power to provide them with housing of lower comfort standards (Fourcaut *et al.*, 2007).

Ever since the 60s, these large building blocks have faced criticism because of their degradation and mostly because of the emergence of the so-called "illness of large ensembles", which would generate boredom, suicide, and delinquency. Thus, the building of these big housing blocks stops in 1973, while public authorities start to reflect upon effective measures to animate these spaces and create a feeling of community between people of different background. In this context, two interesting phenomenon are noticed. On one hand, the middle classes leave these social housing compounds for pavilions in neighbouring municipalities. On the

other hand, the government implements a new immigration policy which implies the closure of borders, assisted return for foreigners found responsible for the crisis, maintenance of the number of foreigners and authorization of family reunification. At this point, there is no differentiation between the housing conditions of the foreigners' families and those of French workers, resulting in major changes to the landscape of the popular suburbs. Employers pay, from 1975, a tax on the wages of their foreign workers to build new housing, but the funds will be mainly used to build new housing units and very little to increase the social rental offer. The idea was to divide immigrant families among French households, but the concern to integrate immigrants into social housing lead to the territorial logic of community division that was neither thought nor anticipated. Consequently, an important concentration of immigrant families has been created in isolated and violent social housing units. While the first violence episodes attributable to young people were minimized and misunderstood, national media largely reports on the violence phenomenon in the beginning of the 1980s (Gérin, 2006).

In this context, in 1981, the government institutionalized the *Politique de la Ville* here translated and further referred to as "Deprived areas development policies" as a set of policies developed on the principle of decentralization, transversal cooperation between ministries and zoning of "difficult" neighbourhoods (Forcaut *et al.*, 2007).

2.2. *Low-income neighbourhoods as a state issue*

The national intervention policy called "*Politique de la Ville*" has continuously evolved ever since its institutionalization in 1981. The law of planning for the city and urban cohesion, promulgated on the 21 February 2014, has reformed in depth the framework of the action of this national policy, following the Urban Contract of Social Cohesion 2007-2014 *(CUCS – Contrat Urbain de Cohesion Sociale)* and establishing two types of priority neighbourhoods; one based on the single criterion of poverty called "priority neighbourhoods" (*QPV – Quartiers Prioritaires de la Politique de la Ville*) and the other composed of the previous CUCS or ZUS *(Zone Urbaine Sensible*) neighbourhoods which are now observed at as "active watch neighbourhoods" *(QVA – Quartiers de Veille Active)* (Préfecture de Paris et d'Ile-de-France, 2015). This policy's objectives might be found in *Annex 4*.

Paris has been registered for more than twenty years now in the national mechanisms of the "Deprived areas development policies". The Paris contract of 2015-2020 signed in May 2015 in the framework of this

national policy, redefines the priority geographies of Paris. Twenty priority neighbourhoods QPV are distributed in 8 districts of the city, previously part of the former urban social cohesion contract. These new priority geographies concern 150,460 inhabitants.

The Paris contract of 2015-2020 has been signed by the State, the Rectorate, the Region, the City and a wide number of partners (social landlords, the Family Allowances Fund of Paris, the Employment Pool, The Local Development Departments and Deposit and Consignment Fund). It establishes common objectives of the concerned stakeholders in relation to issues of social cohesion, urban renewal and economic development, in the framework of a regular dialogue with local actors and inhabitants (Préfecture de Paris et d'Ile-de-France, 2015). The document is structured around three main axes: (1) Professional support and prevention of precariousness, (2) Improve the life quality at the city and neighbourhood level, and (3) Energize the city's neighbourhoods.

2.3. *Territorial component*

The territorial approach of PB to low-income neighbourhoods is quite specific and does not follow any particular dividing line as recognized by law. Instead, it has incorporated several territorial entities, under the same label of "low-income neighbourhoods of PB". These include *QPV, QVA, GPRU* and *NPNRU* territories, as well as some areas in the 12th and 15th district selected based on their rates of social housing, family quotients and priority education zones (REP). Below, a description of each one of these territorial entities.

QPV (Quartier Prioritaire de la Politique de la Ville) are defined priority neighbourhoods of the deprived areas development policies. As mentioned above, one of the intervention lines of this block of policies is the zoning of "difficult" neighbourhoods and identification of the so-called priority geography. Official data confirm that QPV areas are located in their vast majority in large urban areas where half belong to the old ZUS and a third to the old CUCS neighbourhoods (INSEE, 2014). The identification of the new priority geographies is based on a single criterion: the concentration of low-income populations. This has been practically done by the mean of a grid cutting the territory in areas of 200 meters by 200 meters concentrating more than 1,000 inhabitants for municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The low-income population is considered to be the one earning less than 60% of the median fiscal income per unit of consumption (which in 2011 consisted of 19,218 euros at the national level), meaning 11,531 euros per year. This criterion has been adapted considering

the median fiscal income of the administrative entity, to take account of the specificities of each territory and the local social segregations (ile-de-france.drjscs.gouv.fr, 2014).

QVA (Quartier de Veille Active) are defined similarly to the QPV as priority neighbourhoods which do not display the same concentration of low-income population. They consist of former ZUS and CUCS territories which are not replaced by the current QPV.

GPRU and *NPNRU* both refer to projects of urban renewal.

GPRU (Grand Projet de Renouvellement Urbain) refers to an operation of urban renewal aiming to improve the living environment on degraded urban building blocks and create a safer and cleaner environment for citizens lacking proper living conditions. This initiative has been launched in 2002. It concerns eleven neighbourhoods and nearly 200,000 inhabitants spread over seven districts (Ville de Paris, 2015). The concerned area refers to 5% of the area of Paris, or 530 hectares.

NPNRU (Nouveau Programme National de Renouvellement Urbain) refers to a program of urban renewal which follows the GPRU after the signature of the city contract 2015-2020. The prefiguration protocol of the New Urban Renewal Program signed in autumn 2016, is intended to co-finance the study program and engineering resources in five Parisian sites selected by the ANRU.

The integrity of these territories is represented in (*Figure 6*).

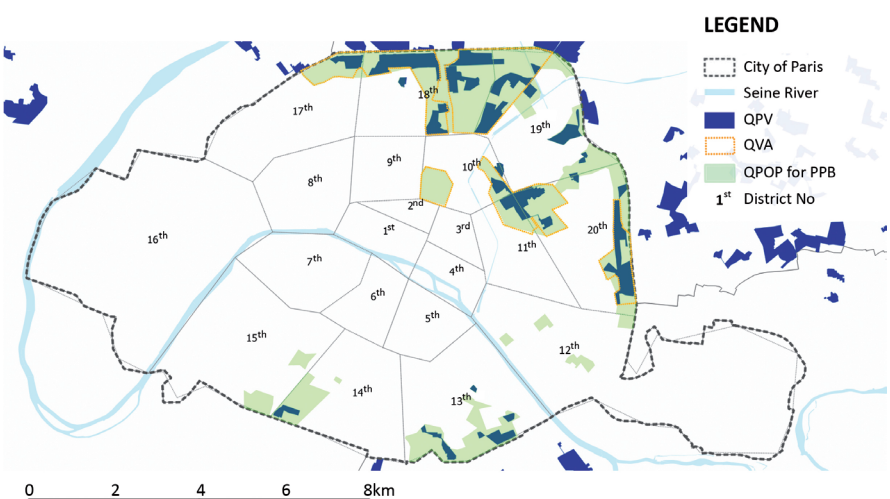

Figure 6 - Map showing the priority neighbourhoods QPV and the PB low-income neighbourhoods' area

2.4. *Socio-economic characteristics*

It is worth noting that there are no statistical data or studies covering the integrity of low-income territories as considered by the PB. Thus, the following data, published by the Paris Urbanism Agency (APUR) provide a partial socio-economic panorama of the concerned areas.

At the National scale, all categories of QPV residents are confronted with high levels of unemployment which is systematically superior to those of rest of the administrative unit they belong to. Moreover, this category of residents is confronted with less qualified jobs available and a high rate of precariousness (INSEE, 2014). While these remain common features of the QPV residents, according to the APUR (2019a), the population of QPV in Paris has specific and distinct characteristics compared to QPV in other major French cities. The proportion of inhabitants living in QPV is weaker in Paris than in other cities, but the number of people concerned is particularly high. According to the official data, in comparison to other cities, the residents of QPV in Paris are on average older, more often foreigners, with a higher level of education, more active (including women) and less often jobseekers. Something to be looked at is also the greater cost of living in the capital, including housing, because this lowers the living standards. Nevertheless, the poverty rate is lower in Parisian QPVs, just like the rate of beneficiaries of social aid.

In addition, the APUR study states that in terms of educational success, the schooling rate of young people in the Parisian QPV is higher compared to other cities and schools are more often included in the priority education network. However, there is a heterogeneous situation across neighbourhoods, showing marked differences with the rest of the Parisian territory. The social gaps are particularly accentuated between QPV and the rest of the capital. Also, there is a great disparity even between neighbourhoods, in particular because of their very different sizes. Some neighbourhoods have a higher concentration of low rent social housing or specific accommodation structures that explain the presence of accentuated poverty and very disadvantaged residents (APUR, 2019a).

Another APUR study (2019b) shows a reduction of the gap between the average rate of non-graduate people between QVP and the rest of Paris. However, less favourable trends have been observed related to employment. The unemployment rate is growing at a slightly faster pace compared to the average in Paris as the activity rate progresses conversely less quickly in low-income neighbourhoods. In addition, precariousness indicators remain significantly higher than Parisian rates. The study also accentuates the presence of issues related to the occupation of public space, the rise of poverty (homelessness) and non-use of physical and mental health public devices.

Comparatively to QPV, the neighbourhoods of active watch QVA, display different development tendencies, comparable to the rest of Paris. Their demography evolves with fewer young people, less inhabitants of foreign nationality and non-graduates. Unemployment rate is rising, but at a slower pace and poor housing is decreasing faster than in Paris or on average in QPV. However, it would be possible to identify some QVA which find themselves in an economic and social situation close to that of QPV in the 13th, 14th, 18th and 19th district.

To conclude, the priority neighbourhoods appear to be marked by strong disparities between them and consequently evolve differently. While in some of these territories the demographic situation reaches the Parisian averages, in others the socio-demographic gaps with the rest of the territory are widening. This is the case for neighbourhoods of low-rent housing hosting a population with particularly difficult economic and social situation. The APUR study recognizes at least 15 other neighbourhoods in the Paris area which although not belonging to priority areas, show similar characteristics (APUR, 2019c).

3. PB in a context of multiple strategies and mechanisms

As discussed in the previous chapters, scholars stress the importance of looking at PB experiences from a wide perspective, relating them to other on-going strategies and parallel citizens participation mechanisms. The level and type of integration of PB within the "participatory ecosystem" is an important defining factor of its potential to achieve the pre-established goals. Thus, this subchapter aims to create a panorama of the on-going strategies and participatory mechanisms in the city of Paris and analyse how they relate to PB.

3.1. *Paris Resilience Strategy*

In the Paris Resilience Strategy presented in October 2017, "*Social, economic and spatial inequalities and social cohesion*" is referred to as one of the major challenges the city is facing along with "*Terror threat and security*", "*Climate change*", "*Air pollution*", "*The Seine river-related risks*" and "*Territorial governance*" (Paris Municipality, 2018). The strategy is based on three main pillars of intervention:

1. An inclusive and cohesive city, which builds on the strength of its residents to become more resilient.
2. A city built and developed to meet the 21st century challenges.

3. A city in transition that mobilises collective intelligence, adapts its operations, and cooperates with its surrounding territories.

The envisioned strategy is concretized through 35 actions aiming at intervening in 12 different areas. In this context, PB is considered one of the City's most relevant projects in achieving its resilience goals alongside other "cross cutting strategies and public policies".

The "Parisian pact of fighting against exclusion"[5] has been signed by representatives of 450 charities, businesses, the State and the City, it aims to help people in a situation of precariousness or exclusion by supporting each stage of their social and professional integration. The document is structured around three main axes: prevention, more efficient intervention and sustainability.

The "Smart and Sustainable Paris Strategy"[6] aims to tackle issues like energy transition, sustainable mobility and lifestyle changes, by modelling three interconnecting "city models": (1) the "Open City" that puts people at the centre, (2) the "Connected City" making use of innovative tools and (3) the "Ingenious City" able to transform and adapt itself.

The "Climate Change Adaption Strategy"[7] (2015) aims to accelerate by 2020 the actions defined in the previous Climate Change Strategy in order to achieve its objectives of reducing GHG emissions and energy consumption, having 25% of renewable energy in the consumption by 2020 and respond to the ecological transition.

However, the Paris Resilience Strategy, mostly relates the Paris PB to the second and third pillar, leaving the "inclusive and cohesive city…" out of this mechanism's range of contributions.

3.2. *Citizens participation in Paris*

Alongside PB, several participation mechanisms are present in the city of Paris. Some of them have been institutionalized by law for several years, while others represent recent initiatives undertaken by the local government since 2014. Hereby, a comprehensive mapping of these tools and actors related as reported by the official website of the Municipality of Paris and official publications.

5. For more information: Pacte-parisien-de-lutte-contre-la-grande-exclusion.pdf.
6. For more information: Paris-ville-intelligente-et-durable.pdf.
7. For more information: Plan-climat-de-Paris.pdf.

Participation bodies

The **neighbourhood councils** (*Les conseils de quartier*) are participatory bodies under the jurisdiction of each district. As a result, their operation mode varies from one district to another. It is the so-called "Vaillant" law which in 2002 initiated the creation of the 124 neighbourhood councils which are active today on a Parisian scale. Every citizen of Paris regardless of age or nationality can volunteer to participate in the council of the neighbourhood he/she lives in. These councils' activity acts as a space for information and dialogue, exchange of proposals, initiatives and opinions concerning development projects and/or neighbourhood life in general.

The **citizens councils** (*Les conseils citoyens*) are entities similar to the neighbourhood councils which act only in QPV territories. They have been put in place by the law of programming for the city and urban cohesion, promulgated on 21 February 2014. Thus, every district which includes a QPV territory has also one citizens council. They were first put in place to encourage dialogue and exchange on problematic issues between citizens and local associations who are living and/or working in the QPV concerned territory. The engagement in the council is made on a volunteering basis. Volunteers are then periodically randomly chosen and together with local actors such as neighbourhood associations they can discuss, elaborate ideas and participate in the decision-making of their territory of concern by having a direct communication with city services, the District Mayor or other actors of public policies.

The **Parisian Youth Council** (*Le Conseil Parisien de la Jeunenne*) is an instance inviting young people to contribute on the elaboration of municipal policies. It is composed of 100 members gender balanced (50 men and 50 women) of the age 15 to 30. It is partially renewed every year by a random choice of volunteering candidates who wish to engage. The selected candidates have a non-renewable 2years mandate. They can express their point of view on important projects to the elected members of the Council of Paris and once a year they can also propose the voting of a subject of their choice. The Council's framework is fixed every year by an official communication from the Mayor of Paris.

The **Parisian Public Debate Council** (*La Commission Parisienne du Débat Public*) reunites every two months to discuss on subjects proposed by the Municipality of Paris. It is composed by experts and personalities chosen by the Mayor.

The **Future Generations Council** (*Le Conseil des générations futures*) reunites twice a year on plenary sessions to reflect on actuality issues which may or may not be suggested by the Mayor of Paris. It is composed by 164 members divided in 7 colleges and it reassembles representatives of enterprises, syndicates, associations, public services, local democracy

entities and citizens randomly chosen. It acts as an advisory body which should represent the Parisian civil societies expectations on the future.

The **District Committee of Initiative and Consultation** (*Comité d'Initiative er de Consultation d'Arrondissement*) reassembles local NPOs interested to be engaged in the discussions of the district where they operate. This committee gives the opportunity to local associations to engage in the local administration by raising issues and making propositions on sessions taking place every three months.

The **Night committee** (*Le Comité des noctambules*) is composed of 30 members selected after a call for applications and the selected candidates have a 2-year non-renewable mandate. It reunites twice a year to discuss about the city policies combining development and promotion of nightlife, prevention, and regulation.

The **Parents' councils** (*Les Conseils des parents*) also acts as an advisory body which is present in 14 out of 20 districts. It is composed of an elected group of parents which participate in meetings aiming to discuss and raise awareness around issues linked to the schools they children go to.

The **Seniors' council** (*Le Conseil des séniors*) is another advisory body present in multiple districts. It aims to engage seniors in discussion about their worries, needs and expectations and bring them at the attention of the concerned district municipality services.

The **Children council** (*Le Conseil des enfants*) might be put in place by districts as an extracurricular activity on elementary schools. Its aim is mostly educative by transmitting the principles of civic life to students, improve their expression capacities and elaborate different kind of projects.

Participatory tools

The **Paris citizen card** has been launched in 2016 after the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attack. It is considered as a voluntary act of adherence to the republican and human values the city stands for. Open to all residents of Paris, the card allows them to access a range of educational, civic, and cultural services. It opens the door to the City Council and allows citizens to meet with elected officials and understand how the Parisian community works. The card can be requested online or in the District Municipalities.

The **citizens kiosks** are places of meeting and exchange between citizens of the same neighbourhood and/or associations. These locals have a multi-modal use and may serve as spaces hosting events to promote citizen participation and strengthen the social bond.

The **citizens participation funds** are intended to financially support low-cost projects that contribute to the strengthening of social bonds in the QPV such as cultural and sports events, actions to improve the living

environment, workshops, neighbourhood meals, etc. The funds might be solicited by individuals or groups of citizens, but they are allocated to the NPOs operating in the neighbourhoods by a Management Committee which examines the requests.

Digital participatory tools

"idée.paris" https://idee.paris.fr/ is an interactive platform where users can register and become entitled to express their ideas, comment and discuss between them on different subjects of actuality proposed by the Municipality of Paris for a fixed timeframe. After this proposed timeframe is over, a synthesis is made of citizens reaction to the subject. This online platform has served to different purposes through the years and in 2015 it was the digital channel of the Paris PB.

"Paris Pétition" https://petition.paris.fr/epetition/ gives the opportunity of interpellation of the Council of Paris by signing one of the ongoing petitions or launching a new one. The petitions which gather over 5000 signatures in a one-year period might be inserted in the discussion agenda of the Paris Council. At the moment, ongoing petitions have between 0 and 13 signatures.

"jemengage.paris" https://jemengage.paris.fr/ offers the opportunity to engage as a volunteer in an association or citizen collective. The platform is mostly used by NPOs which are looking for volunteers and citizens who would like to engage in society and therefore search for the activity which better corresponds their profile.

"Dans ma rue" https://teleservices.paris.fr/dansmarue/ is an online platform and a mobile app aiming to improve the efficiency of the city services. It allows citizens to report anomalies on public space or municipal equipment in real time. The reports are geo-localised, they might be enriched with pictures and the users can keep track if the same issue has been already reported before.

3.3. *PB as part of Paris strategies and participatory tools*

As cited in the previous chapters, Font *et al.* (2014) argue that in general larger cities tend to have more participatory initiatives when compared with smaller ones and that "participation tends to become resilient particularly when it is institutionalised into specific participation plans and/or departments for participation". Indeed, Paris exposes a rich context of participatory mechanisms falling under the jurisdiction of either the City's Municipality or the District Municipalities. However, one might notice that most of these tools act as advisory bodies and the

meetings have a consultative nature with no real decision-making power. Moreover, the engagement in these entities is structured on a volunteering basis and does not consider the representativeness of all the social groups of the concerned population. From this perspective, PB does seem to be an innovative participatory tool in Paris, as it gives the possibility to all residents to engage at the city, district, or neighbourhood level. Although participation through digital tools is often criticised, the Paris PB website appears to be more used by citizens in comparison to other digital participatory tools.

Regarding the PB contribution to the Paris Resilience Strategy, it is worth noting the transversal contribution attributed to this tool in regards to the second and third pillars of intervention alongside with other important strategies of the city, although it would be arguable that the Paris PB has not been associated to the first resilience pillar of "An inclusive and cohesive city, which builds on the strength of its residents to become more resilient".

4. Facts and perceptions

This chapter provides an overview of the data collected through the research, systematically analysed according to the conceptual framework. The reader will be first presented with a comprehensive panorama of the actors involved, their relevance for the PB process and interaction between each other. Furthermore, an analysis of the data collected through semi-structured interviews and a quantitative analysis of the collected hard data will be presented. The chapter will conclude with a territorial analysis of the projects' distribution.

1. Stakeholders analysis

The identification of the most relevant stakeholders has been made on the basis of desk research and later on the basis of my personal experience, first as a volunteer for the facilitating NPO "Les Parques" during January 2019 and later as an intern at the Paris PB Department. On the basis of these experiences, I had the opportunity to observe the implication and interaction of most of the concerned actors and as a result, identify five different groups of stakeholders (*Table 2*).

PB represents a communication tool between the local government and the citizens. Therefore, these two entities might be considered as the two most relevant groups of stakeholders. Inside the local government group, two main sub-groups of stakeholders are identified for the city of Paris: The City Level and the District Level. Inside the citizens group, several entities might be found such as participatory bodies (Neighbourhood councils, Citizens councils, etc.), different associations, community or social centres and other citizens' structures together with all the Paris residents. Moreover, the "investment beneficiaries" have

been defined as a separate cluster within of Paris citizens group because of the specificity of how they relate to the PB process, as analysed later in this chapter.

Considering the composing entities of the City Level cluster, it would be worth noting that the Mayor of Paris Office is the initiating entity of the Paris PB and the higher decision-making entity in the City of Paris Municipality. While twenty-seven Deputy Mayors (*Adjoint.e.s au Maire*) manage different sectorial offices, it is the Deputy Mayor in charge of "Local democracy, citizen participation, associative life and youth" which represents the political steering body of PB. Each of the sectorial offices might be solicited throughout the process, with reference to projects falling under their respective range of competencies in the city level. Moreover, the General Secretariat (*Secrétarial Général*) acts as an intermediate entity between the political and technical steering bodies of the process. Indeed, it is the Deputy General Secretary in charge of the management of the public space, citizen participation, environment and green spaces who leads the regular PB steering committee meetings. On the technical level, twenty-one thematic Directorates (*Directions Opérationnelles*) exist in the Municipality of Paris, each one of them covering a specific range of topics. Each of the Directorates includes several technical services which are in charge of reviewing the technical feasibility of the projects during the technical review process, while also carrying out the implementation process for winning projects. The Directorate of Democracy, Citizens and Territory (*Direction de la Démocratie, des Citoyens et des Territoires, hereafter DDCT*), represents the technical steering body of the PB. Moreover, we find the Sub-directorate of Deprived areas development policies and Citizen action (*Sous-direction de la Politique de la Ville et de l'Action citoyenne*), the Citizens participation Service (*Service de la participation citoyenne*) and the Participatory budgeting Department (*Mission Budget participatif*) which is in fact the core entity managing the Paris PB process not only on a horizontal level by coordinating the collaboration of the different concerned city services, but also on a vertical level, acting as an intermediary body on the interaction between the municipality services and the citizens of Paris.

Another important group of stakeholders is the one composed of structures which act as a bridge between the local government and the citizens, hereafter "articulating structures". It would be relevant to note that the PB Department has been included in this cluster, together with other structures such as:

- The Local Development Teams (*Equipes de Développement Local-EDL*) which represent the in-field structures of the Sub-Directorate of Deprives areas policy and help the accomplishment of different territo-

rial development projects while being in touch with the inhabitants and associations of the priority territories.
- The Houses of the Associative and Citizenry Life (*Maisons de la vie associative et citoyenne*) which is an entity providing information and support to citizens, but mostly NPOs on how to realize their objectives or projects.
- The NPOs facilitating the emergence of PB projects in the low-income neighbourhoods, engaged in the process since 2016. These NPOs have also mobilized audiences by relying on the work of local structures, such as community and social centres.

While other structures inside the city or district municipalities act as articulating structures, the ones included in this cluster have been selected because of their relevant presence in the field.

Furthermore, two other groups of stakeholders – although not directly involved in it – are the observing structures and the academics.

Two observing structures have been identified. At a National Level, the National Observatory of Deprived areas development policies (*Observatoire National de la Politique de la Ville-ONVP*) oversees the identification of the priority neighbourhoods and definition of their boundaries. This instance succeeds the National Observatory of Sensitive Urban Areas (ONZUS) and the Evaluation and Monitoring Committee of the National Agency for Urban Renewal (CES of ANRU). At the local level, the Observatory of Parisian deprived areas policies neighbourhoods (*Observatoire des quartiers parisiens de la politique de la ville*) is in charge of elaborating the right indicators which allow a detailed analysis of the situation in low-income areas and contribute to establishing local diagnostics. By the result of its work, the Observatory influences potential changes of the geography of the priority neighbourhoods.

Representatives belonging to four out of the five identified groups of stakeholders have been contacted and interviewed during the carrying out of the qualitative part of the research. These include local government, articulating structures, Paris citizens and academics.

It is worth indicating that the interviews concerning local government stakeholders are concentrated at the district level. Regarding the city level cluster, I personally had the opportunity to directly observe in several occasions the work of relevant structures of the City of Paris Municipality such as the Political Sectorial Offices, the General Secretariat, the different Operational Directorates and Services as well as the Citizens Participation Service. A brief report on these experiences might be found on *Annex* 8. Moreover, the research has been concentrated in three out of 10 districts containing low-income areas as recognized by the PB: the 13th, the 18th and the 19th district. It would be worth noting here that PB differs from

one district to another in terms of organisation of the process, type of communication with the citizens and low-income neighbourhoods' problematics. Thus, a choice has been made to deepen the research in these three districts not only because of their geographical distribution (north and south of Paris), but also because they represent some of the districts with the highest number of social housing units and low-income territories as shown on *Table 1* and *Figure 1.*

Table 1 - Synthesized data about the Parisian districts where the qualitative research has been concentrated (full table on Annex 5)

District	Population (2016)	Surface (ha)	Surface QPV+QVA (ha)	Social housing (%)
13th	181,552	720.0	155.0	35.2
18th	195,060	600.0	363.7	20.0
19th	186,393	680.0	226.7	37.3

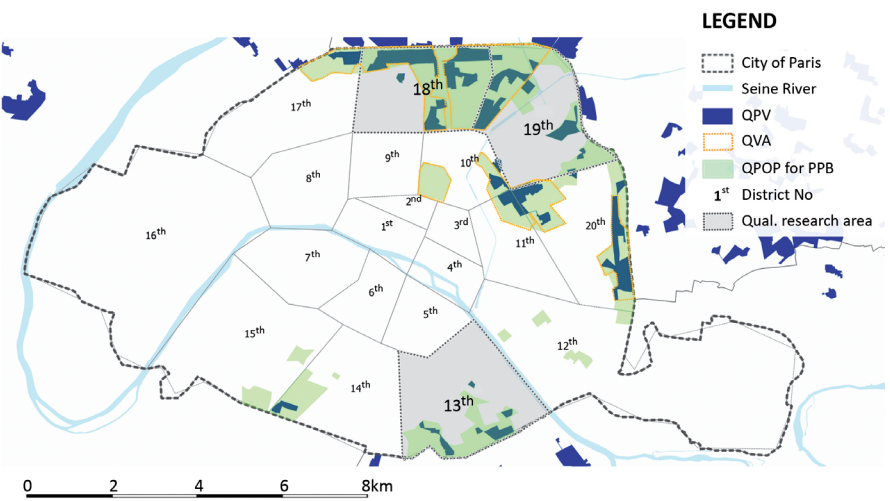

Figure 1 - Indicative map of the districts where the qualitative research has been concentrated

Thus, interviews have been conducted with Deputy Mayors in charge of local democracy/citizen participation of the 13th, 18th and 19th districts as well as representatives of Local Development Teams and Local Democracy Service, facilitating NPOs operating in 19th district, as well representatives of the PB Department (*Annex 6*).

Table 2 - Overview of identified and contacted stakeholders

Observing Structures			
National Observatory of Deprived Areas Development Policies			
Observatory of Parisian Deprives Areas Policy Neighbourhoods			
Local government			
City level			
City of Paris Municipality - Mayor of Paris Office			
Sectorial Offices - Deputy Mayors			
Sectorial Offices - Deputy Mayor in charge of Local Democracy			
General Secretariat			
Operational Directorates			
Operational Services			
Directorate of Democracy, Citizens and Territory			
Sub-directorate of Deprived Areas Development Policies	●		
Citizens participation Service			
Districts level			
District municipalities - District Mayors' Offices			
Districts Deputy Mayors in charge of Local Democracy	●	●	●
Districts Local Democracy Service	●		
Neighbourhood Councils Coordinators			
Articulating structures			
Participatory Budgeting Department	●	●	
Facilitating NGOs	●	●	●
Associative and citizenry life houses			
Local development teams	●	●	
Paris citizens			
Neighbourhood Councils			
Citizens Councils	●		
Different Associations			
Community centres			
Other citizen structures	●		
Beneficiaries of PB investments			
Citizens of Paris			
Academics	●	●	

From the Paris citizens cluster, members of the Citizens Council of the 18th district have responded to the invitation for an interview although the citizens councils of the 13th and 19th have been contacted as well. A representative of the Local Council of Handicap and Neighbourhood Council of the 19th has been interviewed as well.

The interviews have been mostly recorded during communications in-person that were conducted from March to August 2019 – the majority of them during the months of June and July 2019.

In addition, the author has visited some of the small businesses which have benefited from the call for projects "*Coup de Pouce Commerce*" in the 13th, 18th and 19th district. Whenever possible, a short interview has been conducted with the businesses' owners.

2. Analysis of interviews[1]

The semi-structured interviews conducted with the various groups of stakeholders have been rich and insightful. In the majority of cases, the conversation has been steered through the topics of interests by a predefined set of questions. However, in multiple occasions the interviewees have further developed the conversation by bringing up additional, complementary subjects.

As a result, the following pages present a structured synthesis of the most relevant data, analysis and comments emerged from the discussions according to the conceptual framework's relevant topics.

2.1. *Institutional design*

Process' temporality

Ever since its implementation in 2014, and to this day, the Paris PB seems to be an ongoing constant "learning by doing" process. In several interviews, as well as in informal conversations, it has been mentioned that there has been minimal reflection about the structure of the Paris PB process prior to its launching in 2014. As the Head of the PB Department states, the process was initiated by Mayor of Paris, who at the time had just been elected, with an initial idea of what the process would look like and the intent to change what had to be changed along the way (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Thus, there has been a contin-

1. As all the interviews were conducted in French, the translation to English of the stakeholders' quotes has been made by the author.

uous evolution of the process during these 6 years. The involved actors had to learn from their mistakes and rapidly adapt to new approaches and to this day the discussion remains open about how the process should further evolve. Moreover, the number of winning projects has grown year after year and their implementation takes from few months to several years. For this reason, the annual repetition of the Paris PB seems to be paired with criticism related to the lack of visible results and a constant pressure upon the administration to properly perform (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Therefore, the discussion about the rhythm of PB and its temporality has been a central discussion point across various interviews. Which are the available possibilities?

One of the suggestions is to run the Paris PB every two years. Interviews show that this option has been discussed at multiple levels in an effort to improve the process in the long term – acknowledging that so far it has been very intense for the city services (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Opinions vary as the issue is considered from two different perspectives. On one hand this intensity in terms of number of projects and pressure to collaborate among different entities of the municipality is perceived as a stimulating factor. So far, it appears to have fostered the improvement of the process itself pushing the administration to find ways to better collaborate and communicate whithin the municipality and between the municipality and the citizens. The Head of the PB Department states that this dynamic rhythm of the process in its first editions might be considered as a constructive tool of internal change for the Municipality. Similarly, the Deputy Mayor of the 13th District explains "I believe it is important to keep the actual annual rhythm, despite the risk of exhausting the source…" (Offredo, personal communication, July 16, 2019). However, on the other hand this intense rhythm is considered to be counterproductive. In more than one occasion stakeholders have been critical of the emphasis given to the quantity over quality during the projects' proposal phase. Practice has shown that the quality and relevance of projects proposed in the Paris PB platform is jeopardized by the lack of necessary time for their careful consideration and elaboration.

A second emerging option regarding the Paris PB temporality is the one of a continuous PB process. Two forms of putting in practice such a process have been discussed from a technical point of view. The first form implies the use of an open online platform which would allow its users to share an idea whenever they want, to receive feedback from other users and modify the proposal before definitely submitting it on a given deadline (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). The second form involves the creation of a specific selection commission that would gather on a regular basis to review, discuss and work on the

propositions in order to make them improve over time (Offredo, personal communication, July 16, 2019).

As a third option, a mixed approach on the process temporality is proposed. This would consist of slowing down the process by making a cyclical rotation of themes, while at the same time keeping an annual participation pace. Thus, as Cabannes explains, the PB of the first year might be designated for city level projects, the second year to district level projects and third year to low-income neighbourhood specific projects. The fourth year the cycle starts again with the city level projects and so on… The possibilities are multiple; this cyclical rotation might be done for different thematic or different actors as well (Cabannes, personal communication, April 02, 2019). This option would structure the distribution of workload between the administration entities, but at the same time keep a constant engagement on the process. However, this approach implies the risk of complicating the process and therefore be a reason for reduced participation. "At the moment it is important to make the process as simple as possible for the citizens and keep the complicated part for us" (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Brodach also adds that other possible options on how to structure the process include reversing the calendar or creating a process cycle of 18months.

Eligibility criteria

When asked what should be modified in the PB in order to better respond to the needs of the low-income areas, several stakeholders have pointed at the eligibility criteria as crucial restraining factors to the tool's potential. Indeed, as previously described, four eligibility criteria have been established by the City of Paris Municipality in 2014 and have not changed ever since. Although in 2016 the Paris PB added the third layer of low-income neighbourhoods, the criteria remained unaltered. The most recurring critique in this regard relies on the fact that PB can only finance investment projects. As the Project manager of Deprived areas development policies Service states, "this automatically excludes a great part of projects that are meant to improve the "social" dimension, although few small ones might be found such as "La baggagerie du Canal" but these constitute exceptions" (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019). A similar statement has been made by other actors who operate directly in the field. They argue that to have a relevant impact in low-income areas, PB should enable the investment of a number of projects which would allow the creation of specific structures, employment of city agents, etc., actions which are actually not possible. Moreover, another critique related to the eligibility criteria concerns the "general interest" component. Several stakeholders argue that this is a vague concept, which is even more

discussible in the context of low-income neighbourhoods. *What constitutes the general interest in low-income areas? Whose interest?* The interviews show a wide range of reasonings behind this critique. From a general perception in the public, the overall participation rate in the Paris PB is considered relatively low and therefore the awarded projects cannot be considered as representatives of the "general" interest (Breisacher, personal communication, August 14, 2019). On a more technical aspect, it has been mentioned that a number of projects aiming to invest on the renovation of interior spaces in public or social housing buildings, used by different associations or small businesses, although they fall into all the eligibility criteria, might be questionable in terms of general interest because the public they are directed to is restricted (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019, Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019).

Moreover, representativeness results to be another controversial issue. Stakeholders argue whether projects proposed by a single person are representative enough to be considered for voting. Instead, some propose that only projects elaborated by groups of citizens should be eligible in the Paris PB selection process. However, the question about how these "groups of citizens" should be mobilized is seen from different perspectives. According to the Deputy Mayor of the 13th District it is the Neighbourhood and Citizens' Councils which should represent the main discussion arenas as legitimate participatory bodies, while for Razzano the mobilization should be made through the engagement of multiple NPOs. These NPOs should be engaged to work towards involving the citizens who do not have access to traditional participatory tools. This could be achieved through the organization of brainstorming sessions and workshops in order to create a generative environment for the development of new projects. The principal obstacle in materializing this proposition stands in the fact that this activity would require the engagement of an overall increased number of human resources (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019).

Human resources

Indeed, the topic of human resources has been broadly discussed during the interviews with representatives of the local government and articulating structures. There is a general understanding that the inclusion of PB in the normal workload of the municipality entities has created a challenging situation. The Head of the PB Department explains that the creation of the department itself was not planned in the beginning and came only after several burnouts inside the Citizens Participation Service (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Brodach further explains that the high number of PB projects on which the technical services of the municipality have to work has considerably increased from year to year and it

represents an important supplementary workload for the unaltered number of staff. On this subject, the Deputy Mayor of the 18th district states that the capacity of the city technical services to deal with PB projects is "completely saturated". Moreover, PB also implies another challenging factor for the city services which is related to the professional expertise. In a way, PB represents a reinvention of the classic paradigm of public administration and in practice this is not always easily accepted by technical experts (Arhip-Paterson, personal communication, June 20, 2019). Discussing the possible contribution of PB in the low-income neighbourhoods, representatives of the Local Democracy Service affirm that "one of the ways to reduce inequalities would be to have more people engaged in these neighbourhoods, but this is not the case of the PB for the moment because the general policy of the City of Paris is to reduce its operating costs" (Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019).

However, the decision of dedicating a specific budget to the low-income neighbourhoods has been followed by the engagement of several NPOs to facilitate the emergence of projects in these territories. The NPOs are selected through a call for projects and chosen on the basis of their expertise in the territory. They are engaged during the first phase of the emergence of projects and the third phase of voting. "These organisations offer courses to the inhabitants, propose activities to strengthen the links between neighbours and between different generations too… They organize events in their structures to present the PB to the inhabitants and support the citizens in better structuring their idea so that the project they propose has better chances to go through the different steps of the process" (Mathivet, personal communication, June 14, 2019).

In practice, seven NPOs have been engaged in the 2019 edition: "Cap ou pas Cap", "La Maison des Fougères", "CAUE", "ICI", "4D", "Les petits Débrouillards", "Les Co-citoyens", "Les Parques" and "Voisin Malin". Each of them has a different territory of action in the city (usually divided by districts) and different methodologies concerning the interaction with the inhabitants. The director of Les Co-citoyens, an NPO which is active in the 10th, 19th and 20th districts, explains how – besides the support given to people who already have an idea – the activities the NPO carries out are often coordinated with other NPOs, or local social structures which serve as meeting point to reach out for the most vulnerable people and understand their needs in order to build-up meaningful projects (Desmoulins, written mail interview, July 05, 2019). A different methodology is used by "Les Parques" a facilitating NPO acting in the 11th, 13th, 14th and 17th districts during the 2019 edition of Paris PB, where I had a volunteering experience during the projects' emergence phase. The NPO works simultaneously on multiple directions merging the PB-related activities with

its usual activities. On one hand, the activities aimed at expanding the knowledge on the PB process and increase participation by holding weekly meeting points in bars or social centres in each of the districts, supported by the distribution of informative leaflets on the PB process on commercial units, pharmacies, supermarkets. On the other hand, it worked on the elaboration of eligible projects by organizing individual consultancy meetings or creative workshops with children in elementary schools. A great challenge for this NPO stood in its modest number of staff in comparison to the big area and varied problematics to be covered. This appears to be a common issue for NPOs engaged to work in PB as various stakeholders have stated that despite the creative methodologies these NPOs use, they remain small entities that cannot cover the whole territory. Discussing the contribution of the respective facilitating NPO Local Democracy Service representatives argue that the chosen association does not have enough capacity. "They are very well intentioned but given the size of the low-income area the intervention does not allow to go in depth and search for the public who is really distant from citizen participation. For practical reasons they will especially get in touch with other NPOs that in fact include a public which is already very engaged" (Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019). Lastly, another recurring critique about the engagement of facilitating NPOs – which has been brought up by the directors themselves – is that they have a limited capacity to fully support the inhabitants in conflictual cases because they remain organisations financed by the Municipality.

2.2. *Material inputs*

Information dissemination

A remark put forward by some of the stakeholders is that after 6 years of implementation in Paris, PB still remains very little known by the public. While in some of the interviews this is attributed to the overall lack of information on initiatives by the municipality (Interview 9, personal communication, July 15, 2019), in other cases, a question is raised on the information dissemination channels that are being used. What emerges overall is that the Paris PB process was initially conceived as an online participation tool, relying on the concept that the use of digital tools would revolutionize citizens participation mechanisms making them easily accessible to all. Indeed, the biggest advantage attributed to digital tools is the possibility to make information accessible at any time and to a large public (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). Citizens' participation researcher Arhip-Paterson states that in the context of PB, the use of

technology brought access to participation to people who did not have time to engage in face-to-face participatory activities, allowing to diversify and lower the cost of the participation. However, research shows that there is also an important rotation of PB voters (Arhip-Paterson, personal communication, June 20, 2019).

Moreover, an element constantly stressed in the interviews is the need to motivate and involve citizens in participatory activities, something hard to do through the use of digital information and dissemination channels. Two issues are crucial here for the administration: the need to tackle the distrust citizens have towards institutions (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019) and the need to reach out for people who do not have access to technology (Cabannes, personal communication, April 02, 2019). It appears that these two elements are especially relevant in some of the low-income neighbourhoods, where there is a higher rate of voting abstention compared to the rest of Paris and high rates of poverty and lack of access to technology (Interview 9, personal communication, July 15, 2019). The Deputy Mayor of the 18th district explains that the inhabitants of low-income neighbourhoods are not interested in citizen participation tools. "It is very difficult. This is where we have the highest rates of abstention… and there is a real difficulty when it comes to mobilizing the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods" (Daviaud, personal communication, August 1, 2019).

In this context, the voting phase represents another important moment to involve the citizens besides the projects' proposal phase. In practice this is attempted by placing instructed volunteers in multiple points in the city. Besides facilitating the PB voting process, their role is also to explain the tool and its global process. As Brodach explains, face-to-face communication is much more effective in reaching people but "the inconvenient is that with in-person communication we have a much smaller impact because even if we put 200 people on the street, the number of people they reach is much more limited than making a platform which allows reaching up to 2 million people at the same time". At the district level, the Deputy Mayor of the 19th district underlines the fact that digital participation tools are ineffective to reach all the district inhabitants, especially those living in priority areas (QPV and QVA). Thus, the district has included an additional stage – before the voting phase – in the process. It consists of diffusing informative leaflets presenting the PB projects of the 19th district and those of the city level, while also presenting the process of PB. "After the final list of projects to be submitted to voting is established, we produce a brochure presenting the PB device, the voting date and, above all, the list of projects submitted to voting divided by theme, the places where the ballot boxes are available to vote on paper and how to vote through the

website. More than 8000 flyers are distributed, and I think we inform a lot of people… We have included this extra step in the agenda so that summer is not a 'dead' period, but a period that is useful for residents, city services and employees to present the PB process" (Chiche, personal communication, June 18, 2019).

Moreover, on the information diffusion topic, a distinct element of the Paris PB process appears to be the engagement of the NPO "Voisin Malin". Unlike other NPOs which facilitate the emergence of projects in the low-income neighbourhoods, "Voisin Malin" is dedicated to the door to door dissemination of information mainly in housing compounds with a high rate of migrant residents, through the engagement of multiple volunteers speaking different foreign languages. Its aim is to go beyond the language barrier. The Director of the NPO explains how important it is to meet people in person and carefully explain how the PB process works in order to change the perception around it. The NPO has noticed that while a number of the contacted people had already heard about PB, most do not think they can participate. This is proof that there is great auto-exclusion from the process especially among the migrant's community (Nkodia, personal communication, March 15, 2019). Nkodia also explains how this is a time-consuming work, requiring the engagement of a large number of volunteers and a great coordination with the facilitating NPO engaged on the same district. However, despite its interesting work, "Voisin Malin" should be considered as an experiment, as their work took place in a very limited territory of action in the 19th district.

Budget

A dedicated budget to the low-income areas came in 2016, the third year of the Paris PB. Two main reasons stand behind this decision; one is technical and the other contextual. From a technical point of view, the Head of the PB Department explains that the City services noted a greater success rate of projects located in the wealthy ("*bourgeois*") neighbourhoods compared to the priority ones. Thus, the dedication of a third of the overall budget to low-income areas came as a way to match the success rate of projects between neighbourhoods. On a broader perspective, this action came in a context of post-terrorist attacks where among the terrorists there were people who lived in the priority neighbourhoods. The low-income neighbourhood component of PB and the emergence of the citizen card came both as a response of the City of Paris to these dramatical societal events proving its strong resilience (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019).

Moreover, on the budget topic, it is interesting to note that there is not a specific financing envelope for low-income areas. Instead, while deter-

mining the final list of awarded projects at the city and districts levels, a special attention is payed to the projects located in the PB low-income areas. Thus, a prioritization is made so that 30 million euros are invested in the defined territory. This implies sometimes a positive discrimination of projects which result as winners although others not located in a low-income area of Paris might have received more votes. This selection is made to compensate for the low voting rate noted in the low-income neighbourhoods (Mathivet, personal communication, June 14, 2019). However, this practice has been less and less recurrent from one edition to another as the overall number of votes in low-income areas has increased (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019).

At the district level, a shared investment is made available by both the city and the districts. As the Deputy Mayor of the 13th district explains for each 1 euro discussed in PB from the district there are 2 euros made available from the city. This has been a great incentive for district municipalities in choosing to implement the PB practice (Offredo, personal communication, July 16, 2019).

2.3. *Participation*

The question about who participates in PB has highlighted different positions along the interviews. While there is a general understanding that the participation rate is relatively low for a city like Paris, some stakeholders have pointed out the fact that according to their own experience, the public who participates is mostly composed of citizens who have already been engaged in other participatory mechanisms put in place in Paris prior to PB. As explained above, the mobilization of the residents of the priority neighbourhoods to participate in PB is considered to be challenging and remains at low rates despite the engagement of the facilitating NPOs in field, the mobile voting urns or the engagement of Local Development Teams (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019; Interview 9, personal communication, July 15, 2019). Moreover, the functioning of the existing participatory bodies such as the Neighbourhood councils for the city of Paris and Citizens' councils specific to priority areas is criticized by several actors, including those who are engaged in such structures, because of the poor overall participation rate, poor quality of discussions and often not transparent decision-making procedures (Breisacher, personal communication, August 14, 2019; Interview 4, personal communication, June 06, 2019).

In a report drafted for the City of Paris Municipality in 2019, Arhip-Paterson points out six main participation tendencies which have been identified regarding the first 5 editions of PB in Paris form 2014-2018.

1. The number of people participating in the paper voting process is the only which shows a constant increase. Since 2014, the paper voting has been the most popular way of voting.
2. The structure of the individuals deposing projects (age, sex, address) and of those voting online remains similar from one edition to another.
3. The projects submission is principally an individual practice.
4. The most recurring profile of the individuals deposing a project is: Male, 30 to 50-year-old, living in East Paris.
5. The most recurring profile of online voters is: Female, 30s to 50-year-old, living in East Paris.
6. Spatially, the areas which participate mostly include North, East and South areas, except from the central and Western ones (Arhip-Paterson, 2019).

Arhip-Paterson points out that it is impossible to clearly say today if the Paris PB has been able to reach the most excluded social groups of the low-income areas because of their very mixed social tissue. To determine the socio-economic profile of the participants and which projects they have participated in, a thorough specific research would be necessary, allowing to meet participants in person and that is yet to be done (Arhip-Paterson, personal communication, June 20, 2019).

However, what emerges from the interviews is that PB is not necessarily a distant or unknown tool for the inhabitants of the priority neighbourhoods. The director of "Les Co-citoyens" states that people living in low-income areas have more urgent social, health or job-related daily concerns which might prevent them from participating in the existing participatory structures (Desmoulins, written mail interview, July 05, 2019). Indeed, the director of the Citizens Council of the 18th district explains, through an email exchange, that the council has never made a request for funding under the PB, nor has it proposed any projects. "The reason is undoubtedly that we do not have the time […] a major subject in the difficulties to act of the Citizens Councils" (Dodart, communication by email, August 4, 2019). According to Desmoulins, there is genuine interest and commitment of the residents of these neighbourhoods, but that is not necessarily under the same type of citizen participation; "it is less institutionalized, more informal" (Desmoulins, written mail interview, July 05, 2019). Another interesting element brought up by the interviews related specifically to participation in low income areas, is how sometimes participatory mechanisms put in place, in reality, rather than compensating the inequalities end up enhancing them. Indeed, multiple stakeholders have pointed out the risk that PB holds to reinforce the decision-making power of the most informed and educated inhabitants, while the general public which before had only the representative democracy

and already did not participate, seizes even less of its decision-making power. In the Paris PB case, the issue of participation becomes even more complex due to its anonymity component. A number of stakeholders have expressed concerns that in the Paris PB there is no real way to determine whether the voters are indeed inhabitants of the city, whether they indeed vote for the districts that concern them or whether they vote multiple times. In this regard, Brodach states that PB is a process put in place as an initiative of the Mayor of Paris and not an election process regulated by law. Therefore, the vote is based on the good faith of the voter, who attests to be Parisian. Each ballot box is under the responsibility of an officer of the City of Paris or a person representing the district, and people who wish to vote must be self-identified (by signing a paper/registering some basic data). For online voting, the creation of an account avoids multiple voting and the data entered during the registration are the subject of a declaration on honour (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019).

2.4. *Deliberation*

A number of stakeholders have pointed out that one of the most debatable issues of the Paris PB is the emphasis put on individual participation. This stands out as a negative trait not only in relation to the representativeness issue, but mostly because of the lack of deliberation which is a crucial component of participatory mechanisms. However, two deliberative moments are present in the Paris PB process: the co-construction workshops and the ad-hoc commissions. Observing the progress of co-construction workshops at the city level and the ad-hoc commissions at the district level in the 13th, 18th and 19th districts in the frame of the internship done at the Paris PB Department, a number of interesting points emerge. Below, a quote extracted from the internship report related to the co-construction workshops (*full text on Annex 8*):

> On the six workshops organized for the 2019 edition at the city level, the student would consider the "Seine Riverbanks Park" and "Responsible consumption" as the most successful ones. The first, because of the setting where the workshop took place… The second, because of the quality of deliberation it had. All the participants had well-structured ideas on how to built-up structures aiming to reduce food waste, improve food quality by producing bio products in the city, collection and reuse of objects, creation of collaborative workshop spaces, etc. It was rewarding to see that after the end of the workshop the participants continued their discussion, exchanging contacts and networking. However, the student could note that despite the great potential of the co-construction work-

shops as deliberative moments, some of them in practice were marked by a poor presence of the concerned citizens and a poor quality of discussions between the citizens and the city services.

Discussing about co-construction workshops, some of the interviewed stakeholders point out critical elements about their relevance, participation, and conduction. "It is usually elected officials who run the facilitation, and this does not necessarily guarantee the neutrality that would be expected by the position of a facilitator on citizen participation meeting. But of course, there are real constraints in terms of human resources that lead to this result" (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019).

While the co-construction workshops' objective is to bring together people with similar and/or complementary ideas in order to synthesise them into one common project, ad-hoc commissions have a more administrative nature. They represent decision-making moments regarding conflictual projects, bringing together representatives of the technical services on the city and district level, representatives of the local administration and citizens representatives. These meetings might last for several hours during which the participants are invited to discuss the feasibility and/or eligibility of the conflictual projects. Observing the ad-hoc commissions at the district level, it is noticeable that each district has autonomy in conceiving and organising the discussion. The process and the citizens' involvement also differ from one district to another as listed below.

- In the 18th district ad-hoc commission the citizen's presence was merely informative; the citizens introduced themselves but did not intervene in any moment.
- In the 19th district ad-hoc commission there was an effort to include a representative presence of all different social groups including children and seniors. However, it remained mostly formal as the citizens had sporadic interventions briefly stating their position after the head of the commission demanded an opinion. An exceptional approach has been noticed by the representative of the Local Council of Handicap who was very critical of the technical services' rejection of the project she had submitted creating some conflictual moments throughout.
- In the 13th district ad-hoc commission, citizens presence was formalized by the presence of representatives of the Neighbourhood Councils, who were especially active and polemic in the discussion.

In general, ad-hoc commissions are conceived as agora of democratic decision-making, although the commissions are often marked by tensions between interlocutors and the discussion can easily be drifted from the project's eligibility or feasibility to its overall quality or relevance (which is not why the commission is assembled). Several stakeholders have

mentioned the difficulties they encounter during these occasions especially because not all of the participants have a common understanding of the tool and the process itself. "Today ad-hoc commissions are easier compared to the first years because everyone better understands how it works, but we still have few problems…" (Daviaud, personal communication, August 1, 2019).

2.5. *Empowerment*

The empowerment dimension represents the citizens ability to have a tangible influence in the decision-making process. In literature, it has been considered linked to the involvement of citizens in all the PB phases and most of all to the implementation of the projects voted for. Thus, as discussed on all the interviews, the implementation process remains one of the most criticized points for two main reasons. First, because of the low rate of completed projects and second because of the missing inclusion of citizens in the process.

The Head of the PB Department states that the Municipality is aware of the criticism that the Paris PB process faces regarding projects implementation and adds that these two principal critiques are in practice contradictory between each other. For this reason, they are being addressed one at the time. Brodach explains that an emphasis is given at the present moment to address the first critique and work towards the full implementation of the awarded projects in the pre-established timeframe, making an intentional choice to keep aside the involvement of citizens as an element which would extend the process in time (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019). However, the director of the NPO "Les Co-citoyens" states that there is frequently a large difference between the daily needs of people in low-income neighbourhoods and the long time needed for the implementation of PB projects and this tends to create frustration. "Once voted, there should be a clear commitment of the municipality in terms of implementation time and more consultation of residents…" (Desmoulins, written mail interview, July 05, 2019). Moreover, Desmoulins finds that there is a strong mistrust of the inhabitants towards the elected officials and the municipality and that to restore the confidence of the residents, it would be necessary to give them "a real power to act and thus to set up a citizen control of the PB, composed for example of collective citizens, NPOs not subsidized by the PB and of representatives of inhabitants drawn by lot".

Another interesting point is that in more than one case stakeholders have described remarkable projects where there has been a true effort to engage the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in the creation and imple-

mentation phases. These occasions are considered as remarkable examples of how projects can have a strong influence in the social tissue of the neighbourhood if they are implemented in a participative way. Moreover, what emerges from the interviews is that while there have been sporadic attempts to engage citizens in the process, the implication of the residents of low-income areas is specifically important for two main reasons: (1) the involvement of residents during the implementation phase can help strengthen the social ties in the neighbourhood (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019), and (2) it can strengthen the feeling of belonging and caring for the place (Interview 9, personal communication, July 15, 2019).

In addition, another issue brought up during several interviews is a general impression that the invested budget is actually lower than the voted one. In this regard, Brodach states that there might be differences between the voted budget and the actual investment due to eventual technical reasons as the projects are submitted to voting with an approximative cost estimation and the detailing of the project might require a higher or finally lower budget. However, the PB Department does not have a comprehensive visibility of the situation because the financial engineering of the municipality has not adapted yet to the PB specific functioning. The technical services and the operational directorates can provide explicit information for each project separately, but it is not possible with the available data today to determine the overall rate of investment compared to the discussed budget (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019).

2.6. *Contextual factors*

Throughout the interviews the discussion about PB in low-income neighbourhoods has been accompanied by an analysis of contextual factors potentially affecting the process. One of these factors is the territorial component of the priority neighbourhoods. In this context, it has been pointed out that the perimeter of the areas defined as "priority" has been established by dividing the territory of Paris in squared cells of land and calculating economic indicators on each of these cells. This is a practical method from a technical point of view, but in practice it has resulted to be ineffective as in some cases it has left out areas which need specific attention and support, but are not covered by the Deprived areas development policy (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019). The responsible of low-income areas inside the PB Department states that the recognition of the limitations of the actual administrative perimeters of priority areas are the main reason why the low-income neighbourhoods' perimeter

established by the PB reassembles multiple administrative entities, going even beyond that. During the technical review phase, pragmatic choices have been made to label a number of projects as "QPOP"[2] although their exact location was just outside the established border "considering that the project would benefit the area at the other side of the street" (Mathivet, personal communication, June 14, 2019).

Another element that the local government and the articulating structures' actors have been asked about is the gentrification phenomenon and how it might interact with PB. There is a general understanding of the fact that a dynamic gentrification process has been going on in Paris for several decades now and the phenomenon's roots go way beyond the PB which has been put in place just recently. In each case, the discussion about gentrification has been closely linked with the social housing construction tendencies in Paris. Brodach suggests that two effective indicators to determine the level of gentrification in a territory would be to assess (1) the evolution of new social housing rate and (2) the framing of rents. As urban development projects are in general related to an increase of rents and real estate prices in the area, the construction of new social housing combined with framed rents would represent two measures to prevent the full gentrification of the territory (Brodach, personal communication, April 25, 2019).

Concerning the social housing situation, what emerges from the interviews is that although there is a continuous construction of new social housing compartments, mandatory by law (Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019), this typology is stratified into two components: the "very social" social housing intended for residents with very low revenues and the "intermediary" social housing intended for residents with higher income, but not high enough to rent in the private sector. Thus, all new constructions have a mixed composition of "very social" and "intermediary" social housing as well as private housing compartments and often offices too. "So, we can consider that there is a construction logic that consists of creating social diversity from the top. But the question whether this might be called gentrification or giving intermediate social categories (that have always existed in these neighbourhoods and who today cannot afford to live in Paris) the possibility to stay in the city, is to be analysed" (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019). Although there is an obligation by law on the inclusion of a percentage of about 30% of social housing in new constructions, the actual situation differs from one district to another. Thus, a distinction might be made between the 19th district where local authorities have taken the decision not to construct social

2. Abbreviation of Quartier Populaire. The label QPOP is used to distinguish the project located in the low-income neighbourhoods.

housing anymore because of the actually high rate of 40%, the 13th district where there is a vivid construction activity of mixed buildings including social housing as well as private dwellings and offices and the 18th district where the overall rate of new constructions is low because of the lack of open spaces. The Local Democracy Service representatives argue that the rate of social housing in a district is not a comprehensive indicator of the poverty rate. For instance, "many poor families live in private housing but in poor conditions, living many people in very small apartments" (Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019)

The construction of new social housing compounds is mostly done through the GPRU and NPNRU programmes which aim the upgrading of the urban environment through the destruction of degraded social housing blocks and the reconstruction of new buildings of mixed composition, but also through interventions in the public space in terms of vegetation, cleanliness, aesthetic, etc. These projects help attain the objectives of diversifying the social structure of priority neighbourhoods and raise the socio-economic profile of the residents, but it is difficult to create a feeling of community between new residents and the "already there" population. "Gentrification helps increase socio-economic indicators, but we notice always more that there is no living-together in the neighbourhood […] they live one close to the other, but without one another" (Interview 9, personal communication, July 15, 2019).

The synergy between the gentrification phenomenon and PB has been also discussed from two perspectives: (1) a territorial approach and (2) a projects' typologies approach. Thus, a territorial distinction might be made between the three districts. The Deputy Mayor of the 19th district describes the gentrification process in the 19th as "dynamic and multidirectional" stating that 30,000 new inhabitants come to the district each year, including middle class people which contribute to the gentrification of certain areas, but also a number of very poor people who cannot afford to live elsewhere. Discussing gentrification in the 13th district, Deputy Mayor Offredo states that although the phenomenon exists, it is less present in the 13th district quoting a study of 2010 showing that the 13th was one of the districts least affected by gentrification because of the high rate of new social housing construction and low rents. In the 18th district, Deputy Mayor Daviaud makes a distinction between central priority neighbourhoods which are highly gentrified and peripheric ones in the north of the city which are less touched by the process. A similar territorial remark has been made by Razzano as well who states that the central priority areas are more gentrified at the moment adding that these are also the neighbourhoods with the most intensive activity in terms of projects submitted and voted in the PB since 2016. In addition, Razzano makes a qualitative

distinction of the projects stating that "the most "popular"[3] projects are the hardest to be voted in low-income neighbourhoods" (Razzano, personal communication, July 23, 2019).

Moreover, several stakeholders have pointed out that in certain cases PB projects might contribute to gentrification of the territory. Besides landscape projects which contribute to the attractiveness of specific urban areas, a recurring project identified as a possible contributor for gentrification is *"Coup de Pouce Commerce"* which might be translated as "A little push for businesses". "These businesses are located in the ground floor of social housing blocks, but very often are not businesses where the person living in the area would go. They remain services for a certain category of people…" (Interview 12, personal communication, July 31, 2019). For this reason, a targeted investigation has been made on this project, visiting the beneficiaries in the 13th, 18th and 19th district (*Annex 7*).

The project was one of the laureates of 2016. The idea behind it was to install shops and activities at the ground floor of social housing buildings in low-income neighbourhoods "to meet the needs of the inhabitants while participating in the improvement of the living environment and economic attractiveness" (budgetparticipatif.paris.fr, 2019a). After the announcement of the final list of awarded projects in 2016, a first call for projects has been opened in 2017, a second one in 2018 and a third is ongoing in 2019. Businesses might receive a financing of 10,000 euros maximum and the selection criteria are broad: "Rewarded projects should aim to better welcome customers and offer products and services in better conditions, to adapt the merchants' working environment, to achieve sustainable development objectives or to implement an innovative approach" (budgetparticipatif.paris.fr, 2019a). The selection of laureate businesses is made by a jury including representatives of the District Municipalities, the Chamber of Trades and Crafts of Paris and the Chamber of Commerce of Paris. 27 have benefited from the financing in the first edition and 26 in the second.

Due to time constrains, the number of people met during the on-site visits remains relatively small and insufficient to make a thorough quantitative analysis. However, from the conversation made with some business owners a number of interesting elements emerge:

- there was a poor knowledge of the PB. All the owners stated that they have been contacted by the Municipality of Paris about the call for projects, but while in two cases there was a good knowledge of the functioning of PB, in the others the concept was vague or unknown;

3. The term refers to the French word "populaire" implying the poorest population of low-income areas.

- it was unclear where the investment came from; one of the owners thought that the budget came from crowdfunding;
- the received investment budget is considered to be too small to build a business from sratch. Several owners explained that the financment received (of 9000 euros) might only help businesses which are already succesful and with an established clientele to slightely improve their local.

Moreover, from the observations on site it was noted that several locals (although not all) stand out as very modern structures with a contemporary interior design and stickers of high rates in websites such as Trip advisor are exposed in the *façade*. The same businesses are located in a contrasting surrounding environment of low-profile grocery stores and fast-food places. This contrast was remarkably noticeable in the 18th district.

2.7. *The future of the Paris PB*

At just few months before the local elections of March 2020, the future of the Paris PB remains unclear. The tool has been quite fragile during its first 6 years, "very difficult to put in place and very easy to attack" (Arhip-Paterson, personal communication, June 20, 2019).

Stakeholders have been asked about how they see the future of PB in Paris and in multiple cases they have admitted being confident that the process will continue to exist despite the results of the elections. One strong factor behind this position is considered to be the fact that at the district level all political sides have adopted the tool meaning that there is a genuine acceptance of the added value of PB in the local administration's work.

However, a strong emphasis is put by all the relevant stakeholders on the fact that a thorough analysis is needed regarding the continuation of the PB in Paris. The process needs to be modified, or even restructured completely, on the basis of the lessons learned from the past editions of the Paris PB.

3. Quantitative overview

The quantitative analysis highlights some of the direct outputs of the Paris PB process in terms of budget, the thematic covered by the awarded projects and their distribution in the territory.

As the research has been conducted during the 2019 PB edition, the available and analysed data ends in 2018.

3.1. *Budget*

As it can be noted in *Figure 2* there is a significant increase of the budget invested in low-income neighbourhoods PB after 2016. It would also be worth noting that the budget allocated to these areas goes beyond the pre-established 30 million euros. This is mainly due to the city level projects which are composed of operations located in multiple areas of the city, including low-income ones. As previously explained, each awarded project is composed of different operations. Operations might represent different locations of the project (ex. Vegetation of road "X", "Y", etc.) different components or different phases of the project in time (ex. Clearing the space, Installing the equipment, etc.). The fragmentation of the projects into operations contributes to the coordination and follow-up of the implementation phase between the different technical services. Thus, there is an overlapping here of the budget relevant to QPOP labelled projects and the one of operations issued of city level winning projects.

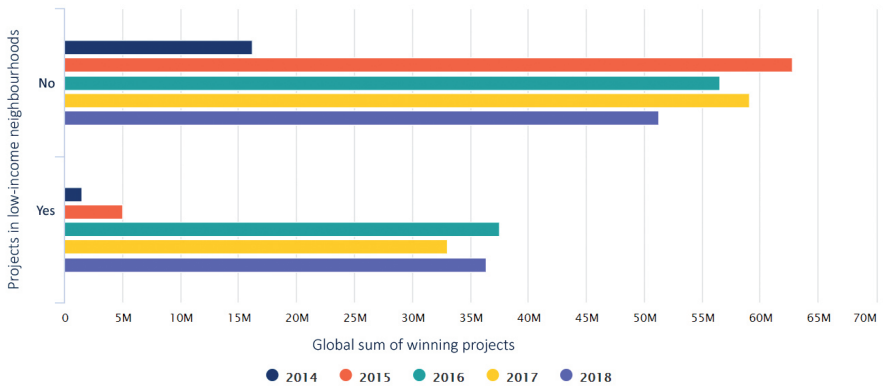

Figure 2 - Evolution of the PB budget in low-income neighbourhoods from 2014 to 2018

Source: opendata.paris.fr

It might also be noted that the overall budget has significantly increased after 2016. While the number of projects in low-income areas constitutes about 25% of the total number of winning projects, the total budget invested constitutes about 30% of the overall budget invested through PB from 2014 to 2018 (*Figure 3*). Thus, it would be possible to say that the winning projects in low-income areas have a more important financial weight in the overall process.

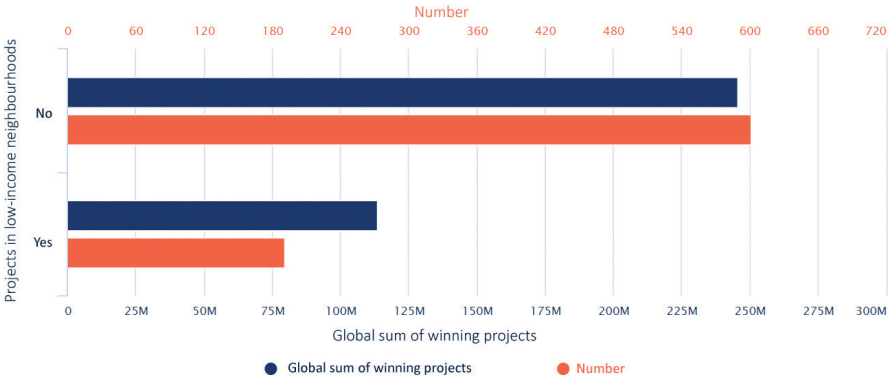

Figure 3 - Comparison of number of projects and total budget invested in low-income neighbourhoods and non-low-income neighbourhoods from 2014 to 2018

Source: opendata.paris.fr

3.2. *Geographic distribution of projects*

In an overview of the total number of projects (*Figure 4*), the districts with most projects are also those hosting low-income neighbourhoods on their territory (framed in yellow). The 13th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th have more than 50 projects in their territory. However, these also represent the districts with the highest population of the capital, so when a comparison is made between the rate of winning projects for each 10,000 inhabitants,

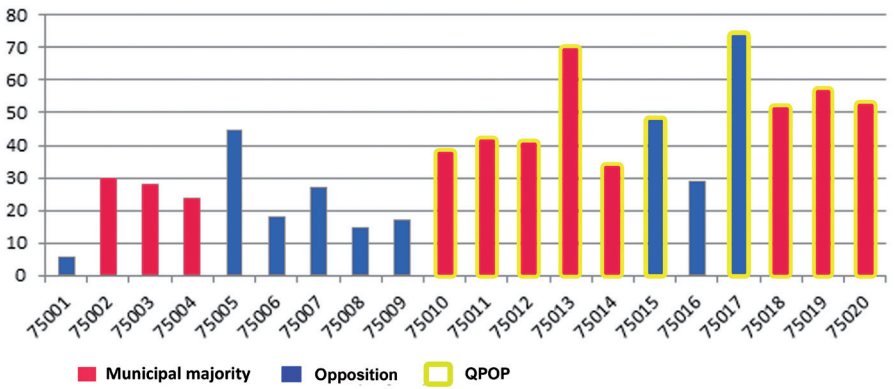

Figure 4 - Total number of winning projects per district

Source: PB Department. Extracted from the "Projects implementation follow-up report" of July 2019

an inversion of highest levels could be noticed in the graph (*Figure 5*). Indeed, it is the central districts (2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th) which have a higher rate of projects, while the districts hosting low-income neighbourhoods have the lowest ones.

The graphs are also presenting the political colour of the District Municipality and it might be noticed that this is not a factor of influence on the number of awarded projects found in the district.

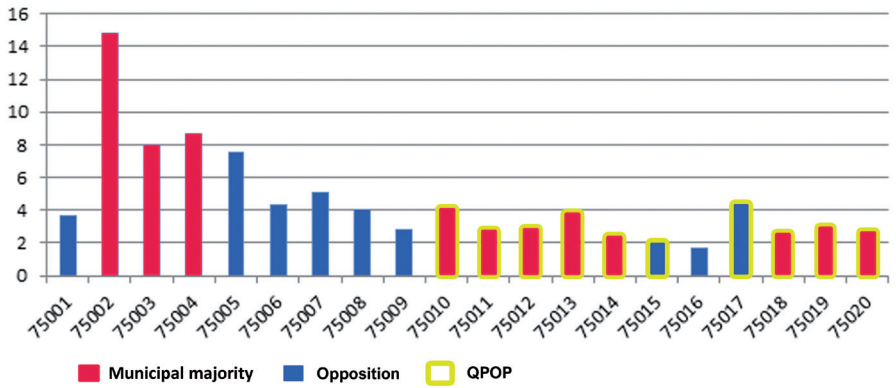

Figure 5 - Total number of winning projects per district for 10,000 inhabitants

Source: PB Department. Extracted from the "Projects implementation follow-up report" of July 2019

3.3. *Thematic distribution*

On the thematic distribution of the budget, different tendencies might be noted on low-income areas as well as the rest of Paris. The projects' thematic with the highest budget is in both cases the 'Living environment'. Other important thematic for non-low-income areas include 'Education and youth', 'Environment', 'Solidarity and social cohesion' and 'Transport and Mobility'. The thematic with the highest budget in low-income neighbourhoods besides the 'Living environment' include 'Sports' and 'Education and youth'.

The lowest budget in both cases is apparently allocated to projects of 'Digital and smart city', 'Health', 'Prevention and security' and 'Economy, employment and attractivity'. The thematic of 'Digital and smart city', 'Transport and mobility', 'Public space cleanliness' and 'Prevention and security' are either not present at all or very little present in the low-income areas. Moreover, one might notice that the budget invested in

'Sport' and 'Health' projects in low-income neighbourhoods is larger than the one for the rest of Paris, although it remains very modest compared to the overall budget.

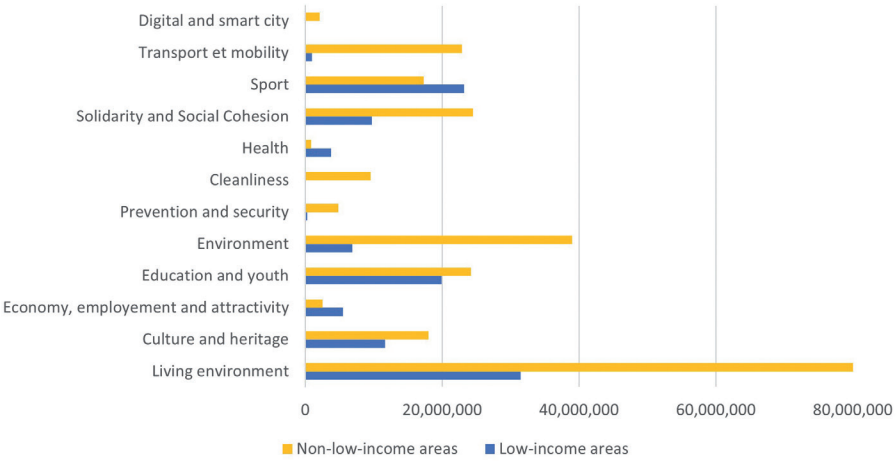

Figure 6 - Comparison of total budget invested (in euros) in low-income neighbourhoods and non-low-income areas from 2014 to 2018 per each thematic

Source: opendata.paris.fr

The thematic distribution alone, however, is not enough to assess the contribution of PB to the low-income areas' population. First, because the attribution of a thematic to the proposed projects has merely a practical purpose and does not reflect its full contribution. Second, because the issue of social inequalities itself is complex and might be tackled by more than one thematic at once, although from the proposed list 'Solidarity and social cohesion' appears to be the one directly linked to the subject. As a result, a qualitative overview of the winning projects in the low-income areas (labelled QPOP) has been made to enrich the analysis. Going through the list of winning projects available in *opendata.paris.fr* from 2014 to 2018, a classification has been made into four categories.

Public space: including all projects which refer to a territorial intervention such as renovation of squares, landscape projects, installation of sports equipment in the public space, drinking water fountains, street art, etc.

Social target: including all projects which have a specifically identified social target such as handicap, precariousness, health, nutrition, etc.

Schools and colleges: including all the projects which are located inside a school or college structure. A number of these projects have been voted through the process of Schools and colleges PB which operates separately from the Paris PB and is managed by the Directorate of Schools Affairs (*Direction des Affaires Scolaires- DASCO*).

Renovation of locals: including all projects which refer to the renovation of the interior locals owned and/or operated by small businesses, associations/NPOs, libraries, etc.

A graphic representation of this analysis is presented in *Figure 7*. It can be noticed that 63% of the overall awarded projects in low-income neighbourhoods refer to interventions upgrading the urban space and social target projects constitute 10% of the overall projects. This analysis, however, has been made at the awarded projects' level. As projects are composed by a different number of operations, the analysis at the operations level might conclude in a different distribution rate between categories.

Nevertheless, although 'public space' projects outnumber the 'social target' ones, it would be difficult again to isolate the projects' contribution to the low-income neighbourhoods. Research shows that it would be inaccurate to state that the input of public space projects remains entirely on the territorial level as different stakeholders (mainly representatives of the local government) have stressed the influence that projects targeting

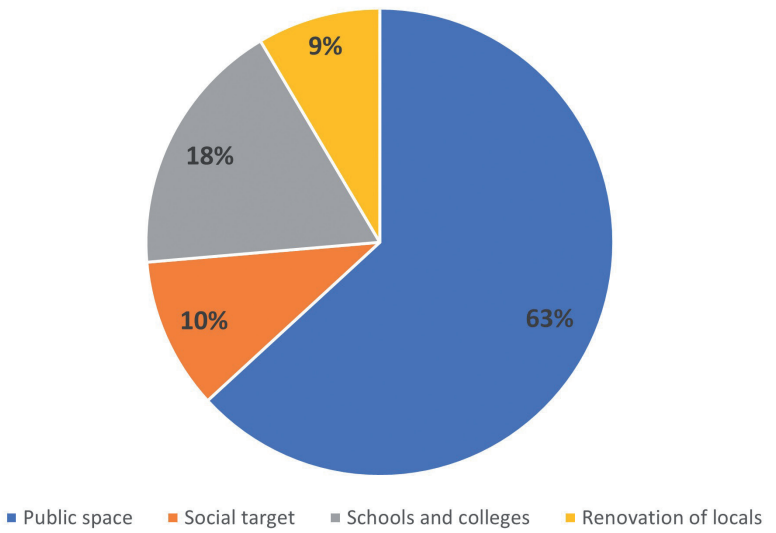

Figure 7 - Distribution of the winning projects in low-income neighbourhoods divided into four qualitative categories

territorial interventions have in the social structure of priority neighbourhoods. Indeed, the Deputy Mayor of the 19th district has pointed out that projects aiming to upgrade the territory represent an important element to improve the overall quality of life in these in low-income areas, not only by making them more attractive and joyful, but mainly for security reasons. Chiche takes the example of the project "Urban reconquest" ("*Reconquête urbaine*") which has contributed to changing for the better one of the darkest and most dangerous underbridge passages in the 19th district (Chiche, personal communication, June 18, 2019).

Moreover, public space projects have been pointed out as important element to create an urban environment where people wish to live in and not only have to live in. The Deputy Mayor of the 13th district explained a known phenomenon in low-income neighbourhoods related to social mobility. People who previously lived there in a situation of precariousness, once they get to a more stable economic situation, wish to leave the neighbourhood. Thus, other people in a situation of precariousness arrive while more leave, making it very difficult for the neighbourhood to have a stable evolving social tissue (Offredo, personal communication, July 16, 2019).

3.4. *Implementation rate*

Table 3 provides a general overview of the projects' completion rate for the whole territory of Paris. The first part is constituted by data on the completion rate of the operations which refers to a sub-division of the projects under smaller units and the second part refers to the completion rate of projects. It could be noted that while there is a difference from year to year, in general the operations completion rate in low-income neighbourhood is higher than for the rest of Paris and the completion rate of projects in the same areas is lower.

Another element to be noted is that the internal pre-established objective of the City of Paris Municipality to fully implement winning projects within a period of 2 to 3 years has not been attained.

Table 3 - Completion rate of operations and projects in low-income neighbourhoods compared to non-low-income neighbourhoods from 2014 to 2018

	Year	(A) Completion rate in low-income neighbourhoods	(B) Completion rate in non-low-income neighbourhoods	Difference A/B
Operations level	2014	(47 out of 53) 88.68%	(361 out of 402) 89.8%	–1.12
	2015	(103 out of 143) 72.03%	(65 out of 221) 29.41%	+42.62
	2016	(152 out of 280) 54.29%	(203 out of 399) 50.88%	+3.41
	2017	(34 out of 164) 20.73%	(65 out of 221) 29.41%	–8,68
	2018	(1 out of 105) 0.95%	(1 out of 195) 0.51%	+0,44
	Year	**(A) Completion rate in low-income neighbourhoods**	**(B) Completion rate in non-low-income neighbourhoods**	**Difference A/B**
Projects level	2014	(1 out of 1) 100%	(5 out of 8) 62.5%	+37.5
	2015	(13 out of 22) 59.09%	(107 out of 166) 64.46%	–5.37
	2016	(15 out of 58) 25.86%	(57 out of 161) 35.4%	–9.54
	2017	(5 out of 59) 8.47%	(18 out of 137) 13.14%	–4.67
	2018	(1 out of 51) 1.96%	(1 out of 129) 0.78%	+1.18

Source: PB Department. Extracted from Mathivet Ch. (2019). "Le budget participatif dans les quartiers populaires parisiens 2014-2018". PB Department Internal report

4. Territorial overview

The aim of the following analysis is to visualize through the use of maps the distinction made by several stakeholders between central and peripheric low-income neighbourhoods in terms of gentrification and number of PB projects and investigate whether or not a correlation exists between these components.

The top map on *Figure 8* is the one elaborated by Clevral (2013) showing the evolution of the gentrification dynamic in Parisian neighbourhoods. Continuous lines represent different phases of expansion of the gentrification borders, while arrows indicate the tendency of the expansion's direction. Below, a map of Paris showing the location of all winning projects in the Paris PB editions until 2018. The map has been elaborated by the author using data provided by *opendata.paris.fr.*

In both maps, the delimitation of the low-income neighbourhoods as used by the Paris PB has been added in light green colour.

MAP 1: Gentrification dynamics and PB low-income neighbourhood areas

MAP 2: PB projects' geographical distribution and PB low-income neighbourhood areas

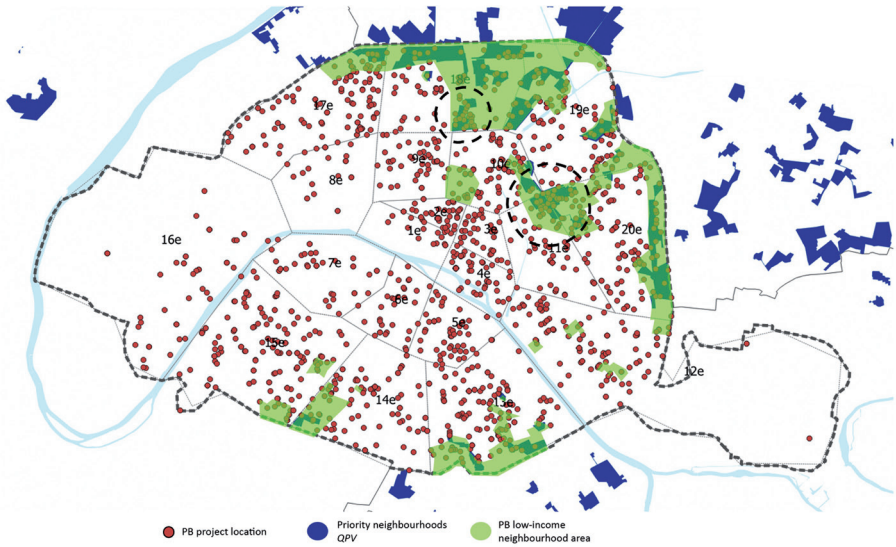

Figure 8 - Comparative maps between the gentrification process and the PB projects' distribution in PB low-income areas

Source: base map for MAP 1 from: Clerval (2013), PB projects' location data for MAP 2 from: open-data.paris.fr

From an overview of the two maps, one might notice a correlation between the gentrification process in low-income neighbourhoods and the concentration of PB projects. Indeed, the central low-income areas (marked by dashed circles), which are considered to be in a process of gentrification in the top map, appear to have a concentration of awarded PB projects which is unusual for the rest of the low-income area. However, it would not be possible to determine at this point whether a causal relation exists between these two elements in one direction or the other. Further research would be needed in this regard.

5. Discussion and conclusions

The general objective of this study was to investigate whether the Paris PB might have a potential to contribute to the reduction of social inequalities, focusing on the low-income areas in the city.

This concluding chapter aims to finalize the research by answering the two research questions, highlighting the most relevant points in the conclusion, and elaborating few recommendations regarding the evolution of the Paris PB in the future.

1. Answering the research questions

1.1. *Research question no. 1*

Does the Paris Participatory budgeting of the low-income neighbourhoods contribute to reducing social inequalities?

The concept of social inequalities has an intrinsic multidimensional nature. Therefore, although in evaluation studies the concept is broken down into one or several separate components (like economy, health, education…), it would be diminishing to look at one aspect while neglecting the others when addressing the concept as a whole. Thus, in relation to PB, and for the purpose of this research, social inequalities are considered as the integrity of social barriers and lacking resources that the inhabitants of low-income concentration areas and the most vulnerable social groups face in Paris.

To begin the discussion, a crossed analysis between different elements examined throughout the research must be made. The Paris PB potential as a tool to address social issues has been first assessed theoretically using

the underpinning logics of PB and the different types of PB processes. It has been shown that the Paris PB falls under the "Good governance" logic with a territorial approach. Thus, it represents a tool primarily used to bring the citizens closer to the local administration by giving them the opportunity to take part in the decision-making while also legitimating the existing governance. Moreover, the overview of the existing participatory bodies and mechanisms in Paris shows that the city exposes a rich context of existing mechanisms. PB stands out because of its decision-making component which is either missing or quite reduced in the other existing tools, functioning mostly as consultative bodies.

As established in the conceptual framework, the first research question will be answered following a binary logic between *actual achievements*, analysing the direct results of the process in the low-income areas and *the potential to achieve in the future* – analysing external elements which have emerged during the research and how they might affect the PB's contribution to the reduction of social inequalities in the future. In this frame, the analysis of the actual achievements which has been structured in input and output components, shows a series of contradictory elements.

a) There is a positive political will, but lack of human resources

The institutional design of the Paris PB has been continuously evolving ever since its first edition in 2014 and while being in a milestone moment with the completion of the first pre-established cycle of 6 years, the discussion remains open about how to improve its overall functioning. The decision of dedicating a third of the annual budget to low-income neighbourhoods is part of this evolution, and the action of intentionally re-directing an important part of the resources is a positive sign of political will to include the marginalized groups in the process.

However, on the internal organisation of the municipality, the process appears to be considerably intensive in terms of workload. Its annual repetition has created a frustrating situation for the Municipality's technical services. The high number of projects and the time pressure for their rapid implementation appear to have saturated the capacity of the existing human resources. As a direct result of this situation, citizens have been excluded from the projects' implementation phase, turning their engagement in PB into a fragmented participatory action.

Moreover, the lack of human resources is especially relevant for low-income neighbourhoods as areas of residence of some of the most marginalized and non-engaged inhabitants of Paris. A relevant number of additional staff would be needed to mobilize the residents of low-income areas and animate the process.

b) The discussed budget is important, but it cannot address the needs of the most vulnerable because of the eligibility criteria

The awarded projects in the low-income neighbourhoods since 2016, represent an important investment of more than 30 million euros per year, a third of the overall Paris PB budget. However, the "only investment" eligibility criteria limits what can be done to address the specific needs of the low-income neighbourhoods' residents. A number of projects benefiting this population would require the allocation of an operating budget and for this reason are ineligible to PB at the present conditions. As a result, the investment is mostly concentrated in projects intervening in the public space which outnumber those having a social target.

c) There is an effort to create synergy between the existing citizen participation bodies and PB, but the citizens engaged in these structures are not representative of the most vulnerable groups

Participatory activities in Paris, under the current structure, appear to be quite time-consuming and formalized. Here resides the main reason for their relatively poor participation rate overall. In addition, the populations' distrust towards the political institutions appears to be even higher in the low-income neighbourhoods in comparison to the rest of Paris. As a result, the citizens who participate and engage in the existing participatory bodies not only represent a small portion of the Paris residents, but they do not involve representants of the most vulnerable social groups.

d) There is an acknowledgment of the need to go towards the citizens, but digital communication tools prevail throughout the process

Despite the engagement of the facilitating NPOs and the efforts made during the voting phase with mobile urns and volunteers aiming to reach as many people as possible, the Paris PB process still remains almost fully organized online. The official PB website stands as the most important information dissemination channel for the process. Paper publications are produced by the Municipality of Paris and some of the Districts Municipalities, but they do not have a wide distribution to the public and the communication campaigns appear to be weak.

For the population of peripheric low-income neighbourhoods this constitutes a double exclusion; territorial and digital. Not only they reside in isolated areas difficult to reach, but an important number of inhabitants there do not have access to technology.

e) There are positive examples of citizens mobilization in the creation of participatory projects, but the projects in the most excluded areas hardly receive enough votes

In multiple cases through the Paris PB editions, there have been participatory activities put in place by the Local Development Teams aiming to identify problematics in the territory. Collaborating with the relevant facilitating NPOs they have mobilized residents who would not have been spontaneously engaged, to discuss and structure projects which would really respond to their needs. These projects have then been proposed, passed the technical review process, but in the end, have not received enough votes. While this is normal in a democratic process, a pattern has been identified in certain areas of the city which have a constantly low number of winning projects. Indeed, this situation might be linked to the increased participation in PB in the most gentrified low-income neighbourhoods, leading to an insufficient number of votes for projects located in isolated areas where inhabitants have also a poor access to technology. The missed opportunity to finance a project created in a participatory way has become source of disappointing situations, creating an even higher distrust of the most excluded inhabitants in the local entities and the PB process itself.

On the second part of the analysis, three relevant factors have been identified which would influence the Paris PB process in terms of *potential to achieve in the future* as described below.

1. Ongoing gentrification process

The gentrification phenomenon which has been present in Paris for decades now is still very active in some of the actual priority neighbourhoods. The research shows a connection between this phenomenon and how PB is expressed in low-income territories. It appears that the more gentrified low-income neighbourhoods have a high concentration of winning projects in comparison to the most peripheric ones. This connection appears to be especially present in the Northern part of the city. The numeric difference in awarded projects might be explained by the presence of middle-class citizens who also represent a social group considered as highly engaged in participatory activities in Paris, especially when compared to the most isolated social groups of the low-income areas.

The influence of the gentrification phenomenon on the Paris PB is particularly relevant not only because of this inequitable output in terms of investment, but also because of the potential it holds to be accentuated itself by the PB process. Indeed, the implementation of PB projects would

mean better infrastructure, greener and safer urban environment turning the low-income neighbourhoods into attractive areas for other middle-class residents to install in. These new residents would potentially become additional participants in the future editions of PB and therefore voting more projects for their neighbourhood, thus creating a spiral cycle which would concentrate the financial resources allocated through PB in some of the neighbourhoods while others, where the social tissue is less mixed, would be left aside. Considering the institutional aspect of PB, all this process would take place while still respecting the targeted 30 million euros of investment in low-income neighbourhoods. This hypothesis would need further research.

2. Ongoing urban requalification programmes

The urban requalification programmes (GPRU and NPNRU) aim to upgrade the urban environment of degraded building blocks and neighbourhoods in order to improve the overall quality of life of their inhabitants. In addition, reading the Paris contract on the framework of the "Deprived areas development policies", one might notice the emphasis put on the subject of social mixing. The intervention logic behind these programmes is, thus, to create social diversity although in some cases, this logic has been named "to raise the socio-economic profile of the inhabitants" and in others as "gentrification". As Clerval (2013) explains, following a criterion of social diversity that does not consider the ongoing gentrification, social housing construction policies are helping to accelerate the process through the construction of low-income housing for middle classes.

Considering the PB process as an additional element to this analysis, one might notice that there is a synergy between the GPRU and NPNRU objectives and the PB winning projects in the low-income areas. Indeed, as discussed in the previous chapter the range of PB winning projects mostly consists of projects intervening in the public space and the most recurrent thematic for the low-income neighbourhoods are in line with the pre-established development axes and priorities found in the City Contract 2015-2020.

Although the presence of different social groups is a reality in some of the administrative units, the aspired social diversity remains far from being expressed in the community which appears to be quite divided.

3. Superposing territorial boundaries and social problematics

A question might be raised on whether the territorial approach is the right one to address the multidimensional social issues in Paris. While it is true that there is a strong difference is some cases between

neighbourhoods in terms of socio-economic indicators, public space cleanliness and security, they are not restricted to the identified priority areas which remain under the pre-established threshold of poverty. The APUR has recognized the existence of several neighbourhoods in Paris which do not belong to priority areas but show similar characteristics. Moreover, a number of neighbourhoods are divided between two or more districts meaning that the territory demonstrates similar problematics which are addressed differently according to the administrative entity in charge. This fragmentation in addressing socio-economic issues is in a way reinforced by PB, where districts have autonomy in carrying out the process.

Furthermore, issues like homelessness or the lack of integration of immigrants and refugees might be indeed especially present in low-income areas, but nevertheless they represent subjects of concern to the whole territory of the city. In this regard, the Paris PB has the considerable advantage of offering its citizens a multi-layered possibility of voting between city, districts and QPOP labelled projects. However, it remains questionable whether the right approach to address essentially important and complex social issues in a participatory way is proposing the same level of choice between projects tackling them and others concerning lighter issues such as street art pieces or the installation of water fountains.

To conclude the analysis in relation to the first research question it would be possible to say that PB in low-income neighbourhoods has been conceived as an extension of the existing measures created to address social and territorial issues in the low-income concentration neighbourhoods. Thus, the Paris PB does have a contribution to the reduction of primarily territorial inequalities, between the low-income neighbourhoods and the rest of Paris mainly through projects aiming to improve the urban environment, investments in schools and colleges and the measures taken to mobilize the inhabitants of these territories during the projects emergence and implementation phase.

However, this contribution does not seem to refer to the most vulnerable and excluded social groups in the city for two main reasons. First because of the incoherence found concerning several elements inside the design and implementation of the process and second because of the territorial approach taken to address the social inequalities which does not consider the specificities of the neighbourhoods in terms of the diversity of the social tissue and the dynamic gentrification phenomenon encountered in these areas.

1.2. *Research question no. 2*

How and to which extent the disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups have been involved in and/or touched by the PB process?

Recalling the definition made by Cabannes (2019), "Disadvantaged is defined as individuals or groups of people that already face a problem or a situation. Vulnerable is defined as individuals or groups of people at risk of facing a problem or a situation". A descriptive analysis of the most relevant elements emerged during the research related to this component will be made to answer the research question. The research has shown that the most disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups generally do not participate in PB, just like in any other participatory tool put at the disposal of Paris citizens. The identified reasons vary from lack of information/time, language barrier, self-exclusion, or distrust in local institutions. Thus, there is a recognition of the local government about the need to go towards this population in order to involve them in the process. A successful mobilization would not only increase the overall participation rate, but mostly it would bring a more representative participation and meaningful prioritization on the use of public budget, reflective of the needs and aspirations of all social groups cohabiting in Paris.

Despite the recognition of the necessary actions to be undertaken, the actually available human resources appear to be insufficient to cover the full territory. A first step has been made through the engagement of facilitating NPOs, but this has not brought a significative improvement to the process for two main reasons. First because they are small entities unable to fully cover a large territory and second because they are directly financed by the Municipality and therefore do not always have the ability to be fully supportive of citizens in controversial cases. Moreover, an attempt to engage the equivalent of "*Grupos motores*" found in the Seville PB has been made with the engagement of the NPO "Voisins Malins", but this remains at the scale of an experiment, although with promising potential.

On the institutional side, it would be possible to say that there is an authentic engagement of the Local Development Teams in identifying the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups inside the territory they cover and offer tailor-made support, but the examples remain sporadic as PB represents an additional workload to their daily activities. For the most part, citizens involvement in the Paris PB relies either on the existing participatory instances which, in the worst case do not function and in the best case

are not representative of the most vulnerable groups or on the use of digital tools which are not available to all the inhabitants. Therefore, PB presents the risk of becoming a tool which instead of empowering the marginalized groups, accentuates the actual power relations and social barriers the most vulnerable social groups are facing.

However, several projects have been voted through the editions of PB promoting social inclusion and solidarity at the district or city level. Different associations offering support and help for people facing difficulties have received funding through PB projects to improve their service, and better respond to the needs of the public they support. As observed through the research, these types of projects represent a small percentage of the overall, but nevertheless are a positive element showing that the Paris PB can touch delicate problematics and despite the eligibility limitations can direct a part of the resources towards the excluded social groups.

Further research is needed to assess to what extent this contribution appears to be significant.

2. Conclusions

The Paris Participatory budgeting appears to be a rich multi-layered experience which stands out as the most empowering participatory tool put at the disposal of Paris citizens. The overall budget of 500 million euros remains one of the most important in the world, with approximately 45euros/inhabitant discussed through PB.

The process has been in a continuous evolution from its first edition in 2014 and as a result, a decision has been made in 2016 to dedicate a third of the yearly discussed budget to low-income neighbourhoods which showed a low number of awarded projects during the first two years of PB. From a wider perspective, this reallocation of funds represents an attempt of the municipality to include the marginalized groups in the process and use the PB as a tool for democratic redistribution, taking inspiration from the iconic case of Porto Alegre.

The study shows that the implementation of this decision reflects two distinct characteristics. On one hand it shows intention for a broad intervention, going beyond the administrative boundaries of priority QPV and QVA areas and establishing an expanded territory of action which includes multiple administrative units relating critical areas of the city. On the other hand, PB in low-income neighbourhoods appears to be an extension of the existing intervention measures set by the "Deprived areas development policies" which mainly concentrate on the improvement of the public space and the creation of social mixing.

Considering the different elements emerged from this research it seems possible to draw two main conclusions.

First, by strictly looking at the process, the Paris PB does contribute to the reduction of territorial inequalities between neighbourhoods, but the contribution to reducing social inequalities appears to be vague and secondary. The most disadvantaged and excluded social groups remain very difficult to reach and successfully involve in PB activities. Second, taking a broader look at the process and the context where it takes place, the ongoing gentrification of the central low-income areas appears to be a powerful influencing factor upon the PB outcomes in low-income neighbourhoods by modifying the social structure of the territory and influencing the distribution of the winning projects. Therefore, the strictly territorial approach of the Paris PB in low-income neighbourhoods does not seem to be effective in addressing the complexity of present social challenges. On the contrary, it appears to have accentuated the existing differentiation between central and peripheric low-income areas. As Mehlbye *et al.* have explained, when addressing social inequalities from a spatial perspective, inadequate policies hold a high potential of creating a vicious circle where "disadvantaged places produce disadvantaged inhabitants, citizens with lower chances to fully participate in society" (2019).

It would be important to note that the conclusions are influenced by the lack of two key data sets throughout the research: (1) data on the socio-economic profile of the participants and (2) data on the actual invested budget in low-income areas. These two elements would have been crucial in assessing whether and to which extent the historically excluded social groups are engaged in the process and whether the investment through PB in low-income neighbourhoods corresponds to the overall declared investment sum of awarded projects. The interaction between the gentrification phenomenon and PB in Paris is another subject which would require further investigation in the future as well as the contribution of the "social target" projects in addressing the needs of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups.

However, relying on the elements emerged throughout the study and the lessons learned from successful PB practices around the world, several recommendations emerge about the evolution of the Paris PB and how it can better address social inequality issues in the future:

- Include an actor-based component in the process and engage an increased staff to mobilize the concerned social group(s); or add a "beneficiary characteristics" component to the technical review phase following the example of the Seville case.
- Set up a citizen control of all the phases of PB. This might be put in place through the engagement of citizens collectives and NPOs which are not subsidized by the Municipality.

- Modify the eligibility criteria by including a part of operating budget for projects which are a result of a deliberative process.
- Explore to the fullest the investment potential of the PB, by encouraging the discussion on fewer projects with a higher budget.
- Reflect on how to better coordinate or restructure the existing participatory bodies so that they can cooperate with PB. To this purpose, the Canoas PB case offers an interesting perspective.

Despite the criticism and drawbacks identified by the research, these first years of PB in Paris may be considered as a positive experience. Overall, PB has contributed to the creation of a new, more open, and dynamic functioning approach of the municipality of Paris. However, in the future the process needs to undergo some radical changes in order to truly be available to all the residents of Paris and stay true to PB's original objective of giving voice to the most vulnerable citizens.

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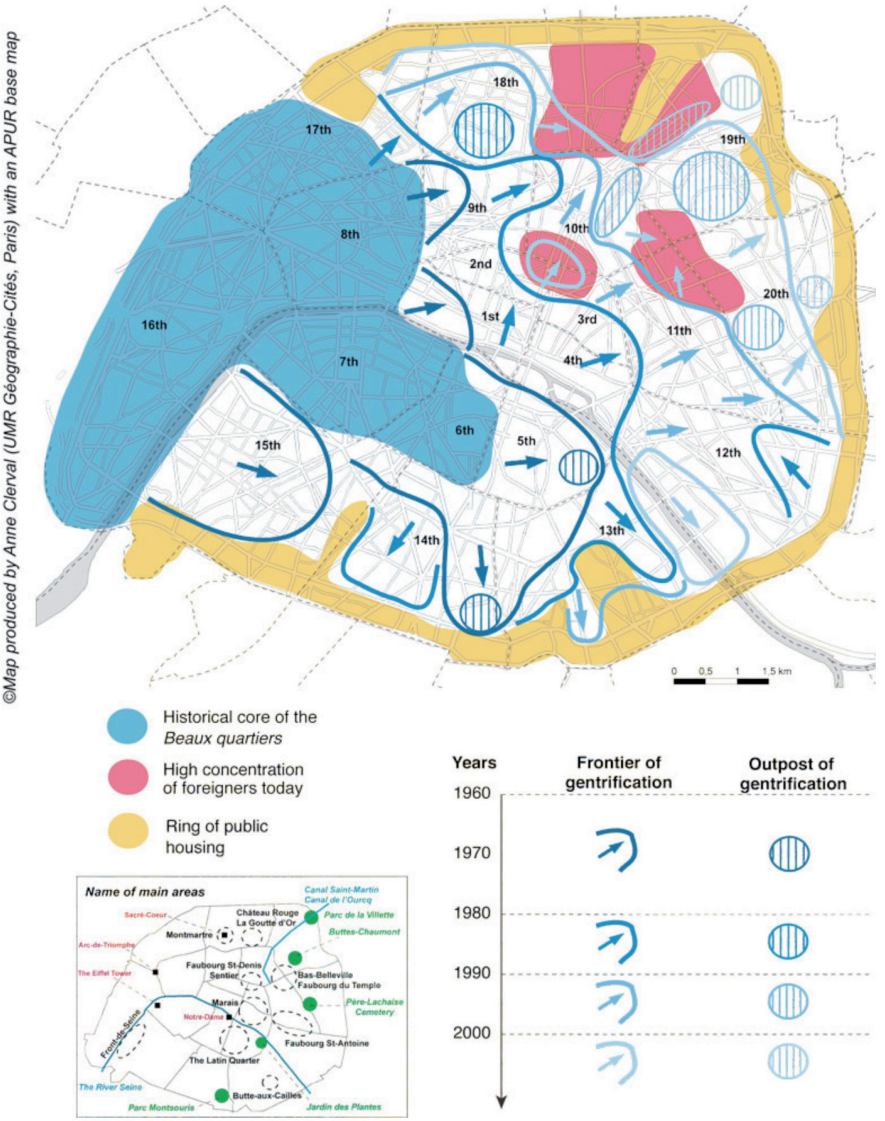
Annex 1

Map of the evolution of gentrification dynamics in the city of Paris. *Source*: Clerval (2011).



Annex 2

List of additional project eligibility conditions included for the 2019 Paris PB edition (Ville de Paris, 2019).

- Public space development proposals such as: development of squares or streets, creation of cycle paths, widening of sidewalks, pedestrianization, meeting areas, etc., are exceptionally not accepted for the 2019 edition.
- The projects such as green walls or urban art must necessarily, be located on walls belonging to the municipality, social housing buildings or public partners of the City.
- Projects aiming the vegetation on public spaces such as planters, bollards, tree stands, etc., must be studied under the new "Vegetation permit" device and therefore, they cannot be discussed under the PB experience.
- Demands of collective composters must be submitted through the dedicated municipal mechanism.
- Requests to intervene in contracted private school locals are not receivable, at the exception of those which are housed in buildings belonging to the City.

Annex 3

Important laws of social housing evolution in France.
Information extracted from the Online Museum of Social Housing (*Musée Virtuel du Logement Social, www.musee-hlm.fr).*

- Siegfried law in 1894, which initiated the construction of the so-called HBM – Habitations à Bon Marché (affordable pricing housing). Article 1 of the law defines the target of social housing; it is intended "for people who do not own any house, especially to workers or employees living of their work or their salary". It contains provisions encouraging the establishment of HBM companies through tax exemptions and the creation of HBM departmental committees.
- The Public health law (1902) which defines that Mayors must develop a sanitary regulation for house sanitation in order to prevent epidemics. In municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants, all construction is subject to obtaining a permit issued by the mayor, ancestor of the building permit. This document makes it possible to check the conformity of the project with the requirements of the sanitary regulation of the municipality.
- Strauss law (1906) which will establish the use of the expression "unfortunate (poor) people" until 1985 and delete the words "workers and employees". Safe and cheap homes are for "poor people, especially workers living mainly on their wages". The law determines rental values (maxima and minima). The statutes of the HBM companies will have to be approved by the Minister of Commerce and Industry and municipalities and departments can help HBM by providing land, loans and shares.
- Ribot law (1908) which was intended to facilitate the accession to small property. It created Regional Real Estate Credit companies which would borrow from the National Pension Fund. They would lend money at a rate of 2% to poor people at the 4/5 of the necessary value to buy or build a safe house or to buy a field or garden that they undertake to cultivate.
- Bonnevay law (1912) which makes the intervention of public authorities in social housing compulsory. It created the municipal and departmental public offices of HBM.
- Loucher law (1928) elaborated to cope with the housing crisis. This law establishes, for the first time, a construction program and the necessary measures for its implementation. 260,000 dwellings are to be built in France, from 1928 to 1933, when the law will lapse, distributed in 200 000 HBM and 60,000 HLM (habitations à loyer modéré) buildings with lowered rents, on the model of those already planned by the City of Paris. The first objective of the law is the encouragement of small-property ownership and the encouragement of renovation, sanitation and construction of rural housing.

- Bonnevay law (1930) establishes the creation of a last type of "improved" HBM, intended for the small middle classes. The surface and comfort criteria of these housing type makes it an intermediary between HBM normal and HLM. Its surface is 12 m^2 bigger than that of ordinary HBM, and it necessarily includes shower, water pipes, gas, electricity.

Annex 4

The 10 objectives of the Deprived areas development policies (*Politique de la Ville*). *Source*: National Observatory of the City Policies.

- Fight inequalities of all kinds, poverty concentrations and economic, social, digital and territorial divisions.
- Guarantee the inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods the real equality of access to rights, education, culture, services and public facilities.
- Act for economic development, business creation and access to employment through vocational training and integration policies.
- Act for the improvement of the habitat.
- Develop prevention, promote health education and promote access to health care.
- To guarantee the tranquillity of the inhabitants using policies of safety and prevention of delinquency.
- Promote the full integration of neighbourhoods in their urban unit, by accentuating in particular their access to public transport, their functional and urban mix and the mixed nature of their social composition; In this respect, it is responsible for revitalizing and diversifying the commercial offer in the priority neighbourhoods of the city's policy.
- Promote the balanced development of territories, the sustainable city, the right to a healthy and quality environment and the fight against fuel poverty.
- Recognize and value the history, heritage and memory of neighbourhoods.
- To contribute to equality between women and men, integration policy and the fight against discrimination suffered by residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, including those related to the place of residence and the real or supposed origin.

Annex 5

Table synthesising data on the Paris districts. Highlighted, the districts where more in-depth research has been conducted.

District	Population (2016)	Surface[1] (ha)	Surface QPV+QVA[2] (ha)	Social housing[3] (%)
1st	16,252	180.0	–	8.6
2nd	20,260	100.0	–	4.8
3rd	34,788	120.0	–	6.2
4th	27,487	160.0	–	12.0
5th	59,108	250.0	–	8.1
6th	40,916	220.0	–	3.0
7th	52,512	410.0	–	1.3
8th	36,453	390.0	–	2.7
9th	59,629	220.0	–	5.9
10th	91,932	290.0	97.3	11.7
11th	147,017	370.0	52.9	12.1
12th	141,494	1630.0	–	19.5
13th	181,552	720.0	155.0	35.2
14th	137,105	560.0	42.3	24.1
15th	233,484	850.0	–	15.9
16th	165,446	1640.0	–	3.7
17th	167,835	570.0	74.2	11.8
18th	195,060	600.0	363.7	20.0
19th	186,393	680.0	226.7	37.3
20th	195,604	600.0	258.9	31.2

1. Source on Population and Surface: *www.insee.fr/.*
2. Source: *www.apur.org/fr/.*
3. Source: *www.apur.org/dataviz/logement_social/.*

Annex 6

Overview of conducted interviews[4].

N.	Date	Interviewed stakeholder	Position of stakeholder	Type of interview
1	Mar-15	Alexia Nkodia (Voisins Malins)	Facilitating Association	Personal communication/ unrecorded
2	Apr-02/ Jun-17	Yves CABANNES	Academic – PB expert	Personal communication
3	Apr-25	Ari BRODACH	Head of the Participatory Budgeting Department	Personal communication
4	Jun-06	Interview 4	Local Council of Handicap/ Neighbourhood Council	Personal communication
5	Jun-14	Charlotte MATHIVET	Responsible of low-income neighbourhoods PB in the PBD	Personal communication
6	Jun-18	Mahor CHICHE	Deputy Mayor 19th District Municipality	Personal communication
7	Jun-20	William Arhip-PATERSON	Academic – Researcher of citizen participation	Personal communication
8	Jul-05	Guillaume DESMOULINS	Director of facilitating NPO "Les Co-citoyens"	Written interview by mail
9	Jul-15	Interview 9	Local Development Team	Personal communication
10	Jul-16	Eric OFFREDO	Deputy Mayor 13th District Municipality	Personal communication
11	Jul-23	Edouard RAZZANO	Deprived areas development policies Service/Local Development Team	Personal communication
12	Jul-31	Interview 12	Local Democracy Service (district municipality)	Personal communication
13	Aug-01	Jean-Philippe DAVIAUD	Deputy Mayor 18th District Municipality	Personal communication
14	Aug-14	Michel BREISACHER	Citizens Council 18th district	Personal communication/ unrecorded
15	Aug-12	Gertrude DODART	Citizens Council 18th district	Communication by email

4. Full interview transcripts are available on https://drive.google.com/open?id=1ZGiZV0Y31pGh6OpcgwL4KMwXHtcfs_Gx.

Annex 7

Overview of contacted beneficiaries of the PB project "*Coup de Pouce Commerces*".

Operation	**District**	**Visit's outcome**
Commerce 1	13th	owner interviewed
Commerce 2	13th	owner interviewed
Commerce 3	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 4	18th	owner interviewed
Commerce 5	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 6	18th	not found in indicated address
Commerce 7	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 8	18th	owner interviewed
Commerce 9	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 10	18th	did not accept to answer
Commerce 11	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 12	18th	found closed during visit
Commerce 13	19th	owner interviewed
Commerce 14	19th	closed for works
Commerce 15	19th	owner interviewed
Commerce 16	19th	owner interviewed

Questions card used during the encountering of the beneficiaries of the PB project "*Coup de Pouce Commerces*".

Interview with _____
Address _____

Question	**Answer**
1 - what is your activity about?	
2 - do you know the pb? How did you get to know about this financing possibility?	
3 - what was your occupation prior to the subsidy received from the pb?	
4 - do you live in the neighbourhood/district?	
5 - (if possible…) Who are your clients?	

Notes _____

Annex 8

Description of the author's internship activities inside the Paris PB Department
The internship activities have been conditioned by two main factors: the Paris PB ongoing phases corresponding to the internship duration and the distribution of the internal workload. As a result, the student had the opportunity to get involved in several different activities and tasks relative to the ongoing Paris PB phases, as well as tasks with a global scope such as:

- assisting in the organization of "Paris PB projects Quest"[5] ("*Jeux de piste BP*");
- assisting the drafting of refusal messages for non-eligible or non-feasible projects;
- contributing to the organization of the city co-construction workshops;
- assisting on the organization of the National Participatory Budget Meetings 2019;
- contributing on the elaboration of the internal report on projects implementation;
- attending of PB steering committee meetings and districts AD HOC commissions.

"Paris PB projects Quests"
The "Paris PB projects Quest" consisted of the organisation of free treasure-hunting-like activities, open to all Parisian residents wishing to participate. Participants would have the possibility to discover the city, as well as several projects realized through PB while also encountering new people. This activity would be possible by engaging a service supplier through the publishing of a public tender. The contract foresees the creation of four itineraries including interesting PB projects in four different locations in Paris. These locations would also include territories of low-income neighbourhoods, recipient of 1/3 of the PB annual budget since 2016. The "Paris PB projects Quest" activities have taken place in four weekends in June and July 2019. As the student's internship started few weeks before the launching of the public tender and ended a month after the activity was completed, she has been actively involved in all the different stages of this project with a range of different activities and tasks.
Activities prior to the "Paris PB projects Quest" weekends include:

- drafting a list of pre-selected projects which would be interesting for the purpose using the internal software information (the list was included in the published public tender support documents);
- elaborating possible itineraries based on the projects' geographical proximity;
- checking the public tender offers' compatibility with the requirements established in the "Specific clauses engagement act";

5. Freely translated by the author.

- preparing the technical part of the introductory meeting between PBD and the supplier (presentation of the pre-selected projects and possible itineraries);
- revising the supplier's proposed itineraries by cross-checking the PB projects' relevance with information from the internal software as well as with the team members responsible of monitoring of projects' implementation;
- assisting the supplier with technical information about specific projects.

The student's activities during the Paris PB projects Quest weekends consisted of assisting the supplier on the preparation of activities' documents including the "orientation document" which participants use during the activity to move from one point to another and the "information documents" which participants receive after the completion of the activity with all the necessary information about the encountered PB projects.

The student's activities after the Paris PB projects Quest weekends include:

- gathering the evaluation questionnaires filled in by the participants;
- drafting an internal evaluation report, elaboration the data received by the feedback questionnaires participants had to fill in.

Refusal messages

The drafting of the official refusal messages is one of the most important stages of the "Technical review" phase. As explained above, all submitted projects must fulfil a set of pre-established criteria in order to be submitted to citizens' voting. Moreover, other specific factors might jeopardize the projects potential to be submitted to voting which can be related to its location, technical feasibility reasons, the superimposition with other broader projects on a city or district level or the doubling of an already voted project on previous PB editions.

Thus, when a project has to be refused for one of the above (or other "exceptional") reasons, a public message is published on the PB website, on the proposition's page. As the number of received propositions is high, hundreds of projects are non-eligible or non-feasible. Thus, an internal protocol of refusal messages drafting has been elaborated by the PBD. This protocol includes guiding steps on how to structure the text and the official statement of the Municipality of Paris on the reasons behind the establishment of the eligibility criteria. Moreover, the refusal messages are used as a tool to encourage and instruct citizens on how to further elaborate their project and/or give hints on alternative means/institutions/actors which might help realise their idea.

City level co-construction workshops

As previously mentioned, co-construction workshops are an important stage preceding the voting phase where citizens are encouraged to meet and deliberate on convergence and divergence points of their propositions between them and with the city services. Co-construction workshops are organized on a city and district level. While for district level projects it is the respective municipalities which are in charge of the organization and animation of the workshops, for the city level ones it is the PBD's responsibility. Thus, six co-construction workshops have been organized for the 2019 edition of the Paris PB covering the following thematic:

- Seine Riverbanks Parc;
- Citizenship;
- Responsible consumption;
- Urban dog parks;
- Public space cleanliness;
- Zero waste.

The student's tasks in the frame of this activity included:

- preparing support documents for the participants (detailed lists of concerned projects);
- drafting a short summary aggregating all the propositions' main thematic and/or objectives which would be used as main guidelines for the discussion by the workshop facilitator.

Moreover, the "Seine Riverbanks Parc" workshop has been conceived as an exploratory walk along the Seine Riverbanks. Therefore, specific tasks relative to this activity included:

- identification of the possible itinerary based on the propositions' location;
- on site verification of the itinerary's duration and existing situation, taking pictures and establishing possible breakpoints;
- preparation of a graphic guiding map, distributed to all participants.

The National PB Meetings 2019

The fourth edition of the (French) National PB Meetings will be held in Paris in November 2019. These meetings are organised by the four PB pioneer French cities: Rennes, Grenoble, Montreuil and Paris and are open to municipalities as well as citizens of every French city which have already adopted the practice or wish to adopt it in the future. The event will last for 2 days and will include site visits, thematic workshops, plenary sessions and intervention of international experts. Thus, the student was introduced to the first phase of preparations of the event by:

- assisting the organization of a brainstorming session inside the PBD aiming to establish the discussion topics of the NPBM;
- work on the establishment of the DAY 1 visits itineraries.

Projects implementation follow-up report

This report consists on giving a comprehensive panorama on the progress of the PB winning projects. It represents an important internal document to extract information about the advancement of the Paris PB on these 6 editions and reflect on its evolution for the future. The report has been drafted by the team members responsible of the monitoring of projects' implementation. The student has contributed to this document by:

- elaborating the available data and preparing graphic representations of the results;
- enriching the existing dataset by extracting data by *opendata.paris.fr* and *insee.fr.*

PB steering committee meetings and districts AD HOC commissions

The PB steering committee is presided by the General Secretariat and is composed of PBD representatives as well as representatives of other city services which vary according to the daily agenda. The committee has regular meetings every two weeks to discuss about the overall advancement of the PB process as well as take important decisions whenever there is a divergence between the city services and/or the city services and the PBD. The student had the opportunity to attend several meetings throughout the internship extent.

Moreover, PB AD HOC commissions are organized on the city and districts level. They are organized once every PB edition and gather political representatives of local government, the city services as technical experts, PBD representatives and citizens. The commissions' purpose is to discuss about propositions for which the concerned actors have divergent statements regarding their eligibility and/or feasibility. The student could attend the commissions of the 13th, 18th and 19th districts.

The Erasmus Mundus in Sustainable Territorial Development: a geographical challenge

by *Marina Bertoncin**

The Erasmus Mundus in Sustainable Territorial Development (STeDe) is a master's degree coordinated by the University of Padova, together with the Katholieke University of Leuven (Belgium), the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (France), the Universidade Católica Dom Bosco in Campo Grande, MS (Brazil), the University of Johannesburg (South Africa) and the University of Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso). The Consortium of universities collaborates in training experts in the field of sustainability. Specifically, the program aims to educate students to act in the territory supporting local communities, enterprises, civil society organizations to draft sustainable development policies for economic, social, environmental, international and intercultural management.

Students enrolled in the Erasmus Mundus are selected from a high number of valuable candidates coming from all over the world. The selected candidates, around 26 students per intake, hold different backgrounds, ranging from the human and social sciences to the field of engineering, biology and physics, and share a strong interest and commitment to the field of sustainable development.

Once they are enrolled, students start an educational path characterized by mobility: the first three semesters are offered by the three European universities of the Consortium; this common mobility track gives the students the possibility to live in three different educational and social contexts, taking advantage not only of the academic contents of the curricular course units, but also of the experience lived in three different cities and territorial backgrounds. The program ends with the fourth semester, during which the students can choose to do their internships all over the world, electing one of the universities of the Consortium as host university

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supervising the experience. During this last semester, the students start approaching the professional world dealing with sustainable development, putting into play the theoretical and practical tools learned during the first three semesters. The result of this educational experience is the final thesis.

After noting the high quality of the works presented by the students at the end of their educational experience during the past years, the Consortium decided to start valuing the interesting results reached with STeDe. The "best thesis award" was launched for two main reasons: the first one is the Consortium's willingness to acknowledge the students' commitment and merit giving them visibility through the publication of their work; the second one is to share the results of an educational experience that can provide valuable insights to a wide scientific community.

The selection process of the first edition of the "best thesis award" was twofold: first, an internal selection (conducted inside the STeDe Consortium) identified the two best theses presented during the September 2019 thesis defense; secondly, a peer review conducted by the Scientific Committee of the editorial series "Nuove geografie. Strumenti di lavoro" selected the best thesis worth to be published. Both the internal and the external committee provided the student with insights and suggestions aimed to improve the work and make it publishable as a book; during this process, the supervisor of the thesis was involved. Therefore, the thesis here published is the result of a meticulous selection process aimed at both valuing the work done by one of the students of the program and at spreading the methods and approaches adopted along the program to deal with the contemporary challenges of sustainable development. Both internal and external

Estela Brahimllari's thesis embodies the main characteristics of the STeDe program, in terms of content and methodology. It deals with a contemporary social and economic practice, participatory budgeting, with the aim of analyzing it (and its social impact) from different perspectives. Sociology, economy and geography are questioned for building a complex approach able to cope with one of the challenges of our society. At the core of the thesis, stands the geographic category that allows it to be part of an editorial series which main aim is to offer new insights into the spatial dimension of human and nonhuman facts, practices, meanings.

The territorial dimension is very important for the STeDe program. Structured as a complex dialogue among disciplines, one of the STeDe keywords is multidiciplinarity. Every university actively involved in the educational dimension of the first three semesters contributes in building up a set of theoretical and practical tools with which students are trained to cope with present time. The University of Padova, responsible for the first semester, focuses on the social dimension of sustainability; KU Leuven,

offering the second semester, focuses on the environment, in addition to deal with the field of tourist studies. The third semester, offered by Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, deals with the economic side of sustainable development. The common thread of the three semesters is the territorial dimension, the key role of geography for an in-depth approach to sustainability. Geography is crucial for training experts ready to work with civil society in imagining and drafting a sustainable future.

On the other side, the challenging field of sustainable development has much to say to geography as a discipline: it mobilizes concepts such as local and global, putting them into new relations to be imagined and planned; it poses questions regarding the notions of community, participation, innovation; it invites scholars and students to rethink ideas such as nature and environment, in addition to re-situate the rural and the urban in a complex discourse that must take into account the importance of time and, above all, future.

Estela Brahimllari's thesis takes into account the importance of the "where" of the issues analyzed. On the one hand, geography is a vital stance that enables the scholar to gain awareness on participatory budgeting as a situated social practice; it invites the reader to interrogate the spatial dimension of social inequalities and to take into account spaces and places not as mere contexts but as actives forces affecting and being affected by participatory budgeting. Moreover, the author invites the reader to think about the connection between gentrification (a socio-spatial process at the core of geographers' interests) and the manifold processes activated by participatory budgeting.

In conclusion, in this work geography intertwine with other disciplinary stances, creating a complex perspective and tool to cope with present and future challenges. The book provides interesting insights on the territorial impact of a socio-economic practice such as participatory budgeting, showing the importance of STeDe as a multidisciplinary educational experience able to train students to approach the complexity of present time, and to imagine and draft sustainable futures.

Multi-layered participatory budgeting

The case of low-income neighbourhoods in Paris

The book presents the potential of participatory budgeting (PB) as a tool for transforming social, political, and territorial priorities and overall, to channel resources towards the disadvantaged social groups. Such potential constitutes one of the key elements of its success and broad diffusion worldwide. However, several studies suggest that European PBs do not have the same potential as the first Brazilian experiences when it comes to social inclusion or transforming of priorities.
In 2014, the Municipality of Paris launched its first PB experience with an ambitious overall budget of about 500 million euros for the period between 2014-2019; one of the most important PB budgets in the world. As the process has continuously evolved through the years, a decision was made in 2016 to reserve a third of the overall annual budget to low-income neighbourhoods with the expressed aim to include marginalized groups in the process and use PB as a tool for democratic redistribution.
On this basis, the study presented on this book analyses the potential of the Paris PB to address social inequalities and explore how the inherent quality of PB to be a transformational tool is materialized in the specific Parisian context.
Through a conceptual framework which considers social inequalities in their multidimensionality, the Paris PB has been analysed in terms of actual achievements and means to achieve in the future, using qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews, quantitative data available in various official sources and personal observations of the author. The findings show several contradictory and incoherent elements inside the design and implementation of the process. Moreover, the ongoing gentrification process appears to be a powerful influencing factor upon the PB outcomes. Using theoretical insights and lessons learned from successful PB practices around the world, the author elaborates a series of recommendations regarding the evolution of the Parisian PB process.

Estela Brahimllari is an Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree graduate in Sustainable Territorial Development (STeDe) with a previous background in Architecture. Her professional interests include sustainable urban development mechanisms and the study of socio-economic dynamics shaping the built environment.

FrancoAngeli
La passione per le conoscenze